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Soviet Union's Disintegration and its Impact on the Communist Party of Pakistan

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Abstract

The Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) was working for the implementation of a socialist system on the pattern of USSR by following the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism under the directives from the Soviet Union. However, the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 19991 proved to be a shock which disillusioned many Leftists and progressives in Pakistan and everywhere else. This research paper investigates the impact of disintegration of the Soviet Union on the Left politics in Pakistan, especially on the Communist Party of Pakistan. Secondary data for this paper is collected from the books, research articles, newspapers and journals, etc. while primary data is collected through in-depth interviews with key informants, Left political activists and academicians. The findings indicate that the disintegration of the Soviet Union negatively impacted the Communist Party of Pakistan. The already weak CPP suffered its own disintegration and its top leadership momentarily went into a disarray. Nowadays, CPP is functional in three factions and each faction is functional only at and around its headquarters. Antonio Gramsci's theory 'Hegemony' is used to interpret the data and draw theoretical inferences. Gramsci's theory posits that ideas favouring the interests of the dominant class are accepted as the norm by the subaltern through a process of hegemony. This study recommends that merger of the CPP's all factions, bringing young cadres to key positions within the party, and launching a national media that speak for common people can help promote the Left political ideas in Pakistan.

Keywords: *Left Politics, Pakistan, Communist Party of Pakistan, Soviet Union.*

Introduction

This study attempts to explore the impact of the disintegration of Soviet Union on the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP). The Communist Party of Pakistan, like other communist parties, is a Left-wing political party which fights for realisation of social and economic egalitarianism by following the guidelines as philosophical base for its manifesto provided by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1892) and modified by Vladimir Ilych Lenin (1870-1924). The communist politics is generally associated with egalitarianism and social equality. Communist is a person or group of persons which believes in a maximum government control over the sources of production, i.e. land, labour and capital (Sheldon, 2005). Communist parties aim at the capturing of the government by dislodging the status quo through a revolution and to bring the proletariat (working class) as a ruling class. Communist parties tend to be hostile to the interest of aristocracy and traditional elites and favours radical changes in respect of the

working class. The Communist Party of Russia[1] used to organise and patronise the communist parties which were established in other countries through the platform of Comintern[2] since March 1919.

The Soviet Union, as a citadel of Communism for its support of international communist revolution, remained the pivot of the communist politics across the globe, including Pakistan (Ali K. A., 2015). The disintegration of the Soviet Union is one of the major phenomena of the 20th century, which brought an end to the Cold War and marked an apparent triumph of capitalism and neo-liberal ideology. Some of the immediate outcomes of the disintegration and the fall of communist regime in Moscow were following: propaganda in support of socialism was halted, efforts for the spread of Communism were ended tentatively, and the political landscape around the globe was altered (Paracha, 2014).

Eminent scholars and researchers have done studies on the history of socialist politics in united India and in Pakistan (e.g., Umar, 1990; Malik, 1992; Ali, 2015; Ameen, 1988; Ansari, 2015; Sulehria, 2009 and Naqvi, 2014). However, there is a dearth of research on the impact of the disintegration of the Soviet Union on the CPP. This study aims to fill in this gap.

Ansari (2015) that correlates the causes like the establishment of Communist Party of India in Tashkent in 1920, decision of the Communist International to send resources like funds and literature to India for the revolutionary struggle with the development of socialist thought among the Indians and especially among the North Indian Muslims (Ansari K. H., 2015).

Wary of the spread of Communism, the government of Pakistan constantly monitored activities of the CPP's workers and "where possible, they were suppressed" (Ali K. A., 2015, p. 73). To evade the highhanded policy of the government and to avoid possible extermination, top leadership of the CPP went underground. Finally, the CPP was banned in 1954 and was not allowed to function till 1972. However, since then it had not been able to build itself into a national party. In the post-Soviet Union period, there are several communist groups and even a legal Communist Party of Pakistan (divided into three factions), but its political relevance is much reduced (Ali K. A., 2015).

Ex-chairman of the Communist Party of Pakistan, Professor Syed Jamaluddin Naqvi, has written an autobiographical account, focusing on his political struggle and beliefs. The title of the book *Leaving the Left behind*: *An Autobiographical Tale of Political Disillusionment that took Life's Momentum Away from the Myopic Politics of the Right and the Left to the Enlightened Concept of Right and Wrong*. It is a narrative of Naqvi's political activities and his intellectual journey during 1970s and 80s and his criticism of his Leftist ideals. Soviet Union asserted pressure on the CPP to stage protests against the arrest of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1977, but CPP did not accept the Soviet plea. During a visit to the Soviet Union in 1990, the author was reminded by the CPSU's officials about the CPP's refusal of obeying the orders from the Moscow. Moreover, the author noted that the Soviet citizens were more oppressed than the Pakistanis. He realised that "a Communist revolution was no guarantee for liberation". This situation, or his understanding of the situation, convinced him to shun his Communist political ideas and denounced his political ideology (Naqvi S. J., 2014).

In a response to Naqvi's critique of Marxism, Dr. Mussadiq Hussain wrote the Urdu book *Baiyn Bazo ke Munharifeen awr Marxi Nazriyat: Aik Tarikhee awr Tahqiqi Mutalia* (Urdu: *Left-Wing's Deviants and Marxist Ideologies: A Historical and Research Study*). Hussain's book explains the history of the communist movement in Pakistan and aggressively defends Marxism. He criticised the title of Naqvi's

[1] Later Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU).

[2] The Communist International (Comintern) was created in Moscow for coordinating the activities of the communist parties of the various countries and to carry out socialist revolutions[2] throughout the world (Kuusinen, 1974, p. 35). This worldwide organisation of the socialist parties of other countries, also known as Third International, was founded in March 1919. It was formally disbanded in 1943, but its functions had already been transferred to the Central Committee of the CPSU (Medish, 1981, pp. 308-9).

book (*Leaving the Left behind*) and suggested that according to the material of the book the title should have been "*Adopting Criminal Capitalism"* instead of *"Leaving the Left Behind"* (Hussain D. M., 2016, p. 17). The author rejects the Naqvi's claim of the directives to CPP from Moscow.

Sulehria (2009) believes that the fall of the USSR shattered the Left in Pakistan up to the level of disappearance (Sulehria F. , 2009). The early 1990s was a time of counter-revolutionary consciousness in the country, which resulted in the rise of fundamentalism. Some socialist splintered into small groups; others did not lose faith in socialism. A Leftist movement is evolving gradually since the end of the Cold War. Akhtar (2015) believes that pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese socialists came closer in the post-USSR era. However, by the end of 1990s due to extremely challenging conditions, the Leftists were unable to maintain a popular support (Akhtar A. S., 2015).

The study of the relevant literature shows that the disintegration of the USSR negatively impacted the Left politics in Pakistan in general and the CPP in particular. The theoretical framework for this research paper is 'Cultural Hegemony'. The theory is presented by Italian sociologist Antonio Gramsci (1871-1937), which is a sociological concept, that explains the dominance of one social group over another and the 'dominant ideology of society reflects the beliefs and interests of the ruling elites' (Cole, 2016). The theory explains that the ideas of the dominant (ruling) class are accepted as the norm, seen as universal ideologies, supposed to benefit everyone whilst only really benefiting the ruling class (Lears, 1985).

Multiple qualitative tools have been employed for the collection of data. Primary data is collected through in-depth interviews with political ideologues, political scientists and international relations' experts. Moreover, secondary data is collected from sources such as books, journals, periodicals, research papers, newspaper articles and reports and Ph.D. theses.

Soviet Union

The Soviet Union (1922-1991), officially known as Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), was established on the land of the Russian Empire after the successful Communist Revolution (November 1917) at Russia under the leadership of Vladimir Ilych Lenin[3]. After seizing the power in Russia, the Communist Party of Russia[4] believed that grasping power in Russia was only the prelude to a world-wide social revolution. Vladimir Ilych Lenin (V.I. Lenin) expected that the triumph of communists in Russia would be the 'prologue of the world socialist revolution' (Brinkley, 1966, p. 09). The Soviet authorities continuously endeavoured to spread the communist revolution to other countries. In order to diffuse the communist ideas beyond the border, they assisted and supported the communist and other Left-wing political parties in developed and underdeveloped countries (Kolarz, 1955).

The Soviet Union was the first and largest socialist state which adopted Marxism-Leninism as a state policy. In a short period, after its existence, it rose to the status of a global power. During the Cold War, it supported socialist States and opposed the capitalist bloc headed by the United States of America (USA). The Soviet Union was an ideological state, which supported the Left political elements in other countries for bringing socialist revolutions in their respective lands. For the spread of socialism in order to achieve

[3] USSR also known as Soviet Union was offficialy proclaimed on December 30, 1922. After seven decadesthe Union Treaty was renounced and as a result 15 independent republics appeared on the map of the world on December 31, 1991.

[4] Communist Party of Russia was established in 1898 as the Russian Social Labour Democratic Party (RSLDP). The Party experienced split among the members at the Second Congress in 1903, and the faction under Lenin was mentioned as 'Bolshevik'. RSLDP (Bolshevik) changed its name to the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) in March 1918. All political parties, other than Communist Party of Russia (B), were banned and declared illegal by 1921. After the formation of Soviet Union in 1922, the party assumed the name of All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and in 1952—Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). CPSU enjoyed a political monopoly till 1988 when other political parties were allowed to function legally. The party was dissolved in August 1991.

the 'world revolution', the Bolshevik leaders provided money and other resources for propaganda (Kuusinen, 1974, p. 35).[5] Comintern representatives were sent to various countries to help in organising communist parties (Medish, 1981, pp. 308-9). Spending billions on trying to spread the Soviet ideology also negatively influenced the Soviet economy (Dalziel, 1993, p. 8).

The failure of the Soviet system led to a never-ending debate in which some argue that the disintegration of Soviet Union was actually the failure of the philosophy of Marxism and other maintain that it was the failure of the application of the philosophy by the Soviet ruling elite. Whatever the case might be, the core question is whether any State in the world would be capable to implement Marxism on the pattern of Soviet Union or not. Many political parties and organisations (including in Pakistan) are still enthusiastically working for the implementation of the Marxism in their respective States.

Communist Party of India (CPI)

The first contact of the Indians with Soviet Russia was the outcome of the Caliphate Movement. When about two hundred caliphates crossed over to the Soviet Central Asia from Afghanistan. The Indian *Muhajireen*[6] were warmly received at Tashkent and were provided the Marxist ideological orientation (Qureshi N. , 2015). In 1920, the Indian revolutionaries under the leadership of Manabendra Nath Roy created the Communist Party of India at Tashkent and affiliated it with the Comintern (Persits, 1983, pp. 196-8). After training, the *Muhajireen* started to return to India in the autumn of 1921[7] to "spread communist doctrine among the Indians". At home, the Indian government had promulgated strict laws to halt communist propaganda. By the end of 1922, all Bolshevik-trained *muhajir* communists had been arrested in India and were charged with conspiracy and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging from one year to three years. As a result, they did not make any significant contribution to the communist movement until some were released in 1924. When the convicted communists at Peshawar and Kanpur Trial were released in 1924-5, they established the Communist Party of India (CPI) in December 1925 at a conference in Kanpur. Sooner the party was recognised by the Comintern. The Comintern also directed the British Communists to participate in establishing Marxist organisations in India. (Ansari K. H., 2015, pp. 76-86).

In March 1929, thirty-one Communist leaders and trade unionists were arrested and charged with conspiracy to 'deprive the King of His Sovereignty of British India'. The trial against the CPI virtually diminished the activities of the communists in India and in July 1934 the Communist Party of India, Nawjawan Bharat Sabha, and all affiliated bodies of CPI were banned (Ansari K. H., 2015, pp. 87-93), (Jha, 1987, pp. 145-52), (Sirkar & Fernandes, 1984), (Misra, 1976, pp. 259-62, 620), (R.S. Singh, 1991, p. 12).

In 1935, the Comintern instructed CPI to return to the policy of cooperation with bourgeois parties in the national liberation movement by supporting anti-imperialist activities while maintaining a separate political identity (Ansari K. H., 2015, p. 95). Therefore, communist infiltration into Right-wing bodies and other progressive organisations became possible (Misra, 1976, p. 264).

The entry of the USSR into the World War II helped the Indian communists to arrive at the conclusion that the character of the war had changed and it was no longer an imperialist war since the Soviet Union had no territorial designs (Lal, 1986, pp. 153-6). CPI with a view to support the Soviet Union, decided to help the British Government in India by suspending its all anti-government activities. Under the new policy, the CPI

[5] Moscow places special emphasis on strengthening its position in the independent States adjacent to the exposed southern border of the Soviet Union (Fallon, 1987).

[6] *Muhajireen* or *Muhajirin* are person who emigrate from a country which is, or has become, ruled by non-Muslims. Persons who perform *Hijrat* (migration, exodus). Its singular is *Muhajir*.

[7] Few *muhajireen* decided to stay in Soviet Union or to settle in Europe, from where they assisted M. N. Roy.

adopted a negative attitude towards the Quit India Moment launched by Congress in August 1942. In contrast, CPI started showing favourable attitude to the separatists led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah for an independent Pakistan.

The pro-government moves resulted in lifting the ban from the CPI in July 1942 (Lal, 1986, p. 244), and the release of its leaders from jail (P G Joshi, Adhikari, etc.) (Misra, 1976, p. 463). This enabled the Party to have its first congress in legality in 1943 (Singh & Singh, 1991, p. 13). Its membership was 16,000-strong, while at the end of 1947 on the eve of the second party Congress the total membership of the party stood at 90,000 (R.S. Singh, 1991, p. 12). During the final years of freedom struggle the Communist Party of India supported the demand of Muslim League for Pakistan (Jameel, 2013, p. 233). The CPI won 700,000 votes in 1945-46 elections, which were two and a half percent of the total votes. It could not win any seat to the Central Assembly; however, it secured nine seats in the provincial legislatures (R.S. Singh, 1991, pp. 14,62), (Sirkar & Fernandes, 1984, p. 86).

Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP)

During the Second Congress of the CPI in February-March 1948 at Calcutta[8] in which the partition of CPI was decided (Buheraj, 1973, p. 42). Thus the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) was established and the top leadership for the new party was sent from India (Salim, 2008), (Ali K. A., 2015, pp. 22, 39). Sajjad Zaheer (General Secretary), Sibt-e-Hassan and Ishfaq Beg (all highly educated with the North Indian *Ashraf* (elite) background) formed the first politburo (Ali K. A., 2015, pp. 85, 128-29). East Bengal (later East Pakistan) was represented in the congress by thirty two communists and it was decided that the Communist Party of West Bengal would guide the leadership of East Bengal Communist Party (Yaqubi, 2019).

Immediately after its creation the CPP began to operate through its front organisations, including Port Trust Union, Karachi; Trade Union Federation of Pakistan; *Kissan* (peasant) Committees, the All-Pakistan Progressive Writers Association and Democratic Students Organisation (Malik H. , 1994, p. 15). By 1950, CPP became the second largest party, especially in the big cities – Karachi, Lahore and Dhaka – behind the Muslim League (Paracha, 2020). Sooner, the hostility towards the Muslim League leadership pervaded the CPP's political stance (Ali K. A., 2015, p. 157). For the first-ever elections in Pakistan in March 1951 (for the Punjab provincial assembly), CPP fielded eleven candidates, though the party was confident of winning only one seat (Ali K. A., 2015, pp. 184-85), (Jameel, 2013, pp. 298-99).

In 1951, the party fall after it was accused being the part of aborted military coup attempt against the government with support of certain foreign powers ("an unmistakable allusion to the Soviet Union") were conspiring against the government (Malik H. , 1994, p. 23). This event in history is popularly known as Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case. A harsh crackdown against the party was started and finally the party was banned in 1954 (Ahmad I. , 2013, p. 92). The members and supporters of the former CPP joined National Awami Party (NAP) when it was formed in 1957. NAP, like other political parties, was banned in 1958 after the military coup, however, it managed to re-emerge as largest Left-wing party in 1962 when the ban was lifted from the political parties.[9] NAP was finally banned in 1975. The CPP's workers remained under ground till the second half of 1980s, when democracy was introduced in the country under non-party elections in February 1985, when it came into surface just before it was finally dissolved with the dissolution of Soviet Union.

[8] Among the 632 delegates to the Calcutta Congress three were from West Pakistan: M Hussain Atta from NWFP (KP), Eric Cyprian from Punjab and Jamal-ud-Din Bukhari from Sindh. There were less than 50 members who had been left in the whole of West Pakistan (Ali K. A., 2015, p. 81).

[9] The ban was lifted from all political parties other than the CPI (Hussain D. M., 2016, p. 140).

Status of the CPP on the eve of Soviet Union's Disintegration

The journalist Hassan Mujtaba analyses that the CPP lost its political significance in 1980s and it acted only as a 'marriage bureau' where men and women used to meet, and a 'travel agency' to send people to the USSR (Hassan M. , 1999). Professor Jamal-ud-Din Naqvi (ex-general secretary of CPP) presents another version of the Left political status in his book '*Leaving the Left Behind*'. He writes that in the first half of the 1980s, during the martial law of General Zia-ul-Haq, the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) stood against the oppression of martial law regime, imperialist policies and the religious fundamentalism. The movement for Marxist revolution was in fervour despite the severe repression of the Left on behalf of the martial law regime's suppressive policies. Like the Rawalpindi Conspiracy of 1951, some army officers contacted the Communist Party for assistance against Zia-ul-Haq during the early years of 1980s, but the party did not approve of the plan (Naqvi S. J., 2014, pp. 119-120). The Communist Party of Pakistan had several affiliated front organisations such as the trade unions, student unions, intellectuals, writers, women, peasants committees and even an organisations of children along with many such smaller organisations. The party used to follow, often blindly, the ideological directives from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After the death of Right-wing dictator General Zia-ul-Haq in August 1988, the Communist Party decided to come out of hiding and fielded a candidate (Jam Saqi) to contest the national election in 1988 (Azhar, 2013, p. 120). During this time, the Party had membership in the range of two to three thousands (Naqvi S. J., 2014, p. 99).

The Communist Party of Pakistan experienced a major split in 1987 when the Central Committee of CPP was divided into two groups. The disconnected young cadre did not want to work underground and was "impatient to contest their ideas in open politics" (Azhar, 2013). The ex-member of the CPP and now a books-publisher Mr. Amjad Salim Minhas[10] considers that actually the difference of opinion within the Communist Party led to the division of the party into two camps –the 'majority' and the 'minority'. The majority group had its members like Imam Ali Nazish (general secretary of CPP), Dr. Aizaz Nazir, Professor Jamal Naqvi, Hassan Rafique, Ramzan Memon and Javed (from Karachi Trade Union). While the minority faction comprised of Syed Mukhtar Bacha, Afrasiyab Khattak, Imtiaz Alam, Mir Thaibu (whose expulsion from the party was the immediate cause of the split in the party) (Minhas, 2020).

Yet another split in the CPP occurred during the last congress of the Party, which was held underground in May 1989.[11] There were concerns among the members about the future of the CPP, about changing the name of the Party, and a progressive line of action according to the socio-economic conditions of Pakistan. Another group which was led by Ahsan Rafique from Punjab and Dr. Aizaz Nazir from Karachi had different perspective. Due to the difference, the congress instead of strengthening the party, proved to be the point of dissolution. Total membership of the Party at the time of the last congress was more than two-hundred (Minhas, 2020). Thus it is evident that the CPP saw splits well before the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and even before the separation of the Baltic States from the Union (Minhas, 2020). Prof. Jamal Naqvi resigned both his post and basic member ship of the Party. Later on, Jam Saqi also resigned his position and quit the Communist Party (Naqvi S. J., 2014, p. 125). One of the reasons of the disintegration of the CPP was that their 'Big Brother'–the USSR–experienced hollowness with disillusionment (Azhar, 2013).

The underground Communist Party of Pakistan split in May 1989 and the splinter minority group organised Qaumi Inqilabi (National Revolutionary) Party in September 1989. Khan Afzal Khan was its president and Afrasiyab Khattak was its general secretary. This new party also went through schism and Afrasiyab Khattak separated his group and established Pakhtunkhwa Qaumi Inqilabi Party in the beginning of 1990.

[10] The ex-member of CPP Mr. Amjad Salim Minhas is the proprietor of *Sanjh* Publications (Mozang Road Lahore) that is publishing progressive books.

[11] According the Jamal Naqvi, the last Congress of CPP was held in the beginning of 1991 at Lyari (a locality in Karachi) (Naqvi S. J., 2014).

The party of Afrasiyab Khattak supported Pakistan People's Party and after the dissolution of Benazir's first ministry (on August 6, 1990) he quit politics and was appointed chairman of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. Nonetheless, he later joined ANP. The remaining Qaumi Inqilabi Party along with Pakistan Workers Party and Qaumi Mahaz Azadi established Awami Jamhoori Party on April 30, 1992 (Malik J. A., 2006).

The Impact of Soviet Union's Disintegration on the CPP

The various Left political parties/organisations in Pakistan were directly or indirectly connected to Moscow for inspiration and support and the disintegration of Soviet Union proved to be a shock to the Leftists in Pakistan. Pakistani communists were not only connected politically and economically to Moscow but were also spiritually affiliated to it. There was a saying that the communists "wear overcoats in Karachi when they hear of a snowfall in Moscow".

The Left politics in Pakistan was badly impacted by the collapse of the Soviet Union, because the Pakistani Left had no strong connection with the masses as compared to the Indian Left. The Marxist intelligentsia felt the shock severely and it believed that the politics of Left was over for them. Top leaders like Prof. Jamal Naqvi, Imtiaz Alam, Afrasiyab Khattak, and others abandoned the Left ideology. In such a time of hopelessness, many Marxists joined the Civil Society Organisations and established Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's). They were convinced that in the unipolar world, politics of the Left was no more possible and the progressive-cum-liberal ideas in society can be implemented through Civil Society Organisations and NGOs. Pro-Moscow Leftists in Pakistan (like the CPP) were confident of the success of Gorbachev's reforms but the fall of the Soviet Union left them astonished and with the failure of Gorbachev's reforms, the communist leadership in Pakistan quit the Left politics (Rahman D. T., 2020).

One of the major consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Union was the merger of CPP and Mazdoor Kissan Party (MKP)[12]. Soon after the fall of the Soviet Union, efforts for unification of the Left politics in Pakistan were initiated. As a result, CPP united with its ideological rival—Mazdoor Kissan Party—and created the Communist Mazdoor Kissan Party (CMKP) in 1993. Imam Ali Nazish was the first secretary general of CMKP. Though both the parties were unified but the variance in ideological approach towards the practical struggle remained there. The Communist Mazdoor Kissan Party (CMKP) witnessed a split in 1999 as members from Sindh province restored the CPP, however, the CMKP as a political party remained functional. In 2002, the Party congress decided to change its name from CMKP to MKP, because most of the communists had quit the party and thus the word Communism was removed from its name. Yet a faction of the Party (under the leadership of Sufi Abdul Khaliq Baloch and Taimur Rahman) continued to call itself CMKP till 2009 until that faction also assumed the name of MKP. Thus the merger of MKP and the CPP did not prove to be successful because differences could not be worked out and both the factions restored their respective organisations (Rahman D. T., 2020).

Mahfooz Khan Shujaat, president CMKP, explained that CPP and MKP merged together in a three-day congress in Rohri (Sukkar). However, in 1998, Ghulam Nabi Kallo and Imam Ali Nazish were expelled from the Party. Imdad Qazi was involved in this conspiracy but he also failed in getting any position in the Party, so soon after the death of Imam Ali Nazish, Imadad Qazi and Chacha Maula Bakhsh relaunched the Communist Party of Pakistan in 1999. Next year (i.e. 2000), a national congress of the CMKP was held at Mandani (Charsadda). Abdul Khaliq Baloch became the Chairman and Afzal Shah Khamosh secretary general with the support of Mir Jan Jamali (ex-Chief Minister Balochistan).

[12] MKP was established in 1968. It is a Moaist party.

After the death of Ghulam Nabi Kallo in 2002, the sixth national congress of CMKP was held at Lahore, in which Afzal Khamosh,[13] Nisar Khan Advocate, Hamid Hashmi and Syed Muhammad Azeem relaunched MKP. Next meeting of the Central Committee (CC) of the CMKP was called in 2009 at Karachi, but before the meeting, 15 members of the CC met with Afzal Shah Khamosh and joined MKP. However, soon Khamosh expelled them from his Party. These members re-organised the CMKP and successfully finalised arrangements with Abid Hassan Minto at Lahore and just one day before the meeting they merged CMKP in Minto's Workers Party of Pakistan.

Mahfooz Khan Shujaat is also of the opinion that the disintegration of the Soviet Union negatively impacted the Left politics throughout the globe generally and in Pakistan particularly. The communist leadership in Pakistan deviated from communism with the dissolution of Soviet Union. The major deviants are, according to Mr. Mahfooz, Prof. Jamal Naqvi of the CPP and Abid Hassan Manto and CR Aslam of the Pakistan Socialist Party. Those who remained stuck to the ideas of communism are/were Imam Ali Nazish, Ghulam Nabi Kallo, Dr. Rasheed Hassan Khan, etc. (Shujaat, 2020).

The provincial president of Mazdoor Kissan Party (Afzal Bangash Group), [14] Mr. Yousaf Anwar, thinks that after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, majority of Marxists joined Non-Governmental Organisations as employees. The new paid jobs proved easy for the trained and experienced Marxists. On the question of why the US-funded NGOs were joined by the ex-Marxists, Mr. Anwar replied that

> "The US supported Pakistani Marxists in the second wave of NGOs during 1990s. Earlier in 1980s during the Afghan war, the pro-jihad elements in Pakistan were given huge amounts. Wife of the Chief Martial Law Administrator Zia-ul-Haq (Begum Shafiq Zia) was the patron-in-chief of all such volunteer organisations. However, after the fall of the Soviet Union, the Western countries-funded NGOs hired Leftists for the same job to undo the activities of the rightists".

Yousaf Anwar further said that the fall of the Soviet Union also diluted the debate of Maoist and Muscovite within the Left. Now the Left has two major sections, Stalinists and Trotskyites (Anwar Y. , 2020). The deputy general secretary of the Awami Workers Party, Ismat Raza Shahjahan, believes that the fall of the Soviet Union had implications not only for Pakistan rather it had global implications. Mrs. Shahjahan concluded that the disintegration of the Soviet Union is one of the reasons behind the elimination of Left politics in Pakistan but the major reason was the heavy-handed state-sponsored suppression. However, after the pause for two decades, the Left is emerging once again. There is a link between the fall of Left politics in Pakistan and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, but there are other factors as well such as the state repression and factionalism in the Left due to the international intervention (Shahjahan I. , 2020).

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union the Left leadership disappeared from the political scene and the cadre and workers were left alone. Most of the Left leaders and workers were shocked over the disintegration of the Soviet Union and a general confusion reigned among their ranks. All the factions of the CPP disappeared; all of the first, second and third tier leadership, except Imam Ali Nazish,[15] fell with the fall of the Soviet Union. In such a confusing environment, former members of the CPP from Lahore started a movement to promote human rights. Minhas himself founded a joint action committee of people's right, which worked for reclaiming the political and social rights that were usurped by the martial law regime of General Zia. Minhas believes that the USSR used to export the policy guidelines through the top leadership of the Communist Party. It also used to send political literature and propaganda material to

[13] Afzal Khamosh is the nephew of Chairman Adam Khan. Khamosh came into prominence when he, through a press conference, denounced the merger of MKP in Awami Nation Party (ANP) in July 1886 and restored MKP (Waheedullah, 2020).

[14] The faction of Afzal Bangash went into background with the death of Afzal Bangash and the expulsion of Kamil Bangash from the ANP. However, the faction is re-organised since 2017 under the leadership of Ahmad Ali Salar.

[15] The general secretary of the CPP (also secretary general of all communist parties of Asia (Waheedullah, 2020) remained underground since 1950s (Azhar, 2013).

Pakistan in English, Urdu and Pashto languages. The literature was imported by the People's Publishing House Lahore. The Soviet Union did not provide any money, arms or any resources to the Communist Party of Pakistan. Only an opportunity of education in the Soviet Union or Eastern European countries was provided to the Left workers and their children (Minhas, 2020).

The Maoist party in Pakistan –Mazdoor Kissan Party– also went through disintegration. CPP, Pakistan Socialist Party and MKP were the three main Left parties in the country at the time of the Soviet Union's disintegration, and all of them withered away [16] (Minhas, 2020). Trade unions also suffered a massive setback after the repression of Zia-ul-Haq (Sulehria M. F., 2008).

Dr. Syed Muhammad Azeem (ex-Genera Secretary MKP, teaching faculty at LUMS, author of progressive books and Left political activist) is of the opinion that during the Cold War, the establishment in Pakistan was receiving orders from the USA and CPP was directed by the Soviet political leaders and when the USSR as a country was no more on the globe, the Left in Pakistan felt bereaved. Soviet Union's foreign policy acted as guiding principles for the pro-Soviet Marxists in India since the time of M. N. Roy. The Pakistani Left was also required to make contribution in undoing Western propaganda and promote the Soviet stance in world affairs (Azeem, 2020).

According to the seasoned politician Syed Mukhtar Bacha (member of CPP since 1971, and now the provincial president of National Party), the Left shattered and splintered after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Though some Marxists still believe in the revival of classic Marxism, however many Leftists believe that Marxist goals can be achieved only through democracy. In the first stage, Left should struggle for social securities. Health facilities, free education, opportunity of jobs, security of old age pension, etc. can be achieved through social democracy. Only after achieving the status of social democrat then a struggle for socialism can be launched, which would be the second stage in the struggle of Marxists. It is the job of the Leftists to prepare the masses for social democracy. Bacha (2019) is of the opinion that "Marxism will reappear in the world, and in Pakistan, because no one can reject the concepts of Marxism, i.e., dialectical materialism, class struggle and surplus value".

Jan Pervez Khan Advocate (ex-provincial general secretary Democratic Students Federation and Subhan Ullah Advocate (ex-general secretary Pakistan National Party, Secretary CMKP, Qaumi Mazdoor Tehreek, Progressive Writers Association) are of the opinion that

> "Disintegration of the Soviet Union harmed the political Left in Pakistan and at the same time it exposed the structural weakness of Leftist political parties. It was revealed to the workers that the leadership of Left political parties was dishonest and corrupt. The leadership was not genuine and with the fall of the Soviet Union, they even looted the party assets. The fraternal international socialist parties used to help Marxist parties in Pakistan, but these funds were never used for the welfare of the workers".

The Left scattered with the disintegration and even after many efforts they are unable to reunite. The actual cause of the fall of Marxist politics in Pakistan is not the disintegration of the Soviet Union, but it is the untruthfulness of the leadership. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, some of the Marxists joined social organisations, others Progressive Writers' Association and some joined Tablighi Jamaat (Islamic missionary movement) (Khan A. J., 2019), (Ullah, 2019).

Mr. Abdur Rauf, (age 95 years, who claimed to be the only living card-holder member of the CPI since 1945, and proprietor of NAP's biggest ex-publishing house the 'People's Publishing House') admits that "disintegration of the Soviet Union was indeed a discouraging phenomenon for the pro Left elements in

[16] Mazdoor Kissan Party was divided into four groups, Socialist Party of Pakistan into three groups and CPP into two (later in three) groups (Hussain D. M., 2016, p. 144).

Pakistan. However, after a lapse of a few years, Leftists reached the conclusion that Soviet Union's disintegration was the result of a historical process". The Soviet Union did not disintegrate due to any flaw in the theory of Marxism; it collapsed due to the bureaucratic approach of the Communist Party and finally, policies of Mikhail Gorbachev led to the debacle. The acknowledgment and comprehension of this thesis helped Marxists in Pakistan to get out of total disappointment (Rauf, 2020).

Some of the scholars and political workers believe that there was either no impact or there was a positive impact of Soviet Union's disintegration on Left politics in Pakistan. The head of the Labour Party Pakistan and prominent author Farooq Tariq said, while addressing the Second Congress of AWP in December 2017, disintegration of the Soviet Union had a positive impact on Left politics in Pakistan. Earlier, our leaders were bound to follow policies of Moscow, which were not necessarily compatible with ground realities of Pakistan (Tariq F. , 2017). In the times of Soviet Union, the opponents of Marxism used to blame Marxists in Pakistan as followers of an atheist nation. Now the Pakistani Leftists are free from such blames and they can convey their message to the people more easily (Khan Q. , 2020). Marxists have realised that they must have their own organic Left. The Left leadership apprehended that they will have to bring a revolution on their own without any foreign support.

The groups following Trotskyite traditions (Tabaqati Jadojahid, Lal Salam) argue that collapse of the Soviet Union had been predicted by Lenin in 1921 and Leon Trotsky in 1934. Other than these two persons no researcher in the world could foresee the disintegration of the Soviet Union even in 1990. The inevitable disintegration happened due to the wrong ideology of Stalin and his followers. The followers of Trotsky in Pakistan had no associations with Moscow and that is why the disintegration did not impact their line of action (Pal, 2019).

Professor Dr. Sarfraz Khan, political activist and ex-director, Area Study Centre (Russia, China and Central Asia), University of Peshawar, explains that disintegration of the Soviet Union had both positive and negative impacts on Left politics in Pakistan. The State organs were scared of the radical progamme of Marxist political parties in Pakistan. The State labelled Left political workers as the Soviet agents, rebels, non-believers and atheists, etc. in order to justify its crackdown against them. Now after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the State is not scared of the Left in a sense that it is not capable of overthrowing the government and taking over the system. The State relented in repression because presently the Left is good for nothing. "Now the State is scared of such elements which are struggling for democracy in the country" (Khan P. D., 2020).

The provincial president of Pakistan Mazdoor Kissan Party (Khamosh group) Mr. Shakeel Waheedullah thinks that the disintegration of Soviet Union impacted the Left politics severely only in Pakistan. The Marxists in Pakistan, unlike India, Nepal and other countries, were under the hegemonic influence of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and they were more dependent on Moscow for their political survival. Only the top communist leaders of Pakistan had contacts and communication ties with Moscow and sometimes these leaders did not properly interpret the guidelines of Moscow and the workers were kept in dark. On the other side the committed workers did not raised objections over the actions of their leadership because of the high respect towards the leaders. The Marxists in Pakistan were not properly disciplined and trained rather they were waiting for the import of a readymade revolution (Waheedullah, 2020).

During the time of USSR, the work of Marxists in Pakistan was easy in a sense that they used to refer to the extraordinary Soviet development in science and technology while propagating Left ideologies, however, now the Marxists have no such readymade model to be presented to the masses. Religious extremism is an external challenge faced by the Left in Pakistan. Religious extremism is still used as a tool to counter the Left ideology in Pakistan (Rahman D. T., 2020). Some ex-Marxists who have switched over to other political philosophies, like (Ali L. , 2020) (Minhas, 2020), (Zaidi J. H., 2020), etc., reject the idea and think that there is no external threat to the Left politics in Pakistan and the Marxists are free to work in Pakistan. Now the practice of the implementation of Moscow-exported readymade policies has been over. The

Pakistani Left can devise their own policies, free of Soviet intervention, according to the local needs and environment. Moreover, in connection with Soviet Union, Marxists in Pakistan were often labeled as atheists. In the post-Soviet period, the label of supporters of atheism has washed away and it is easy for Marxists to spread their message without fear (Khan Q. , 2020).

The Left has an opportunity to thrive as it did in the 1960s, because the mainstream political parties have failed to deliver despite being in power. The successive failure of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and the Pakistan People's Party and now the poor governance on behalf of the Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf show that the national politics in Pakistan is facing an absence of far-sighted leadership. The Left, while believing in collective human wisdom and visionary leadership, must lead and go ahead in organising the masses on a minimum agenda (Minhas, 2020).

The Leftists in Pakistan are evenly committed to their cause as they were in the past, because the fall of Soviet Union is not the fall of socialist ideology. The fall of socialism was the result of the policies and ideology of Joseph Stalin (Kareem, 2020). Now the trend is different, people and intellectuals are ready to join it, not only due to the rise of Leftist ideas globally but also because of the discontent from capitalism. To fill the political vacuum, the Left must first get rid of the old leadership, because it is not quick in responding to social and political issues of the time. The old cadre[17] cannot come out of the circumstances and mentality of the Cold War and they are unable to sort out the present issues. The new Left scholarship considers religion as part of the culture and it has no issues with it and considers religion as a personal choice of individuals (Azeem, 2020). The dilemma with the old guard is that their predictable and less critical political stance is not appealing to the young activists. Some new people are entering the Left in general and in Trotskyite tradition in particular. Left politics is getting popular among the new generation, but Marxist parities and organisations are in the grip of the old generation and the young has not established a Left party yet. The Leftist political thoughts are emerging internationally and the young activists are attached with the international revolutionaries and are getting inspiration from them. The future of Left in Pakistan would be decided by the enthusiasm of young participants (Rahman D. T., 2020). For this purpose, a broader party for the welfare of common man should be established and anti-capitalist and anti-feudalists politics should be focused (Ali L. , 2020). Dr. Shahnaz Khan thinks that the Left should move with a new strategy because the global capital and concept of nation State is very strong. Left can exploit the chance of its revival only if it is able to mobilise the masses (Khan D. S., 2020).

Left Political Parties in Pakistan

Three parties emerged out of the merger of CPP and MKP; one is CMKP, the second is MKP and the third is CPP. Since then the CPP and MKP experienced splits and they exist with factions as the splinters leaders have established their own faction of CPP and MKP. The Communist Mazdoor Kissan Party also exists under the leadership of Mahfooz Khan Shujaat of Multan.

Various Left political parties/organisations have been founded after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and many Left groups and parties aligned with the like-minded Left groups/parties. Other than the traditional Marxist parties in Pakistan (i.e. CPP and MKP), four new Left parties have emerged in Pakistan. One of these three parties is Awami Workers Party (AWP) which was established in 2012 by merging three Left political parties. The three merged parties were combinations of several small groups, however, thses groups are struggling to keep intact their Party. The other Left party which emerged in 2003 is the National Party (NP). The Balochistan-based party remained in provincial government for two and a half year (2013-2015) as a consequence of a deal with Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz. The third is Brabari Party Pakistan which was founded in 2017. The prominent Urdu & Punjabi singer Jawad Ahmad is its chairman. United Pakistan is a Left political party which is working for the implementation of the philosophy of the religious

[17] For this study, Old Cadre is the bunch of Leftists who are in the politics since 1980s or even before it. The new cadre is composed of the Marxists who have joined politics after the disintegration of Soviet Union.

scholars namely Shah Wali Ullah and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. Pakistan Inqilabi Party (PIP) is the youngest Left party which has been founded in 2020 by the ex-members of National Students Federation. Moreover, the Trotskyite organisations like Jeddojahad and Lal Salam along with the peasant committees and progressive writers' associations are also active. Three of these parties, excluding PIP are registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). The electoral symbol of NP is the hand tool 'Saw', Barabari Party Pakistan's symbol is writing/fountain 'Pen' and the symbol of AWP is electric light 'Bulb'.

Soviet Union's Dinsintegratin Impact on CPP

After the disintegration of Soviet Union, the major Left parties in Pakistan, i.e. CPP and MKP, merged together and formed Communist Mazdoor Kissan Party (CMKP). However, some members of the CPP did not approve the merger of CPP and MKP in early 1990s (and thus the formation of MKP) and they established a separate Democratic Group under the leadership of Engineer Jamil Ahmad Malik (Malik J. A., 2020). Nevertheless, in 1999, Imadadullah Kazi and Maula Bux Khaskheli decided to restore the CPP. In 2002, the CPP split again (Dawn, 2002) on the occasion of the Seventh Congress of the party in 2002 at Hyderabad and a faction under the leadership of Rauf Korai (Khalid Thaheem group) splintered from the CPP (Dawn, 2003). Jamil Malik[18] and his Democratic Group rejoined the CPP on the occasion of the same Congress. Nonetheless, Jameel Malik was expelled from CPP (Imdad Kazi) in 2006 and he established another faction of CPP (Rahman T. , 2006).

Now, the CPP is divided into three factions. One faction is led by its chairman Engineer Jameel Ahmad Malik with Mehraj Gull Khattak as the General Secretary. Another faction is led by its Secretary General Imdad Kazi and the third by its Secretary General Khadim Thaheem Advocate. Jameel Ahmad Malik, who has been a member of the CPP since 1969, claims that CPP (Jamil Malik) remained registered with the ECP with the election symbol of 'Sickle' from 2012 to 2017. CPP (Jameel Malik) is a democratic party and believes in political change through elections and not through armed struggle. The decision to abandon armed struggle was taken in the Seventh Congress of the Party held at Hyderabad in 2002. The CPP (Jamil Malik) is "against naked aggression of American imperialism … and to build Pakistan a socialist country." Jameel Malik claimed that only his faction remained registered with the ECP and maintains a website, while the other two factions are neither/never registered with the ECP nor have any website. Jamil Malik adds: "The other factions of CPP are neither joining the democratic struggle nor they believe in armed struggle." The CPP (Jamil Malik) faction is against the role of army in the political affairs of the country (Malik J. A., 2006).

The CPP (Kazi) believes that "three groups are ruling the country and despite having differences, they are united to loot hapless people". One of them is the elected government, the second is security organisations and the third is American and international financial agencies. "The people of Pakistan must understand the prevailing situation and prepare for a revolution to get rid of the exploitative forces" (Dawn, 2011).

CPP (Khalid Thaheem) criticises the role of the army in political affairs of the country and insists that "the army should restrict itself to its professional responsibilities". The party is also against the increasing role of multinational companies in Pakistan's economic affairs (Dawn, 2003). The general secretary of the party believes that "the outdated constitution is an obstacle to reforms" (Dawn, 2008). The party has "stressed the need for a new democratic and secular constitution in the country" (Dawn, 2002). Khalid Tahheem demands the "feudal system should be declared unconstitutional and the right of the farmer over the land be accepted as a law" (Dawn, 2009).
Communist Party of Pakistan (Jamil Malik) called an All Left Parties Conference in the winter of 2020-21 in which 24 Left parties/organisations were invited. However, the Conference failed in a strong impression because only six parties/organisations attended this Conference (Khattak M. G., 2021). The leaders of all

[18] Engineer Jameel Ahmad Malik (district Attock) and his Democratic Group had joined CPP in 2002 (Dawn, 2002). According to (Malik J. A., 2020), the Seventh Congress held from 8 to 10 March 2001 at Hyderabad.

the three factions claim that they are running the original CPP and there is a controversy among them on the possession of the name of the party. CPP (Jameel Malik) took part in the 2013 general elections, but could not win substantial votes (Malik J. A., 2020).

Conclusion

Hegemonic forces in Pakistan tend to use their coercive and non-coercive arms to promote their ideologies. The ruling elite have been promoting its narrative of national ideology, national identity and national interest in the civil society. However, to give credibility to the belief that the ruling elite is above class distinctions, the government grants some concessions in order to accommodate the aspiration of counter-hegemonic elements. "The subaltern groups," according to Gramsci, "will promote 'their' interest in a manner that does not threaten the existing order and is compatible with the established rules of the game" (Katz, 2010).

The hegemonic forces in Pakistan allow for minor changes and adjustments such that they do not challenge the basic power arrangement. This policy of the ruling elite give subaltern groups a feeling that change is possible. Therefore, after a long period of unfriendly environment some spirited Left groups and parties are emerging which are frequently holding their political and ideological activities. However, these parties are divided into small groups which hampers their struggle from translating into meaningful politics. (Jones, 2007, p. 49), (George Hoare, 2016, p. 75). Gramsci gives much importance to the leadership in a revolutionary party. It is the leadership that organises and disciplines the ordinary members of the party as a political force. Gramsci highlights the importance of leadership for a party when he asserts that "in reality it is easier to form an army than to form commanders" (Femia, 1981, pp. 152-53). The Pakistani Left parties are lacking cohesive and innovative leadership whose function is to transform a social group into a 'political army'. Due to this reason the Leftists in Pakistan are scattered, dispersed and politically demotivated.

The Leftists in Pakistan must be committed to the struggle for hegemony and attempt to lead the masses to its control over institutions and ideas. The working class, Gramsci writes, can only "become the leading and the dominant [i.e., hegemonic] class to extent that it succeeds in creating a system of class alliances which allows it to mobilise the majority of the working population against capitalism and bourgeois State". The working-class movements in Pakistan have to understand those issues that are culturally important to the peasants, and make them their own. For the achievement of leadership, Gramsci advises that workers have to stop thinking of themselves as, say, metalworkers or carpenters, or even just as workers. Instead "they must think as workers who are members of a class which aims to lead the peasants and intellectuals" (Jones, 2007, p. 45).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union proved to be the final blow to the fragile and faction ridden Left politics in Pakistan. Though the Communist Party of Pakistan was able to face the hardships during the martial law, but it underwent fragmentation when democracy was restored in Pakistan. The rolling back of communism in East Europe during late 1980s discouraged the Left in Pakistan. The ideological bond among the leaders of the CPP proved less adhesive when the motivating signals from Moscow faded away. The already dismembered party quickly diluted and its leaders who were the heads of their respective groups went in dormancy. Enthusiastic Marxist workers were left all alone in a shock. Some of the Left-leaders switched their activities by embracing other political/social ideologies, some became liberals and joined the NGOs sector,[19] some focused on their professions liking teaching, law, journalism, etc. while others opted for Tablighi Jamaat (Missionary Congress) and "many more became disillusioned" (Azhar, 2013) and yet a few tried to put together the broken pieces of Marxism in Pakistan. Soon after the disintegration, the Left political groups tried to align themselves in a broader alliance. But this experiment failed. During the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Left groups were again scattered.

[19] Afrasyab Khattak, Bushra Gohar, Tariq Fateh, Imtiaz Alam, etc. joined NGOs.

Nonetheless, the second decade of this century saw unification and re-emergence of the Left as a political force. Other than the merger of political groups, some spontaneous Left moments emerged in the previous years, which are viable enough that can "make inroads in Pakistan's social milieu" (Iqbal M. T., 2019).

The Communist Party of Pakistan could not survive the challenges of the new political scenario. The Communist Party in Pakistan remained weak due State oppression and lack of organisational structure. When the global patronage in the form of USSR ended in 1990, the CPP could not recover from this shock. Pakistani communists felt helpless and instead of going into another phase of struggle, the already shabby communist movement fizzled out. The Left in Pakistan developed a tendency of following global issues instead of focusing on local ones. In 1960s, it split with the split of international communism in Sino-Soviet groups and again it splintered with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. It can be assumed that the Left in Pakistan may rise again only with the rise of Left politics on the international scene. Since the disintegration of Soviet Union, the Left in Pakistan is not able to assert its role in the national politics, because it is scattered in various groups and is disconnected from the common people. One of the reasons behind their low popularity is the absence of their perspective in the mainstream national media.

The fragile Communist Party of Pakistan, which was going through the weakest position of its life, withered away with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. After a period of discouragement, the Left in Pakistan started believing that the disintegration of the Soviet Union cannot be linked with the failure of the Marxist philosophy and hence Marxist organisations and parties started re-organising gradually. Today, a new lot, which has no ideological connections with the erstwhile USSR, is ready to occupy the apex position in the Left parties. For the new Leftists, the philosophy of Marx and Lenin and the ideology of communism and socialism still matter but for them the existence and non-existence of the Soviet Union is not an issue at all. The narrative of Left is getting popular as various organisations are publishing their journals and some book-publishers are publishing progressive books. Social media is also helping in spreading the progressive ideas to each corner of the country. Despite the emergence the Left ideology, the State-supported conservative and reactionary narrative is still dominant and prevalent in Pakistan. The hegemon in Pakistan has constructed a narrative that suites the aims of the elite. To de-construct this strong narrative would be a tough job for the still infantile Left.

The Left perspective experienced a dormant period during 1989-2005 and a gradual comeback since the last decade. During the period of hopelessness, some socialist leaders like Dr. Lal Khan (late), Farooq Tariq, Abid Hassan Minto, Mahfooz Khan Shujaat, Syed Mukhtar Bacha and others continued their struggle consistently. The Left politics in Pakistan is emerging but all the factions Communist Party of Pakistan are not stronger enough to play a dominant and assertive role. An inference can be drawn that in near future the Left politics in Pakistan may see a revival but the Communist Party of Pakistan may not.

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