

THE INTERMINGLING OF ETHNONATIONALIST AND LEFTIST POLITICS: THE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE ONE UNIT SCHEME IN SINDH

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Abstract

This paper argues that ethnonational politics became the major obstruction for the class struggle of left-wing parties against the One-Unit scheme, from 1955 to 1958. The overwhelming emphasis on the One-Unit scheme pushed the left-wing parties away from the Marxist agenda. And because of this focus on ethno-national issue, the leftist parties failed to mobilize masses against the oppressive system. The left did not come up with the independent class struggle and remain attached with regional politics. Leftists' alliance with the National Awami Party (NAP) was a political mistake because the NAP was relatively large political party with influential leaders. NAP overshadowed the leftist parties and used smaller parties for its own political goals. Eventually, the left became the instrument of NAP. This study explains ethnonational politics as one of the causes for the failure of leftist struggle in Sindh.

Keywords: Ethno- nationalism; failure; leftist; Sindh; One-Unit; NAP

Introduction

The people of Sindh have been mobilized on various national and ethnonational issues such as Hur Movement, the anti-One-Unit struggle, the March 4, 1967 Movement, and the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy(MRD). The unification of provinces of West Pakistan i.e. Punjab, Sindh, North West Frontier Province, (NWFP) (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)¹ and Balochistan is known as the One-Unit scheme². Several authors have variously used the term 'One Unit' such as 'One-Unit Act, One-Unit Scheme, One-Unit Bill, and One-Unit Plan. Pakistan came into being with the merger of five units notably Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, East Bengal, and Punjab; these units joined Pakistan as per Pakistan Resolution, which was passed on 23 March 1940, by the All India Muslim League. At this juncture, all provinces held their own cultural, linguistic, geographical, and historical identities. In this regard, the two-way relationship of people emerged; on one hand, they were being identified as Pakistanis and on the other hand, they were connected to the land, culture, language, and ethnicity of their respective provinces³.

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¹ For historical accuracy, the present article refers to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province with its previous name, North Western Frontier Province. The name was changed by way of popular demand of the Pashtuns after the passage of the 18th Amendment to the Pakistan Constitution.

² Amir Ali Chandio, *Politics Of Sindh Under Zia Government An Analysis Of Nationalists Vs Federalists Orientations*. (Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, 2009),24

³ Nested and complementary identities are recognized as important constitutive aspects in the constructivist literature on ethnicity, nations, and nationalism. Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without groups* (Cambridge:

Before the partition, Sindh enjoyed the status of a sovereign province under the Indian Act 1935⁴. Several authors have written and expressed their concerns regarding the One-Unit scheme. For example, according to Adeel Khan' *One of the most damning acts of the Pakistan government to undermine the regional identities of various ethnic groups was the imposition of One Unit scheme on the four provinces of West Pakistan*⁵. Generally, the imposition of the One-Unit scheme was condemned and challenged by the people of Pakistan. The various factions of the society, particularly from small provinces i.e. (Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, and East Bengal). Some factions from Punjab including, intellectuals, nationalists, leftists, and rightists showed serious reservations over this issue. They all considered that the One-Unit scheme would displace the ethnic and traditional identities of the provinces. Kamran Asdar Ali argues likewise that '*it was done at the cost of denying ethnic and linguistic rights of West Pakistanis,*'⁶ i.e. (Sindhis, Pakhtuns, and Baloch). It was alleged that with the imposition of the One-Unit scheme the smaller provinces would become the colony of Punjab. The nationalist leader of Sindh, G.M. Syed reiterated that the One-Unit scheme is against the Lahore Resolution of 1940, wherein the independent status of all units was recognized.⁷

According to Syed, the One-Unit scheme was the denial of the Pakistan Resolution, which guaranteed the rights of all provinces. The nationalists and leftists resisted and displayed their intensive grievances over the One-Unit scheme. They argued that One-Unit was a political and bureaucratic strategy cooked up by Punjabi elites, which is based on the refutation of ethnic identities embedded in historical, cultural, geographical, and linguistic identities of provinces. Sindh played an important role against the One-Unit scheme in West Pakistan. The people of Sindh believed that Sindh would be deprived of its land, resources, and jobs, as result; Anti One Unit Front was formed in Sindh. The left parties, mainly Sindh Hari Committee (SHC),⁸ and *Communist Party of Pakistan CPP*⁹ actively participated in the Anti-One-Unit struggle. Being a member of the Anti-One-Unit Front, Hari Committee agreed '*To maintain Pakistan as a democratic federal state. To secure the repeal of the One-Unit Act. To reconstitute the provinces of West Pakistan on a linguistic and cultural basis and to restore the provincial autonomy.*'¹⁰

The preceding decisions were approved in a meeting of the consultative committee of Anti-One-Unit Front, chaired by Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Karachi on October 8, 1955. As

Harvard University Press, 2004); Kanchan Chandra, *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁴ Aijaz Ahmed Qureshi, *One Unit and Sindh (in Sindhi)* (2nd ed.) (Karachi-Sindh: Peacock Publishers, 2018). Pp.25-31

⁵ Adeel Khan, *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*, Sage Publications, 2005)73

⁶ Kamran Asdar Ali, *Sirrh Salam Communism in Pakistan: Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972* (Oxford University Press –Pakistan -2015),155

⁷ Ghulam Murtaza Syed, *The Case of Sindh*:(Sindh Academy Karachi, 1993).66

⁸ G.M Syed, Abdul Qadar, Jamshed Mehta, Abdul Majeed Sindhi, and Jethmal Parasam formed the Sindh Hari Committee in 1930. The Committee aimed to improve the conditions of the peasant class of Sindh. The "land to the tiller and total abolition of feudalism" was the primary slogan of Committee.

⁹ Marxist intellectual and literary critics Sajjad Zaheer formed the Communist Party of Pakistan in 1948. Zaheer followed the instructions of the Communist Party of India (CPI) to organize the party, and to develop working relations with activists, students, and workers of Pakistan.

¹⁰ Tanvir Ahmad Tahir, *Political Dynamics of Sindh, 1947-1977*: (Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2010), 376

a result, Hari Committee undermined the class issues in the allied politics of the Anti-One Unit Front. Similarly, the main objectives of the Communist Party were ignored while working with the National Awami Party (NAP). Henceforth, alliance with NAP did not prove efficacious for the communist philosophy of the leftists; and it only ensued in Anti-One-Unit struggle and restoration of provincial autonomy of regional nationalities¹¹. The Communist Party had been working without a party center and political base for a long time. The left forces had a weaker stake in the partnership with the NAP by following the line of regional feudal¹². It was tough for leftist movements to meet their ideals because national politics was a big challenge for the Communist Movement¹³.

The history of the leftist movement in Sindh has always faced local and regional issues, where the sentiments of the national and ethnonational politics superseded leftist politics. The people of Sindh showed great concern for their national, cultural, and regional peculiarities rather than leftist programs. This could be a reason that people of Sindh resisted more strongly on national and ethnonational issues, which are connected to their ethnic identities, cultural historicity, and linguistic bonds. Several leaders of the Communist Party expressed an aversion to the overall ethnonational politics of NAP. They could see also their ideals of class struggle had been dissipated and the movement had to rely on non-communist leaders¹⁴. The leading actors of the NAP were non-communists as they belonged either to the feudal class or to nationalists. I would utilize the terms nationalism and ethnonationalism interchangeably because it is hard to draw a line between ethnonationalism and nationalism in the context of leftist struggle. Among several, the One-Unit scheme was the primary issue of the ethnonational politics of Sindh. The struggle against One-Unit continued from 1955 to 1970, while I have only focused on the One-Unit from 1955 up to the imposition of the first Martial Law in Pakistan in 1958.

The paper understudy has been divided into three sections. In the first section, the formation and causes of the One-Unit Scheme, from 1955 to 1958, will be focused. The second section will explain that how the ethnonational politics of the One-Unit scheme absorbed the Marxist objectives of the left-wing parties? The third and final section concludes that the emphasis on the ethnonational politics of the One-Unit scheme became one of the causes of the failure of left-wing parties in Sindh.

Literature Review

Several authors and scholars have written on leftist politics of Pakistan. The literature on left politics is available including, books, research papers, thesis, interviews, and newspaper columns, etc. We may find relatively more literature on left in Sindhi, Urdu, and English languages. There is also little have written from the academic point of view. The published academic works mostly have focused on the politics and struggle of Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) rather than regional left. Some scholars who

¹¹ Iqbal Ahmed Leghari(1979). *History of the Communist Movement in Pakistan*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1979), 89

¹² *Ibid.*, 90

¹³ *Ibid.*, 91-92

¹⁴ Marcus F. Franda, *Communism and regional politics in East Pakistan. Asian Survey, 1970, 10(7), 588-606*

contributed to the left politics of Sindh are, Dr.Feroze Ahmed, *Articles of Dr.Feroze Ahmed*, 2009¹⁵. Kamran Asdar Ali, *Surkh Salam Communism in Pakistan: Politics and Class Activism 1947-1972*, 2015¹⁶. Tariq Ali, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's power*, 1970¹⁷Ghulam Hussain and Anwaar Mohyuddin, *Historical Sketch of Peasants' Activism: Tracing Emancipatory Political Strategies of Peasants' Activism in Sindh*, 2014¹⁸. Babar Ali, *One Year of Left Unity in Pakistan*, 1987.¹⁹ Hyder Bux Jatoi, *Peasant Revolution*, 2012²⁰ Rasool Bux Palijo, *Syasi Adab, (political literature)*, 2006-7²¹. Tanvir Ahmad Tahir, *Political Dynamics of Sindh: 1947-1977*, 2010.²²

The aforementioned authors have addressed the leftist struggle including, the *Communist Party of Pakistan*, the *Sindh Hari Committee*, and *Awami Tehreek Sindh*. The main argument of this paper is to discuss the failure of the leftist struggle because of the ethnonational politics of the One Unit scheme. This paper is one of the attempts to highlight the missing segments of the left-politics of Sindh.

Research Hypothesis

The ethnonational politics of One-Unit scheme caused the failure of the leftist struggle in Sindh.

Research Objectives

The research will attempt to discuss the ethno-national politics of the One-Unit scheme.

The overwhelming emphasis upon ethnonational politics pushed away left-wing parties from Marxist ideology.

Research Methodology

The present work is qualitatively based on the analysis of both primary and secondary sources and inductive in nature. Primary sources comprise data on the One-Unit collected via newspapers and the literature available in the Sindhi and English language. Inductive enquiry entails that the author studied the case study via both primary and secondary sources before elaborating a theoretical framework consistent with the article's major explanation and focus of inquiry.

¹⁵ Ahmed, Dr. Jaffar Ahmed, *Articles by Dr.Feroze Ahmed*, (University of Karachi, Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, 2009)

¹⁶ Kamran Asdar Ali, *Op.Cit*, 2015

¹⁷ Tariq Ali, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970)

¹⁸ Ghulam Hussain and Mohyuddin, *A Historical Sketch of Peasant Activism: Tracing Emancipatory Political Strategies of Peasants Activism of Sindh*. 3, No.5 (2014): 23-42.

¹⁹ Babar Ali, *One Year of Left Unity in Pakistan .Economic and Political Weekly*, (1987),1235-1236

²⁰ Hyder Bux Jatoi, *Peasants' Revolution(in Sindhi)*, (Hyderabad: Sindh Hari Committee-2012)

²¹ Rasool Bux Palijo, *Syasi Adab,(Political Literature, Vol.1 & 2)*, (Hyderabad, Centre for Peace and Civil Society, CPCS, 2006,7)

²² Tanvir Ahmed Tahir, *Political Dynamics of Sindh: 1947-1977*,(University of Karachi, Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, 2010)

One Unit Scheme

Pakistan came into being with the merger of Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan, North West Frontier Province, and East Bengal in 1947. The country was divided into compartments of West and East Pakistan in 1955 with the imposition of the One-Unit scheme. Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan, and NWFP were included in the West of Pakistan, whereas Bengal was included in the East of Pakistan. It is noteworthy that the population of East Pakistan i.e. (Bengalis) was more than the total population of West Pakistan²³. The provincial elections in East Bengal were held on 12 March 1954, in these elections United Front (UF) bagged victory; which was formed because of the merger of four parties notably Awami League, Krishak Sramik Party, Nizam-e-Islam, and Ganatantri Dal. The United Front won 223 seats out of 309 by defeating the Muslim League leader Noor-ul-Amin who could obtain 10 seats²⁴. The defeat of the Muslim League in the provincial elections of East Pakistan alarmed the leadership of the Muslim league in West Pakistan. The ruling elite of Punjab became apprehensive of the explicit victory of the United Front and Bengali majority in the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. To counter-balance, the Bengali majority, the Punjabi ruling elite led by Chaudary Muhammad Ali proposed the One-Unit scheme in the First Constituent Assembly. Following the suggestion of Muhammad Ali, the federal government held a meeting with central and provincial leaders on 22nd November 1954 in Karachi. Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra addressed the nation over radio, in which he declared that his cabinet has decided to merge all provinces of West Pakistan into One-Unit²⁵.

Following the announcement, Governor-General Malik Ghulam Mohammad dismissed the Constituent Assembly. However, the federal government was required to pass the One-Unit scheme from all provincial assemblies. On the contrary, Chief Minister of Sindh Abdul Sattar Pirzada, and Chief Minister of NWFP Sardar Abdur Rashid opposed the One-Unit scheme; Abdul Sattar Pirzada was dismissed due to dissent on One-Unit in Sindh. Later on, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was nominated as the Chief Minister of Sindh. Khuhro accepted the One-Unit and agreed to convince other members of the Sindh Assembly. As a result, a meeting of the assembly was held in Hyderabad on 11 December 1954 to pass the resolution favoring the One-Unit scheme. Khuhro moved the resolution, which was passed by 98 out of 110 members of the Sindh Assembly. Some prominent politicians including Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgari, Pir Illahi Baksh, and Abdul Hameed Jatoti voted against the resolution. On the other hand, Pir Abdul Sattar, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, and Ghulam Murtaza (G.M) Syed remained absent²⁶. G.M Syed was the leader of the *Sindh Awami Mahaz* party, who demanded a national referendum over the unification of Pakistan via the One Unit scheme. Soon his demand was declined because the government did not take it seriously and alleged that it is needless to take a vote of the nation on this issue. Subsequently, the government declared the One-Unit scheme, thus East and West Pakistan were instituted on 14th October 1955. Wherefore, the people of Sindh came

²³ Mauldin WP, *Population and Population Policy in Pakistan. Marriage and Family Living*, 1963, 25(1), 62-68

²⁴ Ghulam Mustafa, Alliance Politics in Pakistan: A Study of the United Front, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2010, 31(1), 103-129

²⁵ Syed Minhaj ul Hassan, Asma Gul, One Unit Scheme: the Role of Opposition focusing on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 2018, 55(2).

²⁶ Tahir, *Op.Cit.*, 2010, 352

against the imposition of the One-Unit scheme along with smaller provinces of West Pakistan. The opposition to the One-Unit scheme was mounting day by day from all corners of the province including members of the Sindh Legislative Assembly, notably Qazi Fazlullah who declared that One-Unit as neither in the interest of smaller provinces nor Pakistan. Both nationalist and leftist parties including, *Sindh Awami Mahaz* and *Sindh Hari Committee* led from the front in opposition to the One-Unit scheme. All parties' convention was held in Nawabshah on 22 August 1954 to expand mass voices. Several students, workers, and members of the Sindh Hari Committee attended the convention. Successively, a protest was staged on the joint appeal of *Sindh Hari Committee* and *Sindh Awami Mahaz* under the call of 'Sindh Day' on 22 November 1954.²⁷

The political momentum gradually intensified across the province and several protests were staged by nationalists and political workers in the villages and cities of Sindh. As a result, Anti One Unit Front was formed on 30 October 1955 by prominent leaders of the nationalist and leftist parties of Sindh and mainly steered by G.M Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Hyder Bux Jatoi, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Qazi Faiz Mohammad, and Ghulam Mustafa Burghri. The members of the Anti-One-Unit Front had unanimously decided that the protest and agitation would not be limited merely to Sindh province, but this front would approach the nationalists, regionalists, and left parties of the rest of the provinces of Pakistan. Thus, demonstrations and processions were staged and masses were mobilized throughout the provinces. On the other hand, the government used the state apparatus to counter the mass processions and arrested several agitators including, G.M. Syed, Sobho Gianchandani, Hyder Bux Jatoi, and Ghulam Mohammed Leghari.²⁸ When the situation started to deteriorate all over the country, Main Iftikhar-Uddin, the founder of the Azad Pakistan Party (APP) in Punjab took over the task and brought all protesters together. As a result, Pakistan National Party (PNP) was formed in 1956 in alliance with the Anti-One-Unit Front and merging with six minor parties (i.e. Sindh Awami Mahaz, Sindh Hari Committee, Ustaman Gal of Kalat, The Wrore Pakhtun, The Khudai Khidmatgar and Azad Pakistan Party of West Pakistan).²⁹ In East Pakistan, Abdul Hamid Khan Bashani left the *Awami League* due to disagreement with Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy, who was the prime minister of Pakistan. He supported the *Communist Party of East Pakistan* (CPEP). The joint ventures of Bashani with PNP finally led to the formation of the National Awami Party (NAP) in 1957. Afterward, the One-Unit issue was addressed as an ethnonational issue through the NAP.

The Politics of One-Unit Scheme Averted Leftist Struggle

The political turbulence got momentum against the One-Unit scheme all over country, particularly in Sindh. The Anti-One-Unit Front was the first alliance wherein *Hari Committee* did not include the demands of peasants. By implication, the Committee turned away from class issues to national issues.³⁰ Similarly, Tariq Ali reflected, '*The One-Unit*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 327-34, 348

²⁸ Flashback: *One Unit: a dark chapter in our history*, *Daily Dawn*, 16, 10, 2011 (<https://www.dawn.com/news/666670> accessed on 10, 08, 2019).

²⁹ Abdul Qadir Mushtaq, *Political Alliances and Movements in Pakistan*, (Misal Publishers, Faisalabad 2015), 216

³⁰ Tahir, *Op.Cit.*, 2010, 364-377

*changed the political dimension of Sindh Hari Committee and it departed from class issues to national issues. And this became Sindh Hari Committee's exodus from its main cause.*³¹ The ethnonational politics of the *Hari Committee* departed from its central objectives of "Hari Inqlab" (Peasant Revolution) as the leader of Hari Committee Hyder Bux Jatoi believed that peasant revolution aimed to abolish the feudal system and eradicate the distinction between poor and rich because all men are equal by nature.³² On the contrary, there was no revolutionary movement of peasants observed in Sindh. Moreover, the Anti-One Unit Front was not the sole representation of the peasantry class. For example, the leader of *Sindh Awami Mahaz* G.M. Syed came from the landlord family; he was adherent to Sindhi nationalism instead of the leftist agenda. In the whole struggle, the leftist stance became less effective and the question of nationalities and ethnonational politics of One-Unit occupied the central position in the political arena of Sindh. On the other hand, several authors have criticized nationalism with reference to Marxism. For example, a Polish Marxist scholar Rosa Luxemburg remarked on the dominating role of nationalism; she asserted that every form of nationalism is immoral, it contradicts every other form of freedom and emancipation, and it destroys class unity.³³ This is a very harsh critique of nationalism done by Luxemburg. She refuted all practices of nationalism and declared it damaging for the class struggle. Similarly, the leftist struggle in Sindh faced a great setback by joining the allied politics of ethnonationalism. However, it was a difficult task for the leftist to streamline its struggle as per Marxist tradition. Professor Marcus Franda reflected upon the joining of leftist Abdul Hamid Khan Bashani in the NAP.

NAP and other parties will use communists for their purposes, without any benefit to the communist movement of Pakistan. Most important, it does not provide much of an opportunity for the creation of an independent base for the communists and it makes the communist movement dependent on the whims of non-communist leaders for the forgeable future.³⁴

This is a clear indication that how the leftist struggle was shattered by ethnonational politics. The ethnonational politics of NAP rejected the thesis of Russian Marxists who believed that the national question is a part of the general question of socialist revolution.³⁵ Conversely, the leftist struggle in Sindh became part of the general question of ethnonationalism. The NAP generally has been labeled with a left party, but NAP was formed neither for socialist society nor for Marxist revolution; instead, NAP was formed for the dissolution of the One-Unit scheme and other ethnonational issues particularly the provincial autonomy, constitutional democracy, and fight against exploitations.³⁶ However, it was contradictory to the agenda of the leftist. Alike Ronaldo Munck writes, while denoting Lenin's idea, expounded that '*Marxism cannot be reconciled with*

³¹ Tariq Ali, *Pakistan, Op., Cit., 1970*, 66-67

³² Hyder Bux Jatoi, *Hari Inqlab*, (Sindh Hari Committee-2012), 34-38

³³ Barry Ryan, Owen Worth, *On the contemporary relevance of 'left nationalism'*. *Capital & Class*, 2010, 34(1), 54-59

³⁴ Franda, *Op. Cit., 1970*.

³⁵ Joginder Singh Saklani, Marxist Perspective on Nationalism and the Nationality Question: A Theoretical Debate, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 2009, 719-725

³⁶ Hamyatuallah, *Pakistan National Awami Party: Nature and Direction of Politics*: Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, Ph.D. Thesis, 2015, 91

<https://songramernotebook.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Pakistan-national-awami-party-nature-and-direction-o>. Access on, 05, 01, 2020

nationalism, be it even of the "most just", "purest", most refined and civilized brand'.³⁷ For Marxists, nationalism is merely a locus and not the main and decisive factor for the salvation of people in the historical process of struggle. That is why the idea of nationalism has minor standing in the Marxist tradition. In this respect, nationalism seems one of the major problems for the communists to achieve the Marxist objectives. In this respect, the leftist ideology finds itself overlapped by non-class-based identities i.e. (ethnicity, language, and nationality) in Sindh.³⁸ The left wing parties of Sindh intended to follow Lenin's policy but failed to remember that Lenin focused on the working class to the point that he did not consider the peasant class has a socialist tendency.

While he had more to say about the possible revolutionary role of peasants than his Marxist predecessors did, he did not attribute to the peasantry any inherent socialist tendencies. While the peasantry could play a meaningful political role in the bourgeois-democratic phase of a revolution that might (under certain socio-historical conditions) turn socialist, it would be no more than an auxiliary role to the urban proletariat-or, more precisely, to the party that embodied "proletarian consciousness". In contrast to Populism, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary hopes and activities centered on the proletariat rather than on the peasantry.³⁹

The leftist struggle under NAP was against Lenin's standpoint as both peasantry and working-class was divided between rural-urban and ethnonational politics of Sindh. As mentioned earlier that left-wing parties did not work for class politics within NAP, which was fully loaded with regional and national politics. Munck writes that theoretically, the communists' engagements with nationalism have never remained fruitful.⁴⁰ Besides, Atiya Khan states that '*leftists' struggle became contradictory in alliance with the unified movement, as the class struggle became subordinated to the peoples' movement.*'⁴¹ Khan expresses how the left agenda of class struggle subsumed under the umbrella of the ethnonational politics of NAP. The politics of ethnonationalism has posed a serious threat to the class struggle of left-wing parties of Sindh. In this respect, Walker Connor argues that Marxist movements have been hampered in a multi-ethnic character of society.⁴² Sindhis, Muhajir, Pathans, Punjabis, and Baloch are the multi-ethnic representation of the country. These ethnic groups is much sensitive about their culture, language, and history. The ethnonational politics of Sindh against the One-Unit scheme also verified Connor's assumption that the multi-ethnic character of society caused severe disruption to leftist struggle. The political struggle against the One-Unit scheme spread throughout the country because of the multi-ethnic character of society. As a result, Iskandar Mirza announced the Martial Law on 8 October 1958. Some leftist writers indicated the growing

³⁷ Ronaldo Munck, Marxism and Nationalism In The Era Of Globalization, *Capital & Class*, 2010, 34(1), 45-53.

³⁸ Christopher Candland, Workers' Organizations in Pakistan: Why No Role in Formal Politics? *Critical Asian Studies*, 2007, 39(1), 35-57

³⁹ Maurice Meisner, *Leninism and Maoism: Some Populist Perspectives in Marxism-Leninism in China*, 1971

⁴⁰ Munck, Op.Cit., 2010, 34(1), 45

⁴¹ Atiya Khan, *The Vicissitudes of Democracy: The Failure of the Left in Pakistan, 1940-1971*, Ph.D. thesis, (University of Chicago, 2014), 267

⁴² <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1559962187?accountid=135034&pq-origsite=summon>, Accessed on, 7.6.2020

⁴² Walker Connor, *The politics of ethno-nationalism. Journal of International Affairs*, 1973, 1-21

popularity of NAP was the reason behind the imposition of Martial Law by Ayub Khan⁴³ who took over the country by the military coup d'état in 1958.

Conclusion

There are many causes behind the failure of the leftist struggle in Sindh. Ethnonational politics of the One-Unit scheme is one of the causes of the failure of the left. Several international scholars including, Franda, Connor, and Rosa made a serious critique on nationalism with reference to Marxism. The struggle against the One-Unit scheme originated from Sindh and spread all over the country. The leftists from the Sindh actively took part in the struggle and became a part of the ethnonational politics of NAP. They had only focused on ethnonational politics and thus put aside the Marxist agenda. The left could not organize the independent class struggle and became the instrument of NAP. The class struggle of the left was mesmerized by the ethnonational politics of the One-Unit scheme. Theoretically, the left believed in the Marxist tradition but practically remain involved in ethnonational politics. Thus, the leftist struggle failed by following the lines of ethnonational politics of anti-One-Unit struggle in Sindh.

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