



**Pakistan People's Party:
A Historical Analysis of Ideological Debates within the Party (1967-1977)**

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Abstract:

The debate surrounding the political ideology of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), particularly under the leadership of its founder, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, continues to be a topic of contention. There exist varying perspectives on this matter. One school of thought asserts that Mr. Bhutto was a socialist who earnestly endeavored to implement socialist principles in Pakistan, albeit encountering obstacles that impeded his success. Conversely, another school of thought outright refutes this claim, positing that Bhutto was a populist leader who exploited socialist rhetoric for personal and party gains. In this paper, the foundational documents of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) – namely, the Foundation Documents and its initial election manifesto from 1970 – are examined to gauge the extent to which socialist ideology was embedded in the party records, and to delve into the PPP's stance on socialism. Furthermore, the paper seeks to understand the factors contributing to the PPP's popularity in Sindh as opposed to other leftist parties.

Keywords: Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan People's Party, Islamic socialism, ideology, populist leadership, socialism

INTRODUCTION

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) is recognized as one of the largest and most influential political parties in Pakistan. Since its establishment in 1967, the PPP has garnered significant public support and secured majority votes in West Pakistan during its early years. The party has had periods of governance from 1971-77, 1988-90, 1993-96, and 2008-2013 at the national level, and has maintained power in the province of Sindh since 2008. Like other political parties, the PPP has crafted and amended its manifesto for each election. The party initially endorsed socialist ideology in its foundation documents and election manifesto during the Cold War era. However, before attaining power, the party modified its stance, shifting towards Islamic socialism under the influence of various factors, including pressure from right-wing parties.

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This study delves into the ideological complexities within the PPP during its formative years and aims to explore the extent to which the party adhered to its initial ideological positions during its rise to power from 1967 to 1977. Additionally, it seeks to analyze the perceptions and interpretations of political analysts and intellectuals regarding the party's ideological trajectory during that period.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to grasp the concept of socialism, it's important to look into Karl Marx's theoretical perspective on scientific socialism. Additionally, for an understanding of Islamic Socialism, Harvie M. Conn's research paper titled "Islamic Socialism in Pakistan: An Overview" offers valuable insights. The paper presents three distinct viewpoints on Islamic socialism, beginning with Ubayd Allah Sindhi, and further exploring the ideas of Hifz al-Rahman Sihwarwi and Khalifa 'Abd al-Hakim.

In M. Rafique Afzal's book "Political Parties in Pakistan 1969-1971 (Vol. III)," the foundation documents of the Pakistan People's Party are analyzed, shedding light on the party's ideological underpinnings. The book highlights the party's commitment to socialism as evidenced by the unanimous support of the party leadership. Additionally, Sani Hussain Panhwar's "Manifestos of Pakistan People's Party 1970 & 1977" includes the first election manifesto of the PPP, offering valuable insights into the incorporation of socialism. The alliance between the PPP and left-wing groups such as the National Students Federation and pro-China factions is explored in Zamir Sheikh's "What Went Wrong," featuring interviews with former and current leaders of the Communist Party of Pakistan. Furthermore, Iqbal Leghari's unpublished PhD thesis, "The socialist movement in Pakistan: An historical survey," provides a comprehensive account of communist activism in the country, shedding light on the Communist Party of Pakistan's leaning towards Bhutto and his party.

In his paper titled "How Radical is the Pakistan People's Party?" Khalid Bin Sayeed analyzes the reasons behind the Pakistan People's Party's success in the 1970 election. He describes how right-wing forces attempted to discredit Bhutto and issued fatwas against socialism and Bhutto's political ideology. Sayeed also discusses Bhutto's shift from socialism to Islamic socialism. Additionally, Nafees Siddiqi's book "Bhutto Se Bhutto Tak" and a collection of Bhutto's speeches and statements titled "Marching Towards Democracy" provide detailed accounts of Bhutto's policies and ideological debates within and outside the party. Siddiqi explains Bhutto's concept of socialism and how it differed from the socialism of the former Soviet Union and China. Furthermore, Kamran Asdar Ali and Syed Jamaluddin Naqvi's books, "Karachi mein 1972 ki Mazdoor Jedojihad" (2006) and "Leaving the Left Behind," respectively, offer detailed analyses of the Bhutto regime and the crackdown on laborers in Karachi, shedding light on Bhutto's party's socialist ideals and their impact. Naqvi also discusses how his visit to Russia caused him to distance himself from left-wing ideology.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study examines the ideological concepts of Socialism and Islamic Socialism as manifested by the PPP leadership, particularly its founder Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. These theoretical concepts are analyzed before delving into the PPP's position on them.

Socialism

Karl Marx formulated and advocated for his own iteration of socialism, which he termed "scientific socialism." In a socialist framework, a significant portion of the means of production is owned by society or the government, in contrast to capitalism. Marxian socialism ultimately strives to establish a classless and stateless communist society. This theory rejects the concept of private property ownership, directly contradicting the feudal and capitalist classes. Interestingly, Bhutto himself hailed from the feudal class and owned thousands of acres of land, even as he espoused socialist ideologies. However, this phenomenon is thoroughly examined in the study.

Islamic Socialism

Unlike Karl Marx's Scientific Socialism, Islamic Socialism relies on religious interpretations. In this regard, the appeal of Socialism to Indo-Pakistani Muslims is not a recent development. As far back as the 1920s, three theories of Islamic Socialism have been promoted in the Indian sub-continent. One of the earliest proponents was Ubayd Allah Sindhi. Despite being one of the few political thinkers to directly engage with Russian communism in its early stages, he distanced himself from the atheistic foundation of the system. Instead, he urged Muslims to establish a religious basis to achieve the economic justice that communism aims for but falls short of. While he recognized similarities between Islamic and Communist economic philosophies in their view of wealth distribution as "from each according to his ability," he noted that Islam stresses moving "from each according to his need" rather than "to each according to his work." His vision of Islamic Socialism leans more towards that of a Western welfare state, although he does not dismiss the potential for the gradual evolution of socialism in a democratic society, particularly in the regions now comprising Pakistan. He argued that a theistic form of socialism would offer the peasant and the laborer a much fairer quality of life than a purely materialistic communist state (Conn 1976, 111-2).

A significant influence of Marxism seems to have been on Hifz al-Rahman Sihwarwi (1900–1962), who was an Islamic scholar and served as the fourth secretary general of Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind. Sihwarwi perceives Islam and Marxism as sharing five common elements: (1) the prevention of wealth accumulation in the hands of privileged classes, (2) the organization of the state's economic structure to ensure social welfare, (3) equal opportunities for all individuals, (4) prioritization of collective social interest over individual privilege, and (5) prevention of the establishment of a permanent class structure through social revolution. Many of these themes are derived from the Qur'an, in which Sihwarwi interprets the aim as creating an economic order where the wealthy voluntarily pay excessive taxes to reduce differences in living standards (his theory of zakat). Sihwarwi views privilege as a test prescribed by Allah for the affluent to fulfil their social obligations through self-denial, while under-privilege is seen as a test for the poor to strive, earn, and enhance their social status. Thus, Islamic socialism takes the form of a "pincer movement" involving generous self-denial by the rich and continuous effort and work by the poor to bridge the gap that divides the classes. However, Sihwarwi also recognizes two areas where Islam and communism diverge: Islam allows private ownership within certain limits, and it rejects an entirely classless society. While Islam prohibits wealth accumulation and can control the class structure through equal opportunities, it does not eliminate class distinctions (Conn 1976, 112).

The third major theory of Pakistani socialism emerged after the formation of Pakistan with the work of Khalifa 'Abd al-Hakim (1894-1959). Aziz Ahmad characterized this as a socialist shift "towards left-of-the-Centre liberalism," where Islamic socialism was seen as harnessing the freedom of thought, action, and enterprise characteristic of Western democracies to Sihwarwi's guiding principle of equality of opportunity for all. In this interpretation, Islam is seen as a form of socialism in its own right. Hakim's concept of land as the principal source of economic wealth provided the moral basis for agrarian reforms in Pakistan. He maintained that "the spirit of the Qur'anic teaching is that land is like the other free gifts of God, and the owner of the land is a kind of trustee for the community. If, owing to a particular system of abuse or use, the land is not yielding as much as it should, the state has a right to step in." Similarly, Hakim's views of socialism did not reject private ownership as inimical to traditional Muslim thought. He also saw the obligation to pay zakat as one of the duties of the affluent. According to Hakim, Islam eliminated the possibility of wealth concentrating in progressively fewer hands by promulgating laws of inheritance regarding property together with zakat and the prohibition of usury. In this way, Islam created an elaborate plan of social welfare for the workers and the needy (Conn 1976, 112-3).

Initially, Bhutto did not explicitly advocate for Islamic Socialism in his political platform, as evident in the Foundation Documents and the first election manifesto of the PPP. However, he later revised his stance and replaced the term 'socialism' with 'Islamic Socialism.' He asserted that Jinnah himself was a staunch supporter of the concept of Islamic socialism, although there is limited concrete evidence to support this claim. Nonetheless, exploring the debate on Islamic Socialism initiated by Muslim thinkers can provide insight into Bhutto's perspective on the matter.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research employs a qualitative approach, drawing on both primary and secondary sources. This historiographical study explores the ideological discourse within the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The investigation primarily relies on the party's foundational documents and election manifesto. Additionally, the authors conducted interviews with former leaders of the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) and prominent intellectuals from Sindh to gain insight from opposing viewpoints. Furthermore, secondary sources include interviews with veteran leftist leaders conducted by the late senior journalist Zamir Sheikh.

THE PPP'S MANIFESTO: UNEQUIVOCALLY CHAMPIONS THE CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM

The concept of socialism in the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) manifesto was introduced during the party's founding convention, which took place from November 30 to December 1, 1967, in Lahore. The party's founding was the result of highly motivated discussions during the convention. The party's policies were outlined in its Foundation Documents until its first official manifesto was written in early 1970. This pivotal document adopted the now-famous four principles, affirming that "a) Islam is our faith; b) Democracy is our polity; c) Socialism is our economy; and d) All power to the people." (Afzal, 1998). The PPP manifesto contained several points, but it sparked a major debate when it advocated for socialism, which was not well-received by the state authorities, especially the right-wing political forces in Pakistan at that time. Despite being a matter of party policy, the opposition to socialism at the state level made it unacceptable for mainstream political parties to discuss socialism. Afzal (1998) discusses the socialist stance of the PPP in its Foundation

Documents, stating that "Document 5" aimed to transform Pakistan into 'a socialist society', believing it to be the most effective way to achieve rapid progress (p. 124). The PPP leadership did not simply outline its socialist position in its foundational documents; it also reiterated and expanded upon this stance in the 1970 manifesto. This manifesto echoed the socialist stance of the party and emphasized the need for a shift in the economic system for the country. Bhutto believed that a new constitution would not be effective unless it was accompanied by a significant change in the economic system. Afzal (1998) explains, "According to Bhutto, the PPP did not prioritize the future constitution because he believed that it could not address the people's problems without a radical change in the existing economic system" (p. 126). The first party manifesto clearly outlined the establishment of a "classless society" as one of the party's primary objectives. At the December 1967 Convention in Lahore, the Pakistan People's Party proclaimed the principles upon which it was founded. The ultimate goal of the party's policy was to achieve a classless society, a possibility only through socialism in our time (Panhwar, 2009, 9). While espousing socialism, the party also advocated for a mixed economy by supporting private enterprise alongside nationalization in its 1970 manifesto. Under the 'Industrial Measures' section, the sub-section 'Mixed Economy' explicitly endorsed the coexistence of private and nationalized sectors, acknowledging them as sources of wealth production. The manifesto emphasized that the private sector would provide opportunities for individual initiative, particularly in areas where small enterprises could operate efficiently. Additionally, it pledged to eliminate monopoly conditions, ensuring that private enterprise would operate within the framework of fair competition (Panhwar, 2009, pp. 12-13).

Siddiqi (1991) cites the inaugural party convention in Lahore, during which a resolution was passed unequivocally stating, "This convention believes that the exploitation by the landlord and capitalist classes must come to an end, and it is only possible through bringing socialist principles into practice" (p. 30). However, once the PPP assumed power, the landlord class saw increased influence and secured key positions within the party. Additionally, the party's resolution called for an amendment in the Trade Union Unit to align with the standards of the International Labor Organization (ILO), and emphasized the right to form labor unions, including the right to strike. Nonetheless, upon gaining power, the Bhutto government suppressed trade union movements, a topic that will be further explored in the subsequent paper. While initially presenting itself as a socialist party, the PPP subsequently modified its interpretation of socialism to align with its own agenda. Instead of promoting "socialism," the party leadership began advocating for "Islamic Socialism" or "Massawat-i-Muhammadi" and similar concepts. Consequently, it is imperative to scrutinize Bhutto's departure from socialism towards Massawat-i-Muhammadi (Islamic egalitarianism) and understand the reasons behind this shift. Was it a strategic decision by Bhutto or a response to external pressures that led to the adoption of the Islamic Socialism slogan?

EXPLORING BHUTTO'S VISION OF SOCIALISM

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, while serving as the foreign minister in General Ayub's cabinet, resigned due to differences arising from the Tashkent Declaration and subsequently went on to establish the Pakistan People's Party. As the founder of the party, Bhutto's influence on its foundational documents and the election manifestos of 1970 and 1977 is undeniable. Therefore, analyzing the party's ideology and policies sheds light on Bhutto's personal stance on socialism. While Bhutto initially emphasized democracy and the fundamental rights of the people, his most significant

contribution was his open and explicit advocacy for socialism. This has led to differing interpretations – some argue that he was merely inspired by socialism without putting it into practice. Many leftist political workers believe that Bhutto exploited the socialist slogan and the left-wing movement in Pakistan for his own personal gain rather than genuinely embracing socialism. This intriguing debate will be further explored in this paper. For now, it is important to examine Bhutto's position on socialism.

The initial stance of PPP was explicitly focused on socialism, as outlined in the Foundation Documents and the Election Manifesto of 1970, where references were made to a 'classless society' and a 'socialist economy.' However, once in power, Bhutto showed a leaning towards the feudal lords of Sindh and the upper class of Punjab. According to Nafees Siddiqi, a senior worker of PPP (1991), Bhutto initially considered replacing opportunistic elements in the party with progressive ones, but he felt that this would take too long, and the party didn't have the time. This would have hindered the party's expansion. Therefore, Bhutto decided to operate the party as a multi-class party (pp. 33-34). Siddiqi (1991) further explains that Bhutto applied a progressive and populist strategy inspired by Lenin and Mao Zedong, but he didn't implement it in the same manner as these leaders did. Bhutto believed that the conditions in Pakistan were different from those in Russia and China, and thus felt that it wasn't feasible to pursue socialism in Pakistan in the same way as Lenin and Mao did (pp. 37-38).

On the other hand, some prominent leftists and intellectuals in Sindh hold a contrasting perspective. They do not view Bhutto as a socialist leader, instead, they see him as a populist leader who exploited socialist ideology for his own gain. The current Secretary General of the Communist Party of Pakistan, Imdad Qazi, shares this view. According to Qazi, Bhutto did not leave Ayub's cabinet of his own accord; rather, he had backing from the United States. Qazi states:

Bhutto was not a socialist; he used the socialist slogan for his personal interests. Bhutto began his political career in Ayub's cabinet. At that time, the major political forces in Pakistan were Jamaat-i-Islami and the Communist Party of Pakistan. Bhutto was pro-America and was brought in by America to counter Ayub Khan. This was because Ayub Khan had secretly sent one of his cabinet members to the Soviet Union in an attempt to seek help in ending the Pak-India war and achieving a ceasefire. This was unacceptable to America, so they brought in Bhutto against Ayub (Imdad Qazi, personal communication, Jan. 28, 2016).

As per the analysis of Pakistan's political history, it can be argued that Bhutto was a shrewd politician adept at garnering popular support. Given the prevailing circumstances of the time, he strategically adopted a socialist stance to appeal to the masses and also capitalized on the existing influence of leftist parties. Notably, prominent communist leader Jam Saqi (1944 –2018) remarked that the PPP's adoption of socialist rhetoric was crucial for its survival, distinguishing it from the Muslim League. This move was pivotal in sustaining the PPP's distinct identity and relevance (Jam Saqi, personal communication, Jan. 30, 2016).

Despite not fulfilling all his promises to the people of Pakistan, Bhutto implemented certain measures, such as nationalizing industries and introducing land reforms. His college years suggest an admiration for the ideals of Napoleon and Marx. Noted intellectual Jami Chandio mentioned in an interview that Bhutto's biographers indicated his interest in socialism during his time at Berkeley.

Although he took a shortcut to enter politics by joining the cabinets of Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan, he attempted to incorporate socialism into the democratic framework of the country. Despite Pakistan being an Islamic Republic, Bhutto made efforts to accommodate socialist principles, such as nationalizing industries and initiating land reforms, while also trying to address the concerns of religious factions in the country (Jami Chandio, personal communication, Feb. 5, 2016).

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a seasoned politician with a keen understanding of the country's political landscape. Analysis of his speeches and statements shows that Bhutto employed different strategies in various provinces to garner support. While his party didn't gain much traction in Baluchistan and the NWFP (now KPK) during the 1970 elections, Bhutto found success in attracting support from the people of Punjab and Sindh. In Punjab, he leveraged anti-India, pro-military, and pro-China policies, recognizing their suitability in the region. In contrast, in Sindh, he aligned with waderas (feudal lords) and pirs (religious leaders), and also created employment opportunities, which had not been available to the people before Bhutto's tenure. These tactics enabled him to secure support from both provinces. Despite openly advocating for the abolition of feudalism during the formation of the PPP, Bhutto, during the 1970 election campaign, was aided by Makhdoom Zaman, the Pir of Hala, in forming an alliance with the waderas and pirs of Sindh. This collaboration was crucial for PPP to secure victory in Sindh (Sayeed 1975, 45).

Similarly, Bhutto employed tactics to garner support from leading political factions. While he verbally embraced socialist ideology, his policies faced opposition from religious groups, prompting him to rebrand it as 'Islamic Socialism' or 'Massawat-i-Muhammadi'. This approach not only countered religious parties' criticisms of his socialist stance but also resonated with the predominantly Muslim population, garnering him widespread support.

Socialism Vs. Islamic Socialism: Bhutto's Rationale for Promoting Islamic Socialism

When examining the Pakistan People's Party manifesto of 1970, it is evident that only the term 'Socialism' is mentioned. However, when the PPP's concept of socialism was strongly criticized by religious parties in Pakistan, particularly during the 1977 election campaign when the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), consisting of nine right-wing parties, was formed against the PPP, the alliance campaigned against socialism across the country. Consequently, Bhutto replaced the term 'Socialism' with 'Massawat-i-Muhammadi'.

Sayeed (1975) discusses Bhutto's socialist beliefs, noting that Bhutto positioned himself as a Socialist while recognizing that his opponents could criticize socialism as being foreign and not Islamic. In response, Bhutto emphasized that the socialism he advocated for was Islamic Socialism, equivalent to Masawat-i-Muhammadi. Bhutto encountered vigorous ideological opposition from religious groups, with over a hundred *ulemas* issuing a fatwa declaring socialism as 'kufr' (infidel). Bhutto responded by expressing respect for the *ulema* but criticized those who issued fatwas for financial gain, asserting that Islam was not under threat. Instead, he argued that it was the capitalists, landlords, and their allies who were endangered and pledged to transform the existing social order. Bhutto equated Islamic *masawat* (equality) with socialism in English, emphasizing that Islamic *masawat*, or Islamic socialism, aimed to alleviate the suffering of the poor (Sayeed, 1975, 53).

While his socialist stance faced criticism from the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) during the 1977 election campaign, the criticism of socialism as anti-Islam dates back to 1970. In February 1970, one hundred and thirteen Pakistani *ulemas* and forty-three *ulemas* of Saudi Arabia issued fatwas against socialism (Afzal 1998, 127). In response to these fatwas, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto began using terms like 'Islamic Socialism' and 'Massawat-i-Muhammandi.' Despite opposition from Pakistani and Saudi *ulemas*, Bhutto defended his socialist stance in a speech delivered at a public meeting in Gujrat on March 1, 1970. In his address, he expressed, "Those who do not consider the followers of socialism in our nation as Muslims are detrimental to the cause of Islam. These individuals are a small minority, serving the interests of imperialism. Some of them even labeled Quaid-i-Azam as a 'kafir'. I do not generalize my stance against all of them, as some are my allies who support our endeavors. My concern is with the select few who are aligned with capitalist agendas. They have issued fatwas against leaders such as King Amanullah Khan of Afghanistan, Ataturk of Turkey, Nasser of Egypt, Soekarno of Indonesia, and most significantly, against Quaid-i-Azam and Quaid-i-Millat. Their intent has never been about serving Pakistan; instead, their actions aim to weaken our nation. Fortunately, the people of Pakistan have now recognized this, and their schemes are destined to fail" (Bhutto, Jalal, & Hassan, 1969, 30).

He reiterated:

The crucial question is: What is socialism? My dear friends, it is nothing but Islamic equality. I am not the first to espouse the principles of Islamic Socialism. Quaid-i-Azam was the pioneer in using this term, and let's not forget that he was the founding father of this nation. My dear brothers and friends, it was the Quaid-i-Azam who proclaimed in his speeches that Islamic Socialism would be implemented in Pakistan. He made this declaration in Chittagong (Bhutto, Jalal, & Hassan, 1969, 30).

It is evident from this entire discourse that Bhutto employed terms like 'Islamic Socialism' and 'Massawat-i-Muhammandi' in response to severe criticism from *ulemas* and religious parties. It must be noted that the majority of Pakistan's population was Muslim and religious sentiments held significant influence in the country. Communism and Socialism were denounced as anti-Islamic and anti-Pakistani ideologies right after the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case, making it challenging to openly promote communist ideology. Nevertheless, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto endeavored to carve out space for socialism in political discourse, if not practically.

Bhutto's socialist policies, as outlined in his speeches, greatly resonated with the people of Pakistan. They were inherently anti-capitalist and anti-feudal, making them extremely appealing to the masses. The addition of "Islamic" to the term "Socialism" further bolstered the PPP's support among the people. Sayeed eloquently examines the PPP's socialist stance and Bhutto's charismatic leadership during the 1970 election campaign, suggesting that the leadership of Bhutto was a crucial variable in the party's electoral success (1975, 44-45). However, over time, Bhutto's stance towards the left-leaning factions of Pakistan and socialist ideology evolved negatively. The disillusionment was particularly significant among the leftists who had initially been inspired by Bhutto and placed their trust in him. When Bhutto came into power and pursued anti-socialist policies, many leftists either left the PPP on their own accord or were expelled from the party. Bhutto's actions led to a sense of betrayal among prominent leftists and left-leaning parties. This raises the question of why the left was initially drawn to Bhutto and the PPP.

The Left's Support for PPP

Left-leaning political parties in Pakistan, particularly the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), were heavily persecuted in the years following the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case and the electoral success of the United Front in East Pakistan in 1954. This repression led the CPP and other left-wing parties in Sindh and other provinces to operate underground. However, a "New Left" emerged after the 1965 war and became actively involved in the anti-Ayub movement. This new left aligned itself with the National Student Federation (NSF) and eventually joined the PPP. The PPP had originally adopted a left-leaning orientation at its first convention in Lahore, but the addition of the new left solidified its left character. The NSF played a significant role in welcoming Zulfikar Ali Bhutto after his resignation from the Ayub cabinet and even gave him the title of 'Quaid-i-Awam' (the people's leader). Initially considered a student front of the PPP, differences eventually emerged between the NSF and the PPP.

The primary reason for the discord between the PPP and NSF (Mairaj) stemmed from the military oppression against the people of East Pakistan. Bhutto openly endorsed the military action in East Pakistan, while NSF vehemently opposed it. This not only created a rift between PPP and NSF but also led to a split between NSF (Tufail Abbas) and NSF (Mairaj). The group led by Tufail Abbas also supported military action against East Pakistan while Mairaj group bitterly opposed it (Leghari, 1979). To understand the leftist leanings towards PPP, the most insightful sources are the interviews of leftist leaders and workers who either joined PPP or were inspired by Bhutto and his party. In an interview with Zamir Sheikh, Tufail Abbas explained, "Z.A. Bhutto met us at a time when the people had risen in rebellion against the 11-year dictatorship of General Ayub Khan. Students, laborers, peasants, and even common people stood up against the dictator. We felt it was the opportune moment to challenge the dictator, and thus, we offered our unwavering support to Bhutto" (Sheikh, 2014, 40-41). According to Tufail Abbas, their support for Bhutto was a necessity to counter the conservative forces aligned with the dictator. However, in contrast, an interview with one of Tufail Abbas' party members in 1975, conducted by Iqbal Leghari, revealed that Tufail Abbas had proposed that Bhutto hire full-time PPP members and pay them generously in order to build the party. These funds were intended to be utilized for party-building purposes. Additionally, Rasheed Hassan Khan, the former president of NSF, expressed how they felt deceived and used by Bhutto for his personal gain. He claimed that Bhutto initially aligned himself with leftist ideologies and exploited the leftist and progressive movements in order to gain power.

As Bhutto parted ways with Ayub Khan, it was a pivotal time when students, laborers, and peasants took to the streets in opposition to Ayub Khan's regime. This period held significant importance for Bhutto, as he endeavored to leverage the movement to his advantage. Sohail Sangi, a former leader of CPP, in an interview shed light on the contemporary conditions in Sindh during that period and Bhutto's efforts to appeal to or capitalize on the Left. Sangi remarked, "When the One-Unit movement commenced, two significant developments unfolded in Sindh: the emergence of Sindhi nationalism and the expansion of the Left and intellectual class" (Sohail Sangi, personal communication, Jan. 31, 2016). When Bhutto embraced socialist ideology, he steered the movement in a different direction. It seems that the CPP was misguided. Instead of directly advocating for socialism, it attempted to align itself with nationalist sentiments. Consequently, Bhutto gained influence over the intellectual ranks of the CPP. The pro-China faction of the leftist movement,

whether overtly or covertly, ended up joining the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Similarly, Mairaj Muhammad Khan and the Sheikh Rasheed of Punjab were of the opinion that since the PPP was a popular party, the left could promote its ideology through the PPP platform. The left's inclination towards the PPP provided Bhutto with the support of the leftists (Sohail Sangi, personal communication, Jan. 31, 2016).

Despite Bhutto's upper-class and feudal background, he took measures to attract the support of the leftist population in Pakistan. He understood the importance of gaining the support of the left in order to garner widespread public support. Bhutto openly advocated for socialism, a stance that resonated with the leftist community who were previously unable to express their ideology publicly. However, despite Bhutto's pro-socialism stance, the left in Pakistan, including those in Sindh, did not immediately trust him.

Naqvi and Ishtiaq (2014) discusses Bhutto's strategy to win over the left. He states, that less than a week after the humiliating surrender in December 1971, Bhutto took office and promptly lifted the ban on National Awami Party (NAP) that had been imposed by his predecessor, General Yahya Khan (Naqvi & Ishtiaq 2014, 70). Naqvi and Ishtiaq further noted that soon after, he appointed Akbar Khan, the principal defendant in the 1951 Conspiracy Case, as the head of national security. Furthermore, Faiz Saheb was named to the National Council for Arts. These actions were seen as favorable towards the Pakistan's leftists (2014, 70). The leftist community initially welcomed Bhutto's efforts, such as advocating socialism, nationalization, and establishing NAP governments in Baluchistan and NWFP. However, there was a collective apprehension among leftists in the country that Bhutto could not be easily trusted. Despite this, the leftists were under pressure from the Soviet Union to support Bhutto (Naqvi & Ishtiaq, 2014, 70).

Eventually, Bhutto gained the support of the left within a short period. It was unfortunate that after coming to power, Bhutto shifted his stance towards the left and failed to fulfill the promises he had made to the people of Pakistan, particularly to the Pakistani left. Although he implemented certain measures such as nationalization and land reforms, he also suppressed the labor movement that began in Karachi in 1972. Additionally, he toppled the NAP-Baluchistan government and initiated a crackdown against the left, particularly targeting the NAP. Naqvi and Ishtiaq wrote in this regard, "As the crackdown continued, I once again found myself behind the bars for having allegedly stolen a buffalo. Of all the things, a buffalo!" (2014, 73). These actions, among others, implemented by Bhutto, led to the realization that the people were being exploited by Bhutto.

Crackdown on Karachi Site and Landhi Labor Movement by the State Authorities

The repression of the labor movement in Karachi's SITE and Landhi areas led to a loss of trust in Bhutto among certain factions of the left. While Sindh had traditionally been reliant on agriculture, the establishment of industries in Karachi due to mass migration from India and other regions made the emergence of trade unions in the city unavoidable.

After the partition, British authorities gave Pakistan only nine percent of the industries while the remaining were placed under the control of India. However, from 1947 to 1955, 744 new factories and mills were established in Karachi, constituting half of all the industries in Pakistan (Ali, 2006, 8). Consequently, Karachi emerged as not only an industrial center of Sindh but also of Pakistan.

Z.A. Bhutto, who advocated left-oriented policies, raised high expectations among the people of Pakistan, especially the left, during his election campaign in 1970. He pledged to bring reforms for the improvement of peasants and laborers across the country, vowing to reinstate laborers who had been expelled by factory owners (Ali, 2006, 16). Leghari (1979) quotes Professor Khalid Mahmud, who outlined the laborers' relations with PPP in three phases. According to Professor Khalid Mahmud, during the initial phase, the PPP made many concessions for laborers, facilitating the formation of trade unions among other actions. As a result of these measures, laborers felt empowered under the Bhutto government. Subsequently, the workers began making greater demands and pressuring mill owners to meet their requirements. Mahmud highlighted three important points about the behavior of laborers: "Workers were very militant; Owners were afraid and uncertain about the extent of support they would receive from the Bhutto regime, so they did not resist. The PPP government had not yet stabilized, and it left the workers to fend for themselves" (Leghari 1979, 180-81).

Bhutto had promised the laborers that he would reinstate those who had been dismissed prior to his government, but until mid-1972, he had not done so. As a result, the laborers took to the streets, demanding the reinstatement of those who had been deprived of employment. Small-scale protests had been ongoing since early 1972, but the situation escalated on June 7, 1972, when the administration of Feroz Sultan Textile Mill refused to pay the remaining salaries from the previous month to the laborers and also refused to provide worker funds. In response, the laborers resisted, leading to the arrest of fourteen workers by the police (Ali 2006, 19-20). Following this arrest, more than five thousand workers gathered outside the mill, demanding the release of the arrested workers, as well as the acceptance of their demands by the mill administration. In response to the protest, the police opened fire on the workers, resulting in the deaths of three workers (Ali 2006, 20).

On the following day, as workers were transporting a deceased person near Mazddor Basti (labor colony) at Banaras Chowk, they were halted by the police. The workers protested and chanted slogans. The police opened fire once again, resulting in the deaths of ten more individuals and leaving several others wounded. Rasheed Hassan Khan, former president of NSF, commented, that Bhutto revealed his true intentions when, within a short span of six months, the police fired upon laborers who had initiated a movement to advocate for their rights in Karachi SITE and Landhi. Although the mill owners were willing to meet the workers' demands, Bhutto issued severe warnings, seeking to quash the trade union movement and progressive forces (Sheikh 2014, 78). Similarly, Mairaj Muhammad Khan, a prominent leftist and former NSF president who served as a federal minister at the time of the incident, also accused the Bhutto government of suppressing the labor movement. In an interview with Zamir Sheikh, Mairaj revealed, "When I learned about the impending events, I resigned on October 10, 1972. The labor firing incidents occurred on October 17 and 18, and my resignation was accepted by Bhutto on October 22" (Sheikh 2014, 96). It is evident from Mairaj Muhammad Khan's statement that there was a premeditated plan to quash the movement through aggressive means.

CONCLUSION

The stance of PPP on the question of socialism was somewhat ambiguous. Although the initial documents adopted a socialist line, the 1970 manifesto mentioned both a 'classless society' and

advocated a 'mixed economy.' It could be argued that Bhutto was influenced by socialism as a theory, but he did not fully embrace it in practice, as reflected in his government policies. Despite this, he managed to garner support from leftist elements in Pakistan due to the rise of socialism worldwide. In comparison, the left in Sindh struggled to gain popularity. They lacked the support of feudal and religious leaders and were marginalized, facing state oppression and operating underground. Additionally, internal conflicts within the left, such as the Pro-China versus pro-Moscow factions and the Sindhi versus Urdu-speaking left, as well as state propaganda against the left, hindered their ability to become a mainstream political force in Sindh.

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