

Exploring the Left-wing Opposition to the One-Unit Scheme in Pakistan (1955-1970): A Focus on the Left of Sindh

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Abstract

The Left in Sindh played a significant role in the movement against the One-Unit scheme. The One-Unit scheme aimed to merge all four provinces of West Pakistan into a single wing called West Pakistan to achieve parity in population between West and East Pakistan. This move essentially denied the existence of the provinces of West Pakistan. While the Sindhi nationalist parties were aligned with the Left in Sindh and actively participated in the movement, it was the leftist parties such as the Communist Party of Pakistan, Sindh Hari Committee, Hyderabad Students Federation, and Sindh National Students' Federation that took the forefront in the movement. This paper delves into the rationale behind the One-Unit scheme and the reasons behind the anti-One Unit movement, drawing primarily from secondary sources that provide a comprehensive understanding of the major political uprisings and the significant role played by the Left in leading the anti-One Unit movement.

Keywords: Greater Punjab, left, national question, one-unit, Sindhi nationalism

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INTRODUCTION

The one-unit scheme disregarded the provinces of then-West Pakistan, which was seen as a setback by Sindhi nationalists and left-wing groups who had supported the creation of Pakistan. The story of how Pakistan came into existence continues to be the subject of extensive debate. Both Sindhi nationalists and left-wing circles believe that Sindh willingly joined the new country, with the Sindh Constituent Assembly being the first to pass a resolution in favour of Pakistan in 1943. It was evident that the Lahore Resolution of 23rd March 1940 had promised full sovereignty and autonomy to the provinces, a principle that the political leadership of Sindh, including Ghulam Murtaza Syed (G. M. Syed), had also agreed upon. However, after the country was formed, the situation changed. Despite opposition from the majority of Assembly members, Karachi was designated as Pakistan's capital, and the resistance was forcefully overruled. The separation of Karachi from Sindh led to an influx of Urdu-speaking Muhajirs to Sindh, sparking ethnic tensions in the province. The imposition of the one-unit scheme on the provinces of West Pakistan in 1955 further inflamed Sindhi nationalist sentiments. The government's move led to widespread resistance from the entire population of Sindh, including students, teachers, intellectuals, Sindhi nationalists, and left-leaning groups. This paper aims to examine and analyze the collaboration between Sindhi nationalists and the left and the role they played.

One-Unit Formula: Parity or Greater Punjab?

The resistance to the One Unit scheme falls within the realm of the national question, where ethnic nationalist factions have taken a clear stance. Concurrently, the Left, both in Pakistan and internationally, has grappled with internal conflicts regarding the primacy of the class question versus the national question. In Punjab, the Left appeared to prioritize the class question over the national question. Understanding the Punjabi Left's perspective on the One-Unit formula can shed light on its approach to both national and class questions, a topic that will be explored in this paper. Conversely, the Left in other provinces of Pakistan, including Sindh, Balochistan, NWFP (now KPK), and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), had clear positions on the national question. To comprehend the Left's stance on the national question, particularly concerning the One Unit issue, an examination of the history of this influential movement and an analysis of the role played by leftist elements against the One Unit scheme is essential.

The history of Pakistan from its creation to the imposition of the One-Unit scheme reflects a pattern of deprivation of basic rights for the people, particularly those outside of Punjab. The One-Unit scheme had the most significant impact on the provinces of West Pakistan, particularly Sindh. This scheme not only denied the people of Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP their rights but also marginalized the identity of these provinces by merging them into a single province, West Pakistan. Sindh suffered significant losses in terms of land, demographic changes, and the status of the Sindhi language. Many political parties viewed the One-Unit scheme as a strategy to transform Pakistan into 'Greater Punjab,' citing its alignment with Allama Iqbal's concept of Pakistan as expressed in his 1930 Allahabad address, in which he stated:

I would like to see Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-governing within the British Empire, the formation of the consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India (Qureshi, 2013, p. 22).

Identification of Gender Identity on Consumer Perception

In 1954-55, the One Unit scheme bore a resemblance to Iqbal's concept of Pakistan. Just as Iqbal spoke of the 'amalgamation' of different Muslim-majority provinces to create a single state, the One Unit plan amalgamated all provinces of West Pakistan into a single province, West Pakistan. Notably, Iqbal did not propose the amalgamation of the Muslim-majority areas of Bengal into a single state for Muslims, perhaps due to the incongruity of the majority position of Bengalis, which would not have been favorable for Punjab. Professor Aijaz Qureshi, in connection with this, quotes Allen McGrath from his book 'Destruction of Democracy in Pakistan,' stating that using this One Unit plan, Ghulam Muhammad would have further increased Punjabi power at the expense of East Pakistan (Ibid., p. 42). Nevertheless, the government strived to present this plan as highly beneficial for the people of Pakistan, citing administrative efficiency and the reduction of inter-provincial animosity as major selling points (Hassan, 2002, p. 100). The true motives behind the government's implementation of this plan, however, diverged from their publicized reasons.

The imposition of the One-Unit system posed challenges not only for Sindh but also for other smaller provinces. Mir Ghaus Buksh Bizenjo, the Baloch nationalist, believed that the One-Unit system paved the way for the secession of East Bengal from Pakistan. He argued that the process of East Pakistan's secession began when Pakistan's leaders introduced the controversial East-West parity formula, in conjunction with the formation of the One Unit in West Pakistan. The power brokers and ruling elites of Punjab, apprehensive of Bengal's numerical majority, sought to protect the vested interests of West Pakistan's feudal-dominated ruling elite. They believed that establishing East-West parity in representation, along with integrating the provinces of the West wing into a single unit of West Pakistan, would strengthen the country and contribute to the progress and prosperity of both wings. This was seen to eliminate Bengal's numerical majority and to take the first step towards integrating the west wing into Greater Punjab by centralizing its administrative setup in Lahore (Bizenjo & Kutty, 2009, pp. 38-39).

The administration from West Pakistan, particularly from Punjab and Karachi, was reportedly involved in exploiting the resources of East Pakistan. As a result, the authorities of Pakistan faced resistance from the majority Bengali population, who were deprived of their basic rights. The people of East Pakistan, particularly the Bengalis, supported the nationalist and leftist movements, including the Awami League and the Communist Party of Pakistan, which formed a strong alliance known as the 'Jugtu Front (United Front)' in East Pakistan. This alliance garnered significant support from the masses in East Pakistan.

In the 1954 elections in East Pakistan, the Muslim League was defeated by a United Front consisting of Bengali nationalists and leftist parties. This unexpected loss was unacceptable to the authorities in West Pakistan, who feared that Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP might align with East Pakistan against Punjab. To address this concern, the authorities in Punjab decided to merge the provinces of West Pakistan into a single province called West Pakistan in order to create parity between the two wings. While this "parity" formula brought some benefits to the people of East Pakistan, it resulted in increased suppression for the people of other provinces besides East Pakistan and Punjab. Foremost in the creation of the One-Unit were the then Governor General, Malik Ghulam Muhammad, and prominent political figures from Punjab, including Mumtaz Muhammad Doultana. Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan also provided full support to those promoting the idea. However, imposing the One-Unit plan without consulting the provincial assemblies was not feasible. Consequently, on December 11, 1954, resolutions in favour of the plan were passed by the assemblies of Punjab, Sindh, and NWFP.

In Sindh, the national question was considered highly significant at that time. The migration from India and the separation of Karachi from Sindh to make it the capital of Pakistan caused anxiety among the Sindhi population about becoming a minority. Meanwhile, the Sindhi Left, including the Communist Party and its affiliated organizations, actively supported the national question by launching movements in favour of the Sindhi language and advocating for the rights of landless Sindhi peasants. The Urdu-speaking Left leadership focused more on mobilizing labour and class-related issues rather than the national question. However, since the Left was not represented in the assemblies, they lacked the power to veto any decision made by the federal government. Despite initial resistance from the Sindh Assembly and the passing of a resolution against the One Unit scheme, tactics used by the federal government led to the eventual passage of a resolution in favour of the One Unit.

In Sindh, the Chief Minister, Abdul Sattar Pirzada, was able to produce a statement opposing the One Unit scheme signed by 74 of 110 members of the Sindh Assembly. He was dismissed and replaced by Muhammad Ayub Khuhro. This was tragic that the same person, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, who opposed the idea of separation of Karachi from Sindh in 1948, was dismissed from his position as the Chief Minister of Sindh; now he was openly supporting the idea of the One Unit scheme, which was a threat for the integrity of Sindh. Therefore, in reward, he was made Chief Minister of Sindh. However, on the 14th of October 1955, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed a resolution in favour of the plan, and One Unit was imposed.

The underlying rationale of this plan was to establish parity between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. In response, the Bengalis were granted certain advantages, such as the declaration of the Bengali language as one of the national languages of Pakistan and the appointment of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, the leader of the Awami League, as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but for a very short time. This played a significant role in reducing opposition to the One Unit plan from East Pakistan, as compared to the resistance observed from Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP (KPK). Even the Awami League and the Communist Party of East Pakistan accepted the parity formula and did not oppose the plan (Naqvi, 1989, p. 23). Similarly, Punjab greatly benefited from this plan, so the people of Punjab did not oppose the plan. Even the Communist Party of Punjab did not resist the One Unit formula. The party's leadership in Punjab argued that a Soviet Union magazine, 'New Time,' published articles supporting the One Unit scheme (Ibid), and therefore, there was no reasonable logic to resist the plan. However, the One Unit plan encountered significant resistance in other provinces, particularly in Sindh.

The fight against the One-Unit Scheme and the establishment of the Anti-One-Unit Front

During the One-Unit and Ayub's martial law era, there was extensive suppression and oppression directed towards all leftist and ethno-nationalist parties of Pakistan. These parties were outlawed, and their leadership was imprisoned. Additionally, the print media were subjected to censorship during this period. Notably, the Baloch guerrilla leader, Nauroz Khan, was sentenced to life imprisonment, while his sons and nephews were executed in Hyderabad and Sukkur jails. Simultaneously, the resources of Sindh, Balochistan, and the NWFP (now KPK) were unlawfully exploited. Reflecting on the losses suffered by Sindh during the One-Unit period, G.M. Syed, quoted by Professor Aijaz Qureshi, highlighted the injustices endured by the region:

Identification of Gender Identity on Consumer Perception

The Kotri Barrage was constructed with an expenditure of eighty crore rupees, leading to the cultivation of lands in Tando Muhammad Khan, which were then distributed among non-Sindh. In Sindh, there has been a disparity in job opportunities, with many junior officers from Punjab being appointed to high-ranking positions. Additionally, various institutions such as hospitals, railway stations, roads, and colleges have been named after individuals who do not align with Sindhi culture and tradition, representing a significant loss. Urdu was established as the national language, resulting in restrictions on the use of the Sindhi language in the Karachi municipality and the University of Karachi. The state machinery has been used against Sindhi, Baloch, and Pakhtun nationalities, and under the guise of Islam, Pakistan, and Muslim nationalism, all nations have been forcibly assimilated into Punjabi-Mohajir imperialism (Qureshi, 2013, pp. 90-93).

During the One Unit plan, Sindh suffered significant losses, particularly in the distribution of its lands to non-Sindh due to demographic changes caused by migration from Punjab and India to Sindh. The construction of the Kotri Barrage in 1955-56, as noted by Professor Aziz-ud-din Ahmed and quoted by Professor Aijaz Ahmed Qureshi in his book, resulted in the cultivable land area increasing by more than one and a half million acres, making it the second largest barrage in Sindh. However, the Land Utilization Committee formed in June 1958, which included members of the federal government and military but lacked representation from local Sindhis, led to the majority of lands being allocated to non-Sindh (Ibid., p. 212). This pattern of injustice was repeated with the construction of the Guddu Barrage in 1962, where only ten percent of the land was allotted to Sindhis while the remaining ninety percent went to Punjabis, as highlighted by Leftist leader Hyder Bux Jatoi (Ibid, p. 219).

Due to these and numerous other anti-people policies, opposition to the One Unit plan was unavoidable. While the Leftists in Punjab did not oppose the plan, citing Soviet support for the idea, the Leftists in Sindh actively resisted the plan and criticized the stance of the Soviet magazine on this issue (Naqvi, 1989, p. 24). Despite the Communist Party Sindh's condemnation of a Soviet magazine, nationalist parties still doubted the sincerity of the Communists on the national question. Some members of the CPP-Sindh were supporting the One Unit formula, leading to divisions within the Left between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking factions. Meanwhile, resistance against the One Unit formula by the Left and nationalist forces of Sindh continued, with the state machinery actively suppressing any dissent (Hassan, 2002, p. 100). Before the one-unit was imposed, G.M. Syed, the leader of Sindh Awami Mahaz, called for a referendum in West Pakistan to gauge public opinion on the One-Unit plan, but the government rejected this demand (Qureshi, 2013, p. 142). Following this, G.M. Syed was arrested on November 12, 1954.

The Left was divided on the issue of One Unit at the federal level, in addition to Sindh. For instance, in February 1958, Khan Ghaffar Khan published a pamphlet titled 'Pathans and One Unit', wherein he asserted that the establishment of One Unit was a perilous conspiracy against the people of smaller units, orchestrated by late Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, and the leaders of Punjab. Conversely, Maulana Bhashani, the chairman of the East Pakistan National Awami Party, did not share a similar stance on the issue of One Unit. Bhashani believed that the NAP should not heavily consider One Unit and that the matter could only be resolved with the consent of all political forces and the people of Pakistan (Chaudhry, 1994, p. 44).

Following the implementation of the One-Unit plan, the significance of the national question grew in West Pakistan. Consequently, from 1955 to 1969, the CPP was focused on striking a balance between the national and class questions. During this era, literature on the national question emerged in all provinces, with Sindh leading the production of such literature during the One Unit period. Despite enduring injustices at the hands of Sindhi landlords, Sindhi Hindu baniyas, and feudal lords, the people of Sindh have also faced external threats, from the Arab invasion in 712 AD to the British annexation in 1843. As a result, the national question has retained greater importance than the class question. The Sindh Hari Committee was the first organized party to mobilize people on both class and national issues prior to the creation of Pakistan. Following the country's establishment and the migration from India to Sindh, the national question once again became a focal point for political parties in Sindh. The CPP endeavoured to revive class struggles, primarily among factory labourers, while its sister organization, the Sindh Hari Committee, continued to work with rural peasants in Sindh, albeit with reduced functionality after the passage of the Sindh Tenancy Act in 1951.

The One-Unit plan faced strong opposition from the Communist Party-Sindh, students, labourers, peasants, and various democratic political parties. Organizations such as Sindh Awami Mahaz, Sindh Hari Committee, and Awami League-Sindh joined forces with the Communist Party to launch a campaign against the One-Unit plan. In Sindh, nearly all political parties, including Awami League-Sindh, worked towards mobilizing the people against the One-Unit scheme. Notably, Sindh province took the initiative to form an Anti-One Unit Front. This effort culminated in a historic meeting held in August 1955 in Hyderabad, where the 'Anti-One Unit Movement Front' was established. This front later merged with Mian Iftikhar Hussain's party, 'Azad Pakistan Party', and on December 2, 1956, a new party named 'Pakistan National Party (PNP)' was formed, comprising parties from the Anti-One Unit Front.

It is evident that figures such as Mian Iftikhar Hussain, a prominent Leftist from Punjab, and Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, a well-known Leftist from Balochistan, played pivotal roles in leading the movement against the One Unit formula through the Pakistan National Party (PNP). This alliance of Leftists and ethno-nationalist elements from both West and East Pakistan later formed the Pakistan National Party, which initially operated solely in West Pakistan but later expanded to include an East Pakistan wing. On July 25, 1957, a convention in Dhaka saw a new party, the National Awami Party (NAP), emerging with the inclusion of parties formerly associated with the PNP. This new party was joined by prominent figures from West Pakistan and East Pakistan, including Moulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani, who became its president, and Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, who was elected as the Vice President. Furthermore, the Sindh Anti-One Unit Front was established by leading Sindhi politicians in a convention held on October 29-30, 1955, in Karachi. The Front included notable figures such as Sheikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, G.M. Syed, Hyder Bux Jatoi, Abdul Hameed Jatoi, Qazi Faiz Muhammad, and Ghulam Mustaffa Bhurgri. Hyder Bux Jatoi, a prominent Leftist leader from Sindh, was elected as the Secretary of the Front. In addition to the political figures, writers from the Sindhi Adabi Sangat (Sindhi Literary Front) actively participated in the Anti-One Unit Movement.

The Anti-One Unit Movement, initiated by a coalition of Leftist and nationalist groups, has led to a clearer articulation of the Left's stance on the national question in Pakistan. While the debate on the relationship between national and class issues has been ongoing, the alliance between Left and Nationalist forces on the national question is a positive development in Pakistani politics. The One

Unit scheme was a perilous plan for the provinces of West Pakistan, particularly for Sindh. However, the united resistance from almost all small and large political parties against the One Unit scheme, leading to the formation of the Anti-One Unit Front and later the political party National Awami Party (NAP), was a notable positive outcome. NAP's formation brought together the Left and nationalist elements, unifying them under one party. The Anti-One Unit Movement also gave rise to many influential student leaders who played vital roles in the movement. Leading student political parties such as the Sindh Students Federation (SSF), Hyderabad Student Federation (HSF), Sindh Students Cultural Organization (SSCO), and Sindh National Students Federation (SNSF) were at the forefront of opposing the One Unit plan.

The 4th of March 1967 Student Uprising: Exploring the Impact of Students in the Anti-One Unit Movement

The Anti-One Unit elements were highly active in Sindh, and among them, Sindhi students played a significant role. Several student movements were initiated for various reasons, but the primary objective of these movements was to oppose the one-unit formula. The Hyderabad Student Federation (HSF) was the leading student political group that strongly influenced major political movements, particularly the 'student uprising of 4th of March'. Later, the Sindh National Student Federation (SNSF), led by the renowned Communist leader Jam Saqi, continued this legacy. While there were previous attempts to launch student movements before March 4, 1967, they did not succeed or last due to the lack of trained and immature party workers, as well as the opportunism of elitist student leaders. However, when middle and lower-class Leftist and Sindhi nationalist students began to lead the movement, it gained popularity and fostered political awareness among students and the masses of Sindh.

The initial student movement that began in 1955 ultimately failed for various reasons. According to former student leader Jam Saqi, one of the contributing factors was that the movement was primarily led by upper-middle-class students. These student leaders reportedly protested against the One Unit policy only once or twice before abandoning the movement (Saqi, 1987, p. 19). The second struggle was an improvement from the one that began in 1962. Unlike the first struggle, this time it took the form of a political party, the Sindh Students' Federation (SSF). An important outcome of this movement was the increased awareness about the threats of One Unit, achieved by distributing anti-One Unit pamphlets in several towns of Sindh. However, the students' struggle could not sustain itself for long due to several reasons. According to Jam Saqi, the major reasons for its failure were: 1. The ongoing student movement against Ayub throughout the country provided an opportunity to align the SSF struggle with the nationwide movement, but unfortunately, this did not happen. 2. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was a minister in Ayub's cabinet, controlled the struggle of SSF and used them merely for social functions and gatherings. 3. The leadership of SSF was intimidated, and Bhutto encouraged them to distance themselves from the anti-One Unit stance, resulting in the disownment of the slogans against One Unit that were previously written on walls (Ibid, p. 20). The anti-One Unit movement in 1967 saw the participation of various student political parties, but the Hyderabad Student Federation (HSF) emerged as a key player in the historic student movement that took place on the 4th of March, 1967.

Hyderabad Student Federation (HSF)

After the Sindh Student Federation's movement failed, some students at Sindh University, Jamshoro, continued to rally against the One Unit plan without aligning with any specific party. This took place between 1963 and 1964, during which students distributed pamphlets to highlight the drawbacks of the One Unit policy. Recognizing the need for a formal platform, active students decided to form a political party that could advocate for student rights and oppose the One Unit plan. As a result, the Hyderabad Students' Federation (HSF) was established in October 1964 and played a significant role in the renowned students' movement of March 4, 1967. Comprising Sindhi nationalists and Leftist members, the party primarily focused on advocating for student rights. However, as the resistance against the One Unit movement and the defense of the Sindhi language gained momentum, the HSF leadership shifted its focus from student rights to opposing the One Unit policy and safeguarding the Sindhi language.

Student Uprising of March 4, 1967

Initially, this movement was sparked by the intervention of the then Commissioner of Hyderabad in the administrative affairs of Sindh University, Jamshoro (Sheikh, 2014, p. 131). The Commissioner accused the Vice Chancellor of corruption and misusing university funds, leading to the decision to transfer Vice Chancellor Hassan Ali Abdul Rahman. This action was strongly criticized by Sindhi students, particularly the members of the Hyderabad Student Federation. The Commissioner, Masroor Hassan, was seen as hostile towards Sindhi students due to his interference in university affairs, which the VC did not appreciate. Ultimately, the Commissioner forcibly transferred the VC (Qureshi, 2013, p. 298).

This issue initially concerned the transfer of the Vice Chancellor, but it garnered the involvement of students, particularly activists from the Hyderabad Student Federation. They perceived the actions of the Commissioner as an attempt to oppress the VC based on his Sindhi identity. Advocate Yousif Laghari, a prominent figure in the student uprising, explained the reasons behind the movement on March 4th when the students staged a strike and boycotted all educational activities in the university to demand the reinstatement of VC Hassan Ali Abdul Rahman. On March 3rd, the interim Vice Chancellor, Muhammad Hussain Turk, insisted on a meeting between Yousif and Commissioner Masroor. During this meeting, the commissioner apologized to the students and denied involvement in the transfer of VC Hassan Ali Abdul Rahman. The student representatives urged the commissioner to extend the apology to all university students, promising to end the strike once the request was fulfilled (Ayaz et al., n.d., p. 48).

The commissioner had initially promised to apologize to all students on March 4, but later reneged on his promise, causing the students to feel insulted. In response, they organized a protest in Hyderabad on the same day to demonstrate their unity and strength. As the university buses were en route from Jamshoro to Hyderabad, the students observed a large police presence waiting for them at the Jamshoro Bridge. When the buses arrived, the police subjected the students to physical violence and verbal abuse. Following this incident, Jam Saqi and some of his associates proposed expanding the movement and aligning it with the anti-One Unit movement (Saqi, n.d., p. 7).

After the events of March 4th, the students' movement expanded. In addition to advocating for the reinstatement of VC Hassan Ali Abdul Rahman, the students also spoke out against the One Unit

system and sought to protect the Sindhi language. During summer break, students mobilized people in their towns and villages to raise awareness about the anti-One Unit movement and the defense of the Sindhi language (Qureshi, 2013, p. 300). Yousif Laghari, president of the Hyderabad Student Federation, espoused Sindhi nationalist ideology, while Jam Saqi, who joined the Communist Party in June 1964, led the party and the movement. The Hyderabad Students' Federation played an active role, but the movement was not sustained. According to Rasool Bux Palijo, this was due to the influence of the feudal class, the absence of a strong revolutionary party to represent the students, and the lack of political literacy among Sindhi students (Ayaz et al., n.d., p. 132). Following the Hyderabad Students' Federation movement, a new student political party was established by prominent Communist leader Jam Saqi. After the Hyderabad Students' Federation kicked off a major initiative, a renowned Communist leader, Jam Saqi, went on to establish another student political party.

Sindh National Students' Federation (SNSF)

In an interview with Zamir Sheikh, Jam Saqi mentioned the founding of the National Students Federation (SNSF) on November 3, 1968. He served as the founding president, with Nadeem Akhter as the founding vice president and Mir Thebo as the general secretary. The SNSF played a crucial role in the democratic upsurge of 1968-69 (Sheikh, 2014, p. 132). This student party was established by prominent leftists of Sindh, who later took leadership roles in the Communist Party of Pakistan. The SNSF significantly contributed to the anti-Ayub movement during 1968-69. Additionally, the students' involvement in the anti-One Unit movement was notable, as their awareness as a societal class facilitated impactful resistance against any anti-people initiatives. Consequently, the student uprising on March 4 was considered a significant student struggle, laying the groundwork for student politics and enhancing the positive perception of student politics among the people of Sindh. Although movements like the 4th of March uprising were predominantly led by leftist elements in Sindh, student movements under the leftist banner could not be sustained for long. Nonetheless, it was encouraging that student wings such as NSF and DSF were active in educational institutions in Karachi. The anti-One Unit movement was an influential movement that prompted the people of Sindh to rally against not just the One Unit formula but also later, similar to the rest of Pakistan, resisting the Ayub dictatorship.

CONCLUSION

The introduction of the one-unit scheme in the newly established country, Pakistan, proved to be a setback for the provinces that joined with the expectation of gaining sovereign and autonomous status. The implementation of the one-unit system demonstrated a betrayal of the smaller provinces. Although the scheme benefited Punjab and saw little opposition from East Pakistan, it faced strong resistance from the people of West Pakistan, aside from Punjab. Major political forces in Pakistan, including the Pakistan National Party (PNP) and the National Awami Party (NAP), vocally opposed the one-unit scheme. The province of Sindh, particularly, experienced significant losses compared to other provinces, leading to the active involvement of Sindhi political leaders, students, and intelligentsia in the movement against the one-unit policy. Ultimately, countrywide resistance to the one-unit formula proved effective, leading to its abolition in 1970.

Competing Interests

The author declares that there are no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have influenced the work reported in this paper.

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