



A Progressive Beginning Ends in Reactionary Politics: Bhutto and the Punjab Left

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ABSTRACT

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This research paper examines the significant transformation of the Punjab Left during the turbulent 1970s. It aims to study the rise and subsequent relative decline of the Punjab left in the context of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's emergence and rise to power. Bhutto, who earlier championed socialist ideologies, later turned more reactionary and anti-left through more authoritarian and reactionary politics which has subsequently marginalized the Punjab left and socialist politics at large in Pakistan. This qualitative study uses both primary and secondary sources including archives, newspapers, magazines, reports, interviews, books, and articles to explore and analyze how Bhutto responded to the radical demands and politics of the left and how he perceived them as a threat to his politics of populism. This weakening of the Punjab left hindered the project of people-centric politics in Pakistan and paved the way for the restoration of the status quo and elite-driven polity. The paper employs cooptation theory to explain and analyze how elite-led parties appropriate and coopt people's movement and popular politics. The findings underscore the transformative impact of Bhutto's authoritarian turn on socialist politics, revealing how the weakening of the Punjab left contributed to a setback in people-centric politics, fostering a return to elite-driven politics in Pakistan.

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1.0 Introduction

The Left's long history in Pakistan is revered as a significant historical fact. Several factors contributed to this incredible journey, including its support of the All-India Muslim League during the elections of 1945–1946 (Ali, 2015). Left in Pakistan kept up its fight for a democratic and egalitarian society even after the partition. Despite numerous sanctions, crackdowns, and restrictions, the journey continued despite all the difficulties. Inequality has always been ingrained, and the left in Pakistan has prioritized the issue of equality. However, authoritarianism and the ruling oligarchy did not let people's movements grow rapidly. The issue of unequal distribution was aggravated by the so-called "decade of development" in the 1960s.

Ayub Khan's economic approach produced some positive results, however, the development was relatively quantitative, whereas the public would prefer to see it in more qualitative terms (Burki, 1972). Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq (1976) expressed unequivocal concern over the concentration of wealth in the hands of twenty-two families. Economic development was founded at the cost of under-development of the poorer classes where a tiny group of capitalists would flourish at the expense of the public (Rashid, 1978). Inequalities in the economy aided Ayub's opponents (Dobell, 1969). This economic disparity gave birth to the great mass movement in the political history of Pakistan (Burki, 1972).

Despite the long-standing fight and tenacity of the Pakistani Left to achieve a democratic and equitable society, the persistence of authoritarianism and the supremacy of an oligarchic ruling structure has inhibited the expansion of people's movements. The historical background of economic inequality, which was worsened under Ayub Khan's reign, highlights the difficulty that the Left faces in tackling the concentration of wealth among a select few at the cost of the greater population. In Pakistan's political history, this discrepancy has fueled large popular movements.

The value of the work rests in its investigation of the Left's long battle in Pakistan, outlining its historical journey and ongoing attempts to advocate for democratic ideals and socioeconomic equality. This study intends to provide light on how economic disparities fueled large mass mobilizations by researching the socio-political and financial factors that hampered the expansion of people's movements, particularly during critical eras like as the "decade of development." Understanding these dynamics is critical for understanding the obstacles that progressive groups encounter, as well as the broader consequences for Pakistan's sociopolitical environment, governance institutions, and quest for a more equal society.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Cooptation is a term that was first introduced by Philip Selznick in 1949. It refers to a political process that is commonly observed in democratic or committee-based organizations. The practice of incorporating non-elected elite individuals to manage opposition and maintain stability can lead to unintended consequences. Coopted movements may become part of the very system they were seeking to change, rendering them politically ineffective. In some cases, individuals seeking change may adjust their stances and collaborate with elites in order to achieve strategic benefits through compromise. Despite the potential advantages, they often fail to materialize at the

expense of the elites' position. Cooptation, on the other hand, is a less costly method for the elites to achieve their goals without resorting to violent suppression, as noted by Holdo (2019). Cooptation often appears well-intentioned but can diminish the effectiveness of those seeking change. It ultimately favors the existing elite structure (Piven & Cloward, 1977). Moreover, Cooptation can serve as a strategy to moderate the radical objectives and far-reaching changes promoted by opposing factions, which may result in the weakening, discouragement, apolitical behavior, and loss of influence of the movement, its establishments, as well as its leaders and prominent supporters (Coy, 2013).

Cooptation could be quite instrumental in understanding how the demands of the left such as egalitarian society and fair distribution of resources were later coopted and tamed by the elitist status quo during the 1970s under the Bhutto regime. Bhutto in the beginning, during the anti-Ayub movement rose as a champion of socialist polity in the country and the leftist while believing that he would represent the voice of the left started joining his party, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) which was founded with the promise of socialist rhetoric of *Roti, Kapra Makaan* (Khalid and Hussain, 2017). Bhutto's promise of a socialist society attracted significant support from the left. However, over time, Bhutto's regime gradually tried to assimilate left-wing elements into the existing political order. This assimilation led to a loss of autonomy for the coopted movement which found itself integrated into the system it had once sought to challenge, when the elites were accommodated in the party.

Earlier Kisaan Committees and other labor organizations have already merged themselves with the PPP with the commitment that they would retain their individual identity but later, they lost their identity, and the PPP took primacy over their original identity. Also, the left-wing within and outside the party was badly treated by the Bhutto regime and the elite especially the landed elites were given spaces in the party as well as in the government which cornered the movement of the left and its ideals. Maulana Kausar Niazi who later became a close aide of Bhutto once boasted that he never used the phrase socialism in any of his campaign speeches during election (Niazi, 1988). The new constitution of the party which was introduced by Bhutto later in 1976 completely altered the socialist face of the party and turned into just another mainstream political party. Earlier the party of the leftist with the rhetoric of socialism turned out to be the party of the elites, landed elites who struggled to restore the previous political and economic status quo.

The result of the Cooptation was the dilution of the original leftist ideals which marginalized the Punjab left to the brink. The party they joined for the cause of egalitarian society ultimately turned to be more reactionary and the party of the elites which put the left in Pakistan in serious historical crises. Bhutto himself from landed elites earlier during the people's movement tilted toward the people and left but later after rising to power, he kept on tilting towards the elites hence pushing the left to the brink.

3.0 Methodology

The paper delves into a multi-dimensional qualitative study to understand how and why the political trajectory of both Bhutto and the Left transformed over the years. Bhutto earlier championed the cause of left and later after rising to power marginalized the left to accommodate

the elite interest in the party. The paper will survey how Bhutto approached and responded to the demands and politics of left earlier and later through studying and analyzing both primary and secondary sources such as archives, biographies, auto-biographies, reports, parliamentary debates, speeches of political leaders, newspapers, books and journal articles. The study is a significant contribution in understanding the complex politics of the 1970s and the complex relationship between Bhutto and the Punjab left to understand the broader political questions of Pakistan. The limitation of the study lies in its focus on the Punjab left and its leaders of Punjab with references to Bhutto. It may potentially restrict us to comprehend the broader applicability of its results on the other provinces of Pakistan.

4.0 Results

4.1 Research Questions

How and Why Z.A Bhutto's who earlier championed the cause of left in Punjab tilted more towards the elite polity during later years, and what were the implications of this historical shift on left and the politics of Punjab and Pakistan at large?

4.1.1 Anti-Ayub Movement and the Peoples' Politics

The 1960s was a time of left-wing activism, particularly in Pakistan's urban areas (Ali, 2015). These areas became breeding grounds for the anti-Ayub movement. Migration from the countryside to urban areas had already influenced the country's political economy (Burki, 1974). It can be considered one of the great movements in the history of Pakistan based on several factors. Not only did the political parties lead that movement, but it was also driven by factory workers, peasants, students, and the general public in Pakistan (Hussain, 2019). It justly qualifies to be a sociopolitical movement because its focus was much broader than just a regime change. It was a movement to reestablish democracy. Furthermore, it demanded equitable resource distribution in opposition to oligarchic rule.

People took to the streets to protest against Ayub Khan's celebrations of the decade of development. There was a clear mismatch between the government's and the public's perception of development. The government presented quantitative and aggregate terms, whereas the public opinion was quite different which was oriented around social implications and the impacts of the development on the masses. People were confused by the government's view of the economy because they were not concerned with numbers and stats. They were more concerned about everyday living and its cost (Burki, 1971). The students observed the week of demands '*Hafta-i-Mutalbat*' in response to the celebration of a decade of development ("Azeem Awami Ubhaar", 1969). It is also worth noting that members of the National Assembly were from the elite class, and it totally lacked the true representation of the working class in the 1962 elections. The workers and the farmers had no representation in the Assembly (Azeem Awami Ubhaar", 1969).

In the spring of 1967, the movement began in West Pakistan's towns, particularly those in Punjab. The towns that supported this movement were those which were not well developed and were in densely populated rural areas, having a low number of industrial workers, high literacy rates, and a population made up of Indian refugees. For a year, the movement was restricted to towns. It had all the potential to be a watershed moment in Pakistan's democratic revolution ("From the past pages of dawn", 2019). The success can be termed as a historic success of the marginalized segments of society ("Azeem Awami Ubhaar", 1969).

It also led to the birth of the Pakistan People's Party, which was founded in Lahore, Punjab, in 1967. Bhutto eventually led the movement to depose Ayub, but the socioeconomic conditions

created by the regime paved the way for the regime to fall. In fact, his decline was caused by the so-called 'decade of development' (Burki, 1972). The development was basically at the cost of the poor masses. This was the reason that the undeveloped areas became the center of the movement (Burki, 1971). Prior to Bhutto's later charismatic leadership, the movement lacked such a figure. He was successful in bringing the movement to the center (Burki, 1972). Punjab remained a center in the anti-Ayub movement; the movement was extended to smaller towns in Punjab along with major cities ("Exit Stage Left", 2014).

In the end, Ayub Khan was forced to resign, General Yahya Khan took over as the country's top martial law administrator, and the Assemblies, Ministers, and Governors ceased to exist. Yahya Khan imposed Martial Law. Later, he declared himself to be the president and promised to hand over power to the elected officials in order to establish a constitutional government ("Tareekh ko ni Jhutlaya", 1969). Additionally, it was stated that no system would be imposed on the people, the representatives of the people would draft the constitution ("Qoum Par Koi Nizam Musalat", 1969). He issued a Provisional Constitutional Order 1969 soon after taking office (Hussain, 2019). As the head of Martial Law, Yahya Khan made sure that after peace and order were restored, new elections would be held (Abbas, 1969). The contradictions of Ayub's own rule were a contributing factor in his downfall. Through his complex system and landed elites, Ayub had strengthened his hold on power. However, the modernization he brought about allowed the capital to permeate society at a deeper level. The urbanization, migration, and rapid growth that occurred during Ayub's era gave rise to new forms of politics in the towns and cities. Contrary to his own rule that gave it rise, that is where Ayub Khan's downfall had its beginnings (Akhtar, 2017). When Ayub announced his resignation on National Radio in March 1969, the movement came to an end ("From the past pages", 2019). The power was handed over to General Yahya (Lelyveld, 1969). His political future was also ended by the end of his rule because his party, the Convention Muslim League (CML) was essentially nonexistent. The party was practically left with no other members except for Ayub Khan. PPP credited the workers' and students' movements for ousting Ayub ("Mazdoor apne huqooq", 1969). The new general elections were called that were supposed to be held according to the Legal Framework Order ("General elections are", 1969).

4.1.2 The Formation of the PPP

The main focus of the Anti-Ayub movement was the widespread and nationwide opposition to Ayub Khan. Political parties, workers, peasants, and students all wanted to overthrow the Ayub regime. In actuality, Bhutto was born out of this people's movement (Bajwa, 2019). PPP was born out of anti-Ayub movements. It didn't directly give rise to the anti-Ayub movement, but it did play a big part in it. It was a social movement that overthrew the Ayub regime and gave political space to the PPP as the ruling party in West Pakistan (Malik, 2021). Due to the so-called 'decade of development,' Pakistani society had already been sliced into haves and have-nots. This in fact attracted public supporters to Bhutto's party (Badejo, 1988). Bhutto could not be credited with starting the movement because it already existed among the masses. The mobilization of the groups that overthrew the Ayub regime, however, was greatly aided by him because he happened to be organizing anti-Ayub forces. Through the movement, he established himself as a champion of the lower classes and the poorer masses with his populist rhetoric. He successfully made the movement a contest between Bhutto and Ayub, turning an already existing but a leaderless movement into a popular uprising (Burki, 1971).

4.1.3 Punjab and Anti-Ayub movement

The conflict between the Punjabi middle class and the changing socioeconomic conditions played a crucial role in the anti-Ayub movement (Akhtar, 2017). The political unrest began two

years prior to Ayub's resignation, the movement started in Punjab in 1967 and was more active in the province's lower-income areas. Businessmen, lawyers, and other professionals in these small towns suffered greatly from agricultural stagnation. In order to form an alliance against Ayub Khan, the students who had returned from the cities got in touch with the lawyers from small towns. The movement against Ayub was fueled by the scarcity of food and other necessities. In Punjab's rural communities, the movement also turned violent (Burki, 1971). Bhutto was the real beneficiary of the people's movement against Ayyub and swept the 1970s election which surprised all political estimates.

4.1.4 PPP's Rise for Democracy and Socialism

Democracy is significantly impacted by the actions of political parties and leaders. Despite having a progressive outlook, Z.A. Bhutto became a reactionary in the subsequent year. His political behavior should be assessed on two fronts: democracy and his dedication to the socialist cause. The main characteristics of the anti-Ayub movement, from which Bhutto ascended to power, were democracy and equitable wealth distribution. Democracy and Socialism were also two of the PPP's top promises when it was first conceived, as stated explicitly in the Peoples Party of Z.A. Bhutto's founding documents (PPP, 1967). This paper primarily discusses his commitment and interaction with socialist ideals and polity. The PPP was initially quite strict with its inherent ideologies, which eventually persuaded the activists and leaders of the anti-Ayub movement to join the party. The PPP gained popularity among the working class, farmers, students, and women, at least in West Pakistan, and became a major political force. PPP was successful in winning the West Pakistan landslide. In the election of the 1970s, it performed better than almost all significant and established political parties and figures in Punjab, which was primarily made possible by its widespread appeal to the masses. It was only possible primarily due to Bhutto's socialist and populist ideology. He became a voice of the oppressed and turned the people's anti-Ayub movement into a "popular uprising" (Burki, 1971, p.480). His charismatic leadership played a significant role in the fall of Ayub regime. Bhutto championed the rights of Pakistan's marginalized population with his socialist and egalitarian slogan and political idioms. He provided direction to the movement, which turned into a competition between Ayub and Bhutto, democracy and authoritarianism, and capitalism and socialism (Burki, 1971).

It's noteworthy that Bhutto was unable to retain the support of those who had stood by him during his struggle for socialism and democracy, particularly during the people's movement against Ayub Khan. The party subsequently kept leaning toward the influential political figures it was founded and meant to oppose. The pragmatists and opportunists took the place of the ideologists. Traditional political figures began jumping on the bandwagon at the cost of party's socialist tenets and ideals. In the years that followed, Bhutto began to change and distinctly veered away from the socialist program. This is how the people's movement was coopted.

4.1.5 Bhutto and the PPP

A young lawyer who was also Pakistan's youngest cabinet minister dominated Pakistani politics for 20 years before being toppled in July 1977. He was still well-liked and regarded as a skilled politician ("Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: A Dominant", 1969). Despite being torn between the Council Muslim League (CML) and the National Awami Party (NAP) earlier, he ultimately decided to form a political party. He traveled to various parts of Pakistan and received a resounding reception from the populace. The impact of his trips to Lahore and Faisalabad was enormous and after receiving an overwhelming response from almost all social groups, he was persuaded to found a new political party (Jones, 2003). He founded a new '*Awami Tehreek*' (Peoples Movement) and chose the electoral route to win power. In response to Bhutto's movement, students, lawyers,

farmers, teachers, doctors, and journalists united under one voice (Parveen, 1969). In order to advance democratic principles and equitable wealth distribution, Bhutto founded The Pakistani Peoples, a democratic socialist party. Bhutto traveled throughout Pakistan with the *Roti, Kapra Makaan* slogans, reaching out to the underprivileged and the marginalized while blaming Ayub for their plight of the people.

At Dr. Mubashar Hassan's home, where about 300 people had gathered, Bhutto boasted that the beginning of great movements was typically quiet and modest (Jones, 2003). Bhutto founded his party and joined the anti-Ayub movement. In the 1970 elections, the young PPP almost swept West Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, 1972). He decided to set up his political career in Punjab. In Lahore, the capital of the province of Punjab, he founded his party. He traveled from Rawalpindi to Lahore after leaving Ayub's government, where he received a historic welcome and reception from the people (Zahoor, 2017). He was looking for a new political party after divorcing Ayub's Cabinet. He earlier tried to join either NAP or the Council of the Muslim League but could not join either of them. A Bengali bureaucrat named J.A. Raheem persuaded him to start a new political party because he thought Pakistan's political climate was favorable for the development of a new mass political party (Badejo, 1988). Bhutto and the socialists were also on the same quest. Beyond Bhutto, in the political field, the party was already in the making (Badejo, 1988). The anti-imperialist attitude of the party impressed Dr. Mubashar, while J. A. Rahim persuaded Bhutto to create a socialist party (Hasan, 2000). Due to Bhutto's hostility to imperialism, the Left's intellectuals, journalists, and poets began swarming to the PPP (Syed, 1992). Many of them were new politicians, engineers, lawyers, and socialists (Syed, 1992). It explains much about the history, development and evolution of Bhutto's Party. The party was established on November 30, 1967, at Dr. Mubashar's residence in Lahore (Wolpert, 1993). The anti-Ayub movement had already made the political environment favorable for the new party, which helped it flourish and thrive.

4.1.6 PPP and Punjab

The PPP eventually emerged as the dominant political force in Sindh and Punjab despite appearing to be a mainstream political party that supported class politics. The Bhutto's campaign and attitudes in Sindh and Punjab were very different from each other. Bhutto was quickly acknowledged as a leader to defend Sindhi nationalism, since PPP in Sindh generally supported ethnic nationalist politics. Bhutto later declared Sindhi as the official language of the province and actively promoted Sindhi culture. In contrast, Punjab's Bhutto was quite opposite to that of Sindh Bhutto. He didn't declare Punjabi as the official language of Punjab nor used Punjabi nationalist symbolism to mobilize the Punjabis. He portrayed himself as Pakistani Muslim Nationalists who would oppose and contest India and support the Kashmiris struggle for freedom from Indian occupation.

He travelled throughout Punjab after leaving the Ayub Cabinet. His anti-Indian rhetoric drew attention from the populace of Punjab, particularly the young Punjabis. He was successful in attracting the National Student Federation (NSF), a communist student group, and it was crucial to Bhutto's ascent to power (Akhtar, 2017). NSF increasingly contributed to PPP's growth, particularly in Punjab (Akhtar, 2017). In Punjab, his slogans "thousand years war" and "*Ghas Khaye ge atom bomb banaye ge*" gained a lot of momentum.

4.1.7 Bhutto's Shift from Progressive Politics to Reactionary Politics

This paper will assess Bhutto's dedication to socialism in this thread as it was a political movement as well as political currency during 1960s and 1970s. This was so true that it was included in the electoral program of the right-wing religious party in the 1970s' Promised Land reforms and nationalization (Pakistan Peoples Party, 1970). Workers were drawn to the PPP by

Bhutto's pro-workers and anti-imperialist political orientation (Ali, 2015). Socialism was the political currency and Nationalization was the catchphrase, while land reforms were the general demand.

It remains to be seen if Bhutto truly believed in socialism or if he only adopted socialist rhetoric to rise to power. This might be assessed by looking at Bhutto's interactions with the left, cadres, leftist leaders, unions, and policies like nationalization and land reform.

The anti-Ayub campaign in Pakistan, which was predominantly led by the left, gave birth to the PPP. The leftists were the ones who persuaded Bhutto to create a socialist party with a socio-economic agenda. As was previously discussed, socialist principles served as the foundation of PPP. It was clear that PPP was committed to socialism. It believed that an exploitative economic system was no longer viable (Pakistan Peoples Party, 1967). PPP was committed to the idea that the people held all power and that they would lead Pakistan's socialist revolution (Peoples' Party Awaam, 1974). PPP pledged to build an economy on the principles of Islamic Socialism ("Pakistan ki Maishiat ki Bunyaad", 1973).

Bhutto in the Hyderabad Convention (1968) also declared,

"You will see that for democracy and socialism, I would come out with the people, with the shroud around my head".

In an interview with Hanif Ramey for Nusrat, he reaffirmed his unwavering support for socialism and expressed admiration for it as well as the spread of socialism in other Muslim nations worldwide. In one of his articles for the weekly magazine Nusrat, Bhutto emphasized that only socialism could protect people from exploitation by giving everyone an equal chance to succeed. He asserted that socialism was the highest expression of democracy (*Socialism Jamhoriyat Ka Ala Tareen Izhar hey.*) (Bhutto, 1969, p.8). Even in 1972, when most of his colleagues had already reached their breaking point, he kept his socialist rhetoric up. He stated repeatedly in an interview that the goal was to *'progress gradually to the goal of socialism'* (Bhutto, 1972).

The PPP and the intermediary class, which were crucial to the opposition to Ayub, were born out of the anti-Ayub movement. It was clear that underprivileged segments of society were accommodated in Ayub's power and economic equation (Akhtar, 2017). Given the people's genuine dislike of the disparity, inequality, and twenty-two economically powerful families under the Ayub Khan Regime, socialism may have been the most appropriate political slogan. Bhutto publicly criticized the twenty-two families and received support from the general populace, particularly the poor. Bhutto's supporters included *'tongawallas, rickshawallas, and common laborers'* (Jones, 2003, p. 161). The election manifesto of 1970 clearly states the objectives of the part *'Islam is our Faith, Democracy is our Policy, Socialism is our Economy, All Power to the People'* (PPP, 1970). The Foundation document made clearly voiced for socialist and classless society (Pakistan People's Party, 1967).

He defined himself as a Marxist in the economic sense and claimed that scientific socialism was the answer to Pakistan's issues (Fallacy, 1976). After East Pakistan fell apart, Yahya resigned and ceded authority to the Bhutto government. It was planned that Bhutto would take his oath of office on April 21, on the Race Course Ground. For the first time, the event was attended by workers, students, physicians, craftsmen, nurses, peasants, Boy Scouts, and Girl Guides ("Bhutto to take oath", 1972). It was obvious that these groups were Bhutto's main supporters and that they were the main key players in Bhutto's rise to power. The PPP aimed for economic equality, fair wealth distribution, adult franchise, and democratic governance, and opposed the concentration of wealth in a few hands (Haq, 1976). The elections were more democratic in nature since those took place during a time when political parties outweighed the individual candidates, and the elite polity

was replaced by mass politics (Hussain, 2019).

4.1.8. Peoples' Party and the Punjab Left

Bhutto received a positive response from Punjab, making him the West Pakistan's most popular politician of Punjab. Over time, the socialist movement gained strength. The genuine left-wing ideological cadres allied with the PPP took control of the party's district offices and became members of the Punjab Organizing Committee. The Punjab left had already been sliced into three factions by the 1970s: Maj. Ishaq's Kisan-Mazdur Party, C.R. Aslam's Pakistan Socialist Party, Sardar Shaukat's and Mirza Ibrahim's Pakistan Worker's Party (Jones, 2003). The NAP-Bashani leaders joined PPP during the anti-Ayub movement (Jones, 2003). Except for a few, almost the entire major leadership of NAP Punjab joined PPP. As a result, the PPP rose as the most powerful representative of the Punjab left.

4.1.9 Elections 1970 and left

The 1970s elections were held according to the principle of the adult franchise ("Election Schedule", 1970). PPP made the case for Islamic socialism. Keeping in the background of anti-Ayub movement, it was one of the most attractive slogans for the people. Despite religious parties' propaganda against Bhutto, he remained popular among the masses because of his slogan of '*Rotti, Kapra, Makan*' (Bread, Cloth and Shelter) (Khalid & Hussain, 1970 p.7). PPP considerably won West Pakistan, it especially outperformed in Punjab and Sindh ("PA election results", 1970); (Government of Pakistan, 1972). The PPP's election manifesto of the 1970s clearly manifested socialist tilt (PPP, 1970). Its election campaign was mostly focused on the socialist agendas (Akhtar, 2017). Sheik Muhammad Rashid believed that the PPP's victory in Punjab was primarily the blessings of to both Bhutto's charisma and socialism, as opposed to other provinces where only Bhutto's charisma became the reason for party victory. He asserted that class consciousness had outreached the rural Punjab (Rashid, 2011). The PPP was elected in the 1970s owing to socialism, but as time raced forward, the party started taking a strategic departure from socialism and the socialist leaders. They were tactically and strategically excluded from the party. The party rapidly started becoming the party of those whom it was established against. The genuine leftist cadres were marginalized (Akhtar, 2017).

The left had always faced tough times in the party. It appeared that they only forcefully adjusted themselves within the party since they weren't needed much. Even when it came to the awarding of tickets, the newcomers were adjusted such as Ayub's allies and the candidates from the landed elites. Amanullah Khan, a devoted party worker, couldn't get the ticket. He was kicked out of the party for demanding radical land reforms (Lodhi, 1980). It is worth remembering that Amanullah was among those who were arrested along with Bhutto during the people's movement against Ayub ("Kaley Qanoon Khtm", 1969). The process of Cooptation was at its peak as that was such incidents were the victory of the elitist interest over left.

Unjust ticket distribution caused dissatisfaction among the leftist cadres. The party's chairman of Sialkot tendered resignation as a protest. Working-class leader Baba Feroz Din Ansari who also served as chairman of the PPP in Multan was not given a ticket. He also protested and tendered his resignation. Taj Muhammad Langah also complained that the newly entrant Qureshis should not have been awarded the party tickets. In almost all the Punjab districts, PPP had a significant issue in the distribution of tickets (Lodhi, 1980). The left's main concern was that the party may be taken over by landlords and important Ashrafis and suffer the same fate as the Muslim League suffered after partition (Jones, 2003). This was seen when Khar was successful in changing Sheik Rashid's (President of the Punjab Parliamentary Board) selection of candidates for

the election of the 1970s (Lodhi, 1980).

Between 1971 and 1974, the left, especially in Punjab, faced a tough time in the party. For the Punjab PPP leftwing, the time between 20 December 1971 and 10 March 1974 was not encouraging. It was the Khar period, and the left was ignored during this period (Jones, 2003). During this time the police opened fire on the workers protesting in Karachi ("Firing On workers", 1972). The police brutally raided the workers' funeral the following day, which resulted in yet another unfortunate incident (Dawn, 9 June 1972). Bhutto had already warned the working class to refrain from participating in protests such as *dharnas* and they would receive what they demanded ("Labour Policy", 1972). What an irony that a labor movement was crushed by the hands of the government/party that rose to power with the promise of the wellbeing of the working class (Ali, 2015).

The left was completely under control, and they couldn't even attend the party convention at Rawalpindi. Sheik Rashid struggled to manage some lefties to participate as the representatives of the left. Left-leaning PPP cadres such as *Muttahida Mazdur Mahaz* and the Young People's Front had already started quitting the party. Mairaj Muhammad had also left the party. Some factions that remained with the party, such as Sheikh Muhammad Rashid, Taj Langah, and K. H. Meer, remained on the peripheries. Before taking office, Bhutto relied mainly on sincere communist allies, but later he began changing his team, as Dr. Mubashar notes (Hasan, 2000). According to Sheik Muhammad Rashid, earlier the feudal were given tickets. It was after the election 1970, the party began to disregard the left. He provided the example of when the party awarded a ticket to Mian Mahmood Qasuri instead of a true cadre worker for a by-election in Lahore. Qasuri had only recently joined the party (Rashid, 2011).

4.1.10 Bhutto and the Peasantry

In Punjab, the left comprised of different grassroots organizations with radical backgrounds that Philip Jones, (2003) referred to as 'Party Cell'. These organizations included the Pakistan Kisan Committee, Mazdur Majlis-i-Amal (Worker's Action Committee in Multan), Taraqqi pasand Mazdur Mahaz (Progressive Worker's Front of Lyallpur), the People's Labor Front of Rawalpindi, and the Muttahida Mazdur Mahaz (United Worker's Front of Lahore). Additionally, there were the Thai Mihnath Kash Mahaz (Thai Laborer's Front) and the Chingari Group of intellectuals and worker cadres centered on Dr. Aziz-ul-Haq and "Ladu Sahib"(Jones, 2003). These organizations, unions, and student unions were the torch bearers of socialism in Pakistan and represent Pakistani left. They were also quite influential in the anti-Ayub campaign. Earlier, they were fragmented, but PPP offered all organizations the chance to band together and transform these fragments' movements into a mainstream political parties. They began joining PPP because they saw it as a potential left-leaning party. Bhutto's ascent to power was primarily because of the support of the NSF and the Punjabi Kisan Committees.

As time went on, Bhutto began to seize control. Numerous factors could have been at play, but one of the most pressing ones was the party's socialist wing's demand for drastic socialist reforms. They were unwilling to adjust with feudalism and political elites. It troubled Bhutto. It was of course very much possible that those who stood against Ayub could have also turned against Bhutto. The seeds of Bhutto's demise were planted there. Commonly, the big political parties in developing nations faced the conundrum of turning against the segments and groups that essentially served as their base through base. This is how the PPP was also coopted by the elite interests. The Bhutto administration in Punjab took tough measures to prevent the workers from seizing power. Many people were jailed and locked in prison (Ahmed, 2010).

4.1.11 Bhutto and the National Student Federation (NSF)

Students have always played a major role throughout the history of Pakistan. They played a vital role in the anti-Ayub movement and in the rise of Bhutto as well (“Students Politics”, 2008). Without the assistance of the students, particularly NSF, Bhutto would not have become a Bhutto. They have really contributed to the rise of PPP (Paracha, 2022). National Student Union one of the top socialist student organizations in the country. As Democratic Student Federation (DSF) was outlawed, and NSF was established as a government-sponsored organization. It was founded in 1956. The workers of the Democratic Student Federation (DSF) choose to join NSF (Javed and Zulfikar, 2021). NSF won all the union elections in the 1960s while it was still the Communist Party of Pakistan’s student wing. The NSF's main goals were to promote democracy, increase political awareness among students, and abolish the class system (National Student Federation Pakistan, n.d). When Bhutto visited Karachi, NSF enthusiastically welcomed him and extended its support to him (Syani, 2021). The pro-China wing of the NSFS had greater acceptance of Bhutto (Paracha, 2022).

Another significant deviation from socialism made by Bhutto was the dissolution of NSF to replace it with another student organization that, unlike NSF, was subject to Bhutto's influence. It should be recalled that NSF was essential to the success of Bhutto and the anti-Ayub struggle. NSF made a vital contribution to Bhutto's success, particularly in Punjab, but they were afterward ignored along with other leftists (Akhtar, 2017). NSF was a radical student organization that compelled Bhutto to introduce and implement more radical reforms. It was quite comparatively autonomous and did not extend absolute support to Bhutto. NSF actually opposed Bhutto on the Bengal issue. It was revolutionary and was adamant about eradicating feudalism, bureaucratic reforms, and land reforms. An attack on the workers' rally in Karachi marked the breaking point between NSF and Bhutto.

To balance out NSF after it split into two factions, the Mairaj group joined Bhutto and established the People's Student Federation (PSF). In contrast to NSF, PSF was the PPP's student wing and extended its unequivocal support to Bhutto. To minimize the reliance on NSF, whose leaders have been pushing for radical reforms and student politics, PSF was established (Paracha, 2022). NSF also alleged that Bhutto supported the right-wing Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba on university campuses so that the right-wing protests could not spill into the streets. In Egypt, Anwar Sadat had already adopted this strategy (Paracha, 2022). NSF had to withdraw its support for PPP and go underground. Bhutto was upset because of the pressure to carry out the socialist agenda. NSF opposed the moves and withdrew its backing for Bhutto's administration as he was displacing his communist NSF colleagues with feudal lords. This ultimately reduced the influence of left-wing students to nothing and made it quite convenient and easier for Islami Jamiat-i-Talba to advance on campuses (IJT) (Paracha, 2022).

4.1.12 The leadership of the Punjab left in Turmoil

It is crucial to discuss what happened with Bhutto's leftist comrades and PPP socialist leaders. Most of the leaders in the PPP did not have a pleasant ending with the party as they reflected and wrote in their autobiographies about the treatment of Bhutto with them. They were strategically and tactically ignored, and this is regarded as one of the key factors that led to the fate that Bhutto and the PPP encountered in later years. They were dragged to the breaking point, and the feudal and Ashrafi, the people PPP was founded against, replaced them. Bhutto disassociated himself from his companion and withheld the tickets from them (Malik, 2021). Although leftists like Sheikh Rashid and Mubashar Hassan dominated the central organizing committee, they couldn’t play a significant role in organizing activities (Lodhi, 1980). Bhutto’s supporters were progressively driven out of the party because they disapproved of changing the party’s philosophy

and were uncomfortable with Bhutto's efforts to have absolute power over the party. The party's ideological and philosophical foundation was destroyed as a result, leaving it to be more vulnerable to conservative politics. The PPP primarily turned off its base of radical supporters (Akhtar, 2017). It ultimately cleared the way for the reactionary forces in the party. Some of the socialists and their relationships with Bhutto and the PPP would be studied to understand how and why they were pushed to the brink to create the spaces for the reactionary forces.

Jalaluddin Rahim popularly known as J.A Rahim who pioneered the idea of a new political party, was a Marxist bureaucrat and approached Bhutto for the formation of a new mass political party (Raza, 1997). Pakistan's political landscape was favorable for an egalitarian party, and Bhutto was persuaded by Rahim to form a party (Badejo, 1988). The populist socialist agenda was the need of an hour for a new party. He served as the first secretary general of the party (Jones, 2003) drafted the 1970s manifesto of the party, and charted out the ideological foundation of the people's party (Wolpert, 1993) He also remained part of Bhutto's cabinet. He was later badly beaten along with his son by the personnel of Federal Security Force (FSF) on his criticism of Bhutto's being late for dinner in Karachi. He was also dismissed from the party by Bhutto (Rashid, 2011). Similarly, Mairaj Muhammad Khan was a great Marxist student leader who faced a miserable end in the party. He was one of the founding fathers of the party and was nominated as a *Jansheen* Bhutto (Javed and Zulfiqar, 2021). He held revolutionary ideologies and opposed contesting elections in the 1970s. He was publicly mocked by Bhutto when he talked about boycotting elections. Bhutto ridiculed him by saying that they had just read two books on Marxism and claimed that they knew everything about Marxism which of course was a stark criticism at Mairaj (Jones, 2003). During the years 1971 and 1974, Khar was at the helm of power and Mairaj's power was cut to size. The right-wing elements of the party led a propaganda campaign against him since he wasn't able to win the support of Hashtnagar Peasant Movement for the PPP. He along with other like-minded people boycotted the All-Pakistan PPP Convention at Rawalpindi on 30th November and 1st December 1972 in Rawalpindi along with other significant leftist groups. This was another blow to the Punjab left. Bhutto denounced all those who didn't attend the conference in conventions (Jones, 2003). While he was in prison, he decided to contest election from the prison, but unfortunately, he did not receive the support of his own party (Javed and Zulfiqar, 2021).

He also had to resign from the ministry and remained on the margins of the party. He later quit the party in November 1973 by dubbing PPP as 'Ayub's Convention League' (Jones, 2003, p.45). He registered his protest against the Landhi area incident (Ali, 2015). He was disgruntled by the incident in Karachi where the killings of the workers took place. He was also a supporter of radical reforms. It's ironic that the news of the arrest of Mairaj Muhammad Khan could have hardly been able to find space on the margins of Musawat newspaper which was a mouthpiece of PPP ("Mairaj Muhammad Khan Girafar", 1974). He held an opinion that socialist rhetoric was just a mask of the PPP's face as a tool to remain in power (Ali, 2008). He was kept in solitary confinement under Bhutto's regime. He got his eyesight impaired during a protest during PPP's rule (Raza, 1997).

Another, one of the PPP's founding members and a renowned Marxist intellectual, Mubashar Hassan also had grave issues with Bhutto. In 1967, he officially entered politics and rose to the position of PPP's secretary general. His house hosted the party's founding meeting. He was a finance minister in Bhutto's government and was elected to the National Assembly in the 1970 elections. Later on, he also held the position of party secretary general. He remained unhappy with the way PPP was led as a party. Later, he made an effort to disassociate himself from the

party and the cabinet. He left the government in 1974. His disillusionment started much earlier, and in November 1972 and again in August 1973, he submitted his resignation (Raza, 1997).

He was disappointed that Bhutto started relying on the secret agencies' information which ultimately weakened the party. Even to analyze the party's performance in the 1976 election, the senior police and intelligence personnel gathered to discuss the party's position in the elections. The intelligence services informed Bhutto that the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) movement was also supported by leftists. Bhutto at times was informed to believe that Sheik Rashid and Dr Mubashar were responsible for the PNA's movement. Later, he made an attempt to resign from the NA, but Bhutto asked him to hold off because it would hurt his and party's position. It was settled that he wouldn't attend the meeting, but he also wouldn't resign either. When the party needed the vote, he hardly ever attended the session (Raza, 1997). He was unhappy with the way the party was being governed and accused Bhutto of putting him in danger (Raza, 1997). He was not even consulted when Bhutto altered the party's constitution in 1976, which left him feeling dejected. He was later informed of the constitutional revisions by Rafi Razi. He maintained it was of course in contrast to the constitution of the party they created in 1967. According to Mubashar, the party's fundamental beliefs and ideology were altered in the new constitution. He even disagreed with the procedure which was adopted to amend the party constitution. In 1976, he made the decision to leave the party once again, but Bhutto again persuaded him not to do that. Additionally, he was not pleased with the ticket distribution in the 1976 election because it was a total reversal of the party's position in 1970 (Raza, 1997). Bhutto thereafter harbored mistrust towards figures like Mubashar Hassan (Hasan, 2000).

Sheik Muhammad Rashid, popularly known as Baba-i-Socialism (father of Socialism), was a towering figure in the PPP and remembered as voice of the working classes and farmers. He had connections with other political activists and asked railway employees and other government departments, such as WAPDA, for extending support to PPP (Lodhi, 1980). In Bhutto's absence, he worked as an acting president of the party. He also served as the party's vice chairman for a very long time. He was a true socialist in the party, but the landed interests constantly prevented him from carrying out his reforms (Azad, 2002).

Later, he served as the head of the Punjab Kisan Committee, which joined the PPP. He participated in the foundation meeting with six delegates and firmly declared that the exploiting classes shouldn't be permitted to seize control of the party leadership. He insisted that the Kisan committee wouldn't join the party until a guarantee of the abolition of feudalism was made (Rashid, 2011). Even while leading the Kisan Committee in Punjab, he never lost track of the needs of the peasants and working classes. He once went to Sindh's peasants to hear their complaints ("Sheikh Rashid Ne Nawabshah", 1974). He was elected president of Punjab and organized the party in each district. He said that he forbade feudal entry into the party during his tenure as Punjab President of the party (Rashid, 2011). Nevertheless, he continued to support Bhutto and the party. He consistently fought for the party's left. In his book, he asserted that it was on his insistence that the party included the idea of ending exploitation through a socialist program (Rashid, 2011).

Despite being the most important person after Bhutto in the party, he consistently had to struggle within the party. He was the party's communist face, and as such, he constantly had to contend obstacles from Ghulam Mustafa Khar. Even though Sheikh was the president of the Punjab legislative board in 1970, Khar was still able to maneuver his choice during the tickets' distribution process. Sheikh had to deal with more difficulties in the party when Khar was appointed as Governor Punjab. Khar established his own party headquarters and Sheikh Rashid's

group contested this act of establishing parallel set up for the party. Sheikh, meanwhile, became a Health Ministry which of course did not match Khar's level of authority. The Rashid's group in Punjab continued to experience marginalization under Khar's leadership. During this time, Sheikh's group was pushed to the brink, it was threatened, harassed, and expelled from the party. Khar could not have done it without the tacit approval of Bhutto since it was a question of pushing the radical groups to the margins of the party. Over time, the provincial organizations simply ignored him in decision making process (Rashid, 2011). When the leftist were denied the entry in the Rawalpindi Convention, he manages to get some space for the leftist in the conventions. He was also unhappy with Bhutto's treatment with the party's lower-level workers since Bhutto treated party worker Amanullah (Who was punished and expelled) differently while ignoring Khar's mistakes (Rashid, 2011).

Mukhtar Rana was one of those who was inspired by Bhutto's opposition to imperialism, and he was among those who persuaded him to find a new political party (Lodhi, 1980). He was a labor leader who was a ZA Bhutto loyalist confidant and never betrayed him. He was deeply concerned about the landlord's entry in the party. Bhutto repeatedly repressed Mukhtar and once forced him to stop his campaign in favor of imprisoned journalists. Later, when pro-PPP labor unions PPP and workers began to take control of under Mukhtar's leadership, Bhutto prevented him from engaging in "adventurism" to control PPP's left wing (Lodhi, 1980, p. 133). He pleaded Bhutto to come out of the influence of the feudal lords and called PPP Central Working Committee "Feudal capitalist committee of a socialist party." (Lodhi, 1980, p 136) Although Bhutto did not openly condemn him, but a hostile press campaign against him was launched by the pro PPP press (Jones, 2003). He emerged as Punjab's most outspoken and radical leftist and labor union leader after PPP rose to power, refusing to bow down to Bhutto (Jones, 2003). He firmly asserted that the party had deviated from its mission, closed its doors to the working classes, and enacted feudal martial law.

In 1972, a military court sentenced him to five years imprisonment under the rules of martial law regulation. In 1977, he was forced to depart for Sweden ("PPP founder member", 2014). In 1970, Mukhtar Rana was the one who led the 1970 election with almost 60,000 margin. On May 19, 1972, he was formally ousted from the PPP (Lodhi, 1980). Some other aides included Bhutto's law minister, Ahmed Raza Qasuri, who developed a rift with Bhutto and departed the government. Later, he was thrown out of the party (Raza, 1997). In the party, he was a very strong and vocal opponent of Bhutto. Due to his disagreements with the chair, he renounced the party and had his assembly membership suspended until the end of the session (Hussain, 2019). A close friend and ally of Bhutto, Rafi Raza, resigned in June 1973. Though he returned in July 1974, he wasn't at ease in his new role. He lost his hopes in 1976 and divorced the party (Raza, 1997). Similarly, due to Kausar Niazai's mistreatment, who was detested by the socialist PPP cadres, Khurshid Hasan Mir a devout socialist who served as a federal minister, was forced to leave the party. The ideological disagreement between Mir Hassan and Maulana Kausar Niazi ultimately resulted in Mir Hassan's resignation as a federal minister in 1974 (Raza, 1997).

Additionally, Kausar Niazi was granted a crucial role in the party. The Left's cadres became enraged over it. Dr. Mubashar asserted that Niazi was unmistakably opposed to the PPP's founding motto, "Socialism is our Economy" (Hasan, 200, p.195).

4.1.13 Elections 1977 and Left

Owing to socialism, the PPP unexpectedly won Punjab and Sindh in the 1970 elections with the slogan of *Roti, Kapra aur Makaan*. It soon started deviating from its founding documents, original constitution, and original political position. The 1976 election may have been the tipping

point of PPP's departure from its core principles. In 1976, Bhutto modified the party's constitution which almost altered the fundamental political tenets of the party. It dialed back its socialist rhetoric over time. The politicians who were uncomfortable with socialism were later accommodated in the party and they of course were against the socialist credential and the ideology of the party. Dr. Mubashar claimed that the intellectual basis of the new constitution was almost changed. The radical wing of the party was pushed to the brink when Bhutto changed the constitution in 1976. To balance and control the landlords, a small number of lefties were also accommodated and tolerated in the party. It was more tactical and strategic (Hasan, 2000).

It was quite apparent how the tickets were awarded in the election of 1976. In contrast to 1970, the *Waderaas*, *Khans*, and landed elites received tickets. In the 1976 election, the PPP's position from the 1970s was completely reversed, and the feudal class that had previously been sidelined was fully reinstated (Raza, 1997). Those who earlier opposed Bhutto were accommodated. Despite the fact that Dr. Mubashar was the party's Secretary General, Bhutto put him in charge of the election campaign in Lahore and forbade him from leaving Lahore though he was the Secretary General of the party. For the election, he extensively relied on bureaucracy (Hasan, 2000). Salahuddin, who was Bhutto's friend, an urban feudal, and fiercely despised by the party workers, was unjustly given a ticket by Bhutto. The method of awarding tickets was nearly entirely reversed from how it was in the 1970s. The people and segments that couldn't find space in the party in 1970s made inroads in the party in 1977, especially in Punjab and Sindh. To pacify landed elites, he hardly used the word "socialism" during the 1977 election campaign. Right-wing idioms were then used to placate or oppose the right-wing religious parties. He seems to have "*milked the communist cow dry*" (Badejo, 1988, p. 248). and didn't want to rely on it anymore. In his book, Kausar Niazi bragged with pride about how he never used the phrase socialism in any of his campaign speeches during election (Niazi, 1988).

5.0 Conclusion

"Socialism is our economy," was the PPP founding slogan and ideology. It was bred out of the peoples' movement against Ayub Khan who claimed to uphold democracy, fair distribution of resources, and human rights. Within days, it helped PPP grow, and within a few weeks, it reached the pinnacle of fame. The left played a crucial role in the formation and organization of the PPP to win over the public, but the leftist leaders, cadres, and workers endured the worst abuse and humiliation in Bhutto's party. Bhutto's two-tier doctrine and desire to strategically exploit the left as a threat to feudalism were the main factors. He employed the "two-tiered" elite-mass tactic and the threat of a "people's struggle" as a negotiating tactic (Jones 2003, p.444). He actually suppressed the radical movements in an effort to move forward with his clientelist political system (Ali, 2015). Landlords used to receive guarantees from Bhutto that their interests would be upheld once he came into power. What a contradiction that in the 1970s, the PPP's mouthpiece Musawat would oppose the strikes of the workers' unions at Kohinoor Mills. By asserting that it was inciting the employees to protest, it maligned Tahreek-i-Istqalaal of Asghar Khan for inciting workers to protest. He once explicitly stated following the delivery of labor policy that Gherao and Jalao's outrageous acts would be seen and "strength of the street will be met by the strength of the State" (Labour Policy Announced", 1972).

The politics of the left were on the verge of extinction during the Bhutto era, which of course was a nightmare for people's polity in Pakistan. They had to face detention, abuse, and

expulsion from the party primarily because of their socialist ideology. The power dynamic had shifted against Bhutto's communist allies, even though many of them stayed with him despite the difficulties and challenges within the party. He began taking people in the party who were blatantly opposed to socialism and were in favor of the status quo. It remained no longer a party of the leftists. As was already mentioned, Bhutto's close companions were forced to leave the party in disgust. Because of Bhutto's reactionary politics, they either voluntarily left the party or were forced to leave.

Bhutto made a significant mistake by abandoning leftist politics and becoming a reactionary political leader who would conveniently accommodate the forces of the status quo. He eventually gave up socialist idioms and turned even more right. Bhutto caused the people's polity a huge loss which ultimately opened the door for reactionary politics in coming years and reduced space for democracy and the people's polity in Pakistan. Although the left was destroyed during the Zia dictatorship, the seeds of the left's destruction were sowed during the Bhutto regime. The study deeply historicizes the deep-rooted questions of left, democracy and people's politics in Pakistan and indeed is a major contribution on the issues related to, left, democracy and people's movement.

Abdul Sattar: Problem Identification and Theoretical Framework, Literature Search, Methodology and Drafting

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