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Topic of the research: Pakhtun Movement in Pakistan: Origins, Development and Transformation 1957-86.

Findings:

1. The Pakhtun movement was a product of rivalry between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which was amplified by the rivalry between the two super powers of that time , USSR and USA. The two great Powers helped Afghanistan and Pakistan according to their selfish interests. The main goal was to contain each other militarily and ideologically. The conflict between the two regional players, that was Afghanistan and Pakistan, was dragged into this great game. This internationalized the conflict as it caught the attention of international media.
2. The international aid that poured in Pakistan and Afghanistan from USA & USSR must have killed the local small-scale industries of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and could have been a trigger of Pakhtun movement having thrown many people out of employment.
3. The invasion of provincial autonomy by the central Government of Pakistan using the one unit plan, that involved the amalgamation of all the provinces into one mega province, was another catalysing factor for the Pakhtun movement in Pakistan and also for altering the nature of the movement.
4. The Nang (honour) tenant of Pakhtunwali further motivated the Pakhtuns to fight for their cause of Pakhtunistan ,adding to the woes of the state of Pakistan. This also altered the dynamics of Pakhtun movement as now they wanted to carve out a independent state of their own under the able leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was backed by Afghanistan which was backed by USSR.
5. The military remained at the receiving end of the foreign aid in Pakistan and hence overthrew the democratic intuitions within Pakistan, which made Pakhtun movement more violent.
6. The aid came through central government of Pakistan as it was meant to be distributed in the provinces. This made central government of Pakistan a resource distributor and eroded the provincial autonomy that was valued as freedom by the Pakhtuns and they rose against this draconian law.
7. The Pakhtun leaders like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan ,who were the grass root leader, gained prominence due to the super power rivalry and lost the objective that was the creation of

Pakhtunistan. The state of Pakistan further aggravated the problem for the movement and its leaders by portraying them as anti-national and hence traitors.

8. The ban on the Pashtu nationalist party , National Awami Party added fuel to fire and reignited the movement.
9. The Mecca declaration called for an immediate withdrawal of USSR troops from Afghanistan and described Red Army as an occupying force. The Mecca conference was backed by the British before, to counter Cairo conference that led to the Saud dynasty becoming the Caliph due to the event of Haj taking place at that time and all the Muslims attending the conference and hence a greater acceptability for Mecca conference. This added to the vows of Pakhtuns as their backing power, USSR was now branded as occupier. Hence, now Pakistan and its media had the legitimacy to brand the Pakhtuns as traitors not only for Pakistan but also of all the Muslims round the globe.
10. Pakhtun movement was bedevilled by the fact that the state of Pakistan was controlled by few. The massive centralisation programme in form of one-unit plan proves this fact. This led to the control of international aid distribution in the hands of few. These few must have prevented the flow of aid from reaching out to the hands of Pakhtuns.

Summary of abstract in 200 words:

This thesis brings out the history and physiography of NWFP with the objective of bringing the geostrategic importance of the region to the readers. The socio-economic aspect of the movement has been discussed to look at the economic and social forces in play behind this movement, which leads to analyse the Afghan help to the movement got due to the aerial bombardment of the Pakhtuns by the Pakistani Air Force. The amity between Pakhtun and Afghan state elites has been discussed, that had been brought out as a result of Najibullah Khan being sent as a special envoy to negotiate access to port of Karachi and trade ,thereby resolving hostilities. This development further stressed the need to deeply analyse Pakhtun movement its ideology and its constituents. The responses it got from various democratic and dictatorial regimes and the constitutional arrangements made to integrate them in the Pakistani society has been brought out.