

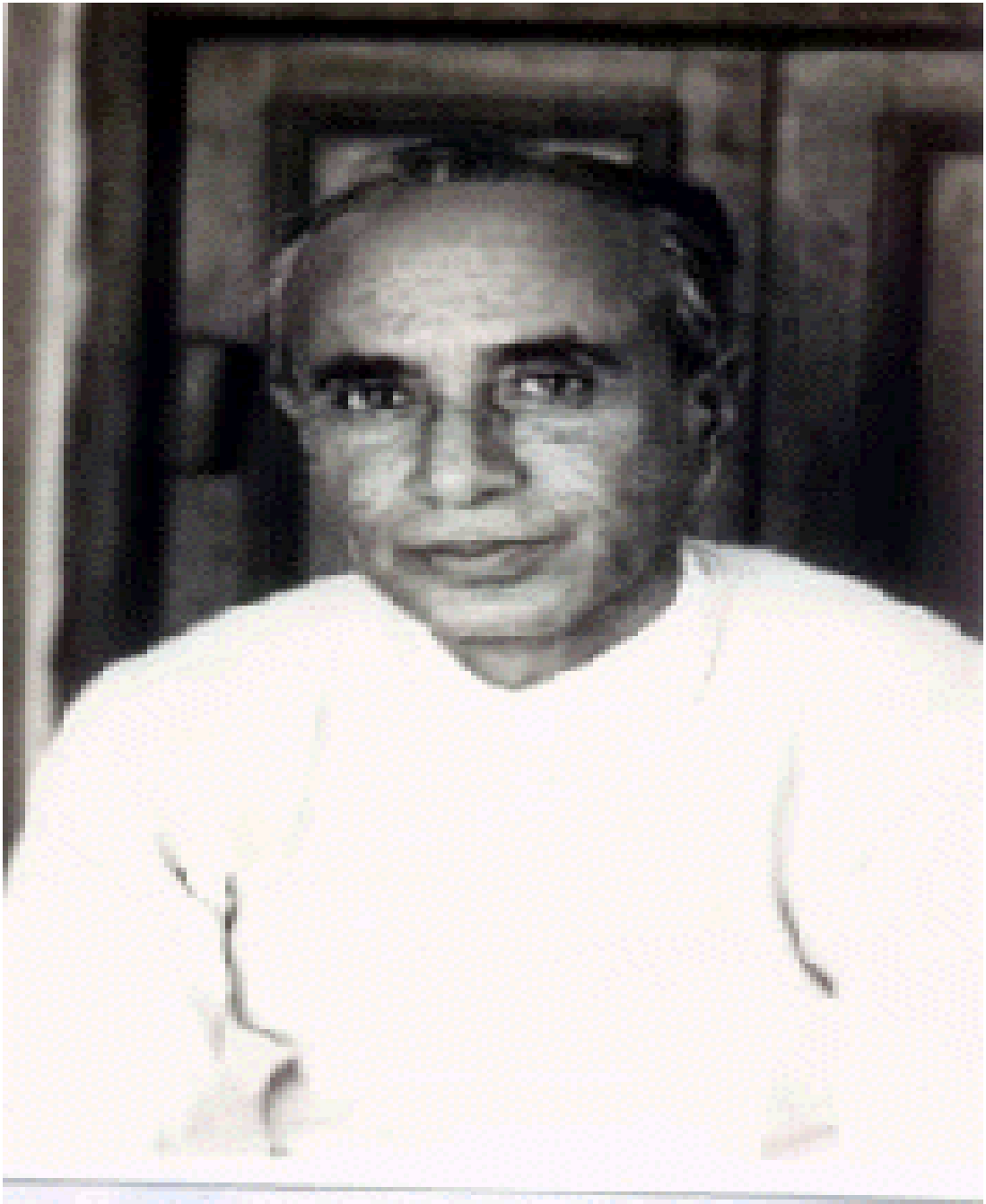
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A Nation In Chains - Sindhudesh

About the book

A thesis for a separate homeland for Sindhis. This book was first published in 1974. It laid the foundations for the Sindhi Nationalist Movement. A complete social, political, economical and philosophical argument supporting the formation of 'Sindhudesh.'

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Sindhu Desh was born with the birth of Mother Earth. Our attachment with it, too, is as old and ancient as that. As the days pass into nights and the seasons change, man, observes his regime of wakefulness and sleep and register the effect of the change. Like individuals, the peoples also have their cycles of hibernation and soulfulness of life and activity. At certain times of their history, they rise and took some giant steps on the road to civilization heights, and putting a mile stone or two on the path, they slow down and then step aside to catch breath some times even slide down dangerously and wait quietly for the chance to rise and get the way again.

Sindhu Desh is the land of the people, noted for their ancient civilization and culture. They have had a remarkably magnificent past. For some period in their recent history, they hose to forget their status as a people and fell into a regret able bout of slumber, and permitted themselves to be overrun and ruled by alien peoples.

We, the present generation of the people of Sindhu Desh are the product of that hapless period of our history.

After separation of Sindhu from Bombay Presidency in India in 1936 when we found our political freedom, economic prosperity and cultural growth check mated at home, we over reacted, and largely misconceiving the situation, held the Hindu vested interests, to be responsible for it. Consequently, we chose to see the solution of the situation in the establishment of Pakistan the land of the holy (Muslim) people.

It is said, "the path to bell is paved with good intentions". We too strove to gain Pakistan, with a view to attaining the following objectives:

1. Establishment of separate states of the local Muslim peoples in the Muslim majority areas in the Indian sub continent, in order to provide them with full opportunities for progress and development, in accordance with the ways and traditions of their life.
2. Promotion and establishment of mutual co operation among such separate Muslim states in order to ensure their political freedom, economic prosperity, and cultural growth. We have now expended full twenty-seven years on this experiment. We should now be in a position to appraise the performance and measure the fulfillment.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE MUSLIM STATES

Muslim rulers held their sovereignty over a large part of the Indian sub continent, for a great number of years although; almost entirely this rule was personal and tribal.

Under these ruler ships, certain classes and coteries of Muslims, almost exclusively belonging to the non Indian descent who arrived in India with or in the wake of the invading armies, established their vested interests as land owning gentry or officials in government establishments. The Maulvi, the Pir, the feudalist and the mandarins, constituting themselves as serving Muslim aristocracy and who benefited the most under these personal tribal seats of power, found their privileged position better ensured and protected in calling these establishments the Muslim States or better still, the Islamic States.

The Muslim aristocracy, thus entrenched, adopted two positions, choosing one or the other as it suited their purpose, for safe guarding their social, economic and political hegemony in India.

First, as later in the period of Mughal Imperial Rule, they would exert to preserve the vested interests by basing the State Power on *semi settler* foundations seeking help and support both of the Muslim and the Hindu powerful tribes. This approach, speaking in broad terms, worked, to an extent to the benefit of both the Hindu and the Muslim communities and easily won a considerable measure of popular acceptance in the sub continent. In course of time, however, this approach proved a failure. Solely because of the element of mistake, inherent in its basic formulation viz., joining religion with politics, under a patronizing show of impartiality, for purposes of States administration.

Second, on failure of the semi secular approach, the Muslim Aristocracy sought to protect and enlarge their vested interest by building exclusive Muslim domination in the affairs of State, basing all State Power on theocracy, throwing out secular politics completely out of the field. This could evidently lead to disaster, as it actually did, under the realities and in the steady awakening of political atmosphere and social and economic life in the sub continent.

The British power, armed with superiority's gained from Industrial Revolution back at home, soon walked in, and established its thorough imperialist domination in the subcontinent. The Muslim aristocracy, left high and dry, found it self divided into two camps. One consisted of those who sought to dislodge the British and restore the Mughal rule with the support of the outside friendly Muslim powers and the local Hindu Chieftains. That move, however, failed on the fields of the war of liberation of 1857, and its leading members had to suffer terribly in the cause. The other group sought to save and maintain their privileged positions and vested interests secured by them during the Mughal days, by collaborating fully and unconditionally with the alien imperialist British Raj.

Some time later, when the British imperialists, under pressure of the rising public opinion in India and the world opinion generated under the two world wars conditions started offering political reforms to the people of India on democratic basis. This last group of the upper class Muslim Collaborators fearing injury to their class interests under democracy, first strove to protect the same by consolidating and further expanding areas of their collaboration with the British. However, on seeing the freedom movement gathering momentum and advancing irresistibly, they revised their policy, and with the help and support of their British masters, started movement for establishing sovereign independent states in the Muslim majority provinces, in an arrangement superlatively called Pakistan.

The Muslim upper classes of the Muslim majority Provinces did not apprehend any challenge to their vested interests in conditions of democratic political freedom. These and the common Muslims in those Provinces were, however incited to join the movement for Pakistan by holding out to them temporizing prospects of :

1. Establishment of independent sovereign Muslim states in their Provinces.
2. Introduction of a way of life in those states in full accord with the injunctions of Islam and holy traditions of the Prophet.
3. Freedom of the Muslims of these Provinces from the real or imaginary economic domination of the non Muslims, i.e., the Hindus; and
4. Establishment of Unity of all the Muslim Countries, with Pakistan as the hub center of the chosen brotherhood.

For the attainment of these tantalizing objectives, the Muslim vested interests in the Muslim minority Provinces invented the theory of separate nationhood of Muslims. This theory of the nation had its basis solely on considerations of religion. And although, none of the people in any Muslim Country of the world believed in any such theory, the Muslim masses

of Sindh, Baluchistan, Pakhtoonistan, and Bengal were soon taken in under the lavish use of Islam's name as an adulatory brief for it. They could not foresee the price they were to pay for the dubious privilege of being termed a nation on basis of religion. They could not realize in time the utter barrenness of the theory both in terms of any national gain or even as a leverage for attaining Islam's power and glory in the world. They were swept completely off their feet in the exuberance of religious favor, remaining utterly oblivious of their fate as victims of the cruel hoax.

Some of us who all the time remained conscious of the national distinctness of the People of Sindh and of their significant past history, participated in the movement for Pakistan solely for the purpose of ensuring thereby political independence, economic prosperity and cultural advancement of Sindh. We remained convinced throughout of the validity of the teaching of our great political thinkers like Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Allama I. I. Kazi and others who considered the Sindhi people a separate nation. In spite of these convictions, if we joined hands with advocates of the religious nationality theory, who in fact clandestinely strove only to establish the Muhajir Punjabi exploitative hegemony over the Muslim majority provinces. Our sole reason for such a participation was the most unambiguously declared objective of the Pakistan movement, as defined in the 1940 Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League, to found "Independent and Sovereign States" in the Muslim majority Provinces in the sub continent. Mr. Jinnah, when questioned, soon after at his press conference in Madras as to the meaning and effect of the above words in the Pakistan Resolution, most unequivocally declared that "Punjab, for example, will be an independent and Sovereign State"

It was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his group of workers only, in the Muslim majority areas, whose even in those days, could see through the game and did not get into the trap of the "Two Nation Theory", which the dying Muslim privilege in India was trumpeting about for salvaging its sinking fortunes in Indian life.

At the start, we here in Sindh, participated in the Pakistan movement, under the leadership of Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, on the basis of the theory of separate Muslim nationhood, but soon after we ourselves could see through the class intentions of the Muslim Vested interests of the Muslim minority Provinces and those of our own exploitative Muslim elements who joined with them for the fool hardy and shortsighted purpose of gaining sole positions of power and privilege locally at the cost of their Hindu rivals. Realizing the above, we parted company and came out of the Muslim league.

Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947. At the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder and its first Governor General, made a declaration. That was timely, appropriate and the most devastating in importance in the context of the two nation theory on the basis of which the Muslim League, under his own Presidentship, fought for the partitioning of the Indian sub continent and establishment of Pakistan. This declaration of Quaid-e-Azam stands as a complete and most decisive rebuttal of the theory of nation on basis of religion, over which Pakistan was founded. Following is the ad verbatim report of the speech as officially published.

"Now if we want to make this Great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of the people and specially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his color, cast or creed, is first, second and last, a citizen of this State, with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make."

"I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community, because even as regards Muslims, you have Pathan, Punjabis, Shiyas, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, and also Bengalis, Madrasis and so on will vanish. Indeed, if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance, and but for this, we should have been free peoples long ago. No power on earth can hold another nation and specially a nation 400 million souls in subjection nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this (Applause) Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques, or to any other place of worship in the State of Pakistan, for you may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State (Hear, hear). As you know, the history shows that in England conditions some times ago were much worse than those prevailing in India today were. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination between one caste or creed or another. We are starting with this, fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of One State (Loud applause). The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation, had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by Government of their country, and they went through that fire step by step. Today you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are all members of the nation."

" Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal matter of individual citizen, but in the political sense and as citizens of the State."

The same Mr. Jinnah, on the 23rd of March 1940, at the Lahore session of All India Muslim League, said the following:

"There is no doubt that Musalmans are to elect their representatives on the constituent Assembly through separate electorate. That is a good thing but decisions on Constitution are nevertheless to be taken by majority. Should there be difference on any issue between the minority and the majority, who will decide the point?"

"All the talk today takes place on the assumption that Musalmans are a minority. We have got so used to this that we are not able to think any other way. We have totally forgotten the fact that Musalmans are not a minority but, in every sense and from all view points they are a separate nation."

The political argument developed, by Mr. Jinnah in his speech quoted in these extracts can exactly apply mutandis to the claim of Sindhi people to be treated as a nation and not as a minority in Pakistan.

"The problems then in India is not of an inter communal but manifestly of international character and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster as will prove destructive and harmful not only to Muslims but to the British and Hindus also."

"There is no reason why these States should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political Supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various minorities."

"It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real natures of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, quite different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality."

"This misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religion philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither inter marry nor inter dine and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations, which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their outlooks on and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics and episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise. Their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State."

Before commenting on the contradiction involved in the two positions as revealed in Mr. Jinnah's two speeches quoted above, it would be better to quote him from another speech of his, which he made on the 28th of September, 1939, at the Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan. Addressing the Old Boys of the University at their annual "get together", he said:

"In matters of life, I am basically a realist, and have always followed pragmatic approach in politics. The terms nationality and nationalism have meant different things to different people, according to practical bearings thereof upon their given interests. Strictly speaking, I am still a nationalist. I have always stood for Hindu Muslim Unity. But that unity and understanding should be honorable and just, and not that one party should grow all powerful, while the other may not exist."

Studying the three declarations, explicit as they are, it becomes clear that Mr. Jinnah, while advocating the separate Muslim nationality theory, remained throughout a believer in Indian Nationalism, Strictly speaking". It was because of lack of an "honorable understanding" for settlement that, Pragmatic" or practical politician as he was, he spoke of Muslim nationhood and separate Muslim State or States in the sub continent. And when Pakistan was actually established, he without losing a moment, called upon his followers and all citizens in Pakistan "to work in cooperation forgetting the past," told them unequivocally that you may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State" that "We are all citizens and equal citizens of one State," and that "in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal matter of individual citizen, but in the political sense and as citizens of the State."

What was Mr. Jinnah's actual mind in holding forth so brazenly with these contradictions? Firstly, Mr. Jinnah was never at all a principled politician. His was a pragmatic approach in affairs of life. He hesitated at least in changing his

standpoints as and when it suited his purposes. Secondly, Mr. Jinnah had a very patchy and incomplete knowledge of Islam. He had no true contact with the Muslim masses either. Thirdly, he was only playing the role of an expert and efficient advocate holding and defending his brief for the waning Muslim Vested Interests of the Muslim minority, Provinces, who, while seeing their privileged position under challenge in conditions of democracy in a free India strove to provide themselves with a safe heaven in a separate country, where they would install and preserve their vested interests, and put their exploitative talents to the best and safest use.

It was for this very objective that Mr. Jinnah has changed his mind, towards nearly the fag end of his life, from being a strong Indian nationalist to a pragmatic Muslim separatist; had worked and brought about partitioning of the sub continent; and had finally re asserted his faith on secular nationalism in place of religions nationalism as he realized that alone could ensure security, stability and well being of the new State founded by him. He thus disparaged Indian Nationalism and sponsored Muslim Nationalism only as an argument for the sake of argument, and, on gaining his point, immediately gave it up, as an argument no more needed. He was a secular nationalist to begin with and when he saw that was the only way to run a modern State, he promptly came back to it and spoke of Pakistani nationalism, he knows that no country in the world could ever accept the concept of nation on basis of religion.

Unfortunately for him, however, as he was totally wrong in his argument for his brief for Pakistan as a political concept, he was equally wrong, though in a different way, also in the argument for his brief for Pakistan as a political fact. When he addressed the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11th, 1947, and adumbrated Pakistani Nationalism as theory for running Pakistan in place of Muslim Nationalism which brought it about, he was turning his blind eye to the following very pertinent facts of nature and history:

- There was no country, nor any nation, in the Indian sub continent known to history at any stage as Pakistan or Pakistani Nation.
- Historically, the States which had been collected together and formed into a Pakistan were each a separate homeland for a separate nation.
- Culturally, politically and economically, too, these were the countries and nations, each being not only a distinct but also even an exclusive entity existing in its own right.
- Considerations, which could weigh with any body for denying status of one nation or one country to India, could exactly, and even in greater weight apply to Pakistan for withholding the same status from it.
- To begin with, Pakistan was not a country nor the peoples living in it were a nation by any modern definition of the term. They could, however be welded into one nation and one country, just as Indian sub continent too could have been so welded, through "honorable and just understanding" and settlement among different national interests living in it.

In brief, Mr. Jinnah, in his secular nationalism for Pakistan was becoming guilty of the same mistaken approach as he himself had seen castigated in the stand point of the Indian National Congress vis a vis its Indian "Nationalism". A very prolonged and sustained effort, on the basis of mutual understanding for living together, was needed for converging individual interests of different national entities living in Pakistan, as in Indian sub continent, into one, and for forging an impregnable and lasting unity out of them to emerge into living history as a well knit and fully viable nation.

To talk about a thing or to express an opinion on it is not a matter of much difficulty. It is an entirely different thing; however, to translate into reality what one professes to stand for. To weld divergent peoples living for thousands of years under variegated geographical conditions, into one could not, by any way, be an easy proposition. The peoples, with established homelands of theirs, joined under the new state administration, had their linguistic divergences, to start with. Their national temperaments, customs and traditions and political and economic interests differed visibly. There were also the conflicts in history, which turned what was good for some into the bad for others. Their differences of this kind stood petrified, in certain cases in their language expressions. The Sindhi Language in this connection, had the following citations to offer: "Oh, our beloved Sindh, thou art under the menace ever from the direction of Qandhar"; "Allow one Punjabi in, the second is bound to sneak in, and when they are two together, mind your person and your home", "Spare the snake and kill the Punjabi Muhajir".

Mr. Jinnah, in turn, instead of blunting the edges of conflict and soothing the sore spots among such mutually dissimilar peoples, did his worst to aggregate differences and widen the schisms among them by the following thoughtless moves of his probably the result of over estimation on his part of his powers, allowing his exuberance at earlier easy political successes to get better of his discretions:

1. The First move of his that planted a tough and growing suspicion in the mind of the original peoples who came together in Pakistan, was the move at imposition of Urdu as the national Language on them, the language of the Muslim Vested Interests of the Muslim minority Provinces of India, a large portion of whom had already migrated into Pakistan and were jockeying for the privileged position in the country similar to the one they held back at home, thereby causing the peoples, whose mother tongues were thus being ignored, apprehensions of conditions building up for Muhajir cultural domination in their homelands.
2. The second un-statesman like move of Mr. Jinnah, which too served as a divisive move rather than a cementing one for the peoples of Pakistan, was his effort at concentrating all power at the center and making the Central Government overwhelmingly strong, ignoring completely the rights and privileges of the original Pakistan Peoples with the exception of the people of the Punjab, who by dint of absolute majority in West Pakistan and their monopolist hold on the military forces were already in the position of masters in the country thereby causing the rest of the smaller peoples apprehensions of conditions building up for the Muhajir Punjabi political domination in their homelands.
3. The third wrong move, which ignited fires of mistrust and suspicion among the peoples in Pakistan was the move by Mr. Jinnah to send for high Civil Servants from the Muslim minority provinces of India and install them in superior administrative positions in the country, who, assuming thereby airs of alien conquerors, began to rule the local population with haughty indifference to their interests, utilizing their entire power and influence for nothing but nepotism, favoritism and self aggrandizement.
4. Mr. Jinnah dismembered Sindh by cutting off Karachi, its leading city, from it and handed it over to the Central administration with Liaquat Ali Khan as its head, for colonization of the city by Muhajirs.
5. Mr. Jinnah persecuted the nationalist Muslims workers in Pakistan ruthlessly, even after he, on his own part, had publicly discarded the Muslim nationality theory. This pursuit of mere vendetta, then, shut out all avenues of reconciliation and understanding which was otherwise a pre condition for taking first cautious steps towards building Pakistani Nationalism in due course.

6. Mr. Jinnah offered, in almost its entirety, the evacuee property of limitless value, left behind by the Sindhi Hindus and Sikhs, to the Muhajirs mostly the Urdu speaking Muhajirs, hailing from U.P., C.P. and Hyderabad Deccan, who, treating the entire property as nothing but war booty, grabbed it as right fully be longing to them as victorious soldiers of Islam and conquerors of the land of infidels. The local (Muslim) people were not only deliberately kept deprived of any share worth the name in this property, but were in many cases, even dispossessed of any customary or legal right they held in it.
7. Mr. Jinnah, declaring Pakistan to be the homeland of all the Muslims of the Indian Sub continent opened its borders to measureless immigration of Muslims from India, exposing the local nationalities particularly the Sindhis, to the threat of their population to be unbalanced and thus reduced from majority into a minority in their own homelands.

Mr. Jinnah's life did not last long. It would never be possible, therefore, to assess with any degree of confidence as to how he would have translated into reality what he declared, towards the end of his life, to be his belief regarding the concept of nationhood, viz., that religion being a personal matter of an individual, it had nothing to do with the business of the State, and that there was no nation like Muslim nation in the world and that the people of Pakistan irrespective of their religious pursuits, were first, second and last citizens and equal citizens of the State. The Muslim Vested Interests of the Muslim minority provinces in India i.e., the Muhajirs in Pakistan whose hero and representative he had set himself out to be, did not, however, accept Mr. Jinnah's view point, but all the more vehemently stuck to their self induced belief of separate Muslim nation hood their emerging economic vested interests including the ones subsisting in the evacuees property loot, in Pakistan, could not permit them to give up the theory. All this, on the contrary, strengthened their loyalty to the theory, since that alone was the guarantee and protection for their ill gotten wealth and property and for their privileged position, which they had been able to secure in the name of that theory, in Pakistan. They argued in favor of the theory further in their mind thus:

1. Since different populations who had joined Pakistan possessed different languages, past history, culture and political and economic interests and had geographically well defined areas as their homelands, they could live together only in the name of religion, on which basis they had untidily brought about the partitioning of the sub continent. If the religious basis of the arrangement were given up, there would soon arise the questions of national status and the right of self-determination of these different populations, which would surely weaken the foundations of Pakistan and lead to an unmanageable situation absolutely.
2. Since the forces of genuinely interested in the continuance of the arrangements comprise only the Muhajir Punjabi patriotic axis, theirs should be the condition of overwhelming advantage in the scheme of things in Pakistan, so as to keep their stake in its preservation as high and pressing as possible. Moreover, the Muhajir Punjabi axis could retain their said advantage in the country only on the basis of the religious nationality theory and on no other basis.
3. Since the original motivation for establishment of Pakistan was to provide a grant locale for the settlement and colonization of Indian Muslims and transplantation of their vested interests, and the two nation theory was devised as a rationale for the operation, the entire purpose will be lost with the acceptance of Mr. Jinnah's mental somersault at this stage.

Thus Pakistan's politics, with the very inception of the State, stood divided into two strains pulling in opposite directions:

1. There were the original people of the area, who considering their newly won freedom from alien British occupation a blessing, desired to work for consolidation of their political freedom and for development of their economic prosperity and cultural well being, on the basis of their sovereign and independent existence as National States.
2. There was the Muhajir Punjabi axis, and their local agents, holding the other strain in the body politics of Pakistan, who desired nothing but preservation of their vested interests in the name of religion, for carrying on, unchallenged, their ruthless exploitation of the country in all fields.

The British imperialism, while quitting India, transferred their Power in Pakistan to their henchmen, the Muslim Vested Interests of the Muslim minority provinces, who collaborated with them originally in their consolidation of power in India, and their Punjabi feudalist and upper class agents, who supplied them with cheap soldiers ready to become cannon fodder in their Imperialist wars outside India and to stand guard as sword arms of their Imperialist over lordship inside the sub continent. These inheritors of the mantle of their masters in subterfuge and ruthlessness, putting fully to use their newly won powers and through all sorts of propaganda, began their rule with total suppression of the voice of their opponents from the first group. The nationalist workers were subjected to torture and ignominy, so as to keep them immobilized completely, and with the help and support of paid local agents and the wildest use possible of the technique of the big lie, the peoples mind was constantly sought to be kept vitiated and fully occupied in irrelevant and vain distractions.

On their part, to begin with, the nationalist leadership, from Bengal, Sindh, Baluchistan and Paktoonistan, convened into a conference at Karachi on May 8, 1948, and set up an organization, calling it Peoples Organization (Awami Tanzeem), through which they could operate within available constitutional means, for influencing the course of events, which they could already well see was otherwise heading, under the, Stewardship of the Muhajir Punjabi axis toward disastrous shoaly waters. As chairperson of the Reception Committee for that conference, the writer gave an address, making, among others, the following points:

"I welcome you, on behalf of the people of Sindh, to the land of Sindhu Desh, which holds a very important place today in Pakistan." "It is on this land that the destinies of our different peoples are going to be decided, and it is from here that a voice has to be raised for democratic values to be incorporated in the new constitution so that all concerned may secure their rights in Pakistan". "Friends, the people of Sindh have a unique history. It is, therefore, natural that they should struggle to ensure a bright future for themselves as a people."

"Sindh has remained the seat of an ancient civilization and culture. The remains of the great Mohen-jo-Daro are witnesses to it. A number of races and many philosophers merged into one another here and became one. All the same, Sindh has retained its individual status and place in history for centuries. Buddhism took birth on the land of Hind, but it grew and flourished here on this land. Our glorious Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai taught the lessons of unity among different sects, communities, and religions here on this land, which we may call the message of Sindhu Desh to the worrying world today. In the recent scene of wild hate among human beings staged in the Indian sub continent, the Sindhis as a people took no part."

"The People of Sindh, retaining their nationality and culture, have played their full role in history through the ages. Theirs has indeed been an eventful history. The Iranians, the Greeks, the Arabs, the Afghans, and the Mughal Emperors of Delhi exercised their way on this land in their own time. At certain times, it appeared that Sindh's star had almost set, but each time it rose and shone brighter than before. The urge for freedom in the

heart of the Sindhi people has always remained strong and turbulently alive. Their long and checkered history is the recorded witness to it."

"The Sindhi Muslims struggle for freedom from the British Imperialism started much earlier than the Lahore resolution of March, 1940. It aimed at liberation from the rule of alien masters and also from the domination of the Hindu vested interests." " They had started struggle isolatedly, aimed at first at elimination of the non Sindhi Hindu Vested Interests, interference into their national affairs."

"It was in the year 1945 that we first realized that under the protective shadow of the Muslim League ideology and organizational strength, the Muslim Vested Interests of the Muslim minority provinces were aiming at establishing their class domination worst than that of the Hindu Vested Interests over us. We at once re appraised our situation and set the course of our struggle aimed at reassurance of freedom for Sindh and for other States in Pakistan in terms of the Lahore Resolution guaranteeing independent and sovereign status to such federating States."

"That struggle of the weak and smaller peoples in Pakistan continues. We cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be expected, to acquiesce in more change of sub ordination from that the Hindu over lords to the one under the Muslim over lords. It could never be a happy perspective for a people to substitute their compatriotic masters with the alien ones not withstanding the luxury of the slave to pray standing shoulder to shoulder with his master in one case and the misery of it all where he may pray isolatedly and away from the master. Slavery remains slavery more unbearable certainly in the case of the whip being swashed by an alien hand instead of a compatriotic one. As long as slavery lasts, it is the birth right of the slave to struggle by every means at hand for his liberation."

"It is only proper that the present discontentment and unrest among the people of Sindh is examined cool mindedly. It would not be correct to hold them guilty of "provincialism" and refuse to probe into the basic causes of their dissatisfaction. The new administration in the country would not at all benefit at this initial stage of its career by any such attitude of haughty indifference to these problems."

"People living in this country speak different languages, and differ widely from each other in their customs and traditions. It would indeed be for the good of the country. Therefore, to recognize honestly the realities rather than ignore these differences or to suppress them by overplaying some for effacing the other. People's energies and resources must not be dissipated in defending or saving these differences. It must be remembered that the people are in great love with those differences. They would rather lose their lives than give some of them up. It would therefore be of no good to any body to deny the reality of the existence of nationalities in Pakistan. Any such ostrich like policy in national affairs can only boomerang, to the detriment of all concerned."

The "Peoples organization" was set up during the lifetime of Mr. Jinnah. Freedom of association to organize an opposition party for pursuing a political program constitutionally is a basic right of the people in a democratic state. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Jinnah, after the establishment of Pakistan inspite of all loud claims for democracy did his very worst to slippers democratic traditions and values in almost every department of life. He took strong measures to crush every bit of democratic aspiration that he could detect anywhere among the people.

1. To begin with, he took away all important subjects from the jurisdiction of the Provincial Governments and handed the same over to his Central Administration working under despotic control of the functionaries of the Muhajirs Punjabi Axis.
2. Mr. Jinnah governed the country as its semi dictator, designating himself as Governor General of Pakistan, speaker of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and the President of Muslim League, the ruling party of Pakistan all the three rolled into one.
3. He introduced the practice of dismissing democratically elected Provincial Ministries and of installing those of his own stooges in the office at his whim. The first such ministry that he arbitrarily dismissed, even though it enjoyed majority confidence in the Provincial Assembly was the ministry of Doctor Khan Sahib in the NWFP. In its place, he imposed on the Pakhtoon people the government of Khan Abdul Qayoom Khan who boasted himself in being called the iron man of Sarhad. This ruthless enemy of the people commended his rule by enacting the barbaric cold blooded massacre of the nationalist Pakhtoon workers and the mass arrests of the nationalist leadership. In Sindh, Mr. Jinnah dismissed under similar conditions, the Khuhro Ministry, even though it enjoyed the majority support in the Assembly; and trusted on the peoples of Sindh the government of Pir Illahi Bukhish, who had hardly any qualification for the position except that he was Mr. Jinnah's nominee and a completely pliable tool in the hands of the Muhajirs Punjabi Axis for the execution of their anti Sindh policies in the province. Similarly, the popular nationalist Ministry of Hussain Shahid Suharwardy was dismissed and that of Khuwaja Nazimuddin, a Muhajir Punjabi Axis agent was foisted on East Bengal.
4. Mr. Jinnah clamped into jail leading workers of the newly formed opposition party, the Peoples Organization under the safety and the security of Pakistan Acts. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Amir Ahmed Khan and Kazi Attaullah from Sarhad, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Shahzada Abdul Karim and Muhammad Hussain Unka from Baluchistan, and G. M. Syed and others from Sindh were put behind the bars without due process of law, only with a view to make it impossible for any opposition to exist in the country. For the same purpose, Hussain Shahid Suharwardy was disqualified from membership of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to which he was legally and constitutionally elected. Maulvi Fazul Haque, another popular stalwart nationalist leader of the people of East Bengal was, to attain the same result, hounded out of politics altogether.
5. Mr. Jinnah, because of his anti democratic attitude of mind, and giving full play in practice too, to his dictatorial approaches in the settlement of national problems made it impossible for the work of constitution making to progress normally. No serious work could therefore be done on the constitution of the country as long as he lived and the country had to remain deprived of the constitution allowing him and his Muhajir Punjabi bureaucratic clique to govern the country as arbitrarily as possible.

On the death of Mr. Jinnah, his right hand man, Liaquat Ali Khan, grabbed the reins of government and held them as despotically and sinisterly as his departed master, particularly to the ill luck and manifest detriment of the weak and smaller peoples in Pakistan.

To speak of Sindh in Particular, what the Sindhi people suffered under the fiercest and the most fanatic rule of the Muhajir colonialists under the direct auspices and egging of this man, may be noted in brief, as follows:

1. It was Liaquat Ali Khan, who conceived the vivacious criminal plan of colonization of Sindh by the Urdu speaking Muhajirs, and for putting the plan into action organized their mass immigration into Sindh from their home provinces of UP, C.P., Hyderabad Deccan and certain native states of India.
2. It was Liaquat Ali Khan whose masterminded orgies of brute mass violence through bands of his trained ruffians against the life, property and honor of the Hindu nationals of Sindh, so that they should be forced to vacate their homes and properties to be occupied and appropriated by the Urdu speaking Muhajirs from India.
3. It was Liaquat Ali Khan, who with brutal openness expressed his unreserved contempt for the people of Sindh and their culture, so that they started counting him as their worst enemy.
4. It was he who maneuvered with Mr. Jinnah for award of place of privilege to Urdu over all the other people's language in the country, and for relegation of those languages into the background and for submerging them finally into lifelessness under Urdu.
5. It was him, who laid the ground for dismissal of Provincial Ministries and their replacement by others through nomination.
6. It was he who introduced disunity and strife among the members of Sindh Legislative Assembly, by tempting some and intimidating others.
7. It was he who arranged the predatory occupation of houses, lands, shops, factories, banks, Business establishments and services of the Sindhis by Muhajirs.
8. It was he who involved Pakistan as a Pawn in the game of international politics of world imperialists, deliberately going out of the way to keep its relations with India, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, its neighboring countries, as un easy and difficult as possible.
9. It was he who set one province of Pakistan against another, sowing poisonous seeds of distrust and enmity among them.
10. It was he who repeated the name of Islam the most, and also organized Meena Bazaars the most without the least qualms of conscience, and thus destroyed the prestige of Islam almost beyond repair in the mind of men all over the country.
11. It was he who proclaimed *Mukka* mailed fist to be the symbol of politics in Pakistan, and thus pulled it down from high pedestal of being the art and science of civilized living to the depth of a mere wild game of the jungle where might and cunning ness alone clinch the issue. It was he who gave coup de grace to democracy in Pakistan, and in its place, introduced fascism for the first time in the country.

Liaquat Ali Khan built a total control over the Army as well as the Civil Services through his picked functionaries mostly the Muhajir officers and turned his entire government into a handmaiden of the Muhajir vested interests. Their senior partners in exploitation, striving to be the sole masters of the show, in due course namely the Punjab Vested interests, couldn't accept this situation for long. They therefore, took due steps and got physically rid of the man, and

thus freed themselves and the rest of the peoples of Pakistan from the doings of this first Muhajir Empire building Nawab from U.P. in India.

Then followed the rivalry for supremacy in Pakistan between its two big provinces the East Bengal and the West Punjab. A number of Ministries at the Central Seat of power succeeded one after another as a result of this rivalry. Khuwaja Nazimuddin, Mohammed Ali Bogra, Mohammed Ismail Chundrigar, Chaudhri Mohammed Ali, Hussain Shahid Suharwardy, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, and the rest quickly stepped on the stage, strutted about a bit, and turned to the exit as the masters of the ceremonies, the civil and Military functionaries of the Muhajir Punjabi Axis willed them to do. Till at last, on October 8, 1958, the junta came out in the open, and applying martial law to the country, first installed Iskandar Mirza as the President for twenty days and then removing him from office in a huff, brought General Ayub Khan, the C in C of Pakistan Army, fully and truly their own man, on the stage, which he occupied for ten years and ruled Pakistan with ruthless efficiency, serving no other interest except that of the Muhajir Punjabi. Imperialism albeit of native variety.

What actually transpired during the period of this coloring *Gendarme* of the Muhajir Punjabi *Raj* in Pakistan will be separately elsewhere. It would suffice here to say that when his rule began getting unpopular; he staged an extremely risky diversion for the people by launching the country into War with India on the question of Kashmir. Finding the going not at all good, he briskly withdrew from war on international advice; and signed the Peace Treaty with India at Tashkent. His irresponsible adventure in foisting war on the country and its consequent after effects and the general failures and foul actions of his 10 years old arbitrary rule gave rise to almost spontaneous angry mass reaction all over the country, which left him with no alternative but to quit the stage. But before he did so, he managed to bring in as his successor his most obedient second in command partner, General Yahya Khan, and thus made his exit as safe unexplosive as possible.

The army and civil service Junta, who jealously and Stubbornly stood guard over the Muhajir Punjabi Raj in Pakistan and whose latest "show boy" this General Yahya Khan was possessed mentality completely impervious to considerations other than those of service and benefit of their class interest. They were totally indifferent to the general interests of the country. As to the national interests of different peoples in Pakistan, they were positively hostile. Theirs was an entirely small vision. This junta, therefore, hardly learned any lesson out of the miserable doings of their previous show boy General Ayub Khan, and only made his successor to go through an exercise of some fringe actions, without as much as even touching any core problem responsible for the mess they had landed the country in.

The petty measure, which the junta initiated through. General Yahya Khan in order to remedy the situation were as follows:

1. Considering the One Unit arrangement of the Provinces of West Pakistan to be the main cause of the anti Ayub commotion in the country, the same was disbanded and the former provinces of West Pakistan were restored.
2. For revival of democracy in the country, general elections were announced.
3. All political parties were ensured of full freedom to canvass the electorate at the time of elections.

The main and selfish vested interests, who formulated this policy and gave it to General Yahya Khan to implement failed to realize that without attacking the fundamental problems, there, palliatives could never cure the country of its basic affliction and set it on the road to recovery. Their mind, at the time, had certain baseless assumptions before it, on

which it was proceeding. Firstly, they imagined that by mere restoration of provinces in West Pakistan, all the unrest and opposition of the smaller units there will immediately subside and the people will at once settle down well pleased, at the situation. Secondly, they assumed that majority seats in West Pakistan and some substantial number of them in East Pakistan would be won in the general elections by candidates of their own choice, and through them they would thus continue maintaining their way in the country as before. Thirdly, they presumed that since the effectiveness of religion as a weapon of propaganda for keeping the mind of the masses befogged had considerably worn out, if they now added some handfuls of economic preservatives or piquancy to it, they could well succeed in holding the masses to their side for quite some time longer.

With these calculations in mind, the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis took no time in launching on the political scene in the country the Peoples Party of Pakistan, through their prize piece of show boy, Mr. Bhutto, with all the three note catching cliches of class chicanery tied to its banners namely Socialism, Democracy and Islam to hoodwink and hold the masses prostrated under class dictatorship in the name of those cliches. There were several other cards too held by these Muhajir Punjabi vested interests to play the game and win it. They had two stalwarts of the pure Pakistan ideology, Khan Qayum Khan from the West Pakistan and Nurul Amin from the East Pakistan, with their moribund political parties in fair trim, who could yet continue full throatily trumpeting the name of religion for catching marginal votes and collecting a few decisive seats to tilt the balance their side, if need be.

However, the things did not shape themselves completely their way. Their calculations went almost wrong. The people of East Bengal, in a national mood of refusal and rejection, swept off the stage every thing and every body except their national organization. The Awami League and its candidates, when they voted almost cent percent and thus declared their loyalty only to their six points charter of national existence as an independent and Sovereign State. In West Pakistan, however the people, fallen and crushed as they remained under One Unit, failed to show that grit and that vision, which could be expected from a proud and awakened people out to break chains and jump the wall, no matter what the risk and what the consequences. Among the smaller peoples, Sindhi masses particularly succumbed to the verbiage and big mouthfuls of promises held out to them by Mr. Bhutto. The people of Punjab, being sharers, direct and indirect, in the exploitative lot of the Muhajir Punjabi vested interests could not but accept the Peoples Party as their own party. The Peoples of Baluchistan and the NWFP, on the other hand sent up in different proportions, their national representatives defeating Mr. Bhutto's Peoples Party decisively both in the Central and Provincial Assemblies.

The over all party position that emerged out of elections for the Central Assembly completely belied all hopes and upset all calculations of the ruling Junta, throwing it into its tantrums. From West Pakistan, over whelming majority of seats were carried by Mr. Bhutto's party, the Juntas own approved party, while from the East, with the exception of two members, the entire contingent of the elected members belonged to the Awami League, the party hated like poison by the ruling junta and their backing vested Interests in West Pakistan. This gave a comfortable over all majorities at the Center to the East Pakistan's Awami League members. By all democratic considerations, the power and control of Government at the Center had to pass over to the East Pakistan Awami League. This Muhajir Punjabi Axis and its Army and Services functionaries could never countenance. They, with an alacrity, unprecedented in the world of democracy anywhere, made Mr. Bhutto, their kept, show boy groomed for service precisely in such exigencies, to declare that unless he was made a co sharer in power and control of Government, he would stage a revolt and boycott the Central Legislature and the constituent Assembly. General Yahya Khan, to play his part of the job at once cancelled the Assembly's inaugural sessions which otherwise stood summoned at Dacca in the Eastern Wing of the country. Simultaneously, he also started shipping and air lifting his troops and weapons to that area, although at the same time, he kept the show of discussions and negotiations, in all apparent seriousness going with Shaikh Mujibur Rehman the majority leader, whom he publicly kept on calling the Prime Minister designate of Pakistan! When the military build up

in East Pakistan reached the desired point, General Yahya Khan broke off negotiations, refused induction of the Awami League into office, and proclaiming martial law in Bangla Desh, let his army loose on the defenseless miscreant population of that land. The Army however, could only kill, rape, and burn the person and property of the people. As for the spirit of the people, the army could not as much as even touch. The people finally triumphed, and broke as under the iron chains that bound them, and became free. The dark night of slavery to the Muhajir Punjabi tenancy in Bangla Desh was thus over for all times to come.

It has already been stated above that the power? And control of government at the very inception of Pakistan passed on into the hands of the Muhajir Punjabi vested interests who for maintaining that position and also for using it for their exclusive class advantage, exercised that power with the sole object of keeping the original peoples in Pakistan weak and divided, so that they could with ease and facility, be kept under subjection and may never be able to raise their head and assert their individuality as peoples. To this effect the ruling *entente* of the Punjabi Muhajir vested interests insisted on imposition of ideological, cultural, political and administrative uniformity completely cut to shape and size and steamroller on all the peoples, no matter what rich and hard variety of differences there may otherwise exist on reality among them. This was a foolhardy task, to say the least, taken up by the inheritors of the British imperialist mantle in Pakistan, and was doomed to failure. And the first successful escape from that suffocating clamp of Muslim nation hood theory, which, in fact, was only another name of the Punjabi Muhajir grippers round the necks of the weak arid smaller peoples, was effected by the people of Bangla Desh. The struggle for escape by the rest of the victims remains ordained and inevitable as long as the clasp and squeeze of the gripper round their neck lasts.

Mr. Jinnah's inaugural speech at the constituent Assembly of Pakistan, disclaiming the ethics or efficacy of the Muslim nationality theory had raised brightest of hopes for our good future in our hearts. But those hopes were dashed to pieces against the bad faith of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested interests who instead of letting us live with honor and in peace and freedom and work for building a better future for ourselves, imposed their cynical rule over us and went on tightening their grip on us, so that their squeeze on the blood of our simple, honest and industrious working people may continue and they may go on fattening more and more at our cost. This, blood sucking rule of theirs they launched with Mr. Jinnah and, perhaps, in spite of him, and consolidated it during the period of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, because of him. They have since carried on this rule, under different juridical and executive sanctions but all in the pattern set for it by Liaquat Ali Khan, Ministries succeeded ministries, One Unit of the West Pakistan provinces was formed and then dissolved, two martial laws of pretty long durations followed one after the other, wars were fought and defeats incurred but the squeeze and the despotism on our people yet continued unabated. At last, after the passage of twenty five such sordid and sad years, peoples witnessed coming on the scene young Mr. Zulfikar Ali Khan Bhutto with fan fare of democracy, socialism, and Islam about him. This once again stirred dying embers of hope in our hearts. We felt that Mr. Bhutto, belonging as he does, to an oppressed nationality, President and then Prime Minister of the country as he has become may have the problem of nationalities in Pakistan examined *denovo* and may take bold and correct steps to remedy the tragic situation. With this hope and prayers in his mind, the writer made the following points in an address at his 69th birthday celebrations at Sann on January 17th, 1972.

"The new President (now Prime Minister) courageously released us and also freed Shaikh Mujibur Rehman on January 8, 1972 who reached Dacca and took up the reins of government there."

"The new President assumed office at the time, when Pakistan stood confronted with a number of problems and difficulties.

"The defeat in war left nearly a hundred thousands of its soldiers as prisoners. In material terms, it has suffered losses worth hundreds of crores of rupees. It has lost considerable areas of West Pakistan to Bharat. The armies are still standing face to face on the borders. Popular demand is building up for the lifting of martial law and installation of popular governments in the Provinces. The framing of Constitution, the recognition of Bangla Desh, (since recognized) restitution of normal relations with Afghanistan and Bharat and removal of poverty of the masses are some of the problems that demand urgent solutions. The future security reconstruction and progress of the country very closely depend on finding satisfactory and viable solution to these problems."

"I, on my part, have long been thinking most earnestly on these problems. To the best of my mind, the following appear to be the basic causes of all the existing ills of Pakistan, its instability disorderliness, and backwardness

- (1) The concept of separate Muslim Nationhood.
- (2) The idea of religious form of government.
- (3) The fascist theory of politics.
- (4) Exploitation of the country by a particular coterie of vested interests.
- (5) Hostile relations with neighboring countries.

"It would be worth while to study these factors more closely, in their different aspects.

1. THE CONCEPT OF SEPARATE MUSLIM NATIONHOOD

The concept of nationality on the basis of religion has never been recognized in history, and is not presently recognized anywhere in the world. The Muslim vested interests in the Punjab and in Muslim minority provinces of India invented this theory on account of certain temporary differences with their respective compatriots of Hindu religion, and under patronage and active support of certain British colonialist circles forced the division of the country. Pakistan's founder, considering the theory as positively harmful if permanently used formally, officially and publicly resented from it on August 11, 1947 at the inaugural session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He, however, died soon after, and the Muslim vested interests referred to above stuck to the disavowed theory and went on utilizing it a justification and support for their power and exploitation. Continued reliance on this theory involved the country into following predicaments:

- Denial of the existence of the old and historically well established nationalities inhabiting the Bengal, Sindh, Baluchistan and the Pakhtoon areas.
- Denial of the existence of the language, culture and political and economic interest of these peoples.
- Deflection of mind of the people from real problems and the timely solution thereof, under noise of slogans of Islam the best form of government, Bharat our enemy Number 1; Muslims the Gods chosen people etc., full raised throatily by the exploitation interests and their agents.

- Conduct and exercise of hate politics in the country. "The new President (now Prime Minister) has declared the conditions in the country to be grave. He has said that he would therefore reflect *de novo* on the future policy of the country so as to bring it in full accord with its real good. He has called upon all citizens to help him in the formulation of such a policy by their advice. With this thought in mind, I may hold to offer my viewpoint for the consideration of the President and the people."

"It is time that in the light of gains from our long experience of the last 24 years, we may subject ourselves to some basic changes. The biggest and the most fundamental change that we may brace ourselves up to accept in this regard concern our Muslim nationality theory. We would do immensely well now to give it up. We must accept in good grace the reality of the five nationalities in Pakistan, and accept Pakistan as a multi national state composed of five peoples, each with an unqualified right of self determination including the right to secede. If, therefore, on this basis the people of Bengal desire to live separately, there must be treated as legitimate and correct desire, and due recognition must be accorded to Bangla Desh (Since accorded). As for the rest of the four nationalities in West Pakistan, after granting them full right of self determination they may with free mutual consent and understanding, be brought together into a federation having only three subjects, to administer, namely the Defense, Foreign affairs and currency. All the rest of the subjects must be fully and unreservedly returned to the regional States. On any count or consideration, other than the above, the ending of internal disorder or attainment of stability in the country appears to be an impossibility.

2. THE IDEA OF RELIGIOUS FORM OF GOVERNMENT

It would also be well to realize that in no country in the world to day is there any form or system of government, functioning which may be called a religious form of government, nor is there any possibility of any such form of government coming into being anywhere in future in face of the fast developing modern conditions of the world.

For the reason of this belief whether sincerely held or otherwise all governments in Pakistan have been finding it their duty to hold out promise of establishing the utopian religious form of government, in accordance with the terms of that idea since these terms remain all undefined and have necessarily to remain undefined and since the Utopia has to remain a Utopia because of its hundreds of versions, each so un wise and inconsistent that if translated into reality none may own it, no government is even in a position to carry out the promise of establishing the Utopia with this inevitable inconsistency of word and deed, every government in Pakistan is fated to remain a sitting target for every type of irresponsible and obscurantist propaganda on the part of reactionaries and clever black mailers. Common man is easily deceive and becomes a willing tool in this game of reaction to keep things disturbed and disorderly, so that their exploitation of the people may continue unabated behind the eddies and storms of illusion and fantasy.

If we look around and see, we find the constitution and form of most the governments of world to be secular. It is hardly possible to raise a constitution and form of Government much different from it here in Pakistan. It would therefore be better frankly and boldly to declare that can really never be. If we quibble or hesitate any further on this issue now, we would only be exciting the reactionary forces to a pitch very hard, if not impossible, for the forces of progress to face and bring down later. We may therefore appeal to the new President (now Prime Minister) that he may develop enough clarity of vision in this matter to plan for us secular form of government. For if he fails or falters on this issue, the reactionary forces, in the name of religion are going to give him a hell of a time on every move of his to introduce his socialism or the peoples welfare program in the country.

3. THE FASCIST THEORY OF POLITICS

"Unfortunately, there has never been established a truly democratic or any genuinely representative government in Pakistan. This has been so because of an overwhelmingly superior position seized by the vested interests in the country at the very start. Governments have been brought in and thrown out at mere whiff of a desire from these vested interests. There were nominal assemblies of elected members on the scene in this beginning but dictatorial *Raj* crept in gradually and occupied the stage almost for the entire period thereafter. Sometimes there was the "controlled democracy" the country was in. At other times, there was the "basic democracy". But democracy of one brand or another, dictatorship in Pakistan functioned insistently through the handy trump card of the Strong Center for the country."

"It is for the first time now that the popularly elected members have had the opportunity to hold power. It is possible that the forces, which have up, until now stood in the way of democracy in Pakistan, may once again do their utmost, to defeat it. It is therefore the duty of every citizen to see that democracy this time in Pakistan does not fail.

"The success of democracy in Pakistan will come about only when, first of all the Provincial Governments are given full powers and allowed to function in freedom. Even if there is some delay in summoning the Central Assembly, the Provincial Assemblies ought to be called at once and Provincial Ministries formed straight away. Working on this basis, the governments in Sindh and the Punjab will be formed by the Peoples Party, while those in the NWFP and Baluchistan could be the coalition government of the National Awami Party and the Jamiatul-ulma-i-Pakistan. With the same considerations in view, Governor in the Provinces will have to be the nominee of the ruling parties there. Short of this all provincial autonomy would turn out to be meaningless."

"As for an interim constitution of the country, we may adopt the Indian Independence Act 1947, for a limited period of about twelve months. The future Constitution may then be so framed as to give to the country a parliamentary form of government. In the making of such constitution decisions have not to be taken by the over all majority vote but with the express individual majority consent of the federating Provinces or States. It is time that the President gives his urgent thought to these issues and takes firm and timely decisions thereon failing, which the reactionary circles in the country, who are already out for a kill, may soon succeed in creating conditions very difficult, if not impossible for democracy to come into its own this time too, and the golden opportunity that has come up for the first time in Pakistan for its stability may even survival, may almost be irretrievably lost.

4. EXPLORATION BY VESTED INTERESTS

"The facts of the immediate past history of the Pakistan movement and the subsequent experience of the people have now completely uncovered the designs of the privileged classes among the Muslim populations of the Punjab and of the Muslim minority provinces in India in their invention of the two nation theory and their movement for the partitioning to the sub continent. Their vital motive behind it all was establishing an unchallenged position of domination and exploitative privilege for their classes in the new country.

The history of the past 24 years is a witness to the fact that these classes of the privileged few did not allow the country to move towards a genuinely democratic constitution nor did they permit any really representative government to come to power in the country. It is now, after a great laborious effort on the part of the peoples, that a popularly elected President (now Prime Minister) has come into power. His party program and his publicly declared commitments with the people are not all relished by these devilishly anti people circles. They must therefore be in wait to weaken the Presidents will or remove him Altogether by some means. It is most essential, therefore that before measures are taken in hand to end their exploitation, and all doors of their return to power are decisively closed. Reconstruction and development of a nation is not attained in a period of months. The example of the Soviet Union and China are there before us. They have taken years to develop, through totally new approaches, and yet they have not crossed the mark. It is indeed a long term struggle to transform a people into a prosperous self-reliant nation. The President may, therefore, give priority first to those means which should serve the immediate purpose of protecting and prolonging the peoples rule in the country, for what would be the gain if, after introduction by him of a few reforms, he himself is pushed out of the way by the over powering, well entrenched vested interests. Basically, therefore, he should first tackle and overcome those factors and smash into pieces those means by the help of which the vested interests in the country exercise their domination and control over governments. To my mind, those factors and those means are the following:

- The pretence of the Strong Center, for the sake of which the Military and the Civil Services in Pakistan maintain their grip on the entire machinery of the government.
- The theory of separate Muslim nation hood for the sake of which the right and interests of different regional peoples are sacrificed, enabling the vested interests to pursue their plans of exploitation of those peoples at the cost of their said right and interests.
- The illusion of Islamic form of government for the sake of which people are made to depend on emotion instead of reason and their attention is kept diverted from their day to day problems, providing excellent ground for the vested interests to carry on their exploitative activities.
- Confrontation with the neighboring countries, for the sake of which state of emergency is maintained in the country, from year to year, providing justification for ceaseless expansion of the armed forces on one hand and denial and suppression of democratic liberties and peoples fundamental rights on the other.

(5) HOSTILE RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

"Starting with the establishment of Pakistan, the policy of all its governments has stood based on opposition to Bharat and Afghanistan. On account of this policy, it has been always thought necessary to increase the military strength of the country. Pakistan had to sign treaties and enter into pacts with the imperialist powers of the world because of this policy. It was due to this policy that the country had to go to war three times. Because of its undue expansion and strength, the

military forces found an opportunity to interfere in the country's politics which led directly and inevitably to the imposition of dictatorship on the people." " If this matter is probed into a little more, its main cause can be found in the approach of hatred on which politics of Pakistan has been built up from the very inception: of its idea and has been deliberately carried on since, its establishment, and continues to be the basis of it up till now. Actually, what is needed for the stabilization and consolidation of Pakistan is peace; Peace can be ensured for Pakistan when its relations with its neighbors are friendly and trustworthy. Its vested interests would, however, never desire that its present hostile policy towards neighbors may ever end, because it is on account of this very policy that under the pretext of national emergency, these vested interests are able to maintain their domination and continue with their exploitation in the country."

- These are some of the problems, on effective and satisfactory solution of, which could bring Pakistan out of the grave situation in which it finds itself, involved at present. "I have also to propose a few things for the intelligentsia in Sindh to consider and to act upon. If they do so, I am sure theirs will be an effective constitution to the solution of many of the problems confronting the country today.
- I have presented above an exposition of the five basic causes which, I believe are responsible for all the present ills of the country. The intelligentsia of Sindh would do well to get themselves to study and think over some views of mine as thoroughly and deeply as possible.
- The Sindhi intelligentsia would also do well to present petitions to the President of Pakistan, carrying demands reflecting political, economic and social interests of Sindh, and to educate the people and arouse their opinion as a popular sanction behind those demands.
- They would also do well to prepare and organize contingents of sincere volunteers to work as selfless and devoted Servants of Sindh.

"To my considered view, the peoples of Pakistan have got this last opportunity to have the problems of the country settled under the new President. If they fail to turn the Situation this time in their favor, Pakistan is going to break into pieces. The President stands surrounded by wrong persons. In order that good and useful proportions effectively reach him and win his active notice, it would be necessary that strong and all prevailing voice of the people is raised to carry home to the people. President the desires and sentiments of the people."

The above speech of the writer gave rise to sharp reactions in Sindh and throughout Pakistan. The kept Urdu press of the Muhajir Punjabi vested interests sent forth a huge out lie against it. He was at once accused of:

- Proclaiming war against Pakistan for its extinction for having publicly opposed its ideology.
- Being an agent of Hindu Bharat for having advised understanding with it.
- Being the enemy of Islam for having proposed a secular form of government.
- Sowing seeds of discord and hatred in the country for having named the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests as such.

- Weakening the Central Administration, and thereby striking at the roots of what has remained of Pakistan, for having dubbed the Central Government as a fascist government.
- Praising bands of volunteers for liberating Sindh through guerrilla warfare.
- Preparing of massacre of the Punjabi Muhajir settler in Sindh and calling for reddening the waters of Indus with their blood, etc., etc.

The new President was frightened out of his wits at this furious out cry of the kept Urdu press and directed his secretary, the guardian angel in the Peoples Party, of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests. Mr. J. A. Rahim wrote to me a letter reciting all the above accusations, and asking my explanation on the all. I forwarded my clarification to them touching all the charges enumerated in the letter as follows:

- The ideology of Pakistan had been disowned and discarded by its founder, Mr. Jinnah.
- Understanding with Bharat was essential for the safety of Pakistan.
- Secular form of Government was in accord with the requirements of the modern age.
- It was wrong to equate safeguarding the Sindhi and interests with sowing seeds of discard and hatred.
- The Central government will not be weakened by the strength of the provinces.
- The Volunteers were not meant for fighting any guerrilla war, but to educate the people and raise their consciousness.
- There was no talk by any body about any massacre or reddening of Indus with blood at the celebration.

It was possible that the writer may have been put under immediately then, but it seemed the government of the new President had not stabilized yet, and it was found enough publish his explanation in the press, and leave him alone the time being. Some days later the writer was called to Islamabad and to assist in effecting an understanding with the elected, representatives of the Provinces of Baluchistan and the NWFP. He lent his hand in this effort and helped create conditions such an understanding, as a result of which coalition government of the NAP and JUP took office in the two provinces and the nominees of the NAP were appointed governors there. This development did not happen to be to the liking of Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests, who lost no time in persuading Mr. Bhutto to go back on his commitments and dissolve the understanding. Mr. Bhutto, their representative instrument as he was, immediately set to work for preparing conditions for such dissolution. As a first step he chose Khan Qayum Khan from Sarhad, who did not even belong to his party, for his Central Cabinet. From Baluchistan, he picked up Ghaus Bux Raisani as his Central Minister. Both of these King pins of Mr. Bhutto's gone in two provinces immediately started playing their assigned roles of stirring and organizing opposition nuclei in their respective areas. Mr. Bhutto's own masters, on the other hand, Succeeded instilling ideas in his mind of being the history's own instrument for steamrolling the different people in West Pakistan into one nation. Gradually, they made him to believe in his superior talents and exceptional abilities to attain those goals better than even the founder of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, could have ever been able to do.

Mr. Bhutto also read books on Fascism and gradually involved himself in the illusion that he could well destroy or reduce to nothingness all other parties in Pakistan, and making his own Peoples Party as the sole representative or the single upper most party, could rule the country dictatorially as its single big leader. To this effect, he began weakening the opposition parties by administering threats and holding out promises to some of their important leaders. Mian Mohammed Mumtaz Daultana the outstanding leader of the Muslim League was sent outside the country by making him Pakistan's Ambassador to the United Kingdom. This was a great blow to the Muslim League, which it never withstood, and went under as the first victim of Mr. Bhutto's ambitions. He then took in hand Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, another important leader of the other faction of the Muslim League, and purchased him with a position in the Central Ministry under him. This way he quietly and quickly finished off a very noisy and self conceited opposition party, which was somehow holding its ground since the inception of the country, on the claim of being the founder Party of Pakistan.

Another party, which too claimed the role of opposition in the country, was the Jamat-i-Islami. Mr. Bhutto tackled this party in a slightly different and subtler manner. He took up one of its renegade members, Maulana Kausar Niazi, as a minister in his cabinet, and then began showing a carrot or two to the two other front leaders of the party. The two *Maulana*, Maudoodi and Tufail. However rejected his overtures and began to stir a bit. Mr. Bhutto subjected them at once to the treatment of stick, and at the same time, to take the wind out of their sails, began flourishing the standard of Islam move visibly and vigorously and adopting some of the principles in his State Policy and administration, which otherwise happened to be the political clap trap of Islamic Party (Jamait) of the two Maulana.

By now, It has become evident to the world that Mr. Bhutto was not sincere in his intentions in agreeing to the formation of a coalition government by the NAP and JUI in the NWFP. Immediately after the understanding, in defiance of the well established federal principle of government, he took up from the NWFP. Khan Qayyum Khan, a minority representative from that province and an inveterate enemy of tile *NAP* as a minister in his Central Cabinet, who lost no time in taking up most assiduously, the assigned burden of conspiring against the NAP and bringing down its government in that Province.

Exactly the same approach was taken in Baluchistan. A minority representative from that province, Ghaus Bux Raisani was appointed a Central Minister, and through him a very dangerous intrigue was sponsored, by which tribal bands of Jam Ghulam Kadir Khan the ex Ruler of Lasbela State, an area within the administrative jurisdiction of Baluchistan, were stirred up to revolt against the government; and making that a pretext, troops were sent to that province without consultation with the provincial government rendering it useless and ineffective and finally dismissing it altogether. The province was then handed over to a centrally nominated pro Peoples Party Governor and a minority government was installed there under him, just to keep up the formality of the provincial autonomy, when the puppet ministry was not able even to have its annual budget carried in the provincial assembly, the same was certified for it by the Governor, only to keep it alive. At this obdurate defiance of the political understanding, this had led to the formation of the NAP governments in the two provinces, the government of the NWFP resigned in protest and in its place too Mr. Bhutto immediately installed another puppet ministry of his.

Currently Mr. Bhutto has the following tactics for keeping all political opposition under check, for putting it altogether out of the picture:

- To put opposition workers in jail without trial.
- To have opponents physically eliminated by different methods.

- To have opponents subjected to humiliations and tortures in jail.
- To have public meetings of the opposition disturbed and broken up through *goondas*.
- To ban political meetings of the opposition under Section 144.
- To ban publications or magazines and newspapers belonging to the opposition.
- To intimidate judiciary and thus render search for legal relief a hard and useless proposition for the opposition.

At one time in Sindh, the minions of Mr. Bhutto in order to win cheap popularity started taking about making Sindhi language a national cum official language. Pro Peoples Party, students were made to stage a hunger strike, and a promise was held out to them that a bill to that effect would be introduced in the Sindh Legislative Assembly. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests, as a reaction to this, made Mr. Bhutto their show boy, immediately to have Urdu adopted in the Constitution of the country as the National language of Pakistan. There was a wave of unrest among the people of Sindh at this imposition of Urdu on them through the Constituent Assembly. As a measure to assuage the mind of Sindhis, the Peoples Party government in Sindh introduced a bill for recognition of Sindhi as the Provincial Language of Sindh. The Assembly passed this bill almost unanimously. The Eleven Urdu speaking Muhajir members, however, staged a walkout and did not participate in the voting. Mr. Bhutto's masters, the Muhajir Punjabi Vested interests raised a vicious agitation against the Sindh Assembly's action granting provincial status to Sindhi language. Wide spread riots were organized in Sindh, in which they indulged in arson loot and murder against the Sindhi population. Mr. Bhutto and his provincial minister were personally insulted and their effigies were burnt. When the Sindh Government resorted to measures for restoring law and order in the province, the Muhajir Leadership sent forth agitated appeals to the Punjab leadership for help. Mr. Bhutto got scared, and under pressure of his masters, withheld his presidential consent to the Sindh Assembly's Language Bill. Instead, he called Muhajir leaders for talks, and betraying his trust with the Sindhi, readily accepted their following conditions:

- Sindh to be turned into bi-linguist province that of the Sindhi and Urdu Languages, and this in addition to Urdu having already been declared in the constitution the sole national language of Pakistan.
- The main offices of government in Sindh to be equally divided among Muhajirs and Sindhis as a result of which to begin with Mir Rasool Bux Khan was replaced by Begum Liaquat Ali Khan as Governor of Sindh.
- The Muhajir Government servants in Sindh to take proficiency test in Sindhi language within twelve years instead of 2 years as had all along remained one of the service conditions under Sindh Government even as long back as the British Rule.
- The Muhajirs to be assigned positions, as Muhajirs, in the provincial cabinet and in government services in general in equal proportion to the Sindhis, treating them as specially privileged for the weightage considerations of their fake Muslim nationality theory notwithstanding.
- To settle all unwanted Biharies from Bangladesh in Sindh, irrespective of any consideration whether such an unlimited settlement of Urdu speaking immigrants may lead to the unbalancing of population of the Sindhi speaking people in their own homeland.

- To separate Karachi from Sindh and hand it over to Muhajirs a Muhajir Province.
- To put all Sindhi nationalist students in jail, and to remove all Sindhi nationalist teachers from Sindh University for turning it into a safe field for Muhajir propaganda to the detriment of nationalist interests of the people of Sindh.
- To ban public meetings of the nationalist opposition to suppress all publication of their books and magazines, and to put their entire leadership in Jail.

His junior masters thus supplied Mr. Bhutto with a set policy in regard to Sindh and he is very dutifully carrying it out since, as best as he can. His approach in this matter, as in such others, has always been to stick to office whatever be the cost, and the future of Sindh can not be too high a cost for him to keep on throwing at the feet of his masters for being continued in power. It is being said that the people of East Bengal have separated from Pakistan, out of their own sweet will. Looking at it more closely, it gets evident, however, that they were actually driven into that position. We have already referred above to the treatment that was meted out to the people of that province. At one time, their leader, Shaikh Mujibur Rehman, was accused of treason and was harassed under a false trial for conspiracy against Pakistan. Finding themselves in a desperate situation, their mass political organization, the Awami League, under Mujibur Rehman, put forth the following 6 points platform for fighting the general elections under Yahya Khan:

- The Constitution of Pakistan shall be a federal constitution.
- There shall only be two subjects, viz., the Defense, and Foreign Affairs, which shall be the Central subjects.
- All the provinces shall have their own currencies, and in case there is one currency for Pakistan, the provinces shall have power to restrict flight of capital outside their borders.
- All taxation power shall vest in the provinces, and each will make a financial contribution to the Center proportionately.
- The provinces themselves shall administer Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade.
- Provinces shall have the right to raise their own militia for internal use.

These six points will be described later in some details at an appropriate place in this book. It would suffice here to say that the people of East Bengal had tried all other methods of understanding, but had failed to get a square deal. Finally, they had seen in these six points the only viable arrangement under which they thought they could live honorably and to mutual advantage together with other provinces in one Pakistan. It was under these circumstances that they responded as one man to the call of the Awami League and supported it almost universally, voting 99% of its candidates both in the Central as well as the Provincial Assemblies.

There was the National Awami Party in West Pakistan almost a counter part of the Awami League in the East, which contested general elections, but, for some reason or the other, its leadership did not accept the six point program of the people of East Pakistan.

We, in Sindh, therefore, found no alternative but to set up a separate United Front, and finding the six points very clearly in the interests of Sindh, approached the people for support on that basis.

The people in Sindh, however, had not fully raised their head yet from their servility before the Maulvi, the Pir, the Zamindar, and the *Kamora*. These exploitative elements in Sindhi Society finding their survival still linked, as in the part, with the ruling elite from outside, drove their servile flocks into the fold of their enemies. The Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests on their part helped these agents and compradors of theirs in Sindhi Society; most vigorously into their work of alienating the people from their friends and making them stand sheepishly behind their masters. The Nationalist Front in Sindh, therefore, failed, and the Peoples Party, the deliberately set political instrument of the Muhajir Punjabi vested interests, won the elections in Sindh, as also in the Punjab. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the talented and dazzling leader of the Peoples Party, belonged to Sindh, and this fact too played its part in swaying the people of Sindh in their trust and credulous belief in the promises and good intentions of that Party. Immediately after the announcement of the election results Mr. Bhutto was made to come out with the declaration that in case of the Government at the center was formed by Shaikh Mujibur Rehman as leader of the absolute majority party in the Central Assembly, he as leader of the majority party too, must be given share in the government, and if that was not done, he would see to it that "the Awami League of Bengal does not form the government at all. The Muhajir Punjabi Axis had the following objectives in getting Mr. Bhutto to make this declaration:

1. To ensure that the reins of government do not slip out of their hands into those of the representatives of the people, through the due operation of the democratic process.
2. To crush by force any defiance or revolt that may ensue in East Bengal as a result of this subversion of the democratic process on their part.
3. To establish their unchallenged colonial rule in West Pakistan in case they failed to crush East Bengal into submission and it went out of Pakistan altogether.
4. To mobilize aid and support for this diabolic program from American and Chinese sources.

As pre arranged between them, General Yahya Khan making Mr. Bhutto's declaration a pretext immediately postponed the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly, which he had otherwise, already summoned. Later, the two met at Larkana, and with mutual consultations, decided that power shall in no case be transferred to the Awami League no matter if it is a majority party.

For implementing this decision, they started re enforcing the army in East Bengal. Huge orders for weapons were placed with America. They, at the same time, went on playing the share with Shaikh Mujibur Rehman by calling him publicly the future Prime Minister of Pakistan. When at last they saw that all their military preparations in East Pakistan had been completed, they at once imposed Martial law on the country, put Shaikh Mujibur Rehman, the leader of the majority Party, under arrest, declared the Awami League an illegal party, and started systematically massacring the Bengali people. It has been ascribed to General Tikka Khan, the governor of East Bengal, that when a grievance was made to him of this wholesale butchery of the people as it was then going on there, he said, "We have to save the land of East Pakistan, we do not need its men"! What he meant thereby to say was that by decimating the Bengalis, they were only clearing the ground for colonization of the land of East Bengal by settlers from the west.

It is said that during this "Civil War" nearly a hundred million people from East Bengal had to leave their land and seek refuge across the Border in West Bengal. Three million Bengalis are reported to have been massacred and two hundred thousands woman taped. Hundreds of Crores of rupees worth property throughout the land was destroyed.

In West Pakistan, the National Awami Party was banned, and its workers were arrested and thrown into jail even though it had given no call for any political action in opposition to all these doings of the government in East Pakistan. In Sindh, although they had defeated us in polls, and not even one member of ours was elected to the Assembly, the writer was placed under house arrest, and several others of us were sent to jail.

What was feared at last came to pass. The sinister plans of the Muhajir Punjabi clique had at last succeeded. The East Bengal was separated from Pakistan. Thus, the last flickers of hope, for the recognition of the rights of the smaller provinces in West Pakistan were extinguished.

Sindh has since remained the safest domain for the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests, under the rule of Mr. Bhutto's peoples Party, their set instrument for the purpose. What Mr. Bhutto did with the NAP JUP Nationalist governments in Baluchistan and the NWFP had then ousted them from office substituting them with his puppet ministries has been described already in some detail before.

Mr. Bhutto, however, did not sit content with it, for long. Immediately after, he ordered army action, with all it could mean against the defenseless villages, hamlets, and fugitive bands of Baluchis. Their leaders were hounded up and jailed. Khan Wali Khan, the Pakistan leader of NWFP and the president of NAP, has been the victim of murderous attacks four times. The nationalist workers of that province have been incarcerated. Their public meetings have invariably been broken up, some times with their workers killed on the spot. These and such other ruthless and bloody ways and means resorted to against them have left no alternative with them but to struggle for establishing independent and sovereign governments of their own.

The government of Mr. Bhutto runs totally under the control of the Muhajir Punjabi Axis. In Sindh, he has entirely a government composed of his own stooge headed by a Sindhi Zamindar with a majority of Sindhis in his cabinet but they keep on the Sindhi nationalist workers shut behind prison walls, their magazines banned and their books proscribed, and would not release them, personally or their publications, for fear of displeasing their masters.

- The leaders of the Peoples Party Government claim that they have given a constitution to the country and have established a democratic Raj in Pakistan, and there is plenty prosperity and happiness all around. It would be well to probe a little into these claims of their:
- First, with this constitutions, the thousands of years old nationalities, viz., the Pakhtoon, the Baluchis, and the Sindhis, with their distinct homelands, languages, culture, historical traditions and political and economical Interests have been denied their existence and, on basis of a false ideology of Pakistan, have been reduced into minorities to remain permanently subject to the unchanging majority of the Punjab nation.
- With this constitution, Sindh gets mere 210o representation on the Central Legislative Assembly, whereas it bears 80 % of the burden of taxation levied by the Central Government in Pakistan.
- With this constitution, out of 350 crores of rupees collected through Central taxation from Sindh, only 5% of the amount is spent by Central Government on Sindh.

- Under this constitution, the Muhajir Punjabi ruling clique finds itself within its rights to work for as full on appropriation as possible by non Sindhis of Sindh's agricultural lands, Industries, Trade and Commerce Banks, services and such other sources of peoples livelihood.
- With the help and protection of this constitution, the people from other provinces or even other countries, viz., the Punjabis, Pathan, Biharies etc., take employment in Sindh, and an amount of over 50 crores of rupees being a part of their earnings, is sent out of Sindh by them to their homelands, annually.
- With this constitution, Sindh, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan, the homelands of Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtoon are colonized under the pretext of Pakistan ideology, Islamic government and Strong Center and any talk about their national and democratic rights is dubbed as a crime.
- Under this constitution the right and power of export of agricultural produce and all manufacture of Sindh vests in the Central Government, and the valuable foreign exchange earned through this export is spent by Government almost wholly for development out of Sindh and for benefit of non Sindhi. Similarly, all import of goods from foreign countries being outside the power and control of the people of Sindh, it is so managed that the economy of Sindh always remains shaky and lop sided and leads to the general poverty in Sindh getting more and more aggravated.
- Under this constitution, the Banks, the Railway Post and Telegraph, the mines and other financial institutions and economic resources being under the sole control and administration of the Central Government, these are almost wholly managed by non Sindhis, there being hardly a one percent Sindhi on the personnel of services engaged in work at these establishments.
- Under this constitution, the Radio and the Television works wholly under the Control of the Central Government, and as such function solely for popularizing and promoting the interests of Urdu language and the culture of the Urdu speaking aristocracy particularly from the former United Provinces and the state of Hyderabad Deccan in India; At the same time, these powerful mass medium of publicity and information remain constantly engaged in propaganda, for the fake ideology of Pakistan, almost to the extent of Making a fetish of it, all the time denigrating the national languages and cultures of the Sindhi, Balochi and Pakhtoon Peoples.
- With this constitution, the Punjab, being a permanent majority province, and with its present almost total appropriation of position and rank in the army, is going to maintain for ever its monopolistic hold on the armed forces of the country enjoying thereby the position of an irreplaceable armed *gendarme* for the rest of the peoples of Pakistan.
- With this constitution, the subject of Foreign Affairs is to remain under the charge and control of the Central government. Past experience has already shown that the Muhajir Punjabi clique, who are in exclusive possession of power and influence over the Central government, have been administering the foreign affairs of the country to its basic detriment in the following two respects, and would continue doing so for the same effect in future too:

(a) Involvement of the Country in military pacts with the world imperialist Powers.

(b) Confrontation with the neighboring countries, in order to maintain justification for growing expansion of the army, causing thereby untold injury to the over all economy of the country.

- With this constitution, the central government of Pakistan is bound to remain under the permanent and irreplaceable control of the Muhajir Punjabi vested interests for the sheer reason of the Punjabi people being in a brute majority over all the other three peoples in Pakistan taken together, and of the Muhajir alien usurpers, finding survival in Pakistan only as junior partners and under protection of that brute majority. At present, although seemingly there is a Sindhi who is the head of the State as Prime Minister of the country, his real position is no better than that of a mere show boy of these interests.
- Under this constitution, politics are mixed with religion and has to function on basis of emotion and sentiment rather than on reason of the logic and reality of things, and thus provides sanction for the political, economic and cultural suzerainty of the Muhajir Punjabi vested interests over the smaller nationalities of Sindhis Baluchis, and Pakhtoon in Pakistan.
- With this constitution, it being impossible for a complete restriction to be put or enforce on immigration of people into Sindh from other provinces of Pakistan or even from outside (as in case of Biharies), Sindh can very legitimately entertain apprehensions to suffer the following injuries to its national interests.
 - The outsiders, earning money in Sindh would remit the same outside, harming thereby Sindh's national economy.
 - The conspiracy of the enemies of Sindh to unbalance its population with a view to reducing the Sindhis into a minority in their own homeland shall be facilitated.
 - With the increased pressure of population in Sindh, its per capita income shall fall, resulting into increased poverty of its people.
 - With immigration and settlement of persons of different nationalities in Sindh, the national identity and cohesion of the Sindhi people shall be greatly damaged giving rise to national distractions and unrest.
 - The chains of political slavery of Sindh shall be riveted and get more strength.
 - With the settlement of refractory and self seeking people like the Pathans and Punjabis, and the cunning and malicious people like the Biharies, among the open hearted and peace loving Sindhi people, ground shall be laid for social disorderliness and civil strife in the Sindhi Society.
- With this constitution, the Sindhi people, having once been reduced to a permanent and unchanging minority, must find all avenues before them closed for attaining political liberty, economic prosperity and cultural advancement through democratic and peaceable means of struggle, and must therefore be driven to use undemocratic and violent means for securing their basic human rights as a people.

Mr. Bhutto had his domicile in Sindh, and therefore many of the people had legitimately hoped that he would never sacrifice the political freedom, economic well being, and cultural viability of Sindh in his pursuit for power or, having attained it, in defense of power. However, alas! experience has proved the futility of any such hope in this power hungry

and self Inflated person, who in reality has not only thrown Sindh and its interests at the feet of his masters, the Muhajir Punjabi Vested interests, but is engaged even in cutting the roots of Pakistan, so that his personal ego and itch for power may be Satisfied. The following of his actions stand witness to it.

1. Contrary to the founder of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah's political testament left by him in his inaugural speech at the first constituent assembly of Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto has taken oath of allegiance to the "ideology" of Pakistan, denying thereby the existence of nationalities who came together in Pakistan, and has thereby invited, or even challenged, then to revolt against it.
2. He has, by use of subterfuge and chicanery drawn forth from the constituent assembly, a unanimous constitution for Pakistan on the basis of one nation and one country, and has thereby committed the crisis of turning Sindh into a colony of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests, raising thereby a great stumbling block on the path of Sindh's political, economic and cultural advancement as a nation.
3. He has imposed Urdu, which is a language alien to the peoples and lands in Pakistan, as the national language of the country, and has thereby transfixed them into cultural subordination to the immigrant Urdu speaking aristocracy from India. As for Sindh, he has thereby opened the door to its dismemberment on basis of Language under subterfuge and blackmail of Muhajir leadership against which he and his party, as set instruments of the Muhajir Punjabi Axis in Pakistan, have no defense.
4. He has kept patriotic workers struggling for the good of Sindh, indefinitely jailed, and permitted infliction of atrocities and untold tortures on them, all with a view to winking the pleasure of his masters and keeping them in good humor, so that they may allow him to continue serving them as their dazzling show boy.
5. For merely protecting his position, he has permitted unrestricted entry of people from other provinces into Sindh and settlement of an unspecified number of Biharies, the thankless migrants from Bangla Desh, in Karachi, as first steps towards partitioning of Sindh and setting up a Muhajir Province On its soil as desired by his overbearing junior masters, the predatory Muhajir aristocracy from India.
6. He has left Karachi University to the Muhajirs as their sole preserve, and has pursued his splitting tactics in the Sindh University, screening out patriotic elements from its teaching staff, and has thereby started using the two Universities in Sindh as field for the spread of anti people ideology of Muhajir Punjabi Raj, under the fake term of Pakistan ideology or that of Islamic Raj.
7. He has preferred to keep his eyes closed to the usurpation of vast areas of land in the command areas of the Kotri and Guddu Barrage in Sindh, by non Sindhi Civil and army officers and other Muhajir Punjabi tycoons as absentee land grabbers.
8. He has authorized 90% of time on the Radio and even more on the Television in Sindh to be used for Urdu broadcasts and publicity, thereby relegating the language and culture of Sindh to a position of insignificance at once humiliating and provoking, aimed at nothing else but the cultural genocide of Sindh.
9. He has buried the voice of opposition by prohibiting their meetings, banning their newspapers and books, and by in consecrating their leadership and, if that did not prove enough by physically eliminating their workers.

10. He has thus re set the course of Pakistan politics towards fascism albeit of Awami variety. He has set up his own puppet ministries in Baluchistan and the NWFP by summarily removing their democratically installed governments, and has thus deprived these peoples of their fundamental right, to self government.
11. He has involved nationalist workers and opposition leaders not facing the line with his party, in false criminal cases and civil litigations, holding quite a number of them in prison without trial, and if by some chance released by any court, returning them back into their cells from the prison gates, under one or the other Defense of Pakistan regulation.
12. He has allowed Pakistan to become a party in conspiracies and war activities against Bharat, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, at the instance of America and China. He has often misused foreign aid whether received in shape of money, consumer goods, or weapons, against the nationalist opposition inside the country.
13. He has had instructions issued to government officers to decide cases as the concerned workers of his Peoples party may recommend and never to attend to any request of the workers of the opposition parties. This has given rise to widespread nepotism and favoritism, boarding, black marketing, lawlessness, and all kinds of corruption in the country.

In view of these facts and some of these would be touched further too later in this book there seems to have remained no alternative for the Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtoons to work out their national destinies, except one: they must do all they can to liberate their homelands from the strangle hold of Pakistan, for the creation of which they had all signified their consent to start with, but which indeed was shaping itself from its very beginning, as it has finally done now, as a base and a citadel for the Muhajir Punjabi imperialism on them. All constitutional means for attaining their salvation having been denied to them, there hardly remains any way out for them from the impasse, except that they should devise and employ illegal means and every other possible method of struggle for winning liberty from alien slavery, which is their birth right.

CHAPTER II - Sindhu Desh and Pakistan

When patriotic workers of Sindh take the name of Sindhu Desh, the proprietors of Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests get into jitters. Not only they, but their Sindhi agents, *met* Bhutto and his party men, too get almost burnt up in rage.

At first they used to get angry at the slogan of "Jeay Sindh". With them no other slogan except that of "Jeay Bhutto" was permissible then of late, in company with "Jeay Bhutto" they have however, started shouting "Jeay Pakistan". The Sindhi patriots read into these slogans of theirs "Pakistan to mean the base of Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism" and "Bhutto" to mean "a show-boy of that imperialism."

Why do these gentlemen get worked up at the name of Sindhu Desh is also very clear. They smell in the term "Sindhu Desh" "Bangla Desh" just as they did in the term "Bangla Desh" the sentiment of complete freedom for Sindh. The correct position too is exactly that. The genuine Sindhi patriot has got so much fed up with the evil deeds of the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists and their Sindhi agents that, as a reaction, he finds pleasure precisely in a thing, which causes the greatest of displeasure to these Johnnies.

Moreover, with experience, getting more and more mature minded ideologically, the Sindhi patriots get on steadily shaking off the magic of deceptive slogans and fake ideologies. They have very closely examined and put to test the glittering slogans of "Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah Zindabad" "Quaid-e-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan Zindabad" "Qaid-e-Awam Zindabad" or "Jeay Bhutto!" "Pakistan Zindabad", etc, etc. They have now come to see that what was working behind these slogans was nothing but pugnacious self-conceit and the minds of garrulous autocrats. All the three gentlemen in fact were the "Show-boy" and agents of the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests, and necessarily, therefore, the enemies of Sindh.

Pakistan has proved no bed of roses for the Sindhis. The truth is very much the opposite of it. They therefore, hate these slogans now. The Sindhi people as their enemy and a slave to his alien masters take any one who utters these words.

Let us find the causes of this change of mind, and examining the true position about Sindhu Desh and Pakistan, know the exact facts about them.

SINDHU DESH

Geographically, if you examine the map of Asia and that of the Indian subcontinent, you will readily see the distinct outline of Sindhu Desh on these maps. It is so because Sindhu Desh has a visibly distinct geographical position on the face of the mother earth being one of its physical regions, shaped as such, by nature. It has received its name from the river Sindhu, which flows through it and form its artery carrying its life giving waters almost from the heart of the land to various parts of its body. The Arabian Sea guards it, clinging to its face affectionately. The Runn of Kutchh spreads over vast areas of its south; its east is covered by sand dunes of Rajasthan. There are Bahawalpur and the East Punjab on its North while towards its West it is girdled around in part with the waters of the Arabian sea and the mountains and rocks of Baluchistan. Its forests, lakes, plains, sand dunes, rocks and Mountain bit of it, and the whole of it, has come into being through evolution over tens and hundred and thousands of centuries.

Historically, it has a civilization over 5000 years old. It has a culture, language and the magnificent past, which any nation and any country in the world would feel the greatest of pride to own and cherish. Sindh has a highly rich and productive soil. It has loving laborious people. Its language, its culture, its people, mineral wealth, its agriculture and its Sea trade and rich marine life all these are the result of natural growth spread millions of years. The land and the people of Sindh are under no obligation for their life and existence to Dr. Iqbal, Mr. Jinnah or any other persons of that ilk.

Sindh's religion and civilization has continued being enriched through centuries by the thought and creativity of its sons and daughters and by the collective art and of its people evolving in response to changing times and conditions of life within and outside its border. It has also blessed with timely contributions by the best minds and kindest souls of the world. Krishna, Buddha, Zaradushtra, Christ and Mohammed may their holy memories bless our minds light for ever have been all our kind and auspicious and we have gratefully imbibed in our minds all the best they gave to humanity. We bear no prejudice or cavil in mind against any one of them. The Sindhi mind is there a free mind, a tolerant mind, a mind surcharged with spirit of equality, patriotism and a living urge for freedom. The people of this land are not prepared to live as slaves, whether such a slavery is imposed on them in the name of religion, or that of Pakistan much less under the fraud of Muslim nationhood.

The word "Sindh" is a short term for "Sindhu" and "DES" is Sindhi form of the Sanskrit word "Desh" which means "homeland. If certain persons with closed minds do not follow the sense of this word, all that can be read about them is that "deaf, dumb and blind as they are, they will not understand". Sindh has been the home of a great ancient civilization. The archaeological sites at Amri, Mohen-jo-Daro, Kot-Diji and scores of such mounts are living witnesses to it. Different races and beliefs have found a meeting place here. It has seen great upheavals and suffered heavy blows during the course of its momentous career of thousands of years. It has yet survived and maintained its distinct entity culturally, geographically and also historically. We easily see traces here of Dravidians, Aryans, Semetics and Mangoloid races. More than these racial strains, we find here the intermingling of elements of various religions and philosophies, forming a singular approach to life a once catholic and particular in its range and application. Buddha was born in India yet, at one stage, it grew and flourished here. The influences of its philosophy of abnegation (*Nirvana*) were very much there, when Islam with its affirmative stance arrived in this land. The two trends joined and gave rise to a type of an *Impersonal* positivism which sought to stand above the *antithesis* between materialism and idealism claiming partisanship or *nontralism* as among philosophies at war with one another. Similarly, the *Vedanta* and the *Vahdaniyat* with *advaita* (absolute non-duality) of one and Tauhid (absolute oneness) of the other, met and recognized basic identity of each other minds and merged in a single all embracing approach to life here in Sindh. The Yogis of Jainism with its *Ahinsa*, the doctrine of compassion refraining man from doing injury to any living being, influenced the mind of the people on one hand, and the doctrine of Hindu Sanyas (withdrawal from wordily ties) and their music moves the Muslim Sufis into accepting the same in the body of their teachings, on the other. An instance of such a confluence of ideas and thoughts is not found anywhere else in the world.

While passing through different phases of history, Sindh has seen and suffered on its soil clashes and conflicts between variety of forces and powers. There have been times in its history when its star seemed nearly to have set forever. But history stands witness to the resilience of Sindh and its good fortune and courage to get on its feet again, and march onwards, inspite of every thing.

The Sindhis are fond of living like good neighbors. But they have never put up long with alien domination. They have not hesitated any time to learn good things from foreigners. But at the same time, they have never agreed to forget their separate existence, or to give up their own individuality. Sentiments of national identity and desire for freedom have been the basic elements of their traditions throughout their history.

The people of Sindh are a separate nation on the basis of all principles recognized the world over as the principles essential for nationhood. Those principles are (i) separate homeland, (ii) separate language, (iii) distinct culture, (iv) a body of historical *traditions* and (v) existence of special political and economic interests. Let us examine this claim to nationhood of the people of Sindh, in the light of the principles noted above, we have already described above their HOMLAND at some length. We may now take up the lamination of the case in the light of the remaining principles.

LANGUAGE:

The peoples language in Sindh is Sindhi. Modern studies in philology and linguistics have discovered the roots of this in the five thousands years old Mohen-jo-Daro civilization. By accidents of history and long passage of time, language, as it now is, has absorbed quite a number of words from foreign languages, with which it came in touch. Originally Sindhi was a *Prakrit* (a peoples dialect) of an Indo Aryan language, which has since gathered in its vocabulary words from Dravidians, Arabic, Turkish, English and Persian Tongues. This Language is not a hybrid like Urdu; it took shape as an upstart body of expression in early PS through artificial and short-term contacts among different elements. Sindhi is an old, well connected and naturally and fully developed language, which has its roots firmly and deeply, fixed in the past.

Whenever Sindh lost its freedom and passed under subject to an alien people, they invariably tried to destroy the Language by force, through enticement and with a congenial educational process. The Arab used their own language as court language in Sindh instead of Sindhi, and rough religion, as a vehicle tried to impose that language Sindh. But the Sindhi people after a short passage of time threw out that alien rule. With the exception of a certain number of Arabic Words and its script, Arabs left nothing behind in Sindh. Sindhi language, in any case, remained as pure and unsullied, linguistically speaking, as before. The same was the condition with the Mughal period of rule in Sindh. They promulgated Persian in Sindh, even more systematically than the Arabs. But that too couldn't do much of harm to the mother tongue of the Sindhi people, except leaving a certain number of its words in its vocabulary. During the British occupation, the English rules the roost as the court language in Sindh. But that too had to quit, adding a few words to the wealth of expression of the Sindhi language. The language of the people of Sindh not only survived all these adverse onslaughts, but even prospered by passage of time, adding more and more of worth and substance to itself.

At present, the Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialism is trying their worst to thrust Urdu language on the Sindhis, and are using the entire modern means and methods of publicity, education and sociological pressure for the purpose. But it is absolutely certain that, inspite of every thing including the treacheries of the ruling Sindhi Agents of the Muhajir-Punjabi clique, the language of the Sindhi People will survive and grow from strength to strength as it has done in the past.

CULTURE:

Culture is a comprehensive word. It covers the physical as well as the spiritual assets of human existence on earth. On one hand, it included the moral, the intellectual and the psychological assets and on the other the material means for the social economic and political vitality, which a people may have produced for carrying on as richly and fully as possible, the business of living as human beings. Culture is the word with which we describe the inexhaustible expressions of human thought and feelings. Just as the light of the Sun is essential for the survival of all living objects, in the same way culture is essential for the physical and spiritual health and improvement of nations.

Just as the whole of humanity is basically one, but for identification purposes and for the sake of administration of human affairs, it is distributed and arranged into communities and nations. In the same way the culture of the whole of humanity is also ultimately going to be basically one. In the mean time, however every country and every nation preserves its culture, considering it a valuable asset, a great heritage, which it has developed through centuries to experience and thought under physical environments and social conditions peculiar to itself.

Just as for thousands of years, the mountains and plateaus receive snow and rains, and trees and forests grew on them, and the trees shed their leaves and themselves fall and decay decompose into manure, and new trees grow in place of the old, and the flowing rainwaters, through rivulets and is sweep the composition down to the plains, where it 45 over the

lands and fertilizes them into *rich* soil, and various kinds of crops grow on this soil and provide nourishment to people and give them health vigor and prosperity; in the very same way the nations develop and their culture grow through time. Different families, clans and tribes, during course of hundreds of centuries, in search of food or under pressure of similar populations coming down on them to possess them of, their fields and pastures, peoples facing famines, epidemics and hundreds of natural calamities, yet surviving and settling some where, and some home adjusting with populations already living there, set up together with their homesteads and villages, towns and cities, and thus living together to mutual advantage for centuries, attached with a given area of earth, which they call their motherland, this is how nations are born, and they grow and develop into peoples, each with a language, a culture, a common interests visible or implied, in life and work of all by all, individually and collectively among themselves. This is a process natural, but long, slow and difficult, giving rise to growing culture and also needing its help all the time securing further and yet further growth and consolidation the nation.

Sindh with its racial amalgam provides a great illustration of this process. As already stated, there have been Dravidians, Aryans, Semetics and Mongoloid races and other, who, families, clans and tribes have settled in this land through course of centuries. There have been Samaats, Rajputs, Luhanas, and clans of Pathans, Baloch, Arab and other origins, who have joined into one Sindhi people, getting their languages, customs and traditions, costumes, manners, folklore and such other tribal, or sometimes even national, peculiarities with which they originally arrived on the scene, and having participated in the business of living here, have helped a very rich common culture grow in Sindh. Ages old relations, common needs and requirements of life, intermarriages, the climate and other general environment and above all dependence on common means and sources of livelihood have all contributed to the leveling of the initial differences among them. All these elements, in due course, fell into a pattern, adopting a common tongue, dress, folk, traditions, religious approach, social customs and behaviors, and thus assumed a national completion distinctively of its own form, which they now proudly call the Sindhi culture.

Thousands of years passed by before the process nurtured into this shape. The entire psychological, social and intellectual character of the Sindhi people today is a reflection of that culture that took ages to form.

There are hundreds of similar areas and regions on earth, where people have similarly been born, immigrated and settled and have formed themselves into nations and have evolved their distinct languages and culture, which they consider their invaluable heritages and would like to defend and save with their lives as their basic national duty.

HISTORICAL TRADITIONS AND NATIONAL CHARACTER:

Peoples national characters are formed in the course of thousands of years, under interplay of forces and influences of physical and social environments including climate, food, racial and interracial habits and trends, religious beliefs and practices, developing internal social relations and their relations with their neighbors and other outside peoples, etc.

Some of the peoples attach uncommonly great importance to the purity of racial stock, and it becomes a point of prestige with them, even to the extent of an obsession, and they resort to murderous feuds on the most ordinary incidents of breach of their accepted norms of social life. Some of the peoples have greater sense of loyalty than others; some are more hospitable than others. Some peoples are militant and aggressive and take violence to be a fair arbiter for settlement of disputes, while others being peaceable peoples, consider violence to be the root cause of all strike and disorder in life, and show their marked preference for nonviolence. Some of the peoples believe love and fraternization to be the greatest good for human life, with others hate and confrontation is the rule. Some peoples are more altruistic than others are, Patriotism with some peoples is as important as the very breath of life, for others the very idea of

motherland is an anathema, and they base their entire national existence on of it. Some peoples are known for tolerance and forbearance as their national character, while others are similarly known for their bigotry and fanaticism. There are some peoples who find the secret of life in the sentiment for liberty, and consider it their right as well as their duty to struggle for it. There are other peoples, who remain content in slavery prefer the easy and comfortable way of living a dependent and protected life to the hard and risky living under freedom and challenge. It is not necessary that all the members of nation should the carriers of a national stamp and under all circumstances manifests it in their conduct. In every nation, quite a number of the people are indeed a loose lot, and often the majority of them are unmindful of any particular national or trait. But there are always some persons in nation represent the best that is in it, and can be held as exemplary carriers of the national character. However, the criterion for discovering the national character of a people is its folklore and folk traditions and its literature, which invariably store the likes and dislikes, preferences and biases of the and the most active minds among them. Such preferences or biases of a people can most legitimately be taken as the features of its national character.

The writer having given some thought to this subject has identified the following traits to the typical feature of the national character of the Sindhi People.

1. Attachment to social tradition and sense of social pride.
2. Loyalty
3. Hospitality.
4. Nonviolence.
5. Love.
6. Altruism.
7. Patriotism.
8. Tolerance.
9. Sentiment for liberty.
10. Spirit of resistance to tyranny.

(I) Attachment to Social tradition and sense of social pride:

The People of Sindh have an extraordinarily great regard for social traditions. The great epic of Dodo Soomro is illustrative of this basic trait of their national character. Dodo the immortal hero of the epic, sacrifices himself and his entire army, and all the ladies of his royal family burn themselves to death, in the battle for national liberty and social honor against the foreign invaders rather than purchase peace and right to rule by offering his sister Baghi's hand in marriage to the enemy as price. Marui, the heroine of the great folk-story of Sindh provide another moving illustration of this feature of the Sindhi character, who, being a simple shepherdess rejects all enticements and pressures of the ruler of the day to be his queen, and maintains her social prestige and attachment to tradition of remaining loyal to her betrothed

shepherd youth Khet. The history of Sindh provides innumerable example of this undying characteristic of the Sindhi people often to prefer death to over stepping bounds of one or the other wholesome social tradition of their life or to suffering an insult to their sense of social pride.

(2) Loyalty

The trait of loyalty in the character of the Sindhi people has become so proverbial that even their foes take it for granted and often deceives them shamelessly on that account. The Sindhis are subjected even to diatribes show intense loyalty to their relatives and friends, and their *Vaderas* Pirs and Mullahs. Even though they suffer cruel betrayals at the hands of the Mullah the Pir and the *Vaderas*, they on their part would yet keep faith with them as far as possible. There is an aphorism with them, as indeed a code of conduct with friends, which runs as follows: "Keep faith till the end, let the friend do what he may". Another common saying with them, of the same nature is "Keep concern with the friends friendship, he may know his own deeds".

(3) Hospitality

This trait is ingrained deep in the Sindhi character. If in village, a guest arrives in the house of even the poorest of the poor, he would stop his own children in the course of time, and place the ready food first before the guest. If there is nothing in the house to feed the guest with, the host raise a loan and serve the guest as fine a food as possible. Sindhi people have suffered grievously on account of trait of their character, and an adage with them reflects its reality viz., "She came in for the ember, but remained the kitchen as the cook". In quite a number of cases, alien rulers and tribes have taken bad advantage of the hospitality the Sindhis. The living examples of the treacherous conduct the lately arrived Muhajir-Punjabi colonialists are unfolding itself now, before them with all its faith shattering repercussions. But, in spite of everything, "the guest that has arrived at home must never be turned back".

(4) Nonviolence:

The Sindhis are generally a peaceable people. They are quarrelsome. They are hardly ever aggressive. They attacked any country or nation. Because of their peacefulness, they are even dubbed as timid and cowardly by enemies. Their gentleness as a people is taken to be weakness. The People of Sindh treat it an act of courage "to turn in position of strength". It is mainly with them "to withdraw for the sake of peace". It is good manner among to avoid pressing the point". Differences are to be settled by mutual understanding. Even the wrong to be resisted non-violently to a degree. One must fearlessly speak out before the strong and the mighty.

Nonviolence is the sign of courage, not of weakness. It is absolutely essential to struggle for freedom, peace and happiness in life. But there are different modes of the struggle. There are some who impose by force their opinions and beliefs on others. There are others who, considering the principles of "common struggle for existence and mutual survival", do not exceed the limits.

5) Love:

The differences between the animal and the human behavior is that in one case pursuit of self-interests leads to the path of hatred and confrontation resulting in strife and conflict, while in the other the business of living is earned on with love as guide to unity, peace and happiness.

The social customs, the political behavior and the religious beliefs of the Sindhi people are permeated with the benign spirit of love. This has been the message of all the leading thinkers, the saints, the poets, the teachers, the writers and the social builders in Sindh throughout its known history. In the divine words of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai the immortal poet of Sindh, "Nothing avails in life, except the love you carry in your heart".

(6) Altruism:

One of the great principles of Sindhi Character is to give up personal benefit for the benefit of others. This is the limit of civilized human conduct that love alone can reach. In the folk-story of Mumal Rano, the heroine deliberately sacrifices herself so that her love may prosper in life. There are hundreds of such stories of self-sacrifice in the folklore, history and literature of Sindh. To impoverish oneself in showing hospitality to others, to give up life for defending the weak who may have sought protection under one's roof, never to prefer material wealth to the grace and dignity of family ties, forgetting one's sorrowing the sorrow of others all these traits of Sindhi character have their full share of traditional and recorded instances available in the life and History of the Sindhi people.

(7) Patriotism:

This is the sentiment with which the Sindhi hearts are ever full and almost overflowing, Shah Abdul Latif, the saint poet of Sindh, and almost every other poet of Sindhi language, has eulogized this sentiment through the undying character of Marui, the simple rustic heroine of the folk-story known after her name. The Hindus of Sindh, who used to go overseas in pursuit of their business, invariably returned to Sindh with their earnings to be spent in the villages, towns, and cities of their motherland in the midst of their compatriots here. Even now, almost all of the Hindus and Sindhi Muslims, who have, for one reason or another, left Sindh and are living away from the banks of its affluent Sindhu and from its generously overgrowing plains or from its barren desert sand dunes and the bare rocks mountains of its Kohistan area and from the eternal roar of its great Sea of their epic Morro Mangar Machh fame, are immediately moved to tears when someone mentions the name of the beloved country to them. Raja Dahar's heroic defense of Sindh till the last breath of his life, the self-sacrifice Dodo Soomro and that of his family for the freedom and honor of his land, Dullah Darya Khans fight to death, along his sons, on the battle field defending Sindh, Shah Bilawal's silent suffering of being broken and squeezed to death in the oil-press for defiance to the attacking enemy, the young Hemun Kalanis death by gallows for his fight against the British imperialists, are some of the outstanding examples of the love and devotion that the people of Sindh bear in their hearts their motherland.

(8) Tolerance

The Sindhi is basically an open hearted and tolerant person. He absolutely knows no bigotry or fanaticism. The way which the poets of Sindh, Shah Latif, Sachal Sarmast Rohal, Fakir, Sami, Dilpat, Bedil and many others, have generously tried through their poetry, to bring all the different lions together and unite them on the basis of the abiding values of human good, is indeed unparalleled in its excellence appeal and the impact it has left on the minds of their people. Bigotry and tolerance are mutually contradictory of mind. Where there is tolerance, bigotry will find no place. How can the persons, who have just entered Sindh with skin-fulls of bigotry and fanaticism find any affinity of mind the Sindhis; Sindh is the Center of tolerance. Pakistan is intolerance and bigotry personified. Kinship of the two is impossible. The minds of the majority of the new comers are petrified under religious prejudice and hatred on one hand

and selfishness and hypocrisy on the other. Where there is fanaticism, hatred is bound to grow, and hatred is the fountainhead of all strife and disturbance and war.

(9) Sentiments for liberty:

This too is a noteworthy characteristic of the Sindhi people. Their history is a witness to the fact that whenever due to divisions among them or by superior force, any alien people have been able to set up their rule over their homeland, the people of Sindh sooner or later, have invariably at the very first opportunity, shaken off that rule and become free. The Iranians, the Greeks, the Arabs, the Mughals and the British Imperialists have established their domination on them in their own times but the Sindhi people dislodged them all and each time won their independence and reestablished their own free rule in their land. The classical Sindhi poetry is full of patriotic songs. Every Sindhi poet has made his contribution to this wealth of freedom poetry in the language. The people of Sindh from their early childhood listen to these songs and imbibe the spirit of freedom from this poetry. The village minstrels and the folk bards recite and sing to the people, these immortal freedom songs in epics and folk-stories and keep them spellbound for long hours over several nights at a stretch. The one epic of Dodo Soomro, which is a saga of defense struggle waged by the people of Sindh against a superior invading army lasts from three to seven nights, depending upon the skill and ability of the bards who recite it, and the people who arrange the session. Composition of patriotic songs and setting them to music and listening to them is, in the present days too, the most satisfying creative activity of the Sindhi poets and artists and the most pleasurable experience of the Sindhi audiences in cities as well as rural areas in Sindh.

At present, when the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism has secured its domination on Sindh, by playing fraud with the people under the glittering names of Islam, Pakistan, Muslim nation and Islamic *Raj*, the modern Sindhi poet couldn't at the same time, hold himself from saying:

How long, oh, how long more! But fall it must,

This rampart of fraud

Who could refuse giving life So that Sindh may live!

10) Resistance to tyranny:

A moving example of this trait of the Sindhi character can be seen in the fact of their present struggle for freedom that they are waging, even though they well know their helplessness before the superior forces of the enemy. They are weak in number. They are unarmed. They are also divided. Their enemies possess great strength. It has vast resources. It is superior in numbers too. It is wild and ruthless. Yet, for saving the national traditions, for reasserting the national dignity, for defending the national honor, the people of Sindh are carrying on their struggle oblivious of the consequences.

Their undying folk characters Marui, Sohni, Sasui Khahori, Kaapri, Samoondi, Morro, and their immortal characters of History- Raja Dahir, Dodo Soomro; Dulha Darya Khan, Shah Bilawal, Shah Enayat Sufi, Hoshoo Sheedi, Jetho Wanyo, Hemoon Kalani stand forth as the great beacon lights and as the most inspiring examples of the spirit of resistance to despotism and tyranny, which has always been and remains the most glorious trait of the Sindhi character.

Shah Latif and Ayaz, two of their great national poets one in symbolic terms and the others have paid tribute to this *trait* of the Sindhi character in the following immemorial lines of their poetry:

In night pitch-dark, with unburned jar,

and no inland skin either,

Throws she herself, losing no moment,

For the sake of the friend:

For love full and over powering, the river appears just a

dried plain to walk over,

(Sur Sohni: Shah Abdul Latif).

"Vainly challenges the mountain

Standing between my beloved; and me

Even though there be thousands of mountain

passes, steep and forbidding,

Cross through them successfully

I certainly shall"

(Sur Sasui Shah Abdul Latif).

If you are worried about your neck,

how can you fight? Get away!

You in your blood do not carry

the milk of our motherland.

(Ayaz).

Ours is the neck under the knife,

Our slogans yet are the slogans of love,

By the name of the holy Sindh,

We shall die, but die we shall smilingly.

(Ayaz).

In Sindh, different religions and philosophies have met and attained a unity, which is bound to be a blessing for mankind.

Sindh has a message of love and peace for the world. Sindh carries the mission of bringing about an integration of the Eastern and Western civilizations, to the lasting good of the whole world. Sindh, as a piece of land, is nature's own creation. The Sindhi people have a history, which is indeed timeless. Nature's own creations have stability and permanence primordial and inevitable. The existence of Sindh and the Sindhi people could not be annulled or controverted by any force in history so far. The lately arrived Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism that holds ascendancy over them now and seem to be wallowing in their friendship desire to eradicate them out of existence, also cannot do so. It is beyond them to do so. What is absolutely inevitable in this case too is that, like their predecessors the Iranians, the Greeks, the Arabs, the Mughals and the British Imperialists they themselves, along with Pakistan, their contrivance of fraud, will disappear from Sindh, never to be seen back again.

PAKISTAN

As against Sindh, Pakistan is an accident of history a freak of nature. Unlike Sindh, Baluchistan, Pakhtoonistan and Punjab, Pakistan is not the product or creation of nature, nor has it any entity comprising one nation, one language, Literature culture or any identity of economic or political interest.

Pakistan has come into being as a result of clash of exploitative vested interests in India of the Hindu capitalists and bureaucracy on one hand and those of the Muslim feudal bureaucracy on the other. It was born out of conspiracy the Muhajir (immigrants from Bharat) and Punjab Muslim vested Interests to establish a haven of protection in which they could set up their exclusive base of political power and economic exploitation. It is being used and kept alive for the benefit of these vested interests. It has no past traditions. It is the name of an artificially newborn country of 25 years age.

What has transpired in Pakistan in the brief period after establishment has proved its existence to be useless and made its future positively harmful. It is rule of nature that things, which come into being temporarily and for emergency reasons, have to disappear after serving their momentous role. A similar fate seems to be lying in wait for Pakistan.

There has been corruption galore in Pakistan. There has a denial of common man's rights in Pakistan, almost unprecedented in the modern world. There has been a total suppression of the rights and interests of smaller nationalities in Pakistan. These things are writ large on the brief pages of Pakistan's life. The tyranny, the exploitation and the unethical practices that have taken place here in the name of Islam have hardly a parallel anywhere in the world. The country is being run by the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests as their own fief. It has therefore lost whatever little it had at the start. The balloon must burst sooner or The artificial ideology viz.; the Ideology of Pakistan, stands in such a flagrant conflict with God's ideology the nature's own ideology of nationhood, cannot be destined to last long. Pakistan is not a physically formed natural region of Geographically; it is no country at all. It came into existence as the result of temporary economic, social and political differences in the Indian subcontinent. The Muslim vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces and the Muslim vested interests in the Punjab misled the Muslim majority provinces of the

subcontinent first in the highly emotive name of religion, and secondly by promising them an "independent and sovereign" existence, and thus carried them along and succeeded somehow, in establishing country. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests however, immediately forget all their promises and commitments with their brethren in faith in the Muslim majority provinces. Instead of "Independent and Sovereign States", these provinces are now being ruled by them as mere colonies. Under these circumstances the larger part of Pakistan, viz., the East Bengal has already gone out of it, leaving Sindh, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan to continue eating the bitter fruit of their initial credulity and zeal of moving into the trap.

For the period of full 25 years, Pakistan could not give itself a constitution for the simple reasons that the People of East Bengal stood firm against any Constitution that could legalize and perpetuate the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist hold on them. When at last the people of Bengal realizing their destiny to lie outside the frame-up, jumped out of it, the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis could find itself free to impose exactly such a constitution on the remaining three peoples of Pakistan. Who couldn't stand in the way of the juggernaut of the absolute majority of the Punjab rushing such a Constitution through in the Assembly. The three peoples thus rounded up under the additional deception of democracy Islam and Pakistan being already in use for the purpose couldn't however, be expected to sit quite on their fate long. They could never be reconciled to the state of permanent and unchanging majority rule of the Punjab-Muhajir vested interests, which is precisely what the constitution has imposed on them. The national liberation struggle, therefore, of the Pakhtoons the Baluchis, and the Sindhis has to continue developing till they secure their "independent and sovereign" states as the Bengalis have done in Bangla Desh. It is history's irreversible verdict that nations can never remain slaves forever.

Let us now briefly review the reasons and arguments that were put forth in support of Pakistan. Those reasons and arguments were the following:

- (i) That Muslims were a separate nation because of religion.
- (ii) That Pakistan was the homeland of Muslims from India.
 - i. That the state and society of Pakistan were to be governed under the laws of Islam, and they were to be the models for the whole world.
 - ii. That the constituent people of Pakistan shall be independent and sovereign.

(1) SEPARATE NATIONHOOD OF MUSLIMS:

History proves that Muslims have never remained united the basis of religion what to speak of their being a nation on that account. There are at present more than 350 religious sects among them, each considering itself alone to be true follower of Islam and hence entitled to salvation, and all the rest to have strayed from the path and therefore destined for hell.

The students of history also know that Muslim peoples have fought wars against one another, resulting into colossal bloodsheds and huge massacres. Muslim have invaded the Muslims, and conquered and occupied their countries. Never in history have any Muslim people established anywhere a state or a government as a Muslim Nationals. Every such establishment was known under the name and style of the tribe or nation, which founded or controlled it. There were Umayyads, Abbasides, Iranians, Afghans, Turks, Mughals, *but* never simply Muslims as a nation or ever nations any time and anywhere in the world. Even now, nowhere in the World does any nation live or act as a Muslim nation. They

are over a hundred, 135 nations constituting the United Nations Organization of the world. There is not a single nation claiming membership that Organization as Muslim nation. Each one of the members of nations there is a nation by virtue of its religion, but because of its secular right title to that status.

Here in Pakistan, we have on the contrary, peoples with language, distinct homelands, exclusive and almost irreconcilable economic and political interests, but there are countries contiguous to each other and speaking a common tongue, with Islam as almost a common religion of their peoples, like, say Iran and Afghanistan and the Arab countries, yet they do not and can never live together as one nation, under one state or government simply, because they are Muslims! Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar are separate countries. North of Yemen and South of Yemen are separate states. Syria and Lebanon are independent and sovereign countries. There are thus over fifteen Arabic speaking Muslim countries who are not prepared to live in One State and under One government. How then can be Sindhis, the Baluchis and the Pakhtoons, each with their separate homeland, language, history, culture, and traditions and distinct body of political and economic interests, be forced, in the name of Islam, to live as subject peoples under Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism in Pakistan?

All the member states of the United Nations Organization believe in the modern secular concept of nationhood. The State of Israel and the State of Pakistan are the only two exceptions. Although Israel even as Pakistan has been implanted as a foreign matter on the Arab land, at the cost of millions of innocent people having been uprooted from their hearths and homes, and is even now being maintained by world Imperialism as a base for world reaction, it is somehow free from the internal malady of any one oppressor nation crushing the rest of the smaller nations within its borders, as is the case here, where Punjab with overall, absolute and irreplaceable majority, in conspiracy with immigrant Muhajir vested interests as its junior partners and its pack dogs in the hunt, particularly in Sindh, is pressing literally to the wall the Sindhi, the Balochi and the Pakhtoon peoples in Pakistan.

The past history of twenty seven years in Pakistan has proved that this religious concept of nationhood, which the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis have all the time insisted on using as an ideological instrument to serve their exploitative interests, has been the main divisive factor among the different peoples in Pakistan and has brought about nothing but instability and disorder in the country. No unity and peace is possible even in a family unless the brothers are assured fair and just share in the ancestral property. Here in Pakistan, the weak and small member nations are; on the contrary, being expropriated from what they already hold as their inalienable heritage of the past. Not only those but they are being very cleverly and systematically robbed of even what they earn from day to day by the sweat their brow, and are left only enough to subsist, so that they could how and drawn for their masters. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests entertain the most fiendish designs of colonizing the lands of these peoples, and over whelming them by numbers and unbalancing their populations turn them into minorities in their own homeland. If today in Sindh, the people raise the slogan of Sindhu Desh and demand complete independence for their homeland, it is because of the treacherous ideology of Muslim nationhood under which the Muhajir-Punjabi colonialists are holding their deadly grip on them. The ruling clique in Pakistan is out to suppress, even the most innocent voice that is raised in defense of the rights of the smaller peoples, by charging it as the voice of anti Pakistan, and anti Islam disruptionists. Mr. Bhutto was indeed the last hope for Pakistan to save itself and hold together with the free consent of smaller nationalities, but the policy of fascist suppression of Peoples national aspirations, which he soon started following after coming into power, proved how malicious greedy and shortsighted his policy making mentors were. The Sindhi, the Balochi and the Pakhtoon peoples are getting more and more convinced of the utter impossibility of obtaining any just and fair response to their national hopes and aspirations in Pakistan. They see their national future sale only in breaking as under their chains and becoming; free, and establishing their own independent and sovereign national states, just as their brethren the people of Bangla Desh had to do in similar conditions.

The theory of separate Muslim nationhood is a false theory. It is contrary to facts. It is a silly political fraud, which the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests have invented and are keeping alive only to maintain their exploitative grip /On the Sindhi, Balochi and Pakhtoon peoples. For the Sindhis to believe in this theory could only be tantamount to foregoing their right to liberty, peace and happiness and to accepting slavery under the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism.

In fact, under the universally recognized fundamental right of self-determination of nationalities, the Sindhi people and the other smaller peoples in Pakistan are entitled to full freedom and independence as their birth right. It is only the members of the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis and their agents, who oppose this right.

(2) PAKISTAN THE HOMELAND OF MUSALMANS FROM INDIA

Pakistan's rationale hardly improves with this argument why should, after all the Sindhis, the Baluchis, and the Pakhtoons accept this position. If the Musalmans of India had necessarily to be moved out of India and settled amongst brotherly Muslim peoples, the entire Muslim brotherhood of the world should have shared the burden. As it is, only the Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtoons, and among them too mostly the Sindhis, have borne and are still bearing the brunt of it. These peoples had never subscribed to this principle, nor had they bound themselves by it. It is a false and baseless argument manufactured only to provide an unabashed cover for colonization and exploitation of the homelands of the smaller nationalities in Pakistan.

(3) PAKISTAN AN ISLAMIC SOCIETY WITH AN ISLAMIC STATE

This argument had greatly moved the people here, before the establishment of Pakistan, but after its establishment, it leaves them cold. The way the local people have been exploited, and the limits to which corruption, adultery, drinking, black-marketing, adulteration, smuggling and other social and political evils are day to day raising in Pakistan, has removed all blinkers from the eyes of the people. They **now know** that in Pakistan Islam's name is precisely taken for providing justification and cover for anti-Islamic deeds.

All the right-minded people in Pakistan today know that there is no country in the world which may have an Islamic constitution, and that no constitution could indeed be either Islamic or Hindu. Modern Constitutions of states or countries have to deal with life's problems, such as the following, which have nothing to do with religion as such: Fundamental human rights of the people, powers of the Central Authority, powers of Provincial governments, and powers of the Legislature, the executive and judiciary in a State, etc. Similarly different State departments of administration in modern times can neither exist nor function as Hindu or Muslim or Christian or anything of that sort. It is indeed beyond ordinary comprehension as to how these people can proselytize the Revenue; the Railway, the Police, the Defense, e Post and Telegraphs, the Radio and Television, the forest, the Health, the Engineering and such other executive and administrative departments of government and turn them Muslims. As a matter of fact all this tall talk about Islamic State is aimed at deceiving the credulous mass and keeping their minds diverted from their real problems, so that they, could all the more safely and all the more thoroughly be exploited and kept crushed and helpless as slaves before their masters.

(4) INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT STATES OF PAKISTAN.

Under the All India Muslim Leagues Lahore resolution of 1940, and under the Sindh Legislative Assembly resolution 1943, the constituent states of Pakistan had to be independent and Sovereign". In 1946 at Delhi, a convention of Muslim League parliamentarians, without any mandate of the mother organization and in total disregard of its basic

constitution, subverted this solemn declaration of intent behind the political demand of Pakistan and adopted a resolution aimed at the establishment of unitary state for Pakistan. At that very most of us could see through the game and we knew the Sindhi people were being deceived and doublecrossed subsequent developments could thoroughly expose the minority; and rapaciousness of the fraud thus played on Sindh, NWFP, Baluchistan and Bengal. It was because of this rank betrayal of the national interests of the peoples, that East Bengal subsequently left it and asserted its independence and sovereignty which was treacherously denied to it in Pakistan. The recognition that has been universally accorded to it by nations has indeed paved the way for the remaining constituent nation in Pakistan to demand and struggle for the restitution of the same status also to them.

SINDHU DESH - WHY NOT ?

The anti-people ruling class in Pakistan and their agents come out generally with the following arguments against Sindhu Desh, in order to discourage and weaken the will of Sindhi patriots:

- 1) Sindhu Desh is a small country and hence will be a nonviable state.
- 2) It is hard and difficult to snatch freedom from the strong Muhajir-Punjabi ruling junta.
- 3) It will be treason to Pakistan to win freedom for Sindhu Desh with the aid and support of foreign countries.
- 4) Sindh will be a loser if it separates from Pakistan.
- 5) Pakistan is a great Muslim country, and it will be a sad blow to Islam if Pakistan disintegrates.

In the following pages, we will deal with these spurious arguments of the enemies of the Sindhi people.

(I) SINDHU DESH IS A SMALL COUNTRY.

The agents and spokesman of Muhajir-Punjabi Raj, which is keeping Sindhu Desh under thralldom, say that Sindhu Desh is a small country, and therefore

- a) There being no Sindhis in the army, they would not be able to fight and liberate themselves.
- b) There are no capable persons among Sindhis who could manage and administer an independent state of their own.
- c) Sindh does not produce enough to maintain itself as an independent country.
- d) The Sindhis being a backward and politically unconscious people are incapable of winning freedom.

Actually, however, Sindhu Desh is not a small country. It is a bigger country in many respects, than a great majority of the countries who are members of the United Nations Organization, as may be seen from a comparative statement showing the Physical area, population and national produce of 91 out of 135 such member countries, given below. There

are many countries, unbelievably smaller in all respects than Sindhu Desh, which are also free and independent and are the sitting members of the United Nations.

Sindhu Desh is 56447 square miles in areas. Its population is just reaching fourteen millions souls. Its revenue collections, both Central and provincial, amount to 8000 million rupees. It has 2,25,00,000 acres of cultivable land area. Seventy percent of industries in Pakistan are located in Sindh. Karachi, its Capital, is the biggest city and the only seaport in Pakistan. Its language, Sindhi, belongs to the oldest and most developed languages of the world. It has a 5000 years old civilization, and possesses a remarkable history, culture and traditions. It has rich mineral resources, which yet remain to be touched. Its gross national product reaches eighty thousands million rupees annually.

Considered thus with the exception of some leading countries of Europe, North and South America and Asia, Sindh occupies higher place among all the rest of the countries of the world.

If countries like Kuwait and Qatar could be free and independent, and inspite of their small areas, population and incomes, could enjoy membership of the UNO why should Sindh be deprived of its rightful privilege in the name of Muslim nationhood, Islam or Pakistan!

From the following comparative statement of 93 countries including Switzerland, which is not a member of the U.N.O and Sindh, it may be seen that most of these are smaller than Sindh in all respects. Those of the few countries, which have larger areas, are mostly spread over deserts rocky plateaus and such other expanses of non-arable land. From the viewpoint of gross national produce only some 5 countries of Europe among these 93 given countries are seen to be bigger than Sindh. *[The figures in following table are in the context of 1972-73.]*

THE STATEMENT GIVING DETAILS OF 93 COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, 93 OF WHICH ARE THE MEMBERS OF THE UNO BUT IN MANY RESPECTS ARE SMALLER THAN SINDH.

No	Name of the Country	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Income in Millions of dollars
1	<i>Albania</i>	1629	2975000	1000
2	<i>Bahrain</i>	220	215000	
3	<i>Barbados</i>	166	250686	160
4	Belgium	11,755	96,46,000	25,700
5	Bhutan	18,000	7,70,000	
6	Bolivia	5,14,155	48,04,000	920
7	Bulgaria	42,823	84,64,264	
8	Botswana	2,22,000	6,29,000	

No	Name of the Country	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Income in Millions of dollars
9	Burundi	10,747	33,40,000	230
10	Byelo Russia	81,000	90,03,000	
11	Cambodia	70,000	70,00,000	760
12	Cameroon	1,43,500	56,80,000	990
13	Sri Lanka	25,322	1,22,40,000	2120
14	Chad	4,95,000	35,10,000	260
15	Congo Brazil	1,32,000	8,80,000	230
16	Costa Rica	19,656	16,95,000	920
17	Cuba	44,206	85,53,495	
18	Cyprus	3,572	6,30,000	540
19	Czechoslovakia	49,381	1,44,18,000	
20	Dahony	44,649	26,40,000	240
21	Denmark	16,576	49,21,156	15570
22	Dominican Republic	18,699	43,24,766	1400
23	Equador	1,04,505	59,73,300	1400
24	Salvador	8,236	33,90,000	1010
25	Fiji	7,055	5,13,000	
26	Finland	1,17,975	47,07,000	10200
27	Gibbon	1,03,000	4,75,000	310
28	Gambia	4,000	3,60,000	50

No	Name of the Country	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Income in Millions of dollars
29	Ghana	92,100	85,45,561	2460
30	Greece	51,182	87,36,367	9540
31	Guatemala	42,042	48,62,530	1840
32	Guineonea	94,937	40,00,000	320
33	Guineve	83,000	7,31,098	250
34	Hitti	10,700	46,71,461	440
35	Honduras	43,227	25,00,000	690
36	Hungry	35,912	1,03,14,442	
37	Iceland	39,709	2,03,442	480
38	Ireland	26,060	29,21,000	41,00
39	Israel	8,050	29,95,000	4390
40	Ivory Coast	1,24,510	42,00,000	1420
41	Jamaica	4,411	18,61,000	1180
42	Jordan	39,050	22,50,000	
43	Kenya	2,24,960	1,08,90,000	1580
44	Kuwait	6,000	7,33,196	2750
45	Laos	89,320	11,40,300	220
46	Lebanon	3,400	26,45,000	1530
47	Lizoto	11,716	9,30,000	90
48	Liberia	38,250	11,34,000	350

No	Name of the Country	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Income in Millions of dollars
49	Libya	6,79,358	18,75,000	3140
50	Luxembourg	999	3,38,500	1000
51	Malagaski Republic	2,27,800	66,00,000	280
52	Malta	122	3,22,353	230
53	Maldives Island	155	1,14,600	
54	Mali	4,65,000	49,29,000	510
55	Malvi	45,411	45,30,000	320
56	Mauritania	4,19,000	11,20,000	180
57	Morocco	1,80,000	1,50,30,000	3340
58	Mauritius	787	7,89,686	
59	Nepal	54,600	1,08,45,000	890
60	Netherlands	12,868	1,29,57,621	32,150
61	Nicaragua	57,145	18,41,759	840
62	Niger	4,84,000	40,16,000	320
63	Norway	1,24,502	38,66,468	11390
64	Oman	1,24,556	7,50,000	
65	Panama	28,575	14,17,000	1010
66	Paraguay	1,57,000	23,86,000	580
67	Portugal	35,500	99,78,800	6220
68	Rwanda	10,169	36,67,000	

No	Name of the Country	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Income in Millions of dollars
69	Qatar	4,000	1,30,000	
70	Senegal	76,104	38,00,000	700
71	Sierolyon	27,925	25,00,000	430
72	Singapore	224	20,33,000	1970
73	Somalia	2,16,200	27,30,000	180
74	Sudan	9,77,000	1,55,08,000	1890
75	Swaziland	6,704	4,51,000	90
76	Sweden	1,73,665	80,13,696	32,580
77	Syria	71,210	62,94,000	1590
78	Tanzania	3,73,665	1,29,26,000	1330
79	Thailand	2,00,418	3,47,38,000	6510
80	Togo	21,220	19,56,000	270
81	Trinidad	1,864	10,10,000	840
82	Tunisia	63,362	45,33,351	1230
83	Uganda	91,076	97,64,000	1300
84	United Arab Emirate		3,30,000	
85	Voltaic Republic			310
86	Yaman	75,000	57,28,000	460
87	South Yaman	1,12,075	12,50,000	140
88	Yugoslavia	98,725	2,15,00,000	

No	Name of the Country	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Income in Millions of dollars
89	Zaire	9,05,582	1,71,00,000	1950
90	Zambia	2,90,556	40,56,995	1680
91	Barman	800	1,95,000	
92	Switzerland	15,900	62,69,783	
93	Sindh	56,447	1,40,00,000	8000

The figures in the above statement indicate the position of Sindh vis a vis other countries. Thus, among these 92 countries, Sindh stands inferior to 36 in Physical area, to only 3 in population and to only 7 European countries, in annual Revenues. In other words Sindh is bigger country than 56 out of these 92 countries in area, 89 in population and 85 in annual Income from general.

Yet all these countries are free and independent and by virtue of it, are the members of the U.N.O. while the Muhajir-Punjabi colonial exploiters and their suitors refer to Sindh as a small country and feel worried about its viability as a free state!

The matter of the smallness of Sindhu Desh thus cleared; we may as well look into the implications, which these malevolent friends of Sindh draw out of their free charge.

(a) Sindhis are not in the army:

Every country needs Police and the army for maintenance of internal order and for external defense. The Sindhi people have not so far joined their forces wholeheartedly or in big numbers due, in the first place, to the fact that they are not free people. Secondly, these are many countries in the world Besides, Sindh who possess no army whatsoever, e.g. Switzerland Qatar, Bahrain, Luxembourg, etc. In spite of that, these countries are and can remain free and independent. In the present world, there are certain countries with such exceptionally superior power that they can overrun smaller countries at will. But that doesn't happen. The world opinion has grown so strong and effective that the big imperialist powers are finding it impossible even to retain their existing grip on their long established colonies. No bigger or stronger country is able today to snatch away from any smaller or weaker country its freedom. If any such thing happens anywhere, the outraged will of the world, or the intervention of friendly forces immediately comes into play and the victim is restored to its lost freedom.

Presently, it is only Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia, Israel, and the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj in Pakistan where no lesson has been drawn from the world history yet and who are still holding their subject peoples under them stubbornly denying to them their freedom. But as the things move, it is but certain that the victims of these griesy powers too would find themselves at liberty sooner than expected.

As far the armies of Sindh, its fighting youth, struggling for the liberation of their motherland, like the liberation armies, the Mukti Bahini of Bangla Desh, will form the vanguard of the Sindhu Desh Army. As free people the Sindhi nation can add up to their police force and create their national armies automatically and without much trouble.

Just as the struggling people under the Portuguese South African and Rhodesian imperialism's are receiving help and Support from all the free nations of Africa, and just as the neighboring Arab peoples, and also the peoples of the Soviet Union, are assisting their Palestinian brothers, the 5 victims of Israeli aggression to liberate themselves from their enemy strong hold in much the same way the Sindhi nationals living in India and other like-minded peoples of the neighboring countries can surely extend their brotherly Support to the Sindhis in their liberation struggle. The argument, therefore that the Sindhis are such enthusiastic about joining the armies of their masters, who keep them slaves, and as such have no title to freedom, is only a clever ruse for blunting the Sindhi peoples urge for freedom and discourage and demoralize them in their struggle for national liberation.

(b) Sindhis are not capable of governing themselves:

This argument of the enemies of Sindhu Desh has a familiar ring of the late imperialist master of the Indian subcontinent, who only up to August, 1947 used to say that the Indian were not capable to rule themselves and hence were destined to remain slaves to their British superiors.

As matters of fact, Sindhis are far more capable people than those are, Punjabi-Muhajir predicate rulers of the peoples of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah are, and the founder of Pakistan himself was a Sindhi. The entire body of Muslim Vested Interests in the Indian subcontinent had chosen him to be their leader because of his abilities to lead. It is a different thing altogether that he worked as a tool of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested interests and did nothing to protect the interests of Sindh that gave him birth, and even betrayed it palpably. But, for this blatant role of Mr. Jinnah, the people of Sindh, themselves too were partly responsible. There is a common saying in Sindhi "The young one of a buffalo frisks round its base pole only". Mr. Jinnah was put in the forefront by the aliens because of the talent and capability they saw in him. He was not a man of principles. He was practical politician. He could see that the people of Sindh were yet lying in the backwaters of history and regaling themselves with credulous dependence on their silly treacherous trio of the Vadera, Pir and Mullah. He could also see that it were the Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests, who had put him on the pedestal of fame and glory. Under the circumstances if he turned his back on them and were to sponsor the interests of Sindh and the Sindhis, he would be brought down from the pedestal and pushed away into oblivion in no time. He therefore saw his personal security and effulgence in the familiar Sindhi adage. "One must sing the song of him who feeds".

Next to Jinnah in ability and talent of leadership, we have had Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Haji Abdullah Haroon, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Sir, Shah Nawaz Khan to, Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, Shaheed Allah Bux Soomro, Mohammed Amin Khoso, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, Pirzada Abdul Sattar, Kazi Fazlullah and any others, who could match and even outclass any political leader of any people in the Indian subcontinent in their own days.

At present too there is a son of Sindh, Mr. Zulfikar Ali who occupies the top position in Pakistan. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests facing dearth of merit and ability their ranks, have placed him there studiedly, knowing very well his usefulness as their excellent tool. If, at the moment, is playing a traitor to Sindh and is reducing to dust the of the Sindhi people, it is all due to the same fact of being an unprincipled politician like Mr. Jinnah. It is his own success, which alone matters with him. Nevertheless, he is to be blamed for his anti-Sindh role, the people of too, are worthy for it to an even greater extent. It is painful fact, indeed, that the Sindhi people are still politically unconscious. They have not yet developed correct discrimination as to their friends and enemies. They have not yet cultivated that courage and that sense

of firm partisanship so that they may totally commit themselves with their sincere and genuinely patriotic workers. Mr. Bhutto, like Mr. Jinnah, is a practical politician. He is not a nationalist and can not therefore be expected to take any risk for principles how so ever good and personally acceptable to him these may be. He knew that Mr. Khuhro had to suffer by crossing the will of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests for the sake of protecting the rights of Sindh. Even though he Commanded majority in the Sindh legislative Assembly, he was removed from office as Chief Minister of Sindh. Seeing him thus removed, the Sindhi members of the assembly at once somersaulted and stood behind Pir Illahi Bux, the set agent of the enemy interests. Nor were the Sindhi electorate so awake and powerful that they could have chased this into oblivion or confronted him into defeat and shame.

Later, when the same Mr. Khuhro made a turn about and committed himself with the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling coterie on formation of One Unit, fully liquidating Sindh even as a province of Pakistan, they immediately reinstalled him in power and made him once again the Chief Minister of Sindh.

Knowing all this, Mr. Bhutto has decided to keep his position in tact as Mr. Jinnah himself did, with the help and under the protection of the class, which has placed him there. He very well knows that it was this very class who brought about the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan and no body was able to do anything about it. It was also that same class, who ousted Khuwaja Nazimuddin from the Prime Ministership. Even though he was the President of Muslim League and there was the majority of the National Assembly members at his back. The entire history of Pakistan is full of such instances of arbitrary actions on the part of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling clique. A thorough pragmatist as he is Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, for ensuring his political career, has very faithfully kept all these instances in front of him.

When in the days of General Ayub Khan, the writer along with such several other nationalist workers was arrested, but later kept behind in jail under an extended term, while all others including Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Bhashani were released, Mian Anwar Ali, the Director of Intelligence, was asked as to what was the reason of it by Nawab Kala Bagh. The reply to his question that Mian Anwar Ali gave to Nawab Sahib should be well worth putting down here. According to Mian Anwar Ali, G.M. Sayed, was the most dangerous person in Pakistan. He has tried to influence outside opinion on the issue. He could sponsor and get the resolution for the dissolution of One-Unit passed in the West Pakistan Assembly with only seven members with him in a house of 310 members. He has awakened a sense of national identity among the students and intellectuals of Sindh. He has identified to Sindhi people their national goal by counterpoising the issue of Sindhi Nationalism against the ideology of Pakistan.

It would be seen from the above that there is no dearth of capability in Sindh. Even the blindest enemies of Sindh are forced to see and admit it.

Among civil servants, we have had a man like Mohammed Moosa, who served with brilliant success as Chief Engineer of West Pakistan under One Unit Administration. We have had fresh and dynamic abilities of the Sindhi Youth, who leave colleges and Universities in hundreds and thousands annually and are otherwise left to waste themselves unemployed and frustrated.

(c) Sindh is not economically self-sufficient:

This argument too is wrong. In fact this argument was much fussed about also during Sindh's struggle for separation from Bombay Presidency in India in the thirties. When put to test, however, it turned out to be only the result of exaggerated fears of Sindh's friends on one hand, who meant well by it but lacked courage to face the challenge of the future and of demoralizing tactics of its enemies on the other, whose sole object in using them was to stand in the way of the struggle and frustrate it.

Sindh has 2,25,00,000 acres of arable land. It has 70% of Pakistan's Industry located in it. Sindh accordingly contributes the biggest share of the Central Governments present excise duty. Sindh has its excellent sea port, which can bring it a great amount of income through customs. Karachi being a huge center of trade and commerce, besides can give Sindh vast collection of money through the income tax and the sales tax. These collections are now taken away in their entirety by the Central Government, but with Sindh attaining its independence will all be at its sole disposal. There are great possibilities of oil, gas, and other deposits of mineral wealth to be uncovered in Sindh. Sindh can lay claim to possessing excellent resources for the growth and development of its economy. If only these sources of natural wealth including all the industrial and agricultural potential of Sindh were mobilized for the good of its people, this gentle and generous land, overflowing with love and goodwill for all, is bound to reach a state of abundance and facility hardly to be equaled anywhere in the developing world of the present times.

(d) Sindhis are a backward people

This is no doubt so. But they are getting nationally conscious steadily cannot also be denied. For, that would be denial of facts and realities. It is of course true that majority of people from the upper classes in Sindhi society are courtesans of the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists, due to fear or ambition. But just as now they are trying for favors with their present masters, in the same way when power is transferred into the Sindhi hands, they will immediately switch over their loyalty to them and start licking the feet of the new masters. These worshipers of the rising sun are nothing absolutely nothing outside the protective reach of power. Wherever power moves, these opportunists also move there, just like the weathercock which changes tern with every turn in the wind.

(2) IT IS HARD AND DIFFICULT TO WIN FREEDOM:

The ruling class in Pakistan, by their shortsightedness and instability, set the entire course of their oppressing and exploitative state machinery to bring down on the weaker nationalities and crushing them into abject surrender. The Bengalis, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtoons saw no alternative before them but to stir themselves into a posture of defense. There was a rising unrest among them, which could never be assuaged. In the gathering storms, East Bengal secured its freedom. The Baluchis and Pakhtoons are in the midst of the fight. The Sindhis stand awakened and their moment for national freedom under the slogan of Sindhu Desh has already commenced. Quite a number of them are suffering in Jails for indefinite terms of imprisonment. Some have sacrificed their lives for the cause. The struggle for national hibernation of people in Pakistan is fast reaching its decisive stage. All freedom struggles have been hard and difficult. No fight for freedom has waited till it became soft and easy to take it up. Every freedom struggle has to start from position of weakness, gathers strength as it proceeds along and confronts the enemy at the last decisive moment from position of strength when it delivers it a knock out blow and sends it to hell.

The world opinion is bound to awaken to the plight of the suffering peoples under the Muhajir-Punjabi tyranny in Pakistan. It is not going to ignore the issue and remain silent for long. Countries like the Soviet Union, Bharat, the Arab world, Afghanistan and other democratic and freedom loving peoples the world over have long established traditions of responding to the cry of liberty in whatever quarter it has risen in the world in the past. One can never imagine that on

knowing and realizing the true situation, they would ever refuse or hesitate to provide help moral as well as material to the freedom fighting peoples, only in this part or the world. The Sindhi people with grit and courage have to bear sacrifices and carry on a sustained struggle for their liberation, which is their national duty. It is absolutely natural that the democratic and freedom loving opinion in the world soon stirs up and puts its weight on their side in due course. For placing the issue of Sindh's freedom on the anvil of the times, what indeed is only about a thousand or trained freedom fighters, who, with their bold and fearless fighting tactics and superior peoples strategy can shake the imperialists power at its very roots. If a giant power like that or the U.S.A. inspite of modern weapons of war and superior in every thing could not hold the people of Vietnam slaves for long, how can these clownish imitators of theirs, the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interest in Pakistan keep the roused and determined Baluchis, Pakhtoons and Sindhi peoples under their heels for ever.

There are some persons who go on loudly expressing their doubts in the Sindhi peoples struggle ever succeeding to shake off the deadly grip of the Muhajir-Punjabi *thugs* pressing firmer and firmer on them. In this connection they refer to some of the sprightly politicians, Pirs, *Vaderas*, and government officials serving as willing tools of the alien political domination, adopting the alien Urdu language in their homes and feeling fine about it, joining them in their denial of the separate nationhood of Sindhis, and preparing their way to power and privilege by offering hands of their girls in marriage to the Muhajir-Punjabi leading families. To all the arguments of such persons who raise these doubts and refer to these individuals, exceptions and personally motivated examples, of meanness and disgraceful conduct, one can only say that national liberation struggles all the world over and through history have never been free from or held back by all these. The people of Sindh have had such persons in their midst in all periods of their history and have then in some strength also now, but in their thousands of years of history they have always succeeded inspite of them or perhaps because of them in shaking off alien domination that happened to be placed upon them from time to time. It is absolutely certain that they would also succeed in throwing off the present Imperialist occupation of their homeland. History is witness to the fact that truth and those who fight on the side of truth always prevail. It is the holy Qura'ans word of commitment with the fighters for truth too.

"The righteous and upholders of truth even though in smaller number are bound to gain victory over the wicked and up holders of falsehood".

Sindhi people are on the side of truth. Their gristly rulers and their agents are on the side of falsehood. This could be well judged from the following:

- a. Among Sindh's indigenous people are also included the original Arab, Baloch, Pathans, Gujrati, Punjabi and such other immigrants who, in course of time, absorbed themselves in the milieu of Sindh, adopting its language and culture fully, completely and totally.
- b. The Sindhi people are born and bred in Sindh. Their ancestors are buried here. They bear in their hearts the deepest and the kindest of love for the soil. They are struggling for the promotion of their language, culture, traditions and the political interests and for the progress and prosperity of Sindh.
- c. Sindhis have never attacked any people at any stage of their history, nor have they any time exploited or appropriated the rights and interests of any other people.

On the other hand, the lately arrived Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists have been guilty of the following crimes, whereby they have deliberately and insolently put themselves beyond the ken of the Sindhi Milieu.

- a. Even though they have lived in Sindh for 26 years, they have not learnt Sindhi language and have not accepted Sindhi culture. They on the contrary are engaged in deliberate actions aimed at systematic subversion and destruction of Sindhi Language and culture, which are the most valuable heritages of Sindh. They drink, breathe and feed on the soil of Sindh and have their shelter here, yet they call themselves *Lakhnavis, Badayunis, Dehluvis, etc.* They have effaced the original geographical and historical names from places in Karachi and elsewhere and replaced them with non-Sindhi names. Thus they are guilty of criminal attempts at subverting and effacing ancient traditions of Sindh's history and culture.
- b. These immigrants have no love for Sindhu Desh. They feel shy of absorption in the Sindhu milieu. They refuse to believe in the national existence of the Sindhi people. They, on the contrary, entertain hostility against every Sindhi interest basing themselves on their self-manufactured Pakistani ideology of Muslim nationhood. They nauseatingly repeat the name of Pakistan, while Sindh's name has become a term of abuse for them. They take any body who utters the name of Sindh as an enemy of Pakistan and call him a disruptionist, a provincialist, an enemy of Islam etc. It has become their professional duty, as if, to report the names of such persons to one or another agency of the political police of their governments and get them incarcerated and punished at their hands.
- c. A great majority of the Punjab and Pathan settlers and quite a number of the Muhajir exploiters remit their earnings in Sindh to their people outside Sindh.
- d. They treat Sindh as their colony. They look with contempt at the language of the indigenous people of Sindh. If any body makes a public speech in Sindh hi they disdainfully avoid listening to it. They insist on the nameplates, on shops, private residences, public places etc, and the number plates on cars or the inscriptions on milestones on public roads to be written in Urdu script. In their general manners they assume superior airs and look with scorn on Sindhi. Their newspapers, books and other publications, particularly those in Urdu, seem to be always full of poison against Sindh and the Sindhi people.
- e. They are always out to divide Sindhis in order to rule over them. They tempt their Sindhi agents to spy on the Sindhi nationalist and report on them to the State police and get them arrested and punished. Through false but clever and powerful propaganda, they distort and prevent the minds of the Sindhi people into getting used to their slavery.

With these doings of these people the Sindhis are convinced that they, on their part, are on the side of truth, while their imperialists enemies are in the wrong and stand palpably on the side of falsehood and injustice. Recalling their faith in following verse of the holy Qura'an, they firmly believe that imperialistic enemies of theirs are sooner or later fated to perish.

"Truth is bound to triumph and falsehood will whither away. The falsehood indeed is destined to whither away".

(3) IT WILL BE TREASON TO WIN FREEDOM FOR SINDHU DESH WITH THE SUPPORT OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The agents of Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialism too manufacture this argument in order to hoodwink the innocent and simpleminded Sindhis. The argument in its full import runs as follows; "Well, brother, listen! These imperialists are extremely powerful. They have the army behind the in. They receive arms from foreign countries. They are also clever

and well informed. The entire Press is at their service. On the other hand, the Sindhis are divided internally. Their leaders are the abject slaves of the alien people, due to personal interests. Under these circumstances, it is vain foolhardily to struggle for freedom. Now, if we seek and obtain help from any outside governments, we are bound to turn slaves to such governments. The present rulers at home are after all our brethren in faith. We may therefore better remain satisfied with our present state of subordination to them."

These arguments are all meant to deceive, and only advise cowardice and timidity. Every body knows that the imperialist ruling class is powerful. The subject peoples are always everything. Among them it is every where a few exceptional persons, who are fired by sense of national duty and come out in the open supremely indifferent to danger and take the risk of accepting the challenge and confront the enemy knowing fully well his strength and their own weakness. But as the struggle proceeds, more, and more of their companions and compatriots join them and the government peoples of the world take notice, and offer them help and advice, as happened in the case of Algeria, Vietnam, Bangla Desh and the people of Arab lands.

On one side the world imperialist powers come out in support of their counter parts every where, on the other side, freedom loving peoples and democratic governments of the world offer their help and sympathy in boundless measures to the peoples struggling for self-emancipation against heavy odds. In the case of Bangla Desh, the world saw that whereas America supported the tyrant Pakistan imperialists, the Soviet Union and Bharat went to the rescue of the oppressed peoples of Bangla Desh.

The Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialists, who exploit the smaller nationalities in Pakistan in the name of religion, must realize that the Sindhi people would not be prepared to live in slavery to them for long. The Sindhi people do not even believe them to be real Musalmans; they who call themselves the standard bearers of Islam and wish to rule over them on that account. The Sindhi people consider them to be oppressors, predators, exploiters and imperialists. The Sindhi people believe it is their national duty to liberate, to secure help for the purpose from any and every quarter sympathetic to them in their cause.

The upholders of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested interests are not the true "Believers" because whereas love for homeland is a basic element of faith according to Islam, they take pride in detesting the homeland dubbing it as an idol. It is a sin in to subvert the right of a person or a people, but these people have made it a matter of their faith and a religious duty, as if, to suppress the rights of the Sindhi people. Islam stands for fair distribution of ancestral property among all the sons of a father the blood brothers; all while these Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists have not only appropriated the entire wealth and resources of the country, but also are out unabashedly to consecrate this appropriation under the name of Islam. They are obdurate enough to hold even God as subject to their will, while with the Sindhis in the words of Latif their national poet, "It is Almighty Allah who is the Master man His servant has no will beside His will".

With these hypocritical Muslim rulers of Pakistan it is perfectly airtight to receive aid from America by all means and in all forms, including deadly firearms, and to use the same for oppressing the smaller nationalities and keep them reduced to abject submission under them. They would push the country into war pacts with the imperialist powers for the lake of these weapons. They would buy oil from Arabs and send it to America to save its hardship, from Arab embargoes on oil. They would feel no qualms of conscience to play a broker on oil between Iran and Israel. But they would certainly consider it Kufir on the part of the Sindhi people if the latter could only see the possibility of some sort of sympathy and help from others in their struggle to save themselves from economic strangulation and political enslavement of the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism. They should, however, now remember that the Sindhi people are no more terrified by the these edicts of Kufir and Islam, for those have been used against them with such an abundance and prejudice that they

no more cause any quiver in their mind. The Sindhis are now determined to pursue their liberation struggle by all available means and to the bitterest end. There indeed remains no other choice before them either.

In this connection, the general national good of Sindh can be understood and weighed in its following form and aspects:

1. Political freedom of Sindh.
2. Economic prosperity of Sindh.
3. Cultural growth of Sindh.
4. National integration of Sindh.

All persons, claiming citizenship of Sindhu Desh, who help us in the attainment of these four great national goals can therefore, be considered as Sindhis, no matter whether they be Sindhi Hindus or the Muhajir-Punjabi settlers with a rightful domicile in Sindh. For the latter category of claimant of citizenship of Sindh, following additional conditions will also apply.

- a. They will have to give up belief in Pakistan ideology, which means in the religious concept of nationhood; they will also have to shake off notions of Urdu language ascendancy in any shape or form.
- b. They will have to accept all the people living in Sindh as member of the Sindhi nation, irrespective of any religious distinctions or difference among them.
- c. They will have to be committed to the task of securing complete freedom of Sindh outside Pakistan.

As against that, all those persons who obstruct that process of liberation of Sindh from Pakistan imperialism or who give preference to any Pakistan interest over a Sindhi interest, could legitimately be treated as the enemies of Sindh, no matter whether they be the indigenous Sindhi Musalmans, Muhajirs or the Punjabi settlers. It would be well to realize that when the Sindhi people could not tolerate the Sindhi Hindu vested interests exploiting them, and the resultant differences led to the unhappy situation which the enemies of Sindh cleverly used to their advantage, leading to the Hindus leaving the country; how can then the same Sindhi people tolerate or put up with any alien intruders exploiting them all the more cruelly and palpably, no matter if they label themselves as Musalmans, arm themselves with fraudulent ideologies, and further reinforce their exploitive position with guns.

We cannot also forget the fact that no sooner the Sindhi people open their mouth regarding their separate nationhood, their political freedom, and their economic or cultural rights, then they are condemned as enemies of Islam, traitors to Pakistan, parochial, sub-versionists etc and are subjected to inhuman punishment and cruel torture. From the very commencement of Pakistan, its central government has remained under the sole control of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests. These interests have also kept all the time the press, the finance, the industry and the trade and commerce of the country, under their firm grip. The Sindhis in Pakistan have accordingly seen their position slowly and steadily getting reduced to that of the Red Indians in America. That being the case, the Sindhis consider it their birth rights that they should exert themselves to leave such an imperialist frame-up and come out of it. They cannot be deceived any more now under the terrifying or tendentious slogans of Islam, Pakistan or the Muslim nation.

(4), Sindhis will be a loser if it separates:

The protagonists of the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj and their Sindhi agents say that on establishment of Sindhu Desh as a separate state, the exploitative vested interests of the Punjabi will stop waters of the river Indus from flowing into Sindh, and thus bring about a literal wreckage of agriculture in Sindh, throwing its entire economy into rack and ruin.

Actually, after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, Government of Punjab unilaterally went back on their Agreement on the distribution of Indus Waters with Sindh, which was solemnly entered into between the two governments in 1945, and built barrages on the Indus depriving Sindh of its legitimate share in its waters. The Central Government of Pakistan being under the sole charge of the Muhajir-Punjabi clique, aided and abated this willful contravention of the agreement by the Punjab Government, knowing no restraint, they went on for such heavy withdrawals of water from the river that their oversupplied lands developed seepage, to an almost irretrievable extent. They are spending limitless amounts of money now to control the menace. It is really impossible for them, under the circumstances, to go in for any further withdrawals of water from the Indus. In years of draught with rivers flowing low, they can, of course intercept bigger quantities of water even now, and disturb the cropping arrangement in Sindh. But Sindh's continuation as a helplessly dependent part of Pakistan can hardly prevent them from going their way in such eventualities. That may even encourage them all the more to do their worst, unafraid of any repercussion, or retaliation from any side. In abnormal years of high flood discharge or even in the normal years of discharge, they cannot obstruct the flow of the needed quantities of water down the Indus and cannot as such do any injury to Sindh's normal agriculture. If they did, they may only face disaster of the type they had to face in 1973 when almost the whole of the Punjab stood flooded and literally sunk in water. The Ayub regime in Pakistan, at the active prompting of the Punjab government, sold away the entire waters of their three rivers to Bharat, but even that country had to leave the waters free to flow down the rivers at high flood level so that they caused ruinous floods in the Punjab as well as in Sindh.

The adequacy or otherwise of irrigation water for our agriculture in Sindh, will, therefore, basically, still depend on the source water supply conditions of the rivers flowing down the Himalayas and through their attachment areas sprawling over part of India and Pakistan. The only difference that can be rightly visualized would be that, with Pakistan, we will be in a helpless condition of dependence on the Punjabis, and without Pakistan as a free and independent State, we will have a strong bargaining position being the guardian of the sea coast, providing the only opening to the Punjab for its overseas trade and commerce. Sindh serves and may serve for a long time to come as a source of livelihood for hundreds of thousands of Punjab nationals. This could be another bargaining ground with us, besides innumerable other, as between two free and equal states, to arrive at a mutually beneficial arrangement on the Indus basin waters and other such issues on State to State level with the Punjab.

(5) It will be a blow to Islam if Pakistan disintegrates. The Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists and their agents argue that Pakistan is the biggest Islamic State in the world. To break such a state will tantamount to striking a grave blow at Islam. This is a presumptuous argument. Neither Pakistan is the biggest Islamic State, nor will its break be a blow to Islam. More Musalmans live in Indonesia, Soviet Union, China, Bharat and Bangla Desh than they live here. The state of Pakistan and its government has had nothing to do with Islam. The arrogant claims have been deliberately put forth by publicists of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling clique in order to project them before the peoples of Pakistan as saviors and protectors of Islam, and thus to divert the peoples attention from the real problems of the country.

The ruling class in Pakistan, by their unabashed insistence on misgovernment and cynical consistency in misbehavior, and by their loud and unrestrained Islamic pretentious has literally turned Islam into a laughing stock before the world. It is at their hands in Pakistan that Islam seems to have lost its entire credibility. No Country in the world could match

Pakistan in this. It is here that it, the name of Islam, the thousands of years old nations, the Sindhis, the Bengali, the Baluchis and the Pakhtoons, have had their right of self-determination snatched away from them, and have had the status of minorities imposed on them. It is here that in the name of Islamic law, man has been denied his basic human rights. It is here in Pakistan, that people have been deprived of democracy. Labeling the state as an Islamic Republic, all types of gambling, drinking, adultery, exploitation and all kinds of vicious corruptions have been permitted to flourish in the country. There is a paper provision alright for a Muslim to be the Head of the State but one after another we have had only drunkards, corrupt exploiters and unscrupulous liars as our rulers in Pakistan. All of its governments have been the most deliberate agents of American and pro-American imperialism's, who were mainly responsible for the plantation of Israel on the Arab lands. The fact is that after the establishment of Pakistan, the word Islam has been misused, as probably no other word has ever been in the world. Islam as a hope of hundreds of millions of people in Pakistan and in the world has received a crushing setback as a consequence, and lies today in the dust as an extinguished flame. It is in the interest of Islam and not against it that this situation is remedied immediately and thoroughly.

Liberation of Sindhu Desh promises to be just that remedy. For that precisely is going to facilitate restitution of Islamic values of truth, fairness and justice in our land. With liberation of Sindh, we would be liberating ourselves from the rule of violence operating in the name of Islam, from slavery to American Imperialists, from subjection to war pacts with superpowers, from the subterfuge of the combined incongruity of religion and politics, from all exploitation and oppression of the alien people.

It is obvious that the establishment of Sindhu Desh can only be secured with the ending of the present setup in Pakistan. A people comprising more than half of the population in what started as Pakistan have already left it and founded their own free and independent state of Bangla Desh. The Pakhtoon, the Baloch, and the Sindhi people are disgusted with its existence, having been greatly injured in it and are praying constantly for its expeditious end.

The question now only is how Sindhu Desh may liberate itself from these Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist shackles, particularly when American Imperialism and its allies and the local Sindhi agents of the enemy seem to be all out to keep them in tact.

Before considering this question, it would be better to know the methods and procedures with which the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists are maintaining these shackles firm on us. A little thought on the matter would reveal that this they do through the use of the following four weapons:

- 1) The weapon of the theory of Muslim nationhood.
- 2) The weapon of false democracy.
- 3) The weapon of coercion.
- 4) The weapon of the Sindhi agents who constitute their fifth column inside our ranks.

1) The ideological weapons

Through this weapon the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists subvert the minds of Sindhis and the rest of the smaller nationalities in Pakistan, under the drowsy slogans of Islam and Pakistan, Muslim nation, Islamic Raj, etc., and induce

them to accept the state of subordination under them and remain content with it. This ideology of religious nationhood fashioned by the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist interests is based on rejection of the idea of homeland and is presented in the name and under the authority of Islam. This ideology, however, has absolutely nothing to do with Islam. It is a fascist's ideology, only masquerades under the colors of Islam, for easy action of the peoples mind. The Sindhi youth has started realizing the false dressing the sinister purpose of this ideology. But more the deception and fanfaronade of the ruling clique gets exposed, more bombast and trickery do they inject in it on *their* Radio and Television and in their controlled Press. The Bhutto's government has its "Gobbles" topped by Maulvi Kausar Niazi, his information Minister, who reinforces the carefully dished out pots of life with facilities a galore for Haj, by mobilizing the Mullahs and Maulvis to keep on shouting and by stepping hate campaigns and staging victimization sorties against the terror stricken remnants of the Hindu population in Sindh all this for keeping the Muslim mind in Pakistan humored in the belief that their Islam was really in safe hand with the ruling clique! Fuller and fuller and more and more foolproof ordinances are, on the other hand issued from time to time, declaring talk, idea or even feeling of the four nationalities in Pakistan a treasonable activity.

But all this does not discourage the Sindhi nationalists. They, on the contrary, go on patiently and perseveringly arguing against all these obscurantism slogans and thus carefully maintaining the clarity of mind on the issue in complete consonance with the teachings of their saintly poet and thinkers who taught them unity of the Hindu and Muslim as a Sindhi people to be the *sine-quantum* of all their felicitous living, and contrariwise, disunity and difference between the A two of them to be the cause portending nothing but disaster to them. The Sindhi patriots firmly believe that after establishment of Sindhu Desh, they will be able to sweep clean all the evil traces that the propaganda of two nations may have left on the common Sindhi mind and that the Sindhi people will soon succeed in repairing all the revenges they have suffered under the national disaster which overtook them in the shape of Pakistan solely because they were weak enough to lend ear to the devils advice of division and separatism, and failed to maintain unity as Hindu-Muslim Sindhis.

2) The Weapon of fake democracy:

Democracy is the most acceptable political philosophy in the modern world. No body dares deny this. Actually, in Pakistan, whatsoever, the world democracy has received such a mouth filling use even as the word Islam has that. It has become not only a meaningless term, but contextually it has assumed overtones resurgence. It has been used in Pakistan, as a weapon to deny democracy to smaller and weaker peoples, and to impose on them irreplaceable dictatorship of the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests.

Democracy and right of self-determination of nations are interdependent concepts. The Sindhi people, prior to recognition of their separate nationhood, consider all talk of democracy only a ruse, a deception of an irreplaceable overall majority nation of the Punjabis to impose their permanent rule on the minority nations, individually as well as collectively regardless of the Sindhis, Baluchis and the Pakhtoons.

Under democracy, a considerable measure of personal freedom is taken for granted, a set of fundamental human rights is underlined, and decisions of common interests are taken by a majority vote. None of these things however operated in Pakistan from its very start. On one hand, personal freedom and freedom of opinion have all along been suppressed, and on the other, the very national existence of the Sindhi people is denied. One can change ones religion in Pakistan, but expressing an opinion contrary to the interpretation foisted on Islam by the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist i.e. their theory of religious nationhood, is a penal crime.

The Sindhi people have been through the claims of democracy and right of self-determination of nations, about which the mouthpieces of the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists cry hoarse in the council of the international world always in the context of other countries. They do this piece very adroitly. Sometimes, they even over do it. But this they always do in order to deceive other principally their own people back in Pakistan, for whom, like the elephant, they also have a different set of teeth to act with. These imperialists practice fascistic politics, but are never tired calling it a democracy.

Never does a small nation in the world accept a permanent minority status, give up its claim to individuality and agree to live in subjection to another neighboring nation, which holds permanent numerical superiority to it, even though both of them may profess the same religion or even speak the same tongue. Why should the people of Sindh then accept a similar situation for themselves and agree to live under the Punjab, in the name of Islam, Muslim nation and Pakistan on one hand and in the name of democracy on the other! It is for not accepting this kind of democracy that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the late Khan Abdul Samad Khan, Shahzada Abdul Karim, Khair Bux Khan Marri, Ataullah Khan Mengal and the this writer and hundreds and thousands of other nationalists workers have been all along undergoing penal servitudes in Pakistan since its inception back in 1947.

Recently, on January 17th, 1974, some young enthusiasts arranged the writer's birthday celebrations, under written permission from the government. Immediately after the celebrations were over, a number of them, including, the writers son, Imdad Muhammad Shah and Seth Tirathdas both of whom did not even make any speech on the occasion were arrested and put under police lockup for 14 days at a stretch. Thereafter they were produced before a court in handcuffs and sent to jail, where they were placed in "C" Class along with ordinary convicts and treated like social criminals.

These trained rabbits of British Imperialism, fascists and fellow agents of American Imperialism by choice arrest the people, harass them in their jails and torture them in their dungeons on mere expression by them of dissenting opinions, and yet talk of democracy and would like to be known in the world as its champions! The Sindhi people know what these Muhajir-Punjabi ruling clique and their agents actually mean when they talk of democracy particularly in the context of the smaller peoples, the Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtoons in Pakistan. The weapons of fake democracy in the hands of the ruling clique in Pakistan have thus already run its course. More and more they are now compelled to resort to open fascistic methods of rule to hold and preserve their fast crumbling empire built on grab, subterfuge and terror.

3)The weapon of coercion:

It has been discussed above, in details though in a different context, how the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests for safeguarding their class positions, got the Indian subcontinent partitioned and having established their way in Pakistan with the help of their British masters, over the federating state of Bengal, Sindh Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan, how the consolidated their stranglehold on these States by use of army and finance capital, and denying them their separate national existence, how they have been since carrying on their exploitation, systematically, completely and thoroughly.

If the affected peoples raise their voice in protest against the above situation, and make a move for their freedom and for their economic and cultural security, they are thoroughly and immediately silenced under the ideological weapons of the artificially conjured up theory or Muslim nationhood in the first place, and that of fake democracy in the second place, and are finally crushed ruthlessly under the weapon of naked force.

To justify this entire operation, they have come out with a fully fascistic overall interpretation of Islam, have idealized the story of the conquest of Sindh under the Umayyads Imperialism, have lionized Mohammed Bin Qassim the leader of predatory attacks on Sindh as the Standard bearer of Islam, have sacrificed all use of brute force under the name of *Jihad*,

have glorified sentiments of hatred against neighboring countries, have manufactured black laws, and have utilized variety of methods of putting nationalist workers in jail and of liquidating their enemies. Under the use and or threat of use of force quite a number of cowardly and a selfish persons have today been silenced. It is, however, known that there are a great many self-respecting, conscientious and fearless persons in Sindh, who are carrying on the liberation struggle under all odds These persons can never be threatened into silence nor can they be forced to abandon the fight. It is for such brave and self-sacrificing persons that the poet has said:

"Even though the neck be under the knife,

The brave yet continue affirming love aloud,

By the name of my beloved Sindh,

Die one day we must, but we shall certainly die fighting

(Ayaz)

4) The Weapons of the Sindhi Agents.

Imperialist rulers have always and everywhere following policy of divide and rule. By adroit use of stick and carrot, they would prepare a group or party among their **subject** people as their agents, and would then sit back watching the factions among them fall at each other's threats. Roman Imperialism ruled on this basis. The British in India followed the same policy even more dexterously. They created their agents from among the Hindu and Muslim feudalist and moneyed people and carried on their rule by setting one against the other. They awarded Muslims of Khan Bahadur and Khan Sahibs, and the Hindus of Rai Sahib and Rai Bahadur and one big common of "Sir", to their obedient servants according to the degree of service they rendered to them at the cost of their people. Some of these agents were also rewarded land grants, big government jobs and trade concessions facilities. They created thus a vested interests of a of their subject people on their *Raj* and with their help and support carried on their rule in India.

The British, when at last they left, passed their legacy of power to the privileged classes among the Hindus and Muslims which they had created as their agents dividing the cake between the two of them. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests, the leading inheritor of the privilege in the Muslim part of the subcontinent are now faithfully following the footsteps of their masters though their allegiance stand fully transferred from the British to the American imperialism and are playing the game of divide and rule even more cleverly than their masters. They have created among the Sindhi people, even as among Baluchis Pakhtoons, their fully reliable agents by reinforcing the letters original class vested interests as well as by giving them big additional stakes in the new *Raj*.

The Sindhi masses were drawn towards the Muhajir-Punjabi net impudently spread before them by these agents of these agents of enemy led by Mr. Bhutto, and walked into it after the Islam and Socialism, accompanied by subtle prompting and all sorts of utopian promises that they share and fertile mind of Mr. Bhutto could hold forth to the different classes of the people. The conscious and the farsighted persons could however, see through the game even then and are definitely now able to see how the magic of the big lie is fast waning. It is indeed a matter of time now for the people to break lose the bondage of this Muhajir Punjabi frame-up and get free from it, shaking off its running agents and all, relegating them into the limbo of time. The people's poet of Sindh Munshi Mohammed Ibrahim has fore seen it in the following words:

For a couple of days there was Chanesor too here

For a couple of days there was also a Mir Jaafar with us,

There was once a leader from larkana too in our midst

Sometimes it was a "SIR", followed by a Dahesar,

It is your time now for playing your bit on our history even as they did,

The people are sure to get rid of you too, sometime,

Surely the dark night is going to end an glorious dawn is bound to break.

By all means throw ropes across the neck of the galloping steed of time,

And stop it if you dare,

Surely the dark night is going to end, and the glorious dawn is bound to break.

The Sindhi people could liberate themselves, in time from Iranian, the Greek, the Arab, the Mughal and the British Imperialism's. How can they not do so in the case of these puny and fraudulent Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists! History records today only the traces of the mighty Roman Empire the magnificent Turkish Khilafat, and the worlds biggest British Imperialism. These Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests are just the minor agents of American Imperialism. These slaves cannot therefore keep the Sindhi people slaves under them for long.

The Sindhi people like any other people in history have been traitors, who have been born and bred on the soil of Sindh, but have joined by choice the enemies of their homeland and betrayed its cause. The latest of the two such traitors that Sindh had to see in its modern times was Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who having lived for long in y away from Sindh, his homeland, joined hands with Muslims vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces India. He could therefore throw with impunity all the Sindhi interests over board, and without any compunction conscience allowed himself to be used as a tool for the imposition of an imperialist hegemony of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests on his people in Sindh. The other such traitor, who for the sake of gaining personal power and for keeping it intact has grossly betrayed the cause of Sindh, is Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. We have already discussed elsewhere the infamous doings of this man, which have very nearly put the fate of Sindh in a permanent jeopardy. It is often seen that some people leave the right way and out following the wrong path. Some of the Christian forgetting, or even condoning, the wickedness of the Jews, who crucified prophet, Jews have taken upon themselves, as almost a religious obligations, to implant them on the Arab soil, and to help them gain a position of hegemony on Arabs. The Arabs, on their part whom the holy prophet Muhammad lifted from the depths of ignorance and placed on heights of civilization in the then existing world, those to martyr his grandson, Imam Hussain, along with his children, transfixing their heads on spears and them in the streets, and threw their bodies under the hooves of galloping horses, and acknowledged the wicked tyrant Yazid, instead, as the Khalifas of Islam.

It often happens that these who stand for the right have to suffer a great deal for it and yet fail in their mission, while the wrong doers seemingly attain all success. But history stands witness to the fact that it is the right that finally triumphs,

and the wrong that ultimately goes under. In the two instances quoted, it is the message of Prophet Jesus and the voice of Imam Hussain, which live today in the world. The Jews have been undergoing chastisement for their foul deed for two thousand long years, and even the name of Yazid stands banished today from Muslim all the world over.

In the same way, even though the names of the two traitors to Sindh, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bhutto are today having a widespread approval and fame in Pakistan, yet time bound to come, with the Sindhi Youth awakening to the call of their patriotic duty to stand by their country, When these two names will be the unanimous hate words in all the Sindhi houses of Sindhu Desh. The peoples poet of Sindh Munshi Muhammad Ibrahim has already given vent to his feelings about the two names in the following verse now on the lips of every one in Sindh.

"We have heard about Quaid-e-Azam "We have seen Qaid-e-Awam "Murderers both of the peoples. Killers both of the masses; "One massacred the dwellers of Kashmir "the other brought about the holocaust in the East; "One turned from Bhutto into Bhatoon (the scorpion) The other is known as Qadoo Hajjam (Qadoo the barber)"

A WORD TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PUNJAB

It would not be out of place here to address a word to the people of Punjab, our esteemed brothers, with who we have hardly any quarrel, except in so far as their exploitative over lordship hurts us. May be these words rising from the depths of our hearts could strike a common chord of humanity between our two peoples, and the varieties of powers and temptations of ambition, now Overstepping bounds with them, may get pacified and settle down to their normal limits.

"Brothers Yours is indeed the majority of Soldiers and the fighting men in the Army. It is indeed a fact that you are great in numbers than the Sindhis in population. You are of course superior to the Sindhis both in finances as well as in technical know-how. Like strong, imperialist nation you do certainly possess power to dominate and keep under control the Sindhi people and other Smaller peoples in Pakistan.

"We would, however, very earnestly request you to look around and see that imperialist nation are really disappearing the world now. The big and mighty empires, starting the Roman Empire and then the Turkish Khilafat, the German, the French, the British and the Czarist empires all vanished.

"Presently, worked up on self-interests, forces, and wrong logical nations, you have secured a strong grip on the nations in Pakistan. But if you deliberate on your situation coolly you will see that instead of any lasting gain fit, you have already lost considerably in certain things, because of it, and are likely to suffer disaster only in the future. "Your was the heritage of love and humanism which was with you by your cultural traditions as carried in your national literature from your divine poets like Shah Bahu, Khuwaja Farid, Guru Nanak, Bule Shah and others. You already arrived at a level of tolerance and catholicity on the fundamental Qura'anic teaching "Your religion you the best; my religion for me the best and as a result, reached on integrated nationhood on the bedrock of coexistence of religions and fusion of races within the borders of your homeland.

"During the period of British rule in the Indian Subcontinent, you as the people of the Punjab Muslim, Sikh and Hindu acquired an advanced position both in civil and military services and in various trades and skills, and as a result a leading place in almost all these fields in greater of the subcontinent. But to your ill luck, you fell in the impudence with the vested interests of the Muslim with minority, provinces and followed their impertinent lead which brought you face to face with national disaster, and divided you socially, economically and geographically to ruination as people.

Yours has been a sweet language, which has been your mother tongue for thousands of years. You have a charming and quite an elevating tongue for thousands of years. Even today you speak it at home. You have a charming and quite an elevating body of literature in your language. Your immortal poets have sung in it and brought you divine words of love and beauty in it. But you in your fond tutelage to the Muslims vested interests of the Muslim minority provinces adopted as your language of culture and began diverting your selves with unprecedented callousness of the cultural inheritance, which tens of centuries of life accumulated for you as a guarantee and stamp of your national existence.

"You, after countless sufferings and tragic periods of alien bondage, asserted your national dignity, and gained your free and independent status as a people during the days of the Sikh resurgence. In the modern times, your great statesmen, Sir FazleHussain and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, revived that sentiment of national dignity, and created the great unity of the Muslim, Sikh, Hindu Punjabi people. These were the grand days of your national rebirth, and the soul stirring anthem of patriotic effusiveness of the Punjab people used to be heard on the Radio "Oh, the country of countries, Our Punjab," what a sad reversal that your fatal weakness before the enslavers from the Muslim minority provinces of India should have made you forget your patriotic duty, and accepting the bait of Religious nationalism gains, you should have

divorced your country of countries, anthem and playing for narrow and temporary class, up small and artificially created differences among your religious communities. You should have broken your Land of five Rivers and cut your people into two to war against each other to the delight of the fallen, effeminate, cunning Nawabs of U.P., C.P. and Deccan in India and to the reducible of the self respecting, patriotic peoples of the world.

"Having thus renounced your national identity in a static captivation to the formulary of two nations Islamic, Raj, etc, raised by the Muslim minority community leadership in Central India, you gave away your leadership to them, and ceased creating the same from amongst yourselves. You set out following Jinnah then took to Liaquat, Nishtar, Khan, Qayum, Muhammad Ayub Khan, and presently you are following Mr. Bhutto. By this sheepish dependence for ideas and for action on persons from outside, you have lost your own individuality as a people, and have allowed yourselves to be wafted about gustily in directions almost fatal to your national interest.

"You have thus seen your homeland divided. You have reduced your language to the status of a mere vernacular and have adopted a foreign language instead as your language of education and culture. You have given up the way of love and humanity and have instead taken to hatred and force which first led you to a split from your Sikh and Hindu compatriots, and then has pushed you in a position of wild confrontation with the Bengali, Sindhi, Baloch and Pakhtoon peoples.

"You have allowed yourselves to suffer almost fatally in the above matter. Do you think that the Sindhis, Baluchis and the Pakhtoons will follow your lead to similar consequences? The Bengalis certainly did not and their bloods revolt should have induced you to reappraise your position on these and such other basic issues, which all nations take to the life and death issues and can never leave to be dispensed by others for them, much less by those whose only stock in trade for living consists of force and hatred and who know no interest in life other than own interest.

"You can always bear in mind that the Sindhis can never be befriended on condition of denial of motherland and under compulsion or through exercise of fascistic politics. You would do well in this case to head the lessons of the past experience. You can capture the mind of the Sindhis, and of the other peoples who are your smaller neighbors through the teachings of the best and the gentlest of your ancestors, Shah Bahu, Khuwaja Farid, Buleh Shah, Guru Nanak and such others, but not through fascist mentors and religious teachers like Allama *Iqbal* and Maulana Maudoodi, and never through your army generals and their batons.

"We feel extremely grieved and embarrassed, to know that there are still such persons among you) who believe that:

1. You failed to hold Bengali in your grip, and they finally escaped only because they were big in number and were situated 1500 miles away from you, and geographically they were at an advantage. But in the rest of Pakistan Baluchis were very small in number, the Sindhis were weak and the Pakhtoons were inordinately greedy, and therefore you could hold them under you successfully and they could never get out of your grip.
2. If the Sindhis tried to break away, as the Bengalis did, you would crush would crush them into pulp and would arrange mass immigration of your people into Sindh and put them in possession of lands, factories, services and all the trade that is there, and thus change the population complexion of Sindh basically. With the Baluchis, who are still fewer in number, you would deal with, in a similar fashion.
3. You would always succeed in finding your stooges and show-boys, in Sindh, Baluchistan and the Pakhtoon land, as presently you have Mr. Bhutto himself, Jam Ghulam Kadir and Khan of Kalat, Khan Qayom Khan

from their lands and keep well under surveillance the recalcitrant elements among these peoples, and thus manage these territories all right.

"May it be submitted to you, with due regards, that the above manner of thinking is not correct. With force nations cannot be kept in subjection forever. Nor can it be done on the basis of wrong and self-defeating ideologies much as **you** have armed yourself with. This is what you may do well to bear in mind, a required by common sense as well as the great sense of history of all times and of the whole world.

"It is of course known that Punjab is comparatively a somewhat overpopulated land. It has less arable land in relation to its population than is the case, say in Sindh. But this disparity has its natural causes, based on geographical conditions. The Punjab has its five rivers and a bigger rainfall. Sindh, till recently, was only a desert with hardly any annual rain. The state of development of its productive forces, therefore, could not give rise to as higher population growth in it as in the Punjab. With expending irrigation facilities, population in Sindh too started long back growing rapidly. Keeping the average productivity of land in Sindh in view, which is much lower than in the Punjab, the land versus people disparity between the two areas hardly has any material importance now.

"It is also proved that the people in Punjab are comparatively of more martial a nature than the people in Sindh. They, therefore, stand in need of expanding opportunity of military service. Although this trait of human nature, if at **it** could be called so, has an ephemerality, which hardly yes any social or economic significance to it, yet the fact that it for the moment, for whatever reasons, exists in the people of the Punjab to a greater degree than in the Sindhi people, it does require attention and also a useful employment "It is also a fact that the Punjab has a higher capital formation, which needs investment opportunities outside its boundaries under the present semi-colonial semi-capitalist economy in Pakistan. The Punjab has also more men and women of education skill than the avenues of employment presently available there to absorb them.

"The people of Punjab have failed to give their mother tongue its due cultural or any official status. They have instead adopted Urdu, the language of the Muslim aristocracy of central India, for these purposes.

"Under these conditions, when the Muslim vested interest the Muslim minority provinces in India held out a temptation before your Muslim vested interests in the Punjab of carving out any exclusive and extensive area of the subcontinent in the name of Muslim nation etc. where they could establish their unrivaled sway and then solve all these problems of theirs through colonial exploitation of the smaller peoples living in the region, they at once saw the chance accepted the bait. Having been brought about this colonial empire, and having tested its abundant fruits, they resolved to consolidate their gains, on the lines followed by rite Germany or the fascist Italy or the totalitarian Japan under Tajo. The thinking people among you must, know that history firmly rejected these wild policies these bloody methods, and even in the hands of your ruling classes here at home, these policies and methods have proved to be disastrous failures.

"The only way for you to follow under the circumstances is to establish a free, independent had sovereign state in the Punjab, which is your own glorious homeland. Let also the Sindhis, Baluchis, and Pakhtoons found their own free, independent and sovereign states in their respective homelands with mutual understanding and on basis of common interest, the four states can arrive at a fair and just agreement out of their own free will, directed at the solution of all their respective difficulties and problems, including the developmental problems and those of overpopulation, unemployment etc. of your people in the Punjab. Under such agreements between equals, the Baluchis and the Sindhis will gladly accept your educated and skilled manpower for manning their services industries, learned professions and even the police and the armies.

History stands witness to the fact that thousands of families from the Punjab migrated and found their permanent abode and employment in Sindh through the ages. They acquired the Sindhi speech and the Sindhian way of life and thus got merged into the Sindhi milieu. All this came about naturally and spontaneously. The same process may go on following its natural course on the basis of mutual understanding, after establishment of free and independent Sindh. It has certainly to be understood that no self-respecting Sindhi can be prepared to live under your vested interests over lordship and see his homeland to be the colony of the Punjab."

The world religion like Islam could not bring up the Muslim Countries of the world to live under one State any time after its initial formative period, during the last fourteen hundred years of its history. To think that it could now be done under Jinnah, Bhutto and Maudoodi is a purulent idea, to say the least. All the Muslim countries, however, while remaining free and independent states, can be linked into a grand. Union on the principles of mutual survival through mutual cooperation exactly in the similar manner as Arab lands. The European Common Market countries and the African States are doing in their respective spheres.

"Following the ideological lead of the anti-patriotic Muslim exploiting classes from India, your ruling classes blundered into accepting the partitioning of your homeland the Great Land of Five River stumbled into three waits with Bharat, have abandoned the glorious teachings of love, and humanity of your saintly elders, and hardly made any lasting gains out of these self-brought national disasters, and have only aroused hatred and built hostilities around yourselves in the bargain.

"You have the world history of the recent past before you. A Powerful nation like the French could not keep a small weak country like Algeria in check, and had to allow it its freedom. The mighty world power like the Americans d not keep their yes men the foul coteries of Vietnam collaborators and traitors in power in Vietnam, even though committed their entire war machine, short of nuclear weaponry, to attain that objective. Here at home your own experiment of One Unit failed so miserably in your own hands. The people of Bengal separated from Pakistan, after blood bath almost unprecedented in human history. "Considering all these events, your ruling classes must give up their policy of keeping Sindh, Baluchistan and on as their slaves under them. Pakistan has never remained a country in the past, nor can it remain so for long the future. Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan existed before too as countries and nations, and shall remain also in the future. The sole method of linking in them a brotherly tie is to make them free and then to bring about union on the basis of mutual survival, on the manner of Common Wealth of Nations, calling it with some such as "Common Wealth of the Indus Valley Nations". Union of our people may in due course extend over embrace Bharat, Bangla Desh, Iran and Afghanistan,

"No heavens will fall with this kind of break up of Pakistan. The world has already seen such break ups and dissolution, leaving the world all the more sound and glorious. The grand ancient empires of Alexander the Great, Ashoka the Great. The Roman Empire, and the British, the German, the Russian and the French Empires have all fallen and vanished. The holy Christian Empire under the Popes, and the Muslim empire under the Khilafat of Truks have all dissolved and gone away from earth, hardly leaving any traces of their existence behind. If, therefore, this Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist frame-up disintegrates, none will shed a tear and the world will hardly raise its brow on the event.

"The dissolution of Pakistan will bring the following gains to the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan:

- Pakistan stands built on hatred, violence, treachery and exploitation. With its dissolution, these countries I see the ushering in of the times of love, justice, and equality peace.

- Pakistan's existence is in defiance to over two thousand years old teachings of History of its traditions and Culture. With its dissolutions, the original process of the evolution of brotherhood and unity among all races, religions and peoples, on basis of humanity, will revive and start progressing in the subcontinent. What we need today for our good are the teachings of Shah Bahu, Khuwaja Farid, Guru Nanak, Shah Latif, Rehman Baba, Kabir Bhagat, Sachal Sarmast and such other divine souls, and not those of Iqbal, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, Maulana Moudoodi and persons of their ilks.
- The establishment of Pakistan is against the sands of years old national existence of the Punjabi, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtoon peoples. To continue it by force is bound to aggravate difference among these peoples. To dissolve it with mutual consent will bring these peoples nearer and help spirit of confidence, trust and cooperation growing among them.
- The continuance of Pakistan is dependent on the wilt and desire of world imperialisms. Since all these Imperialisms are now dissolving and disappearing from the world, *it* would be beneficial for all concerned to roll it up betimes and voluntarily.

CHAPTER III - Sindh's Concept Of Pakistan

The writer had actively participated in the movement for Pakistan, It was done for the following reasons: -

1. The first election for the Sindh Provincial Legislative Assembly were fought on basis of separate electorates in 1935 *Sir*, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, a British stooge, though the leader of a minority group in the Assembly, was made to form government by the ruling British Governor. He was however, soon defeated on the floor of the Assembly, and the leader of the winning majority, Mr. Allah Bukhish Soomro, a nationalist was called upon to form the Ministry. The progressive group led by the writer, who supported Mr. Allah Bukhish, and was handed over to him for implementation, drew up a program for the progress, and development of the province. The Hindu vested interests in Sindh came in the way and sabotaged all efforts to translate the program into practice. The congress Assembly party, consisting mainly of Hindu members elected by separate Hindu electorate could not prevent this stalling of reforms by the Hindu vested interests. We left the coalition and withdrew our support of the government, having been disappointed rather rudely, in our hopes in the Indian National Congress as a modern Progressive Party willing and able to serve the interests of the people of Sindh, the overwhelming majority of whom were Muslims.
2. The Muslim masses in Sindh were generally under the control and influence of Zamindars, officers, Pirs, Mullahs most of whom were self-seekers power hunger unscrupulous, and rank reactionaries. Majority of the common people were agriculturist, most of whom were landless *Hans* sunk in debts and living in extreme poverty and suffering.

The Hindu vested interests comprised the merchant the moneylender, the officer and the Zamindar. Similarly the Muslim vested interests comprised the Zamindar, the Pir, the Mullah and the officer. Both of these powerful groups of vested interests in Sindh were anti-people. But we could not fight against the two simultaneously.

Seeing the group of the Hindu vested interests as less in number but more organized and thorough *in* their exploitation of the people, we decided first **to** mount our attack on them. We prepared two legislative bills to bring immediate relief to the people of the rural areas, viz., the land Alienation Bill and the Debt Reconciliation Bill. The Congress ministries in India had already taken steps in these directions. We therefore expected that the Congressite Assembly members in Sindh would help us in these proposals. The Sindh Congress Committees and its All-India High Command, however, frustrated all our hopes and instead of helping us in the solution of our local problems of economic and social good to the people, they always preferred to settle their All-India political problems first.

We found ourselves thus compelled to organize and rouse the Muslim masses on the basis of the communal platform of the Muslim league to confront the Hindu vested interests. Immature and in-experienced in politics and social works as we were, we prepared a religious-political program based more on self-complacency and wishful thinking than on anything else, to popularize among the masses, through the Muslim League Organization. The first wall poster that was published carrying this program, under the signature of the writer was as follows: -"THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DEMANDS PAKISTAN." "Pakistan means Islami Raj, under which:

1. Government of the country will be established in accordance with God's commandments, as enunciated in the holy Qura'an.
2. All people will enjoy political, Social and economic equality.

3. The reins of power will be held by the righteous and pious Muslims.
 4. The rights of non-Muslims will be strictly protected.
 5. The first and fore-most duty of government will be to remove poverty, ignorance and injustice from society, and to put a total stop to all class exploitation of the people.
 6. Adultery, drinking, and usury will be prohibited and abolished by law.
 7. The criterion for social status and honor will not be power or wealth, but merit and moral excellence- (Ghulam Murtaza, Chairman, Muslim League Organization Committee)."
3. The Sindhi Muslims believed, then, that with Pakistan establishment, Sindh, shall be an independent and sovereign State as guaranteed by the 1943 resolution of the Sindh Legislative Assembly and by the All-India Muslim League s Lahore Resolution of 1940.

It was under these allurements that we were drawn towards Pakistan and the Muslim league. Not being sufficiently farsighted politically, we could not realize that the stalling of social economic reforms in Sindh by the Hindu vested interests has not because of the Congress of the Sindh legislative Assembly as such. They owed responsibility to the Hindu vested interests because of the system of separate electorates under Which they were elected by these interests, who voted them into these positions precisely to safe-guard them. And it was the Muslim League itself, which was responsible for the introduction of separate electorates in the country, for the purpose of protecting the Muslim vested interests in the Muslim minority provinces. The separate electorates in India, since they corresponded exactly to the "divide and rule" policy of the British Imperialists, were imposed on the people in the sub-continent by them by stage managing a demand through their most reliable stooges and agents among Muslims aristocracy.

It did not occur to us then that by organizing Musalmans on communal basis, we were not at all serving the interest of the Muslim masses, but on the contrary putting the same under grave jeopardy, since among their exploiters, along with the Hindu vested interests there were equally, if not more ravenous Muslim vested interests as well, conversely among the exploited and oppressed millions, too, there were the Hindus as well as the Muslims. It was therefore, better and more useful for the purpose of the people from exploitation, to organize them on class basis, rather than on communal ones devised by the Muslim vested interests and their imperialist British masters for serving their own exploitative interests.

Thus, we aimed at attaining a sound objective, through unsound means. We had involved the class struggle of the people in the rigmarole of Hindu and Muslim interests, thereby providing cover for the vested interests in both the communities instead of organizing their working masses against their common enemy. We sought to organize the Muslim people, promising them establishment of an ideal Islamic State. But because of our deficiency in knowledge and experience, we could not realize that we were aiming at attainment of said Islamic objective through an organization which was led by representative of vested interests, who in their persons were themselves drunkards, gamblers, corrupt, rank reactionary, and rapidly anti people. The result of all this simpleminded and credulous approach to politics was that, along with our own selves we landed our innocent and trusting people too in the soup.

We labored under a mistaken belief that it was only the Congress High Command, which assigned priority to All India questions over the local problems. In due course, we however, learned, to our bitter regret, that the Muslim League High Command were guilty of the same squint towards that policy, to an ever more palpable degree.

The Congress workers did observe a medium of personal scruple. However, the Muslim League leaders soon proved to be totally bereft of all principles and moral checks in their preferences to all-India matters over the local issues in our province. Ours was indeed the example of a dove that got free the talons of hawk and fell into the lap of saintly humbug of a mendicant, whom it found by experience to be a hundred times worse, than his first enemy.

We may recount in some details, here, even at the risk of some repetition. How and to what limits have our hopes been belied in the establishment of the Pakistan's sway over our lands.

1. We had expected that in terms of the Lahore-Resolution, the Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Pakhtoon and Bengali people will acquire independent and sovereign status as nations but that did not happen. After establishment of Pakistan, the overwhelmingly powerful Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests betrayed the trust and, denying the very existence of the separate national entity of each of these peoples, imposed a unitary form of government on them and started ruling over the smaller and weaker ones among them as their colonies and exploiting their, ruthlessly. If any one from among the victims made any protest, he was condemned and remorselessly hunted as enemy of Islam and of Pakistan, a parochial, a subversionist, and an enemy agent.
2. We had expected that after establishment of Pakistan, the Sindhi people, the majority of whom were Muslims, will find freedom from exploitation by the Sindhi Hindu vested interests. However, we instead fell in-to the predatory claws of the non-Sindhi Muslim vested interests, from the Muslim minority provinces of India, whose exploitation proved to be incalculably worse than that of the Hindu capitalist.
3. The Sindhi people expected that theirs being a highly productive land, all its formidable revenue collections will be spent fully on the reconstruction and development of their homeland, which had suffered terribly under callous neglect during the British Raj over the Indian sub-continent. However, their hopes did not materialize under the new dispensation. More than 80% of the taxes raised in Sindh are now spent on serving the Muhajir-Punjabi interests both in-side and outside Sindh.
4. The Sindhis hoped that in Pakistan, Sindh will see the days when in the management of their internal affairs at least, the people of Sindh will have freedom of decision and freedom of action. But experience proved that even that did not come about. Ever since the creation of Pakistan, the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis has ravaged Sindh's autonomy and has dispensed its affairs arbitrarily and to their own advantage. The summary dismissal of the first Government of Sindh under Pakistan, headed by Mr. Mohammed Ayoob Khuhro, is the first case, in point. Mr. Khuhro's ministry retained the backing of the majority vote of the Sindh Legislative Assembly right upto the end. He was yet dismissed as the Chief Minister of Sindh, under the ukase of the Central Government. In order to demoralize him and over-awe the people of Sindh, they involved him in a criminal case under a trumped up charge. Actually, Mr. Khuhro was proving himself difficult for the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis in their haughty meddlesomeness in the autonomy of Sindh. He deserved the block in their calculations for his following sins.
 1. He unflinchingly opposed Liaquat Ali Khan in the latter's deliberate and cold-blooded plans to organize mob-violence against the urban Sindhi Hindu population by inciting his immigrant bands

from India, with a view to driving out the Hindus from Sindh and settling then homesteads and places of work the non-Sindhi, particularly the Urdu-speaking, Muhajirs from India.

2. Mr. Khuhro suppressed one such planned mob-riot in Karachi, with a heavy hand and refused to let go scores of the immigrant government employees and other Urdu-speaking Muhajirs, who were caught red-handed Killing the Sindhi Hindus and looting their property in the riots. This was also the direct cause for Mr. Liaquat Ali to initiate his diabolical attempt only one week after those riots, at dismembering Sindh by separating Karachi from it and take it ever as a centrally administered area, which, in effect, meant implanting Muhajiristan in Sindh, under the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialist conspiracy, the same way as Israel was implanted on the Arab homeland of Palestine under a world imperialist conspiracy. Khuhro fought against this criminal move for Muhajiristan in Sindh.
3. The Sindhi Musalmans mostly protected their compatriot Sindhi Hindus against the deadly attacks of Muhajir goondas during the riots, wherever the same occurred in Sindh. The Sindhi Hindus in face of organized mob-violence against them under active incitement from the Center Government saw their only safety in leaving Sindh enmasse. They left behind their agricultural lands, their well-established trade and commerce, their shops full of merchandise, their fine residential Buildings, their factories, valued at hundreds and thousands of millions of rupees. The provincial Government headed by Khuhro started settling the local indigenous Sindhi Muslim people on these lands and in those houses etc. The Central Government under Liaquat Ali Khan reacted angrily, and assuming total authority for the custody and disposal of all evacuee property in Sindh, set out dispossessing the local Sindhis Muslims of their allotments, disregarding in certain cases even the long established occupancy and customary rights which ordinary law and usage otherwise gave them. Khuhro and Liaquat Ali Khan bitterly clashed over this issue.
4. Pakistan consisted of five distinct lands and peoples each with a historically established distinct language and culture of its own. The new ruling class desired to impose on them Urdu which they brought with themselves from Central India, and introduced its compulsory teaching in Schools and colleges in Sindh too, where it was never taught before, even as a second language. Khuhro firmly opposed this policy of the Muhajir-Punjabi clique, which gave them one more reason for their anger against him.
5. The ruling clique desired to appoint Urdu-speaking Muhajirs to posts in Government Service in Sindh, vacated by emigrant Sindhi Hindus. Khuhro stood against this summary filling in of the vacancies with non-Sindhis. He set out bringing in Sindhi Muslims instead to occupy the positions. This resulted in a severe clash of policy and action between him and Liaquat Ali Khan, the tutelary-working saint of Muhajirs in Pakistan.
6. In absence of a constitution, Pakistan s administration ran on the basis of the British Parliament s Indian Independence Act, 1947, under which Sindh, as a province enjoyed full autonomy. The new ruling class in Pakistan, firmly entrenched in power at the Center and with the Muslim League Party as their pliable tool, desired to nullify all autonomy of Sindh their persistent interference totalitarian policy of rule pursued by the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis in Sindh, and aroused their wrath against him.

7. Government of Sindh besides handing over their own office buildings and state houses to the Central Government in Karachi, constructed a great deal of further building accommodation for use by them on which they spent crores of Rupees. On demand for being reimbursed the expenses, the Central Government not only refused to oblige but also took pains to make it appear that it had taken offence at this insolence of Khuhro's provincial government to make such a demand.
8. Khuhro happened to be also the President of Sindh, Provincial Muslim League. He stood for the independence rights of Sindh, and possessed considerable independence of spirit to stand up for his convictions in this regard, and decided to do so, in face of the "strongmen" at the Center, who wanted to gain control over the Provincial League to use it for their purposes, through their handpicked yes men. Khuhro opposed their moves in this regard and frustrated them repeatedly.

In spite of all his sins, Khuhro had the majority support of members in the Sindh Assembly behind him. As President of the Provincial League, he had the party organization too under his control. Fulminating against his pro-Sindh policy, the strongmen at the Center lured Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali into opposition against him, and with their feline collaboration, they hatched their plans to bring about Khuhro's summary ouster from his seats of power both as Chief Minister of Sindh and also as President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League. They at last rounded up their exercise by coming out with an ordinance called PRODA (Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act) and made Khuhro the first victim of it. Pir Illahi Bux whom they seated in his place, promptly handed over Karachi to them, accepted imposition of Urdu in Sindhi medium schools and colleges and that to further subservience towards these with readiness to agree to every thing until hardly anything could remain with Sindh or the Sindhis.

This then became a rule of the game with the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis in Pakistan. No sooner had any provincial Government in Sindh manifested any sign of independence then the Strong-men at the Center came down upon it with the sword of dismissal and out it went and in some yet more subservient set of stooges to pledge what yet remained of human dignity of the Sindhi people with the new master class.

5. Government of Sindh, prior to Pakistan's coming into being, had prepared ambitious plans for rural reconstruction in Sindh, aimed at building bigger and better villages, so that firstly all isolated hutments and hamlets and the nomadic population scattered all over Sindh could be collected and brought within the ken of modern civilization, and secondly the rural people, who formed the backbone of social, cultural and economic life in Sindh could be provided with roads, with light, with schools and hospitals and with sources for better economic and cultural standard of living, as could befit a dignified and enlightened people in the modern world.

With the establishment of Pakistan, however all these wonderful plans for up-turning the social and cultural soil of Sindh were shelved, and vanished like a dream. There was no talk but that of settlement and rehabilitation of refugees. Almost the entire cities and towns vacated by the fleeing Sindhi Hindu urban population were handed over to refugees. In small towns in the interior, they behaved like vandals, willfully digging up the floors, bringing down the roofs, unhinging the doors, windows and almirahs, and tearing out anything that was worth a *paisa*, and sold everything in the Bazaar outside; and with cash in their pockets, they veered round again and again towards the few big cities in the Province.

Almost the same thing they did with the evacuee farmlands and gardens, which were allotted to them in preference even to the tillers of the soil who worked on them. New townships and posh colonies were built for

them around Karachi and Hyderabad on the lands in the Kotri Barrage command area, and on the Makhi forests lands, a number of modern township were raised for new settlers from the Punjab. The villages and hamlets of the Sindhi people, which got interspersed among the new colonies and township around the cities for the refugees or in the interior for the Punjab settlers, were mostly razed to the ground and the human dwellers there in driven away as one drives away packs of animals from forest clearings. Those of such villages and hamlets that were temporarily spared because of considerations of expediency could any time be seen, so long as they existed, as standing witnesses to the states of second class citizenry to which the Sindhi people were reduced in their own homeland in Pakistan.

6. The Sindhi Muslims in their over-whelming majority were agriculturists and lived in the rural areas of their land. The few of them who were engaged in trade could not prosper markedly for want of monetary facilities. No sooner, they had seriously entered the field in competition to Hindu than Pakistan came into being and the Hindus left. The Sindhi people saw the opportunity facing them and stepped out to take it. The ruling Coterie of Pakistan, the agents of Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests, however, chose to decide otherwise. All evacuee shops, along with goods for sale therein were allotted to the Muhajirs. All the factories too were similarly turned over to them. All the banks set up and organized under government patronage, quietly passed under the control of these people. All permits and licenses for foreign trade and for raising new factories in Sindh were conferred on them. Soon there emerged a monopoly-merchant capital as well as a monopoly-industrial capital around us, exclusively conformed to the urbanized Muhajir vested interests, with the Punjabi vested interests later joining them, and the Sindhi people remained relegated to their rural Agriculturist life as before.
7. This Sindhi Hindu had stolen a march over the Sindhi Muslims in English education at the beginning of British rule in Sindh, and had thereby gained a superior almost a monopolist, foothold in the field of government service. After Sindh gained its autonomy, and was separated from Bombay Presidency in 1936, Sindhi Muslims, inspite of political handicaps, like very small over-all composition of their Provincial Assembly and marked membership for Hindus (as a vicarious burden for similar weightage for Muslims in the Muslim minority Provinces), came forward dauntlessly to take advantage of the increasing educational facilities and to over-come their handicaps vis-a-vis their Hindu compatriots, and soon entered the field of government service as serious candidates for sharing the privilege. The Hindus, however, stood already entrenched in the field and the Muslims had mostly to wait their turn for positions to emerge or fall vacant. The process was however soon jolted into a commotion, if not a sudden halt, with the establishment of Pakistan, Hindus begun leaving their posts in hundreds and thousands. The Sindhis Muslims stepped forward to fill in the gap. To their chagrin, however, the Muhajir-ruling clique of Pakistan, as a studied political move, brought in hordes of Urdu-speaking service personnel from India and moved them in to occupy the vacant positions, not only in the Central government departments, as functioning in Sindh, but even more so, in almost all the provincial sectors of service under Government of Sindh. Even the future chances of the Sindhi youth to get into service in Sindh stood dimmed, as almost all departments of government, in this mad, grab for service, came to be headed by non-Sindhi officers, who took every care to see that, except some lower grade minor parts, every other job went to their Urdu-speaking favorites. There is a serious unemployment among the Sindhi youth stalking the land today. The doors of Central Government service of all types, including the armed services, have remained, more or less shut on them from the very beginning. They have to struggle hard for getting an opening for a decent job in their home province too.

In face of these conditions, if any body protests, he is accused of (provincialism and is declared to be an enemy of Pakistan and is immediately silenced. Many leading politicians in Sindh have been thus blackmailed into

keeping their mouth shut. The Sindhi people have to suffer and yet not to complain. A part from their unemployment that ensues under this one-sided flow of job opportunities passing them by and leaving them high and dry, there is even more dangerous consequence inherent in the situation. All reins of administration remaining in the hands of non-Sindhi Officers, the Sindhi people have to remain dependent on them in almost all civil affairs of life and suffer all consequences of the State of social and political subordination that remains their lot when all executive authority of government has to be welded by people, socially and culturally alien to them and politically and economically their superiors. There can be no worse state of total slavery for a people than this.

Lately Mr. Bhutto, a gentleman from Sindh, was installed into power as President of Pakistan (now the Prime Minister). As a small price, which his political masters most cynically extracted from him for the privilege of being put up as their show-boy, was the summary dismissal of 1300 officers, more than half of whom happened to be Sindhi officers.

8. At the time of British conquest of Sindh in 1843, the Sindhi Hindus, being mostly traders, held not even an acre of agricultural land in their possession. During the British *Raj*, however, they bought land, having piled up monetary resources from trade, money-lending business and from State employment. Thus, by 1947, the year of Pakistan's birth, they had brought into their possession nearly two and a half million acres of agricultural land. This land they had mostly secured from Sindhi Muslim farmers through usurious operations. The indebtedness of peasantry in the days of British rule in India had reached disastrous proportions, and in almost all provinces debt reconciliation registrations had been sponsored and adopted by Provincial government to lighten the Back-breaking burden of usurious debts of the peasant masses. The then provincial Government of the Punjab had even adopted a land Alienation Bill aimed at the return of such lands to the farmers as had passed into the hands of usurious *baniyas* through un-relieved mortgage or in straight payment of such debts. The Sindh, Provincial Legislative Assembly had passed two similar bills, which awaited formal assent of the Indian Viceroy in 1947, to go into effect as law. After the formation of Pakistan, these bills came up for the required assent before Mr. Jinnah as Governor General of Pakistan. On advice from Liaquat Ali Khan Mr. Jinnah refused his assent to the two measures, under which most of the two and a half million acres of the Hindu owned its original Sindhi would have resumed agricultural land Muslim owners. Why was this formal consent to the two most humanitarian and, for that matter pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu Legislative measures refused by Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan? Because, they had their diabolical designs of creating and reestablishing *zamindaris and talukdaris* of the Nawabs from U.P.C.P. and Deccan in Sindh, by handing over to them all these Hindu owned lands, declaring them as evacuee land which they actually most shame-facially did shortly afterwards. There was a mad Scramble for these lands among the Urdu-speaking Muhajirs from India, and most of these vast tracts of rich and the most ferocious and cunning sharks among them on the strength appropriated fertile lands generally of totally false and bogus claims. Not an inch of these lands was given to the Sindhi farmers, the landless peasants, some of whom even held at the time independent legal claims on them, and which they had owned and tilled for generations.

As a vote-catching promises, Mr. Bhutto had offered the Sindhi *Hari* a grant of 16 acres of land each on his coming into power in Pakistan, with the exception of the few, who saw through his deception the generality of the people did vote him into power. Mr. Bhutto, on his part, however, did not keep his promise. The *Muhajir* allotted of the evacuee lands still remain masters of their loot, and the Punjabi army and civilian officers who got hundreds of thousands of acres of the Barrage land and the Makhi forest lands in Sindh as rewards for their services to the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj in Pakistan, still retain what they got as their master share in the loot. A

systematic colonization of Sindh by the alien people, particularly from the Punjab is now proceeding vigorously as the main part of the price Mr. Bhutto has willingly undertaken to pay for permission to play the show-boy to the Punjabi-Muhajir Alliance for giving a sort of facetiousness to their empire in Pakistan.

9. Quite a sizable area of arable land lies barren in Sindh for want of irrigation facilities. As measures for the development of Sindh's economy, Government of Sindh built two barrages, the Kotri barrage and the Guddu barrage, at the cost of over two hundred crores of rupees every single rupee having been saved by government by economizing rigorously on their public funds. The project of the two barrages visualized settlement and rehabilitation of nearly 250 thousands families of the Sindhi landless *Haris*, on the new lands to be brought under irrigation, that, however, did not happen. On completion of the Kotri barrage, Sindh as a province ceased to exist, and was swallowed in what euphemistically came to be called "One Unit". The barrage was rechristened Ghulam Mohammed Barrage after the name of the fanatic Punjabi Governor General of Pakistan, who, wishing to go down in history as one of the empire builders of the Punjab, and conceived and brought about, at the point of the gun, the diabolic scheme of one Unit, resulting into abolition of the home-lands of the smaller nationals in West Pakistan as separate province and absorption there of in the Punjab under a single unified administration. About a year later, the facade of democracy was fully torn as under and the whole country was impelled unceremoniously under martial law. Armed thus with one Unit's fumigated Punjabi administration directed straight from Lahore, and backed by the authority of Martial Law, the pioneers of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling junta in Sindh distributed with great abandon almost all the that best land of the barrage among the retired as well as the serving army and civilian Punjabi Officers. Nearly the entire remaining barrage land was put to auction, so managed that major portion of it too was acquired by the Punjabi bidders. Modern colonies and townships went up in the area where the Punjabi settlers established themselves as privileged communities, conscious of their role to overawe and suppress the inferior subject people who might otherwise attempt mischief and cause trouble for the master nation ruling over them.

The indigenous communities, hard-pressed under organized harassment of varied kinds often left their lands. No protest and no resistance against the situation availed, in face of the government backing of the settlers. The military government of West Pakistan, General Mohammed Moosa, himself a recipient of land grant in Sindh, could not resist claiming credit in his public speech at Nawabshah for having put Hyder-Bux Jatoi and G.M. Sayed in jail for their crime of opposing the one-Unit and agitating against land grants to non-Sindhis in Sindh.

10. The Sindhi people own a language, which is both original and living. Government of Sindh starting with their life as an autonomous province under British Raj in 1936 had their projects for developing Sindhi to serve the modern needs of its people. They had set up a Board, known the Sindhi Adabi Board for promotion of Sindhi literature with this end in view. We have already referred above to the attempts made by the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested interests, after the establishment of Pakistan, to supplant the language of the original peoples and impose upon them Urdu, an imported language, as national language of Pakistan. They chose the Sindhi Language as the main target of their hostility-the reason for their selection of Sindhi in this behalf being the comparatively higher level of development attained by this language among all the peoples languages in West Pakistan. Immediately on the establishment of one-Unit administration, they imposed a cut on the monetary grants usually payable to the Sindhi Adabi Board. Non-Sindhi ex-officio members were thrust on the managing body of the Board, and its funds were diverted to arbitrary and irresponsible use, with the result that substantive project of the Board such as the following, were either shelved or could not be successfully completed:

- a. A Dictionary of the Sindhi Language, in 3 parts.

- b. A History of Sindh, in 8 Volumes.
- c. An Encyclopaedia in Sindhi.
- d. Heritage of Sindh.
- e. Sindhi translation of World Classics.
- f. Plays and Dramas in Sindhi staging them and exhibition thereof in Films.
- g. Sindh Folklore in forty volumes.
- h. A Sindhi Dictionary of Technical Terms.
- i. Manual of Sindhi Shorthand.
- j. A Standard Key Board for the Sindhi typewriter. Etc. etc.

As against the indifferent treatment of the, Sindhi language, the Anjuman-Taraquii-Urdu was allotted palatial evacuees buildings, and a number of separately working Board and academies for advancement of Urdu were set up with unlimited funds put at their disposal to pursue their appointed tasks undeterred and undisturbed for want of funds or needed State patronage. On the other hand Sindhi language was also abolished by Karachi University as a language for answering question papers of even as a subject for teaching. Sindhi Primary schools in Karachi were closed and Urdu schools were started in their places, thereby depriving the Sindhi speaking people of their basic human right of educating their children through the medium of their mother tongue and imposing upon them instead a foreign language as the school medium. The Martial Law regime under a summary order stopped compulsory teaching of Sindhi as a subject in Urdu medium schools in Sindh as a measure to bring the Urdu-speaking immigrants nearer the Sindhi people. The compulsory teaching of Urdu was however, continued in Sindhi medium schools as before. Sindhi names of places, roads, and streets were replaced with tradition non-Sindhi names, thereby pursuing attempts at effacement of culture of the Sindhi people. Sindhi Language could get time hardly worth notice on Radio or Television, and what little time was doled out to it was only wasted and misapplied on cheap, and useless programs. The first rank Sindhi artists, writers, and poets were deliberately kept away from the precincts of the Radio and the TV By bringing forth only the third-raters in art on these powerful mass-media of public entertainment, they only harmed and mutilated the interests of Sindhi language art and culture instead of sewing or building them to any degree or extent. The Sindhi people have again and again to switch on to all-India Radio Stations and to Radio Sri-Lanka to assuage their longing to listen to good program in their mother- tongue.

11. The Sindhis hoped that in accordance with democratic traditions and modern political climate in the world, favoring democracy, Secularism, nationalism and socialism, there would be freedom of expression for propagating views in favor of these civilized concepts of politics in Pakistan too. The realities in Pakistan however belied these hopes. The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests, grabbing all power and privilege in the Country, on the strength of an incongruous and in consonant theory of nationhood based on nothing but the self-semi particularism induced by a mis-anthropical religious obscurantism, saw their safety only in zealously shutting out every non-conformist view be it democratic, be it socialist, secularist, ethical or humanist. This

flinty bigotry of theirs however, did not reflect any genuine religious Puritanism on their part, it only rafted their class position since it protected their class interests. At the same time, lest they appeared primitives they would most unabashedly claim credit for democracy, socialism even secularism and for that matter any thing and every thing that received approbation in outside world. Getting further hardened thus in self-complacent virtuosity, they would bear down, with added frenzy on those who differ from them in anything, down to the very last detail. The hard, calculated persecution, and the relentlessness of it, to which the Muhajir-Punjabi fascists and their storm troopers like Islamic Jamaitias and others, have all along been subjecting the Sindhi nationalist workers, could be understood only in the light of the above working of mind of these self-involved robots, out to protect their ill-gotten self, sanctified in their eyes by their very God to be theirs. The nationalist politicians have been kept in prison for years on end. Their periodicals and daily papers have been banned. There are books have been proscribed. The Sindhi poets and writers have been persecuted, tortured, and detained in Jails without trial.

All advocacy of nationalism has been declared illegal under black laws. The printing houses have been so controlled that none of them could print an article, magazine, or a book, which reflected opposition to the ruling establishment. If any press anytime dared defy the government control it would promptly be sealed and stand forfeited to government. The Judiciary stood so over-awed that legal relief for a political worker could only be desired but hardly obtained. The nationalist minded teachers in schools, colleges, and the University of Sindh have been picked out and dismissed. Students are beaten, deprived of their stipend, detained in their annual examination, harassed & rusticated. Things have reached such limits lately during Mr. Bhutto's rule, that even the guardians of the recalcitrant students are rounded up beaten and hustled into Jails. Students are lured, under temptations of all kinds of material benefits to turn from their convictions. If they refused to recant or play renegade, they are intimidated through *goondas* to keep quiet. If courts are moved for release detained students on bail, the trying magistrates are advised not to grant the same. And if, inspite of it, bail in a case is granted by an higher court, on alternate charge is kept ready for hauling the victim in again. In case of certain students, as many as eight such over-lying cases have been observed to have initiated by these guardians of law and order in Pakistan. Students in jail have in certain cases been branded in certain cases; they have been subjected criminal assaults through hardened jailbirds or the members of the jail staff and even the policemen.

The ranks of students agents of Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests are strengthened, by engaging or even introducing from outside, goondas elements among students, from school to the University level. For winning even a merit award of a stipend or scholarship, a student has to obtain clearance from a student agent of the Ruling class, and the College Principal or Vice Chancellor of the University forwards the students applications for any such award, only after he produces the said clearance before him.

A, Muhajir Divisional Commissioner ordered a procession of Students protesting against One-Unit and shouting slogans for the Sindhi language, to be lathi-charged most brutally and the wounded students thrown into the sticky pools of water around the site. Then over 300 of them were arrested and sent to jail where they were further beaten and tortured. A complaint was filed in a court of law on behalf of them suffering students against the said Commissioner, but the complaint could not even be registered. On assuming office, Mr. Bhutto had announced, as a ruse for immediate satisfaction of the people of Sindh that his government at the site where this brutal drama was enacted will raise a memorial tower, at the cost of a million rupees. Cowed down under pressure of his Muhajir-Punjabi masters, Mr. Bhutto, or his government never, however, mentioned his project of the memorial again. Instead the foamy commissioner was promoted to a higher position and sent away safe and happy to rest and enjoy as a reward for what flashy bit of service he did for his masters in Sindh.

12. From the very start of the establishment of Pakistan, the real reins of power happened to fall into the hands of the Civil Services and the Military Junta as agents of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests. The Junta firmly held the reins and pulling the strings as best or worst as they could make the civilian government dance to their tune. They shuffled the Central Cabinets of ministers as the same suited their imperious purposes as masters of the show. Liaquat Ali Khan was put out of the way. Khuwaja Nazimuddin was dismissed, Mohammed Ali Bogra was removed, and then one after another Mohammed Ismail Chundrigar, Mohammed Ali Chaudhri, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Sir Feroze Khan Noon were sent stepping on to the stage and quitting the next moment as peaceably as they came; all these frenetic changes outwardly seen as results of palace intrigues within the ruling Junta, but actually being the reflection of the deep malaise of irresolvable class cum-national contradictions inside the body politics of Pakistan.

Thereafter Iskandar Mirza and General Ayub Khan, dissolving all assemblies, Central as well as provincial, applied martial law to the country, and formed their government for the first time directly and formally of the Civilian-cum Army Officers Junta that till then, as bulwark of power of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested interests, had sat behind the back of the Civilian governments, manipulating them in the interests of their masters. Some twenty days later, Iskandar Mirza, as civilian part of the Junta, was thrown over-board as useless ballast, and the military took over, all by itself the management of the refractory affairs of the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj in Pakistan.

To begin with, all democratically elected bodies, and local-self governing institutions like Legislative Assemblies, Municipalities and Local Boards were superseded, and were replaced with nominated bodies. By loud and ceaseless propaganda it was, announced to the world that the people in Pakistan were not fit for democracy. Most of mature politicians were expelled from politics. With powerful propaganda, General Mohammed Ayub Khan was presented before the people as the great deliverer". Only the bureaucrats were considered worthy of power and authority to run the country's administration. Each one of them was made an absolute little dictator in his own area of jurisdiction. Sindh, throughout the 10 years of Ayub dictatorship and the next following 2 years of Yahya's such countless puny dictators ruled clownish imitation of it. And if it is remembered that almost all of these were non-Sindhis, having hardly any love or attachment with the soil or the people they have; they must have played with the interests of both can be better imagined than described. The only good and civilized thing they seemed proud of doing was to hold Urdu *Mushairas* and U stand Sam to Urdu poets. Meanwhile, the controlled Press, with Urdu Press in the vanguard of the band wagon, blew full blast paeans of praise and triumph to General Ayub, who had turned now into a marshal for no Martial exploit except the Martial Law that he had imposed on the Country.

13. The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling junta had not only made sport of government at the center, but had treated -those in the provinces with ever-greater non-challenge. In Sindh, they began with its first Chief Minister, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, when they arbitrarily dismissed when they found him a bit recalcitrant. In came the conscienceless Pir Illahi Bux abjectly to do their bidding, but unfortunately for him, he was found guilty of election malpractices by an Election Tribunal and was disqualified to hold membership of the Assembly, and had therefore to quit his *Gadi*. In his place Yousaf Haroon, who was not even a member of the Assembly, was brought in and seated as -Chief Minister of Sindh. A few months later, they hunted him off to Australia as ambassador, and called in Kazi Fazlullah to occupy his place. Soon they found Kazi Sahib a bit assertive and hustled him out without much of a ceremony. Meanwhile, Khuhro had begun showing a contrite spirit, and so he was offered at second chance. But it seemed he had not yet learnt his full lesson, and was making much of powers and rights. He and a number of the cabinet ministers were therefore handed over to a judicial tribunal under PARODA. Sindh's autonomy was suspended, and the provincial administration was handed over t

person wholly and solely theirs. That was Shaikh Din Muhammad, a hard and fanatic Punjabi. He now became the Governor of Sindh. Colonization of Sindh by Punjabi-Zamindars and peasantry, under a long term plan with political over-tones to disturb the basic population structure to the disadvantage of the Sindhi people was seriously taken in hand during the Governor's Raj of this retired Punjabi-minded High Court Judge.

In 1953, Sindh got a freshly elected Provincial Assembly. But, as the leader of the House and its Chief Minister it could get none from among its elected representatives. The ruling junta at the center picked up Pirzada Abdul Sattar from the Central Assembly for the job, and thrust him on Sindh as its Chief Minister. On finding his position shaky Mr. Pirzada secured permission from his patrons at the Center to expand his ministry over one hundred percent. But six ministers or the thirteen ministers could not after all ensure for him the lasting patronage of his masters. They could only manage for him the Sindh Assembly members, which they successfully did and Mr. Pirzada started having a comfortable, run of his administration in the Province. No sooner had he consolidated his position thus, than the ruling junta conceived their criminal one-Unit Plan and confronted Mr. Pirzada with the most difficult choice of his life. As a price he had to agree to the dissolution of Sindh as a Province. Mr. Pirzada made up his mind and firmly stood his ground. The ruling Junta could brook no non-sense on the issue. M. Khuhro, the iron man of Sindh, who seemed by now well chastened, and was making sufficiently moving overtures for permission to make a comeback, was offered the chance, and he readily agreed to perform the task. He was not a member of the Sindh Assembly then. He was at the time under a 6-year disqualification to participate in Politics. He was yet made the Chief Minister of Sindh in place of Pirzada who was stalled, the world knows how. Then, the matter lead of One-Unit was poured down the throat of Sindh under Police bayonets. The writer was one of those Assembly members and nationalist workers who were whisked into jail on the eve of the operations.

The sufferings of Sindh under One-Unit were too many and too acute to be recounted with equanimity. The plan to decimate Sindh as a political entity and permit its existence only as a district of the Punjab, seriously conceived under Shaikh Din Muhammad the first Punjabi Governor of Sindh, in 1952, was placed on the anvil in the shape of One-Unit. Sindh started its sad career under one-unit with its 33 crore rupees national savings whisked off into rat hole of the greater Punjab Coffers. All Sindh Government furniture, including carpeting and tapestry, stationery and office equipment, and the most valuable library of Sindh Legislative Assembly were carried to Lahore. Almost the entire good agricultural land under the Sindh barrages was snatched off from the out-stretched hands of the landless peasants of Sindh and pushed into those of the Punjabi army and civilian officers and other managed Chaudhries. Regular colonization officers were appointed in every district in Sindh to settle Punjabis on lands in Sindh in a big way. All Sindhis district officers were replaced with non Sindhis officers in order to crush any and every sign of unrest against colonization in particular and the one unit administration in general. The name of Sindh and every thing else written in Sindhi script was effaced from all public places, including railway stations, postal stamps, milestones, voters lists forms and registers. The literary and cultural institutions like the Sindhi Adabi Board, Shah Latif cultural Center, etc, were starved of funds. The Sindh University and colleges in Sindh were put under non-Sindhi heads, and non-Sindhi teachers, and the nationalist-minded Sindhi students were harassed, beaten and jailed. Recruitment in service, town to the positions of peons and *chowkidars* came to be almost reserved for non-Sindhis. Import and export licenses and permits for setting up factories were generally denied to Sindhis except for a few agents who, getting these permits and licenses as price for their dirty work, only used the same for collecting easy money on transfer thereof to highest bidders in the black market. No argument or protest availed for any body and anywhere for recognition, support or protection of Sindh or Sindhi interests in any field or department of life.

How and to what limits have the rights and interests of the Sindhi people been ignored crushed into dust in Pakistan can also be read in the memorandum presented to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then President of Pakistan, by the Sindhi students. The memorandum, among other things, carried the following observations

1. There are over one thousand firms owned by the Muhajir-Punjabi capitalists in Sindh, in which more than a hundred thousands employees worked but out of them there may hardly be a hundred employees who could be the Sindhis.
2. There are nearly 400 industries, in both the public and private sectors, functioning in Sindh, in which over one million workers, skilled and unskilled remained employed. Out of these one million workers hardly one percent could be the Sindhis.
3. The leading private banks in Sindh, viz., Habib Bank: United Bank, Muslim commercial Bank, etc. have nearly 400 branches in Sindh, in which over 10,000 persons are employed. Sindhis among them were hardly 2 percent. In the branches of the two government banks in Sindh, the State Bank and the National Bank of Pakistan, not even these 2% Sindhis are there.
4. These banks manned almost entirely by non-Sindhis offer credit facilities mainly to non-Sindhi commercial and industrial interests, and hardly any to the Sindhis. This results in continuing backwardness of the Sindhi Society in the field of trade, commerce and industry.
5. The Central Government has spent nearly 50 crore rupees on providing free houses to Muhajirs. Besides, huge amounts of money have been lent to them, particularly in Karachi to build houses for themselves. No step has however, been taken for similar settlement and rehabilitation of Sindhi people. Almost one fourth of the indigenous people of Sindh lead nomadic and semi-nomadic life, live in isolated hutment and in dirty villages. Nothing has been done for the rehabilitation of these neglected people. They remain deprived of good shelter, education medical care, pure drinking water, roads and other modern amenities like electricity, gas, cinemas, radio, etc. In Karachi itself there are the Lyari Quarters, Cumbharwada, Khado, Oharibabad, the Chanesar Goth, the Bhutto Village and the original settlement of Brohis, Makranis Gabols, Gadas, Burfats, and other tribes, who continue living in the same old and dilapidated hutment and dirty environments. On one hand nearly 3 million Sindhis lead a semi-nomadic existence in Sindh, and in Karachi. On the other hand, just next to such very similar semi-nomadic people, are raised Posh colonies like Nazimabad Korangi, Liaquatabad, Drigh colony, Saeedabad and such other modern resettlements at the cost of crores of rupees. A few days back, the Chairman of the Karachi Development Authority has announced in the press that Government has just sanctioned eight crores rupees for the construction of houses for the incoming Biharis from Bangla Desh".

The students have further addressed Mr. Bhutto in their memorandum thus: "You are aware, Sir, That every nation and every country possesses the following three most valuable national assets, the preservation of which they hold to be their national duty:

1. Political freedom.
2. Economic independence, and
3. National Culture.

"You are also aware, sir that when nations conquer other nations and make them their slaves, they use the following methods too completely destroys their victims: -

1. They keep them subdued by force.
2. They control their economic assets and appropriate the same to their own use.
3. They propagate among the subject people ideologies calculated to train their minds into acceptance, and even approval of their state of subjection.
4. They sow seed of dissension among the subject people and make them fight among themselves; select the timid and selfish from amongst them to serve as their agents.
5. They suppress the language and culture of the subject people and in its place impose their own language and culture on them".

The students go forward to simplify these points in their memorandum to Mr. Bhutto as follows: The first question to settle is whether or not Sindh is a separate country and the Sindhi people are a separate nation.

"The fact cannot be denied that Sindh has assured the shape and status of a country for thousands of years past, during which period it has held a distinct political identity historical traditions, languages culture and a specific community of economic interest. It was a free and independent State on the eve of its conquest by the British Imperialists. It has throughout its chequered history, striven to preserve and safeguard its liberty."

"It recovered its-freedom after the Greeks subdued it on fields of battle, and governed itself for hundreds of years afterwards as a free country and a free people. The Arab conquered it later in war of prolonged and heroic fighting but it soon recovered its liberty and again saw its own sons and daughters rule themselves for well high six hundred years under the Samma and Soomra periods of its life. For a brief period of less than 200 years (1543-1738), it again lost its liberty, to Arghuns, Tarkhans and the Mughals. But this period of its subjection was also the period of its test and justification, for it was during this period that the Sindhi people waged their most heroic struggle for freedom unremittingly and gave no peace to their alien rulers, till they drove them out and recovered their liberty and established their self rule under Kalhoras. This time their independence lasted for a hundred years, till in 1843, the British armies defeated the free and independent Talpur rulers at Miami, the most severely contested battle of all the battles which the British fought during their empire building campaigns in India.

"The British conquerors, for their administrative convenience, attached Sindh with Bombay Presidency of India. The Sindhi people struggled against this, and succeeded in bringing about its separation from Bombay, in 1936. But they had hardly taken a few steps towards reconstruction of their education, health, agriculture, communications etc. why some eleven years later, it was involved into the concretion of Indian Reforms and, in the name of religion, was eddied into Pakistan and transplanted into it as its part.

"The Sindhi people had expected on the basis of Lahore resolution of the All India Muslim League, that within the sphere of Pakistan, Sindh shall be an independent and Sovereign State." But it did not happen.

"Sindh, under a systematic scheme, has suffered terribly in Pakistan. It has been turned into- an unchanging minority under the hegemony of an unchanging majority. In the name of Unity, solidarity and security of Pakistan, its population ratio is being overturned. The distinct nationality of its people is being denied and controverted for the sake of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests-. Its Language of the great past is being submerged under an upstart of a stranger language. Its culture is being suppressed. Schemes are afoot for bringing about its dismemberment.

"In the world of government services, the Sindhis find themselves almost non-existent. In the Central services hardly two of them can be found in five thousands. In the provincial services in their own homeland their percentage is below forty. In the Central Secretariat there is hardly one Sindhi in two thousands, in the Defense department, one in five thousands in the Railway department one in a thousand in the Foreign Affairs department hardly any with the exception of a couple of ambassadors, and in the Finance department none at all. -State Bank of Pakistan has only 3 Sindhi Officers among its 959 to date, and only 40 Sindhis among its three and half thousands -lower staff members. National Bank of Pakistan can boast of 5 Sindhi officers among its 1200 today, and some 150 among its five thousands lower staff. The radio and Television have hardly one Sindhi in thousand. In the higher educational institutions in Sindh, non-Sindhi teachers are in a talking majority and under Karachi Municipal Corporation, out of some 13 senior departmental heads, only two are Sindhis. The position under Hyderabad Municipality is only slightly better. Among the ministerial lower staff under these Municipal administrations, Sindhis are no more than 5 and 20% respectively. On the break of One-Unit and restoration of Sindh as a Province, the Sindh Secretariat started with 66 senior departmental heads, out of whom only - 19 were the Sindhis. If the Sindhi people demand their rights in service according to their population or talk of any social, political, cultural and economic right they are blackmailed into silence by being shown up in the frenzied Urdu Press as enemy agents, enemies of-Islam and even enemies of Pakistan.

"There are non-Sindhi teachers in a big majority in the higher education institutions in Sindh, and in most of the cases occupy directorial positions there, from where they let no chance spare without injuring the interests of the Sindhis students both in the class room teaching and in the examinations.

"The Sindhi students have to study Urdu as a compulsory subject from class IV to class XII, while the Urdu students do not study Sindhi at all. The result of this discriminative burden of studies has played havoc with the life career of the Sindhi students, as in all school and school leaving examinations and the entrance examinations for professional studies, the Sindhi students have to complete with Urdu-students with an in-supportable handicap under which the Sindhi students have to take test for 100 marks in Urdu language which is not their mother tongue, while the Urdu students have to take the test for the same 100 marks in their own mother tongue. The children of the Sindhian parentage have suffered under this discrimination in our educational institutions since 1955; the year of the imposition of cursed one-unit on Sindh, and continues to remain its victims todate.

"A predatory people imposing their language and culture on another people, whom they have subjected politically and economically, are seen to be engaged in establishing their intellectual imperialism on these other people, The Sindhis when they talked of Pakistan or were told what it would be, where not then, nor are they now, prepared for such a subservience under any cost. They on the contrary hoped and believed that with the passage of time when feelings cooled down, and the Muhajir Punjabi started getting absorbed in Sindhi society, some of the Sindhi Hindus who had left Sindh under duress would start their backward trail to their motherland, with the return of Engineers, doctors, professors, writers, scientists and of those among them who were the devotees and scholars of Shah Enayat Sufi, Makhdoom Bilawal, Shah Abdul Latif, Sachal Sarmast, Sami and other evolved souls and divine humanists of Sindh. The flowering and fructification of Sindhi life and its culture with its immortal message of love, Catholicism and humanity will begin growing and spreading its felicitous influence on the hate-ridden atmosphere in the sub-continent

and the clashing tac-au-tac of warring ideologies and interests of the world. This was to be the contribution of Sindh to human civilization towards the development of universal brotherhood and world peace.

"Experience has taught us, however, that these new arrivals, being the children of hatred, violence and greed, were neither willing nor ready to join us in this mission of taming, the brute in man. For the sake of serving their class interests that lay in (i) protection of loot they collected and privilege they acquired in Pakistan, and (ii) preservation of their exploitative position in society, they would go to any length to keep the cauldron of ill will and hate boiling in the sub-continent, and would not hesitate for attaining that end, to serve as agents of American Imperialism and push the whole sub-continent under foreign slavery.

"Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the worst parochial Muhajir Leader, whom his followers Lionized as Qaide-Millat i.e. the Director of Muslim Nation because of his having latched Sindh and thrown it at the feet of Muhajirs, was guilty of the following atrocious behavior in the above context.

1. He diverted the people's attention from the real problems of poverty, reconstruction, economic development, literary and unity and goodwill among the peoples, facing the country, and instead laid the foundations for policy of confrontation with Bharat, for the purpose of establishing and consolidating political, economic and cultural domination of Muhajir in Pakistan. The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling circles in the country have since stuck to this policy confrontation with Bharat, and are carrying it on stealthily even today, because it suits the identical purposes of the Punjabi exploitative interests even more admirably.
2. He kept the Khokhrapar and the Karachi Sea Port the two points of entry in Sindh borders open, for the ceaseless immigration of Muhajir from India into Sindh, even though the Bengal, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P provincial governments in Pakistan had closed their borders to such immigration within their areas.
3. He misguided Jinnah on the question of Karachi and arranged its separation from Sindh, intending to make it a concentration point for Muhajirs, who now are dreaming to convert it fully into a Muhajiristan.
4. When asked to pay compensation to Government of Sindh for its crores of rupees worth properties taken over in Karachi by the Central Government, which he himself had solemnly undertaken to pay on the floor of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Liaquat Ali Khan with hardly any compunction, spouted La-di-da what compensation! There is no compensation of a conquered territory!
5. Getting hurt at his loose references to Sindh and the Sindhi people, Sayed Haji Ali Akbar Shah a venerable old man, the then President of Sindh Provincial Muslim League led a deputation to Liaquat Ali Khan, and requested him to exercise due restraint in his talk about these delicate matters, Liaquat Ali Khan, whom power and pomp had probably turned too much into a puddle-headed snapped at Shah Sahib: Truth is truth What is Sindhi Culture? Donkey driving and Camel riding! What else! This could be the epitome of the mind of this arch enemy of Sindh and Sindhi people, whom he thought he had conquered and who therefore had only to make *Farshi Salams* to him and to every Muhajir who had followed him to this land.
6. Liaquat Ali Khan did not confine his designs to Sindh for turning it into a jagir for Muhajirs but simultaneously he cast his eyes on other areas of Pakistan as well. The other province that received his attention in this respect was the East Bengal. He had already succeeded in creating discord between Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq, the popular old leader of Bengal, and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah had, by then acquired a great deal of power and prestige under

backing of the British authorities and publicity and propaganda of clever Muslim politicians from the Muslim minority provinces. He had otherwise undergone no suffering or sacrifice in the freedom Movement. He hardly participated in it. As against Maulvi Fazl-ul Haq, he had no locus stand with the people of Bengal. He however succeeded in overthrowing the popular leader in his province, with the support of the English Governor of Bengal and the communal sections of Bengali population. This happened prior to the birth of Pakistan. An other nationalist political leader of Bengal was Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy. He had also like Maulvi Fazle ul Haq, enjoyed a great deal of popularity and backing among Bengalis. He had been the Chief Minister of the United Bengal, but since he was a able and powerful leader of a majority province in Pakistan, and could not rely upon as a mere yes man of Mr. Jinnah, the clever Muhajir leadership brought about a clash between the two leaders. He was denigrated, and in preference to him Khwaja Nazimuddin, a docile, sluggish and pliable gentleman was made the first Chief Minister of East Bengal. Mr. Suharwardy was dismissed even from his elected position as member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. "Liaquat Ali Khan pursued the policy of settling Bihari Muhajir in East Bengal in the place of Hindus who were to be driven away from their houses, government positions and their business establishments, just as they were in Sindh. Liaquat Ali Khan also misguided Mr. Jinnah to make an absurd announcement that Urdu, a totally strange language to Bengalis in its vocabulary, phonetic system, and even script, was to be the national language even for them. This led to the rise of an angry popular Language Movement in that province, which finally ended in the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent and sovereign state and its separation from Pakistan. "Liaquat Ali Khan was elected to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly as a representative from East Bengal. He repayed the Bengali People for their trust in him in sowing dissension among them, and exposing them to the lacerating bloody fangs of Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism. The main cause of the Bengali people rising against Pakistan was the attitude and behavior of the parochial and predatory Bihari Muhajir immigrants there under the lead and support of their counterpart patrons in West Pakistan, viz. the Muhajir Punjabi vested interests and their ruling clique initially led and set in the way by Liaquat Ali Khan.

7. An other area for Liaquat Ali Khan's conspiratorial and intimidatory pro-Muhajir politics was the Province of Punjab itself. The first Chief Minister of the Pakistan part of the Punjab was Nawab Iftkhar Hussain Mamdot, a simple, sincere and honest Muslim League worker. He was not a man of much brilliance and ability. All his policy decisions and his entire administration were shaped and run on initiative from the Punjab Civil Service. The Muhajir Leadership under Liaquat Ali Khan did not feel easy at this. The Punjab Civil Service, whatever could be their other faults and detractors, were patriotic Punjabis and defied all attempts on the part of the Muhajir ruling and defied all attempts on the part of the Muhajir ruling clique, based at the center under Liaquat Ali Khan, to spread the Muhajir tentacles in Punjab. Liaquat Ali Khan countered this defiance of the Punjab Civil Service by ousting Nawab Mamdot and installing Mian Mumtaz Mohammed Daultana, an able and autocratically minded politician, in his place, so that he may cut the Civil Service into size.

"Mian Mumtaz Mohammed Daultana was less of a Punjabi nationalist. He was more of a self-seeking and self-satisfied individual. He could therefore more easily be handled by the adroit manipulations of the clever Muhajir leadership and could even serve as their agent, if his ambition for power could be placated skillfully. He was not much of a stickler for principles, and loyalty to persons was none of his strong points. His appointment as Chief Minister of the Punjab by Liaquat Ali Khan was therefore received in important circles of the Punjab vested interests with open resentment. The other step that Liaquat Ali Khan was contemplating to take in order to slip the wings of the Punjab Civil Service was to remove the apple of their eye. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Finance Minister of Pakistan who, because of his ability and strong pro-Punjabi leanings was proving to be a thorn in the flesh of the Muhajir vested interests. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed had his powerful friends like Mian

Qurban Ali Khan, Mushtaque Ahmed Gormani, Khan Najaf Khan and others. The Punjabi ruling circles, finding no other way to shake off the stranglehold of Liaquat Ail Khan and his Muhajir clique over the state machinery, got him eliminated physically, thereby freeing the peoples of Pakistan from the quarrelsome arrogance of this man, and earning their thanks for it.

8. Liaquat Ali Khan maneuvered the two leading nationalists in Pakistan, namely the Bengalis and the Punjabis into an irreconcilable conflict by egging on one against the other. The Bengalis he tickled at their numerical strength, having an over-all majority and entitled, therefore to rule Pakistan in accordance with universally accepted principles of democracy, while the Punjabis he excited at their superiority in the military and the Civil services, over-all ability to rule, and their economic advancement, and entitled, therefore, to rule Pakistan on the basis of merit. The Clashes and controversies that the incompatibility of the two positions raised in the country resulted into delay in the adoption of a constitution for the country. In the melee that ensued, Liaquat Ali Khan and his Muhajir ruling clique got an opportunity to spread their tentacles all around and consolidate their positions in every sphere of life in Pakistan as an indispensable third factor, out only to wish the two sides well and help them arrive at a balance.
9. Liaquat Ali Khan, finding the nationalist government of Dr. Khan Sahib in the N.W.F.P. not ready to play to his tune, dismissed it inspite of its majority support in the provincial Assembly, and thrust on the people Khan Abdul Qayoom Khan as the Chief Minister of the province, who started crushing with heavy hand the patriotic peoples movement of the Pakhtoon nation. This man originally was a member of the Khudai-Khidmatgar Movement led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It was great patriotic movement for freedom from British Imperialism, and had suffered a great deal in its heroic struggle for national liberation. Khan Qayoom Khan turned traitor to the movement in the midst of its course. To compensate his scheme and to establish his loyalty with the masters, he committed untold atrocities on the workers of the movement. Liaquat Ali Khan in his pursuit of the policy of divide and rule , picked out in every case the worst and the most degraded men in the national life of the peoples as his tools. He thus corrupted the entire politics of Pakistan beyond redemption.
10. The all India Muslim League had repeatedly adopted resolutions since 1930 for introduction of democratic reforms in Baluchistan in part with other provinces in India. On the League s assumption of power in Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan not only did not grant any such reforms to Baluchistan, but also rounded up its entire political leadership and hustled them into jails simply because they were nationalistically minded and wanted to live life of an independent and self-respect mg people.
11. Liaquat Ali Khan built up an atmosphere of greed intolerance, hate, and villaining in the country, all the time aiming at establishment and consolidation of dictatorship of the Muhajir Elite in Pakistan. He tried to hold the country at a safe distance from the contagion of democracy, secularism, nationalism, and socialism. Any one who indicated any serious trend for progressivism was a Bharati agent a provincialist an atheist, an enemy of Pakistan, and a subversions, and was punished accordingly. Pakistan as a jagir of the Muhajir Elite had to be kept protected against all such anti-Islam and anti Pakistan stuff, in order to safeguard it from danger, which surrounded it, the danger of Bharat, the danger of communism, the danger of parochialism etc.
12. Liaquat Ali Khan had an unrestrained and loose tongue. He called Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his associates agents of India and traitors to Pakistan , little realizing that by giving vent to his laxity of mind, he left a permanent scar on the hearts of the Pakhtoon people which he thus wounded by insulting their most loyal and revered leader and his courageous and self-sacrificing band of followers. In the same way he called the most

popular nationalist leader of the Bengalis, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy a kept spy of Hindustan and dog . The other equally popular and widely respected leader of the Bengali people. Maulana Fazl-ul-Haq he called a purchased slave of the Hindus . Similarly he called G.M. Sayed and Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, the most devoted and selfless servants of the Sindhi people. "The paid agents of the Hindus and traitors to the nation . He put Khan Abdul Samad Khan and Shahzada Abdul Karim and other nationalist leaders of Baluchistan in jail for no other reason except only the one namely their crime to stand up for the lasting good of their homeland and to raise a bold and defiant voice for it.

13. Liaquat Ali Khan so encouraged and incited the Muhajir population in Sindh that they started believing themselves to be the conquerors of Sindh and acting so pompously and so over-bearingly that they soon lost all sympathy with the Sindhi people, which had been lavished on them on their first arrival in Sindh as people who had fled their homes and sought shelter in Sindh against persecution and terror. The Sindhi people now saw them as their enemies out to exploit them and even to supplant them. They appeared to them to be only a band of dissimulating moneygrubbers out to hate, despoil, blurt and brag about.
14. Liaquat Ali Khan patronized and pampered bureaucracy beyond measure, which till his times mainly consisted of the Urdu-speaking Muhajir-Officers caste. The bureaucracy under him felt so emboldened that they soon started interfering in the politics of the country.
15. He despoiled democracy in Pakistan almost spitefully, and laid ground for Fascism to take root and grow. To have feel of *Fuehrer* he arranged for a huge crowd of his Muhajir followers to arrive in a big banner carrying procession at his official residence in Karachi and himself came out at the window of one of its balconies and, like a gimmick of a Hitler or Mussolini, raised his arm in a mailed fist, and declared that to be the symbol of Pakistan politics. Taking it as a cue processions of people were organized in several other cities of Pakistan, who went through roads and streets with their fore arm raised up in the form of a *Mukka*, (fist mailed). Thus politics in Pakistan was lent fascistic overtones from almost its very start by none others than its founding leadership.

The Sindhi students also later presented a petition to the then Chief Minister of Sindh, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto in which they discussed problems of their people at some length. Relevant extracts from this petition may not be out of place here After discussing the background of Pakistan in the context of Sindh, the students referred to the then existing situation in the following words.

"We realize, Sir, that it is for the first time after the establishment of Pakistan, that today we have a democratically formed government in the country, which has been given to us by the Pakistan Peoples Party, and whose President, fortunately happens to be Sindhi. "We also realize that Peoples Party over whelming consists of representatives from the Punjab, among whom there are fanatic and imperialistically inclined Punjabi5 like J.A. Rahim Miraj Mohammed Khan and Kausar Niazi for whom Sindh and Sindhi to say the least are just the red Raj to the Bull. "We do realize, too, that majority of the people of Punjab are today be devilled with the Muhajir ideology of hate and communalism. "We also know that the peoples Party, inspite of claiming formal belief in non-communal and progressive principles, permits itself, for the sake of continuance in power, to feign equally strongly their faith in the Muhajir inspired ideology of Muslim nationhood. "We are also aware of the fact that although the Ruling Party commands majority in the Central Assembly, its government, realizing that the real power is yet wielded by the army and civilians officers, have to carry out the latter s desires fully and unquestionably. "We know that the President of Pakistan and his colleagues, both inside the Government and outside in the party, while trumpeting their faith in Islamic Constitution. Islamic Raj and the ideology of Pakistan yet insist on keeping up a show of outward belief in democracy and socialism, simply, because they well

known that democracy and socialism cannot any way will attained without nationalism and secularism. "You know, Sir, that in what remains of Pakistan today, there exist four languages i.e. Sindhi, Punjabi Pakhtoons and Balochi since ages past. You also know that among these four languages of the Pakistani peoples, Sindhi happens to be the richest and the most highly, developed language at the moment, and for that reason a right to be made the sole national language of Pakistan. Not withstanding this awareness, your Party, merely for fear of displeasing the Punjabi public opinion in order to placate the turgid communalism of the speaking Muhajirs, decided to make Urdu, a foreign language, the sole national language of Pakistan, by exposed Sindhi language even in its own homeland to the danger of being reduced to the status of mere vernacular. This is proved by the very fact of our own government in Sindh under your good-self shying at making Sindhi language the official language even of Sindh. "You very well know that majority of the conscious I well informed persons among the Sindhis were not satisfied with the language Bill in the shape it was moved your government in the Sindh Legislative Assembly, but realizing your limitations and difficulties in the matter, the people of Sindh kept quiet at it.

"Out of 62 members of the Sindh Assembly, 51 member voted for that bill and the Assembly passed it an Act in the form of a national achievement.

"You also know that the Urdu speaking Muhajir members the Assembly opposed the bill vigorously, and immediately after its passage through the Assembly, they brought about and even led, language riots in Karachi and in other big cities, in which the Sindhi houses and shops were burnt looted, and Sindhis were killed and publicly humiliated. Most graceless slogans written on the walls against the President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, against you yourself and the Governor of Sindh Mir Rasool Bux Talpur. Their graves were build and openly disgraced their effigies were burnt. Their names tied to the collars of dogs, and these dogs paraded on the roads most indecent slogans written, cartoons were and posters were stuck on the walls in the cities against the wife and daughter of the President. All these things were said and done involving the President of Pakistan, the Chief Minister and the governor of Sindh and Others of your party and the Sindhi people as a whole, only because they were Sindhis. There was a strong reaction among the Sindhi people against all these deliberate acts of provocation by organized bands of Muhajir hoodlums, who could have been taught a lesson in return by the Sindhi people throughout Sindh, but for the protection afforded to them by the peoples Party Workers under orders from the President. It was however expected that your sense of national honor will be stirred and the guilty rascals will be suitably punished.

"We were, however, amazed to see that on 8th July, 1972, a few persons were called from Sindh to Rawalpindi by the President to study and discuss the language bill as adopted by the Sindh Legislative Assembly. Among those called for the purpose were included also those Muhajirs leaders, who had organized and led those riots. All these persons were called to Rawalpindi on, government expenses, We do not know what were the pressing reasons that made the President take that undemocratic step, which was tantamount to interference in the Constitutionally guaranteed sphere of powers and authority of the Provincial Assembly. But what has since come to light in this behalf is rather disturbing and portends much harder times and conditions for whatever little provincial autonomy Sindh is otherwise to enjoy under the constitution. It is said that the Muhajir leadership, by their powerful propaganda and other means of pressurization, so affected the Punjabi Ruling Circle through Jamait Islami and the P.D.P. that they were about to stage- a revolt against the Bhutto regime, which absolutely unnerved the President, and he at once decided to accept all the terms and conditions of the Sindh Muhajirs and, in the words of Rais Amrohvi, one of those who master-minded of the language riots and who was among those invited to Rawalpindi to assuage the issue the President wanted to please and win the Muhajirs over by supplications and prayer promising their amendment of the language bill, through Ordinance, as defused by them.

"You, on your part here in Sindh, however, kept up the deception by announcing that the Bill was not to be touched and had to remain as it was originally adopted by the Sindh Legislature, the rights of Sindhis shall not be whittled down and the language problem in Sindh stood amicably solved.

"If you don't mind, we may however plainly tell you that there can be no bigger hypocrisy and deception than this. In case you are not ready to listen to the view or sentiments of Sindhis except through the method of mob violence as the Muhajirs adopt with you, that could then lead to an entirely different situation. However, you can not now deny the consequences and implications of the Ordinance, which your government has promulgated for amicably solving the language problem in Sindh.

Firstly, in face of this interference of the president in the provincial affairs, all provincial autonomy and all work of provincial Legislature has been reduced to a farce. If a Legislative measure adopted by majority of vote in a provincial Assembly can be reduced to a nullity with one stroke of pen by the Central Government, And if the Central Government reacts only as a pliable tool in the hands of the Muhajir Punjabi imperialist interests, just as it did in this case, what could be the way remaining open to the patriotic Sindhis, for example, to exercise their right of arranging their internal affairs as willed by them, except that they may revolt against such an interference and seek their national right to exist with honor and dignity as a totally free and independent people out-side the arrangement, which exposes them to such a state of subjections and interference.

Secondly, this interference from the Center in the affairs of the Province amounted clearly to want of confidence in the Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Government. Sindh Assembly and your government were therefore honor bound to resign your positions instead of obeying such a ukase from the Center as sheepishly as you did.

"Thirdly, this amicable settlement outside the constitutional framework only proves that majority and its decisions are worth nothing in our way of democracy. If certain influential and disorderly people are not able to obtain what they want through democratic and constitutional means, they can always create a situation of mob-terror, and through insurrection to intimidate Power greedy bunch of rulers like you and force their hands to grant them what they demand.

"Fourthly, in this entire sordid affair the Sindhi politicians have been degraded and humiliated the most. They adopted what they believed to be a fair and reasonable piece of Legislation by majority in their legislative Assembly. Thereby a certain number of *goondas* and gangsters are provoked who come out in the streets and catch their people unawares kill them and burn and loot the shops and houses. These heroes of the, Assembly Hall, who inside boasted of sacrificing their lives ten times over in defense of their people, come out and are showered abuses and are openly disgraced. And yet they at once accept the conditions of the goondas, and abjectly surrender before them. This only proves that the Sindhis have a class of people consisting of persons of your lot, who are pacifist, cowards and know no honor, and who can surrender human dignity of the Sindhi people to the enemy, tolerate every indignity at his hands and be ready to agree to every thing until nothing remains.

Actually by this surrender you have done worse than that Muhammad Ayub Khuhro did when, for the sake of office, he handed the province of Sindh over to the Punjab under One-Unit. Your surrender on this issue is worse because you are out to justify it and expect to be hurrahed for it, and yet the consequences of your surrender are for more dangerous and harmful, and may almost prove to be irreparable.

By this surrender, Sindh has been turned for the first time in its history, into the land of two languages. "By this surrender, the principle of the Urdu speaking Muhajirs in Sindh forming a nationality has been accepted and on that basis they are now asking for the partitioning of Sindh.

"These consequences of your surrender are of grave consequences for the future of the Sindhi people. The problem which is there by posed before them for survival as a people in their own homeland, with or without suffering its partition, appears to be insoluble except the frame works of Pakistan. By this treacherous surrender, you have imposed a life long bloody struggle on them for self-preservation, as their national duty.

"Meanwhile, what you, in your timidity and craze for power, have additionally surrendered to the Muhajirs in id, as a immediate price for keeping peace is equally fraught with serious consequences for the Sindhi people.

"First, you have agreed to their condition 3f postings id- transfers of officers, such that nationalist minded Sindhi officers are removed as heads of certain departments of Administration and non-Sindhi officers are posted in their places.

"Second, you have resorted to mass arrests of Sindhi workers and have left the Muhajirs alone to continue agitating freely against the Sindhis.

"Third, you have undertaken to pay as compensation to the Muhajir miscreants an amount of 25 lacs rupees for the losses they suffered in the riots.

Fourth the President of Pakistan (now Prime Minister) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, undertook an extensive tour of the rural areas of Sindh and called upon the Sindhis not to resort to any retaliatory measures against Muhajirs, living in their midst, even when the latter in the cities who had killed Sindhis and burnt and looted their houses and shops there. Significantly, he avoided visiting the affected areas in the cities, where the Muhajirs had indulged in arson, loot and murder of the Sindhi life and property. The President was everywhere graciously received in the Sindhi populated areas in rural Sindh. But when he passed a worst affected area in Hyderabad the Muhajir gangs of hoodlums disgraced themselves by shamelessly indulging in naked danced through the passage of his entourage.

"Fifth, inspite of all this, President Bhutto went on television, profusely apologized to Muhajirs; *begging* their pardon with folded hands and even reminding them of his own sisters having been married in Muhajirs families and appealed to them abjectly to give up rioting, since all that they asked for had more than fully been granted to them.

"Sixth, the settlement arrived at with the Muhajirs leadership at Islamabad included several secret commitments, which subsequently came to light as follows: -

- (a) That Karachi would be turned into a separate province and handed over to Muhajirs as their province;
- (b) Muhajirs would be given additional seats in Cabinet of Ministries of the Government of Sindh.
- (c) Office of the Governor of Sindh will be given to a Muhajir and
- (d) Non-Sindhi officers will not be bound down for passing Sindhi language test for purpose of confirmation etc, in service under Sindh Government.

"Seventh the share of Muhajirs in Government services in Sindh has been agreed at 50%.

"Eighth, It was agreed that the census of propriety in Sindh would be so conducted that the fact of the Sindhi people being in majority in the land shall not be reflected or carried in the figures.

"Ninth the existing pre-ponderance of Muhajirs in the provincial service in Sindh and their weightage in central service shall in no way be reversed.

"Tenth, The existing programming on the Radio, Televisions, shall remain as overwhelmingly tilted to the side of Urdu as now, and all regional pressure calling for increase in the regional programming at the cost of national programming shall be resisted so as to avoid increase in fissiparous tendencies.

"Eleventh, it was agreed that justice or propriety of evacuee property allocations in Sindh will not be questioned.

"Twelfth, the University of Sindh would either be closed or dispersed and denigrated, in order to weaken and diffuse the Sindhi people's nationalist movement finding its base and support among the Sindhi youth from within its precincts. Further, a secret pact with Jamait Islami, and in collaboration with it, this movement would be politically destroyed in Sindh totally and by all the means at command of the two parties viz. the ruling Peoples Party and the Jamait Islami, the party in opposition.

"We wish and pray that, all these criminal schemes of the enemies of the Sindhi people may not succeed. But the past performances of Mr. Bhutto as a master opportunist induce ominous fears in our minds about future developments some of which have already started unfolding the truth of several of these things. Mr. Bhutto is the man, who in order to please General Mohammed Ayub Khan called him Lenin, Kamal Ata-Turk, Salahuddin Ayubi and Ibrahim Lincoln, and declared before a huge audience at one of the anniversaries of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, the saint poet of Sindh who died over two hundred years ago, that had Latif been alive he would have placed garlands of flowers round the neck of the General for his excellent services to Sindh. Mr. Bhutto is the man, who, in order to please Yahya Khan and his military Junta, the succeeding military dictator in Pakistan after General Ayub Khan, advised them to take direct action in East Bengal, and publicly and most gleefully declared at the start of the bloody action there; "Thank God, Pakistan has been saved". Mr. Bhutto is the man, who sent his leading party workers, Mohammed Bux Dhamrah, Maulvi Rubbani, and others, to jail, and resorted to indiscriminate mass arrests of nationalist workers including the writer, Hafeez Qureshi and others and countenanced without loss of equanimity banding of the nationalist students detainees in the lock-ups of Larkana, his own hometown only to please the Muhajirs. If the same Mr. Bhutto shows readiness now to mortgage and even actually does mortgage Sindh's autonomy, language, culture and economic interests to the Muhajir Punjabi imperialists, it could not be entirely beyond the ken of possibilities.

"The President and his ruling party are permitting themselves to lacerate Sindh thus only for the purpose that Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests may allow them to remain in power for some time longer. The fact cannot, however, be denied that these interests are opposing Mr. Bhutto solely because of the reason that he is a Sindhi; and so long he keeps on obeying their command and continues meeting their desire without much about the interest of Sindh or Sindhis leaving his insteps rather free to make mince meat of Sindh's interests, they in turn, will allow him to keep seated on his *gaddi*. But just as they threw out Khuhro from the Chief Minister-ship of West Pakistan only two months after he had handed over Sindh to them, under One-Unit in the same manner they will deal with Mr. Bhutto as well. As alas! Mr. Bhutto, then, will neither be able to save himself nor his Pakistan about the *safety* and integrity of which he appears to be much concerned today."

The Sindhis students in their memorandum to President Bhutto, at page 24, made him the following fervent appeal:

"Esteemed President you may graciously see from the above recital our tale of woe that Quaed-i-Azam Jinnah thrive us in this predicament by establishing Pakistan. It is now upto you mulishly to tread the same path as taken by Your predecessors and lead the country straight to disaster or to learn due lessons from the experience of its short history, and retracing certain steps, make an effort to understand and solve the country s problems *denovo*. We acknowledge your esteemed self to possess the following qualifications and talents, which we believe could conduce to such a bold departure from the usual, on your part:

- (1) You have been born on the soil of Sindh and therefore you are the son of Sindhi nation.
- (2) You have the ability to appraise problems from the modern viewpoint and in the background of world realities.
- (3) You claim -to hold truly genuine democratic convictions.
- (4) You are the first elected President of the country.
- (5) You are a man of great political acumen, and possess a sharp sense of practical politics.

We therefore, hold ourselves justified to appeal to you most earnestly: First to help us to save ourselves from the oppression of Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialist forces, who deny the separate national existence of the Sindh people. Second to save the Sindhi people from subjection to Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests, which they have imposed on the Sindhis in the name of the strong center. Third, to take steps against likelihood of imposition of Military rule on the country, possibilities of which would continue over haunting us as long as there is ceaseless expansion of armed forces, under illusory fears of Indian enmity. Fourth, to pave way for genuine socialism in the, country by basing the State policy on non-alignment internationally and on Secularism, national justice, love and tolerance instead religious bigotry, fanaticism and hatred internally. Fifth, to save the Sindhi people from the intellectual imperialism of Urdu language. "But, if for any reasons, you and your party too, like your predecessors, continue harping on the tunes of ideology of Pakistan, Indian, enmity, Islamic Form of Government and strong Center, then you will have to prepare to face the following developments: -

- I. There will be inevitable growth of fanatic nationalism in the country, and the Provinces will turn hostile to the center, and set out breaking Pakistan into separate States.
- II. Getting tired of Muhajir-Punjabi domination at the Center, there will arise desperate rebellious movements all around accruing no good for the country as a whole.
- III. As a reaction to open unabashed exploitation under cover of religion, the youth in Pakistan will rebel against religion and desert it totally.
- IV. The Sindhi people will prefer leaving such Pakistan and be free from it, if they have to live in it as a colony."

The Sindhi students submitted their memoranda to the president of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and to the Chief-Minister of Sindh, Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, and made feverish appeals to them for rescue, expecting, in their innocence, an instantaneously solvable response from the two little realizing that they, as mere show-boys , could hardly be in a position to do any thing of the sort. The two great men were completely occupied in endeavors to save their *gaddis*. What they, therefore, did was that they prescribed the two memorandums and also forfeited the Press which printed them to government. The manager of the Press was put into jail.

Under these circumstances, the Sindhi people see no way out but to break the clamps as under and get free. Pakistan has proved to be a prison-house *for* them, where all their hopes and aspirations of free and independent life have been crushed into dust. As a self-respecting people, loving liberty and ready and willing to pay the price for it, they find no choice before them but to bring the prison walls down and step outside to breathe free, and to think, speak and live free. This is the vision of life they see in Sindhu Desh. They are determined to build that life for themselves. They take it to be their sole national duty today to struggle for that goal and to live and die for it.

CHAPTER IV - Sindh Under Pakistan

We have described, above the people's expectations from it, and how it turned out to be only a base for the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj, and became a prison-house for rent nations that unwaveringly walked into it.

We will discuss in this chapter briefly what Sindh has suffered under Pakistan, and will see the causes of the Sindhi disenchantment with it after they participated so glee fully in its establishment.

Shah Abdul Latif, the great poet of Sindhi language has an immortal line on this type of human experience where disappointment with a thing attained is as complete as the exuberance and winds involved in the pursuit of it; "Oh, credulous one! What you took to be the Jewel proved to be a worthless stone. The flower garland you took to round your neck, was only a band of prickly thorns." has exactly proved to be the state of affairs with us in our entire body is covered with sores what ointment to apply and where, for healing these sores, is our dilemma. Would that there be a human soul sensitive enough to listen to the sad account of our plight and join with us in lamenting our lot, if only to lighten the burden of our hearts beats! The story of our suffering is not meant for oppressors, exploiters and imperialists anywhere inside Pakistan or outside. It is also not meant for the mulish ears of the self seeking and sold out Sindhi Politicians, who have no where to go but to their masters, flattering and begging for help and power, nay power, nay for the very permission to breathe and live.

(1) The cruelest of excesses perpetrated on the Sindhi people after the establishment of Pakistan, is the denial of their separate national existence as a people, which they enjoyed for thousands of years of their history. The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling classes and their Sindhi agents say that there is no nation like the Sindhi nation and that to call them so is a penal offence calling for punishment under law. Pakistan be damned and its ruling classes and their agents go the devil, who say so. They have not only deprived the people of Sindh, of their right to freedom, and having enslaved them misappropriated their means of production, fully to their own use, but are engaged in so affecting their mind that they should grow oblivious of their state of slavery, cease protesting against it and even begin cherishing it. This conversion of mind they intend to bring about in the Sindhi people by denying their separate national existence ignoring their thousands of years old culture, traditions, language and economic and political interests and by substituting spurious exercise of mind on a malafide deviationist interpretation of Islam. But the patriotic Sindhi mind, with a sense of pride of nation-hood will never accept this grafting of foreign intellectual stuff on it. During its history, Sindh has been invaded and conquered several times by foreign aggressors, but never has it been imposed upon so wickedly as this time. The Arab expansionists, through the means of religion made their impression almost on the entire life of the Sindhi people. Great many words of their language entered the Sindhi vocabulary. The very script of the Sindhi language was changed. Several of the indigenous tribes were lured to give up their original names and adopted Arabic names. Proper names of persons in many cases were replaced with Arab names. Some of the people were even tempted by the prestige attaching to the ruler class to trace their genealogy to Arab. All these things some of the Sindhi people of weaker clay, adopted in face of strong traditions to the country in the name of Allah and His Prophet. At the same time to begin with when the land was conquered by Arab Army under Muhammad Bin Qassim, and the people saw the royal ladies from the households of their defeated Rajas as also the thousands of young innocent girls from the commoners, caught and taken away to the slave markets of Arab lands and also gold worth nearly 20 crores of rupees of the then prevalent value from Sindh Treasury looted and removed to the Darbar of their Khalifa at Damascus, apart from other untold quantities of goods and amounts of wealth gathered as war booty and distributed among the predatory troops of the conquering army when the people saw all this greed and bestiality of the Muslim Arms in actual play before their very eyes, they stood amazed, hardly able to reconcile in all with the sacred name of Allah and His Rasool which also went on simultaneously being raised with equal vigor and zest in that strongest of the strange world.

The ancestors of many of us arrived in Sindh from that world. They started overawing the poor and simple people and weak dwellers of the land by their assumed airs of religious, social and cultural superiorities. Slowly and gradually the mind of the simple, defenseless people was molded and they started accepting the change and even approving and welcoming it. Every windbag from outside was an oracle in Sindh. But this period of feeling inferior before the outsider soon came to an end. The outsiders married in the local families. These ladies, our mothers and sisters, kept their links with their traditions and culture so strong and so alive that instead of giving their children Arabian names, they gave them their Sindhian names and spoke with them in Sindhi. They stuck to, their indigenous customs on occasions of marriage, birth, death, etc, maintained their all attachment with their costumes, ornaments, food preparations, household apparel and furnishings and hundreds of such things of daily living which constitute the warp and woof of a national culture. Thus the *Sindhian* way of life not only survived but took firm roots in the families raised by out-siders in Sindh because of the built-in strength and resilience inherent in the Sindhi culture.

The two leading families of Sayeds in Sindh are known as the Lakyari and Matiari Sadats. The ancestor of the Lakyari Sadats, Sayed Ali, arrived in Sindh straight from Arabia. The names received by his two sons from their Sindhi mothers in Sindh were Wagon (Song-birth) and Chango (the Good one!) They in their turn gave their children Sindhi names of Parpio (the victorious). Boolan (dear as the nose-ring) Nindo; Bakhar (the shining one) etc. Among the Matiari Sadats we come across the first names like Jhando (The Flag), Jeeyo (lives long), Toorpio (Begets many children) Chhattan (wearer of fine hair) Nathan (the skillful) etc. The Sommras and Samma tribes later adopted the religion of Islam but retained their original names for their children e.g. Chanesar, Dodo, Bhuongar, Tamachi, Nindo, Punhoon, Koran, An, Baghi, Chattul, Ladi, Marvi, Sasui, Sohuni, etc.

Shortly later however known, the Sindhi people drove away the Arab occupation forces and set up their own independent rulership in the country. Then followed incursion of foreign horde s armies into Sindh - the Pathans, the Tarkhans, the Mughals and the British with varied consequences of triumphs and defeats for its people, affecting its political fortunes in a variety of way s. Every occupying people left their cultural traces on the language and culture of Sindh. None of these foreign peoples, who invaded conquered and ruled Sindh for certain periods of its history, ever denied the distinct national entity of the Sindhi people. No written history of any period of its life, and any language, has denied the separate national existence of Sindh and the Sindhi people either.

As against this, in the present period of their history, that has set in as late as August, 1947. The Sindhi people are being asked to forget that they are Sindhis, and to transform themselves into a new nation which has neither a name nor a language which it may call its own. Is this illusory nation to be called Muslim nation a Pakistani nation, they are not yet decided in it. And Urdu being the language of none of the people in Pakistan except of some 20 % of its population, the Urdu speaking immigrants from India, it can only be the foreign language for this new nation whatever be its blessed name! There can be no greater atrocity of fact or fiction, history or culture than the one involved in this exercise at manufacturing an illusory nation on the one hand and nullifying several other historically established and very much living and flourishing nations on the other.

(2) The second cruel excess which is being perpetuated on the Sindhi people is the denial and defacement of Sindhu Desh which historically and geographically has, for centuries past, remained a distinct and separate country and its forced merger as a mere part, in an artificially created country like Pakistan. The Sindhis do not accept this position. They, on the contrary hate Pakistan and reject it as only an artifice, a frame, work specially devised for their enslavement and for the enslavement of other smaller nations, the Baluchis and the Pakhtoons, which have been similarly merged by force in it.

The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests first merged Sindh into one-Unit in a huff and tried to efface the name of Sindh from every where-the railway stations, the postal stamps, the textbooks (including ones on Geography and History) the milestones, and road posts etc. But soon they saw that by mere effacement of the name in scripts, Sindh as a reality cannot be conjured away. They, therefore, with equal alacrity, dissolved one-Unit, and restoring Sindh only in name as a Province, imposed it in the iron frame work of the strong Center, and having seated a Sindhi show-boy on the top of the frame-work, have started exploiting Sindh securely and systematically as if it was their ancestral Jagir.

The Sindhi people have tried various means to mend this situation. They have tried all arguments with the Muhajir

Punjabi Vested Interests to see reason. But, in the words of Holy Qura'an "deaf of hearing and blind of sight, they would not understand". They ride roughshod, power-inflated as they are, over every legitimate desire and sentiment of the weaker peoples in Pakistan. The Sindhi people have now reached the conviction that the situation has to be ended, and there remains no way out for them except blasting the ramparts of the fortifications of tyranny and fraud that is Pakistan, and raise the walls of Sindhu Desh on the ruins of it, to live in security and with honor as a people in their own felicitous and free homeland.

(3) The Muhajir and Punjabi immigrants deceive us in the name of Muslim brotherhood. But, actually, they hate their Sindhis Muslim brethren, and treat them only as achhuts (Untouchables). They say, "Sindhis were ignorant people and we have enlightened and reformed them" (daily "JUNG"); "Sindhis were. slaves of Hindus, we have freed them from slavery ("Daily "Jung"), Sindhis had no knowledge of Islam, we have taught it to them" (Maulana Maudoodi). "The Sindhi culture is that of donkey-cart and Camel-cart drivers" (Liaquat Ali Khan), "Sindhis is the language of the illiterate and uneducated" (Liaquat Ah Khan), As against this, they have high airs about themselves such that, in the words of Allama Iqbal, "God himself first consults them and then manages his affairs! Sindhis however, now know that these "chosen people of God" are nothing but disgusting blasphemers. They are predators par excellence and utilize the name of God and Islam only as a ruse to rob people. They are the enemies of the Sindhi people. As long as they are not ejected from Sindh, neither Sindh nor the Sindhi people will remain safe.

(4) The Muhajir-Punjabi Axis in Pakistan started ruling their subject peoples in Pakistan by creating internal disorders and divisions among them, and whittling down their provincial autonomy to farcical limits. To begin with, even though Khuhro commanded majority in the Sindh Assembly, Mr. Jinnah over-riding his claim made Sir Ghulam Hussain the Chief-Minister of Sindh. Shortly afterwards, the latter was pushed up as Governor and Khuhro was rehabilitated to his rightful place. But soon he was sent to jail, and Pir Illahi Bux, the rank opportunist was brought in. On his dismissal as member of the Assembly by Election Tribunal, Pir Illahi Bux went out and in came Yousif Haroon. A little time later Kazi Fazul-ullah replaced Yousif Haroon. Once again Khuhro was called in, and then expelling him from politics, Sindh was thrown under Governor Raj, the Governor being the hardcore Punjabi Mr. Din Mohammed. The yes-men Mir. Ghulam Ali was then ushered in, but getting displeased with him, they withdrew him and brought in Abdul Sattar Pirzada, permitting him the luxury of 12 ministers. The funny drama has been described earlier in some details. It was all en-acted during a short period of eight years, from August 1974 to 1955.

To the misfortune of the gentlemen ushers of the Muhajir-Punjabi, court, the last choice of theirs, i.e. Mr. Abdul Sattar Pirzada, proved to be the most inconvenient and provoking of all for their masters. It was under his Chief Ministership in Sindh that.

- a. The Sindh Legislative Assembly, through a unanimous 7 resolution, demanded restitution of the city of Karachi to the province of Sindh.

- b. The Sindh Legislative Assembly, by a unanimous resolution, protested against discrimination in recruitment to services under Central Government, in grant of permits for installation of factories, and in issue of licenses for import and export against the Sindhi people.
- c. The Sindh Legislative Assembly adopted, with minor amendments, a resolution solemnly declaring Sindhis a distinct people with basic and inalienable national rights.
- d. The Sindh Legislative Assembly through an act established The Sindh Cultural Development Board, with the Sindhi Board, the Sindh Provincial library and Museum, and Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Center at its three departments, and sanctioned an amount of 40 Lac rupees as initial funds for that Board to finance its activities.
- e. The construction work for the two barrages on river Indus in Sindh at kotri and guddu, was expedited, with a view to forestall intersection and diversion of heavy intakes of Indus water by Punjab Government.
- f. The Government of Sindh showed unreadiness to succumb to the pressure of the Central Government for grant of the agricultural lands on Sindh barrage to the military personnel and others from Punjab and outside.
- g. Pirzada Abdul Sattar himself as representative of Sindh on the Pakistan Constitutional Assembly, joining hands with the Bengali members managed to have appropriate clauses incorporated in the proposed constitution of Pakistan which on one hand granted a great measure of autonomy to provinces and slashed down powers of the hard-core Punjabi Governor General, Ghulam Mohammed, to interfere in the internal affairs of the Province, on the other.

All these doings of the Pirzada ministry of the Government of Sindh infuriated the Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialists beyond measure. By this time, the Punjabi ruling clique, after the assassination of Liaquat Ah Khan, had succeeded in establishing their controlling influences on State Administration. They now hatched their notorious One-Unit Plan for gaining total control over the economic resources of smaller provinces in West Pakistan, and asked Pirzada Abdul Sattar to agree to Sindh's merger in the Plan, which he, after consulting his colleagues in the Sindh Cabinet and the Legislative Assembly, declined to do. Mr. Khuhro, who at the time was under expulsion from public life for six years and was not even a member of the Sindh Legislative Assembly was called in and he, for his own reasons, agreed to collaborate. During the period of administration under One-Unit what Sindh suffered has already been briefly touched at several places in this book, and need not be repeated here. There is however, one touching incident of which the writer was a personal witness at Lahore, the Takht-Gah of the newly established Punjabi "Kingdom" in Pakistan which may appropriately be described here as symbolic of the plight Sindh and the Sindhi people had reached under One-Unit.

One-day while I was standing on the broad steps leading to the Punjab Assembly Hall in Lahore, I saw an old Sindhi woman, clad in rural attire, with a child in her lap and a bundle of clothes on her head, standing at some distance from the Assembly Hall on the road. She had evidently brought some grievances to be submitted to the power that be in Lahore. No one had remained in Sindh to listen to her. She was probably advised that on the days when the Assembly met, she could personally see the Sindhi members and visitors outside the hall in Lahore. And she had come all the way from her distant village in Sindh to the land of the Hakims to tell her tale of woes. But the police had stopped her at a distance, and she was not being allowed to come near the steps of the hall. No member and no minister took notice of her, and she stood there, a symbol of our neglected, helpless Sindhu mata weak; frustrated and lonely. I sat in a corner on the steps and wept.

The sad incident recalled to me what my friend Ali Muhammad Shah Rashdi had told me at the time of our defeat elections eve of the establishment of Pakistan. We, a small band of Sindhi nationalists had stood up alone to the joint stolidity of Sindhi officers, Zamindar and intellectuals dragging Sindh, under inspiration from Jinnah, the arch traitor to Sindh, and pushing it under the wheels of the one-rushing Juggernaut of the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj camouflaged under highly attractive name of Pakistan but they had not listened to us. There was hardly any time for any body to en to reason and the game was already lost. Rashdi had said Mian Murtza, most of the big men in Sindh have their sense of shame. To make them understand the situation by arguments or an appeal was useless. The only way rouse their sensitivity is to subject them to a calamity they would only then know what suffering is and realize the pain of it".

But I was not in favor of that kind of ruinous shock Rashdi too, some time later, therefore left us, and stepped forward to compound his Prescription and pour it down the throat of his patient . He helped bind Sindh hand and foot and threw it down to the ground into One-Unit. Seeing his masterful role in this sordid affair of One-Unit formation, I also recalled the words of one of his earlier writings produced by him at the time when we were jointly engaged in almost the last minute struggle to save Sindh from being driven under the wheels of the juggernaut this is what he had written then:

"All This high handedness is being inflicted on Sindh in the name of the Unity of Musalmans, and behind the smoke screen of struggle for Pakistan as if it is the command of Islam that in its name we may establish organizations precisely for using them as bases for wrong doing. Under this scheme of (Pakistan) Islam itself is being used as a hiding place for thieves. If Pakistan is a good thing, it cannot be built through evil means. So far as Sindh is concerned, the scheme of Pakistan is only a pyre for burning Sindh as a sacrifice to the devil of hate. In Pakistan we will have to forget all our past, and give up all aspirations for our future growth and development. We will have to destroy our national being. Alien people will impose on us constitutions as suits their needs and desires. They will utilize all the means of production of Sindh for their interests. Sindh shall become the colony of Punjab." On one occasion, during those days, Allama I.I. Kazi said:

"Pakistan will not be a place of refuge. It may prove to be graveyard. It cannot be a health resort for the ailing Musalmans. It will have no drugs and lineaments for turning him healthy. It may prove to be his death chamber, where he may breathe his last without saying his last *Kalma*. Through the false ideology of Pakistan and through the organized movement for it, the entire program of life as shown by holy Qura'an, is being negativised and contradicted."

But no body then listened to any precept on the matter. One of the two friends of Sindh, despairing of the inexpiable lethargy of the Sindhi people, said his heroic goodbye to life, with prayers for the good of his beloved Sindh on his lips.

The other friend, in approbative vindictiveness has entered the camp of the enemies of Sindh and is reimbursing all concerned for the debts they owe Sindh, by his machiavellian politics. I, on my own part with my young comrades have to tread along the steep path of the struggle for the freedom of Sindhu Desh as our national duty imposed on us by history. Along-with the foes on the way, we have many to engage in fatal combats, who could be our helpmates if they wished but are in the enemy camp for the time. I often hear the echo of the words of our young poet, Mohammed Ibrahim "Munshi".

"I surely recognized them, they were our own, with the enemy they assaulted us in hands

"To the enemy they showed the way to our base

"Since they knew where we sat unawares".

(5) The One-Unit scheme launched by the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis with the fondest of hopes of providing stability and efficiency to their exploitative machinery in Pakistan soon started floundering. Only two years after it was launched, they could not maintain it except through Martial Law, which they imposed on the country on October 9, 1958. Once again they rounded up all nationalist workers in Sindh including the writer and Kazi Faiz Muhammad, Ghulam Muhammad Leghari, Shaikh Ayaz, Hyder Bux Jatoi and others. All nationalist Literature which was published before the establishment of Pakistan or subsequently was proscribed, Public Press was put under control, and judiciary was intimidated into submission. All democratic freedoms were withdrawn and basic human rights suppressed. The leadership of Muhajir-Punjabi Vested interests withdrew into the background and put General Muhammad Ayoub Khan in the forefront as their show-boy, and carried on their rule under the umbrella of the army with the help of black laws promulgated through Ordinances.

During his ten years dictatorship, general Ayoub visited various parts of Sindh annually, scouring district after district in pursuit of game. The top-men in each district vied with one another amounts of money were wasted on the hunting parties. Hundreds and thousands of men, officials and non-officials were called to make arrangements on each of the occasions at every place to render week ends as successful as the whole of Sindh became big hunting ground for full ten years not only for the General but in the matter of hogs partridges ducks stages etc. But for every exploiter, big or small, slinking and scurrying behind him and snapping at every thing which came his way to fill his pot-bally with. The Sindhi people went on being robbed of their lands services, trade, and business opportunities, education, culture, human dignity and all, while their Pirs, Makhdooms, mirs and Vaderas continued feeding and faltering general Ayoub Khan and playing clowns and huntsmen to him at his drink parties and shooting fiestas.

The Ayubian period of the Pakistan was the period of Rule by might. Imitating hitlerite methods, all political parties except the Muslim league had been either banned or rendered lifeless. The ruling party served as the hand maiden of the dictator ruthless efforts were set afoot to flatten all peoples in Pakistan by passing Islam's steam roller over them, and render all "unevenness" of language, traditions, culture etc: among them into a deal uniformity. But since there was an implacable steel coating of unevenness evens the roller itself, the object could not be achieved. The - roller, all the same, went on turning, under the self-adulating slogans of Islam, Muslim nation, Pakistan, Urdu etc. depriving the smaller peoples of very right to exist in security and peace.

The drivers of roller blind of sight and stogy in approach did not realize that the minds of men were not made of clay or metals, which could be driven through a mould and shaped arbitrarily in a set form and size. Had it been so, all this variety of nations, language countries, faces and colors would not have come up in the world. This richness of difference in things around is not without purpose. Nature, in its infinite potency for good, has assigned to every bit of differing color, shape size or inner content, a use, which is both special and necessary. There are yet, certain insensible minds, who being unintelligent and tyrannous minds, would insist on reducing this many-sided splendor of nature into a gloomy sameness. This, however, is beyond them to accomplish.

It is said of our friend Mohammed Amin Khoso that back in the thirties, when he was studying in Aligarh, he came under the influences of Dr. Mohammed Ashraf, a communist, and began propagating non-conformist views about religion and other matters among his fellow-students, which certain communalist teachers in the University did not relish. One day, the pro-Vice Chancellor of the University Professor Abdul Halim, sent for him and told him, "I am informed that you are spreading disruptive views among students and creating discords among them! Mohammed Amin Khoso is said to have replied "That is not correct, Sir, When God's own prophet could not leave the people firm on the

right path or united, what influence can poor Amin Khoso have on such people to keep them away from discord which is a deep rooted and primeval in them as that".

Actually, behind all that fanfare regarding Islamic Unity and Muslim brotherhood, the exploitative interests of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling classes went on consolidating their political strangle-hold on the smaller peoples in Pakistan, a view to facilitating seizure by them of the economics of these peoples and harnessing the same totally to their own use. It was during this period that the Muhajir-Punjabi Army officers and civil servants in particular and the Muhajir-Punjabi elite in general fattened and batted to the extent that they over-spilled their limits. The phenomenon of 23 families monopolizing bulk of wealth in Pakistan was the product of these times.

It was during these days that even the mention of the word "Sindh" was held to be an offence. The Muhajir-Punjabi oriented propaganda with slogans of Muslim-nation Islamic Raj Ideology of Pakistan etc. was to full blast, depressing the mind of the Sindhi people into indifference or hopelessness about the cause of Sindh. On the writer's release from jail in May, 1966, we examined this situation, and gave shape to a group of workers calling it "Bazme-Soofia-Sindh" (The Council of Sindh Mystics) and under its auspices, addressed ten public gatherings anniversaries (Melas) of leading mystic saints in different parts of Sindh, from June to December 1966. At these gatherings, we sang, discussed and talked about patriotism in the context of Sindh, Hindu-Muslim Unity, tolerance, national interest of the Sindhi people and so on. The Sindhi Vadera, officer, and traders had, no doubt, mostly entered in to an equation of service dependence and yes-men-ship with their Muhajir-Punjabi masters. Many of them served as their conscious agents, working probably against the national interest of the Sindhi people. But the urge for freedom and spirit of self-respect and communal harmony had, fortunately remained in tact among the broad masses of the people. Bazm gathering, therefore, aroused very enthusiastic response among the Sindhi people and attracted huge audience everywhere. The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling circles not take long to move in. They declared the Bazm illegal, and put a ban on all its gatherings, and the writer along with several of his associates including Shaikh Ayaz, the national poet of Sindh and comrade Hyder Bux Jatoi and other were arrested and put into jail. General Mohammed Moosa, the Governor of West Pakistan addressing soon after meeting, petulantly declared that he had sent Hyder Bux Jatoi to jail and issued instructions for subjecting him to strict treatment under jail manual, because the man had composed poems in praise of Sindh, and was thus spreading provincialism in Pakistan! In fact he would not mind if such a fellow died in the Jail. The General then, in a self-poised mood, disclosed that he had also placed G.M. Sayed, the arch enemy of One-Unit, under house arrest, and issued orders that he should not be moved to any city, outside of his village even on medical grounds. This attitude to us, one of the Muhajir-Punjabi top gendarmes reflect the General's working of the mind of the entire ruling clique and their masters towards Sindh and the Sindhi people.

Thus those of us who were born and bred in Sindh, were aware of the five thousands years old glorious part of Sindh, had concern in the preservation of the culture, language and economic and political interests of Sindh, had our graveyards and mausoleums in Sindh where our ancestors lay buried, had acquired the message of love and humanity which the poets and the divinely just men in Sindh had given us, had heard and absorbed in our veins songs of love for mother land, which our mothers, while holding us at breast and our sisters on happy occasions, of marriage sang to us, and had thus come to acquire a love for our homeland, which was so full and all-absorbing when we saw people from outside not only exploiting Sindh and usurping its lands, services, trade workshops and work factories etc, but even trying to efface its history, traditions, culture and language; when we saw them hating the very name of Sindh, calling the Sindhi people donkey-drivers and camel-herds and punishing any one who so much has brought the word "Sindh" on his lips. When we saw our poets who sang in praise of Sindh being banned from the Radio and TV and arrogantly kept away from official gatherings; when we saw Sindhi writers, teachers and officers transferred to distant places superseded and even dismissed from services on slightest of suspicion of loyalty to Sindh; then even though our selfish

Pirs, Mirs, politicians and Vaderas and officers could not feel the sense of shame or realize the gravity of the loss, there were some amongst us, yet who felt our hearts seared and our souls put aflame.

At the start, we took certain officers to be responsible such things and began fighting against them as a remedy it. But finding the situation not only persisting but also aggravating at every succeeding period, we succeeded in detecting the hidden hand behind the phenomenon. We saw at t that it was in fact the joint Muhajir-Punjabi exploitative crest that was responsible for the situation. The persons exercising power at a time, the Governor General or the president, Ministers and officers and other, were all mere "Show-boys" or tools or that joint concern of the Muhajir-Punjabi *Samraj*, in Pakistan. And this Axis of the two exploitative Interests could not have struck their foothold the soil of our homeland, had not there been a Pakistan. The twenty-six years long history of Pakistan was spread out before us, as clearly as the palm of our hand. Was there any possibility of any change for the better for our purposes? No, not any that we could see. Things, on the contrary, went on turning from bad to worse. The hard real experiences taught us that the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests would never give up or relax in their hostility to Sindh, and would never stop exploiting the Sindhi people as long as Pakistan lasted. The stem of love for Pakistan thus dried up and its leaves withered away and its roots were burnt to cinders in our hearts, never again to be revived or resuscitated.

The ruling classes were blind in their over-weeping sense of power. They could not measure up the conditions properly. They always tried to keep the Sindhi people in check by three methods; force, enticement and propaganda. They could not imagine that all people could not be held under subjection by these methods.

At last, being forced by experience, they dissolved One Unit and restored the provinces in West Pakistan. Presently, they are engaged in tile exercise of maintaining their stranglehold on Sindh by keeping a Sindhi as the President or the Prime Minister of Pakistan. They must however, know that if Sindh could produce traitors like Chanesar, Jam Froze, Naunmal, Jinnah and Bhutto, it has also given birth to its devoted and loyal sons like Dodo, Darya Khan, Makhoom Bilawal, Hoshoo, Hamoon Kalani, Hyder Bux Jatoi, Allah-Bux Soomro, Shaikh Abdul Majeed, G.M. Sayed and others, who could never be intimidated or tempted to betray their motherland of Sindhu, whatever be the force, whatever be the enticement.

The ruling interests in Pakistan could thus deceive the people for some time by means of high-pitched emotional slogans and strong propaganda and continue their rule through general Ayub Khan. But when the people woke up from the trance and saw through the facade of tall talk, and became restive, the General pushed the country into war on Kashmir with India, Getting badly mauled, and having taken the country to the brink of disaster, the arm" withdrew from the war through intercession, on arrangement, of the United Nations organization Later there was the Tashkent Treaty, which exposed the entire deception and futility of the war to the people. When Ayub Khan saw the people s anger mounting against him, and the conditions in the country getting out of his hands, he stepped down from the pedestal, handing over the mantle of power to his next in Command General Yahya Khan.

The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests ruled the country, from the very beginning, through civil and army officers cost as their pliable and obedient instrument for exercise of power in defense and support of their exploitative hold over the smaller and weaker peoples in Pakistan. Under the circumstances leading to replacement of General Yahya Khan by General Yahya Khan, the masters of the show advised the new General to execute the following measures to serve as safety valves for the mass resentment that had gathered during the Ayubian rule, as also strategically other wise necessary for the ruling axis.

- (1) Releasing the political detainees.
- (2) Dissolving One-Unit and restoring the original provinces.
- (3) Holding of new elections.
- (4) Ensuring success of Peoples Party under Bhutto in West Pakistan, and particularly in Sindh by mobilizing support of Zamindar, Pirs, and Officers for it as against the Sindh nationalist party, the Sindh Mutahidah Mahaz.

The scheme of the masters did not somehow work according to plan. In East Pakistan, the Awami League, a thoroughly nationalist party, swept the polls, winning cent percent of the seats both in the Central as well as the Provincial Assemblies. In the west, quite effective contingents of nationalist members were sent up in the NEWF and Baluchistan provinces. Under these conditions, Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests grew apprehensive power at the Center slipping out of their hands in to the hands of the nationalists. To obviate this possibility, tackled Mr. Bhutto and made him declare that unless he was made a co-sharer in the Central Government, he will stage a revolt and would not participate in the work of Constituent Assembly. Using this declaration of Mr. Bhutto as a pretext; General Yahya Khan at once postponed the Constituent Assembly which he had already summoned, and simultaneously started flying troops and equipment to East Pakistan. As a smoke-screen to this move, they opened political negotiations with the majority party leader Shaikh Mujibur Rehman, and kept the same going till they found the armies there well placed and well-supplied for action. They then suddenly called off the negotiations, imposing martial law on the country and started their bloody massacre in East Pakistan as a pacification campaign against what they termed to be the miscreants of Bangla Desh. The heinous crimes against humanity that the military men committed against the defenseless civilian population are today well known to the world. The forces of truth and justice at last won in this unequal fight by the sheer courage desperateness with which they fought their battle of From Bangla Desh thus won its freedom from the tyranny and exploitation of the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis forever.

The ruling classes now found Yahya Khan to be a liability The people could tolerate him no longer. They brought in Mr. Bhutto as his successor. Military dictatorships had ceased paying dividend any further. It was time despotism in the grab of democracy was once again tried in what remained of Pakistan. There could be no more appropriate tool than Mr. Bhutto for such a type of rule by the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis in the four provinces that had been left with them after their debacle in East Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto, after getting installed into power, started serving his masters with alacrity and faithfulness typical of a household servant, who knows no joy greater than the pleasure of his masters, provided they kept him in their service. He would allow no scruple however, noble or high to restrain him from performing the meanest of the job that they may anytime summon him to tackle. So far as Sindh is concerned, Mr. Bhutto has already totally pledged it with his masters as tile price for the privilege of being their first slave. His exemplary services to his masters at the cost of Sindh have already been described in some details elsewhere in this book.

The election manifesto on the basis of which Shaikh Mujibur Rehman won his land-slide victory in the General elections in East Pakistan, consisted of the following six Points: -

Point No. I

The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan, in the true sense, on the basis of Lahore Resolution of 1940 and Parliamentary form of government with supremacy of Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. The above point, in short, visualized:

1. Pakistan to be a Federation;
2. The Federation to consist of autonomous, self-governing states based on Lahore Resolution.
3. Government in the Federation to be of Parliamentary form, responsible to the elected members of Legislature, and
4. The Legislatures to be directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Point No.2

The Federal Government of Pakistan shall deal with only two subjects, viz.

- (i) Defense, and
- (ii) Foreign Affairs.

Point No.3

Separate currencies for the provinces may be introduced; **or** In case of one currency, effective constitutional provisions should be made and separate Reserved Banks should be maintained to stop flight of capital from one province to another.

Point No.4

The power of taxation and revenue collection shall rest with the federating Units and the Federation will have a share in the state taxes for meeting its required expenditure. The merits of this point were the following: -

1. We were to save the double expenses otherwise being incurred on maintaining separate departments and offices to impose and to collect taxes.
2. Every province will levy taxes best suited to its conditions and circumstances.
3. Our province (for example) earns most of the customs duty and Income Tax, but its earnings were spent by the Center and on development of other provinces. In the case of Defense and Foreign affairs, we contributed large amounts towards expenses thereof than what we gained from them directly or indirectly,
4. By vesting the provinces with powers to impose and collect taxes, the difference and disparity in the burden of Central-taxation from province to province shall come to an end.
5. The Provinces would then be entitled to ask for benefits proportionate to their contributions.

This is not a new idea either. Before 1900 A.D. provinces in India had all powers of taxation vested in them and they only used to make fixed contributions of funds to the Center. The two leading Federations of the world, the U.S. and the USSR follow this system of taxation as between their constituent states and the Federal Center.

The disadvantages of the present arrangement in Pakistan besides imposition thereby of iniquitous economic burdens on the provinces are firstly inescapability of the danger of frequent interference by the Center in the affairs of provinces, and secondly, the possibilities of some provinces benefiting at the cost of others.

Point No.5

Every province shall have its own separate account of foreign exchange earnings, and of one province would not be spent for the benefit of any other province. As a result of this;

1. Earnings of each province shall be under the control of its own government.
2. All the provinces proportionate to their populations shall meet Foreign Exchange requirements of the Federal Government.
3. Indigenous products shall move free of duty between Federating Units so that any province can sell its surplus goods to any neighboring province, with ease and without any hindrance from center, and the provinces shall not suffer from any discriminatory permit system or Excise duty.
4. Constitutionally the provincial government shall be entitled to establish trade and commercial relations, and enter into agreements with foreign countries. During the last 23 years, the Central Government, having remained under the influence of a particular province and certain vested interests, some provinces remained undeveloped while other developed at a wasteful cost of millions of rupees.

Point No.6

Every province shall have the right to raise its own Militia for looking after its internal and external security.

This would bring the following advantages:-

- I. The Police force is not always sufficient to deal with law and order situations arising from eruption of local riots, strikes, etc. In such cases, the provincial governments generally have to request the Central Government for the aid of the army to reinforce the Police Force in controlling the situation. This paves way for involvement of the army in the internal situations of law and order in the country, and its readiness or efficiency and effectiveness as an instrument for external defense, suffers.
- II. Some of the provinces have virtually no representation in the countries armed forces. When they make a grievance of it, they get the reply that their People do not come forward for recruitment in the forces, and that they do not possess the required martial qualities either. To this contention, the peoples of such provinces have following arguments: -

- a. The recruiting and the training officers belong to a particular province, and it was their unsympathetic attitude, which was responsible for this lag.
- b. Some of the conditions of recruitment were such that the peoples of these provinces were not able to fulfil them due to their physical make-up.
- c. If they were to have their own militias, they would be able to overcome this lag, and their Jawans would not only be readily available to safeguard the borders of their country, whenever any occasion arises, but the provinces would also, thereby get their due share of representation in the Central Military force.

III. It has been proved from experiences of the past 23 years that for the support and protection of certain vested interests possessing a controlling away in the Central Government, there has been undue interference frequently in the affairs of the provinces and also impositions of dictatorial regimes through Martial Law, reducing all provincial autonomy to a farce. The Provincial Militias would ensure against these eventualities by providing necessary minimum safe guard to their respective home provinces.

We here in Sindh too pleaded for a similar constitutional status for our homeland as Shaikh Mujeeb Rehman and his Awami League did for East Bengal. They won elections in Bangla Desh on this platform, which we lost them in Sindh. In our case, the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis with our Pirs, Mullahs, Zamindars, and officers as their agents could bamboozle our, unawakened and unorganized masses into voting for Bhutto and his party-this time deceiving them on perfuse verbiage of socialism added to the old catchy Slogans Islam, Islamic Raj etc, etc. The ruling Axis did not, however, transfer power even to the Awami League of Mujeeb Rehman, which as the single majority party elected to the national Assembly was otherwise entitled to it, and instead pushed the country into Civil War, thereby compel mg Bengal to leave Pakistan. The ruling Axis, infect were not concerned about anything, not even about the integrity of the country about which they never tired of shouting their only concern was about the protection of their exploitative interests in the country. On suffering ignominious defeat in the civil war, they quietly removed General Yahya Khan from power and installed Zulfikar Ah Bhutto in his place as their new agent.

On the out-break of the civil War, the writer was out of country, in the holly city of Madina, on his return he was immediately placed under house-arrest without preferring any charge against him. The Yahya regime lasted for eight months thereafter, and kept him under detention till the end. He was freed from house arrest one month after Mr. Bhutto took over as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of the country. As mentioned in chapter I above, the writer took opportunity of his birth day celebrations soon after, and put forth certain suggestions in his speech on the occasion to Mr. Bhutto. Mr. Bhutto however, did not take the suggestions favorably, and clamped him under house arrest immediately, where he continues with a very short respite between to remain to date.

Mr. Bhutto, to the best of his thinking has riveted the weaker links in the chain of slavery of the Muhajir-Punjabi Raj worn by the smaller peoples in Pakistan, and rendered it un-breakable. He takes pride, in this behalf in the constitution, which his party has imposed, on the country in complete violation of the election pledges to the peoples of Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto s constitution is indeed the warrant of authority for the fascistic rule of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests, but the smaller peoples of Pakistan take it to be the instrument of their slavery. The chains of slavery imposed on Sindh have been hardened by this constitution.

But these chains will break or will not break is not a matter to be decided by Mr. Bhutto or his masters. That is the matter to be decided by history. And it is history, which determines the destinies of nations, and has the right of opinion in the matters such as these.

As for the people of Sindh, they have indeed only two options open before them now. Mr. Bhutto's constitution leaves them no third way. They may either quietly accept their state of subjection under the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling elite and their native agents, or they may strike out for freedom through bloody revolt, bringing down the iron walls of raised round them so massively by the constitution.

It is no sin in Pakistan to change one's religion. It is no to put the reins of government under pressure from American Imperialists, in the hands of the traducers of the finality of emanation of prophet-hood in Islam. It is no to collect arms through war pacts with American Imperialism and utilize the same in crushing the freedom of indigenous peoples and for safe guarding the Muhajir-Punjabi rule of tyranny over them. It is no sin to strike bargains with the ruling circles in Iran and ensure supplies oil to Jews in Israel for their air bombing of Arab homes and to facilitate their criminal war against the brother Arab peoples. The ruling classes in Pakistan and their stooges are to drink, gamble, smuggle, profiteer and contaminate society to their heart's content. It is no crime to import hundreds of thousands of alien people and help them colonize Sindh by putting them in possession of lands, factories, services, all avenues of business and financial resources, and leave them free systematically to destroy the language, culture and the great historical traditions of the Sindhi people and to put their very existence as a people in jeopardy.

There is no check on the Muhajirs openly conspiring for dismemberment of Sindh and establishing their separate province as Muhajiristan in cynical defiance of all that there is in what they themselves proclaim to be the ideology of Pakistan. It is permissible to dub Sindhis nationalist workers as enemies of the country, and to incarcerate them in jails, and to subject them to tortures and to murder them in police custody. If however the Sindhi Governor and the Sindhi law Minister are abused humiliated and beaten inside the Karachi University in the presence of the Vice Chancellor the matter is to be hushed up neither any student is to be rusticated nor the vice Chancellor is to be disturbed. On the contrary, they are to be flattered and fawned upon with apologies with hands folded and head held low in servile objections. There is no sin or shame in all these things. They are all admissible and perfectly all right.

But the Sindhi nationalist minded students in the Sindh University have to be beaten rusticated thrust into jails and brutally tortured. If the lower courts or even Supreme Court, happen to order their release on bail they are to be done in again under freshly cooked up charges immediately they step out of the prison gates.

The Writer lives under house arrest, without trial, since 31st March 1973, under Defense of Pakistan Rules for the sin of having made the following address to the students of the Sindh University on the occasion of a Sindhi Evening arranged by them in Hyderabad.

"Dear young Friends: - To celebrate an evening with you is to rejuvenate oneself in this killing atmosphere of hypocrisy and brutishness. On occasions, such as these, one would like to say out and also listen to what hearts may have to speak to hearts.

"I had informed you on the 4th March, 1973 that time was soon to come when you may have to face burdens of heavy responsibilities, and you have to prepare yourself for the same. Only the persons of ability and grit will come out successful from the test. It was easy to go to jail and to suffer *Lathi* blows on the bare body, when it comes to that. But to carry the load of national responsibility was a difficult task. For the fulfillment of the task,

you had to create a band of devoted workers, who could understand the social economics and political problems confronting Sindh, and, after thus clearing their own minds, could enlist increasing number of comrades to join them in the struggle for the national salvation of Sindh.

"You have to study the following problems of your people and to form your correct conclusion about them

1. The National Ideology: -

After Knowing and understanding various aspects of national ideology you have to accept one concept with the exclusion of all the others. "With due thought and deliberation, I, on my part, have arrived at the conclusion that the people of Sindh are a separate nation by virtue of their distinct language, culture, historical traditions and their identity of political and economic interest and are therefore fully entitled, on the basis of right of self determination of nations, to decide the question of their political, economic and cultural freedom and that of their future growth and development.

2. Sindhi Desh:-

"Through the ages in the history of the South Asian sub-continent, our mother land this land of Sindhu, the Sindhu-Desh has remained a separate, and like any other country in the world has the right to decide its own future. "The name "Sindhu Desh is no new term for us. Quite a number of newspapers, printing presses, factories and other social and cultural institutions in Sindh were named after this word, in the pre-partition days as an exact synonym of the word "Sindh" in its territorial constitution.

(3) Sindhi Language: -

"Since times immemorial Sindhi has remained the language of Sindh. It is the oldest and the richest of all the indigenous languages in Pakistan, and has, therefore, the right to be the official and national language of the country.

(4) The Constitution: -

"To understand the problem of constitution making facing the people of Pakistan it has to be first decided whether the constitution is to be framed on the basis of one-nation or four nations. In the first case the Sindhi People will be reduced to a minority and will have to live under subordination to the majority province. In the second case, no constitution could be adopted without the free and unfettered consent of the Sindhi people. Under the One-Nation concept: -

- a. The majority province i.e. the Punjab on strength of numbers, wealth and superiority in services, its permanent hegemony over Sindh and will rule Sindh with Sindh own resources which it shall exploit as it wills.
- b. The lands, services, industry and the wealth of Sindh as a whole will remain subjected to appropriation by people from other provinces in Pakistan.

- c. The Sindhi people would never be freed from the trap of Pakistan Ideology and the deception of Islamic constitution and the strong center.
- d. The flight of capital from Sindh to other provinces would remain unchecked to the detriment of Sindh's own economy.
- e. The Foreign Exchange, the Foreign Trade Banking, the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs, the Radio and Television the Mines and all institution controlling of the country will be under the direct control of the central administration.
- f. Apart from defense, foreign affairs of country the rest of the subject, and departments otherwise under the jurisdiction of the provinces, shall always remain open to the interference of control of the Central Authority, reducing provincial autonomy to a facade.
- g. The Sindhi people could be represented on the Central Assembly on the basis of their numerical strength only.
- h. The Sindhis would rarely obtain more than 1 % of the jobs in central services as at present.
- i. The officer caste represented in the Civil Service will work under the Central Authority, and through them, Provincial Autonomy shall always remain attenuated to a lifeless force as before.
- j. Urdu, an alien language will be the national language of the country.
- k. The obnoxious combination of religion and politics will hold on, contaminating as here-to-fore the life's roots in Pakistan.
- l. Pakistan's state policy of confrontation and hostility as regards the neighboring countries shall remain unchanged.
- m. The peoples from other provinces in Pakistan shall enjoy full liberty to colonize Sindh as they do now.
- n. The country would never see the light and enjoy the blessings of Socialism.

(5) Sindhi Culture: -"Sindh has its history of over five thousands years. The Sindhi people have built their national characters and developed their culture on the background of that history. These are the living elements of their national heritage. To forget these and to get absorbed in the rootless culture of the migrant populations from outside would be suicidal for the Sindhi people.

(6) Exploitation: -

The Sindhi people will have to be very clear in their mind as to the vested interests, which exploit them. They ought to know that it is the Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests who have suppressed their political freedom, are sitting tight over their economic resources and intend subverting their culture. They have to take care of this

menace to their national existence and get over with it, if they intend to survive as an honorable and self-reliant people in the world.

(7) Nationalism: -

"I have always said that we believe the Sindhi people to be a separate nation. We have however, to discover the basic principles of our Sindhi nationalism. According to me those principles could be the following: -

1. Belief in Sindh as a separate country.
2. Belief in Pakistan not as one country but as a group of four countries.
3. Belief in the Sindhi people as a separate nation on basis of homeland, language, cultures historical traditions and identity of political and economic interest.
4. Belief in the right of the Sindhi nation to decide their future as a people.
5. Belief in the fact that ideology of Pakistan and concepts of Islamic Raj, Strong Center and National Interests of Pakistan are the greatest obstacles in the way of the realization of Sindhi nationalism.

(8) Secularism: -

"Systems of government throughout the world are based on secularism. In Pakistan, however the ruling Vested Interests have all the time been imposing on the simple illiterate masses by crying hoarse about Islamic Raj, just for the sake of diverting their attention from the real problems of poverty, ignorance and disease facing the country. They masquerade before the people as upholders and harbingers of Divine Raj, of Islam in order to provide a cover for their rapacious exploitation of the people.

(9) Democracy: -

"The real democracy in the context of Pakistan, has to guarantee the following

No nation must dominate any other nation on the strength of its number or through superiority in wealth or education.

- o No group, class or section of people must exploit any other group; class or section of people, all persons in the country must have guaranteed equality of rights and opportunities.
- o The Mullah and the Pir must be debarred from participation in the politics of the country.

(10) Socialism: - "All means of production, distribution and exchange shall be under the control of the people s Government, which shall exercise that control of the collective good of the people. All avenues of individual or class exploitation shall be closed. Socialism has its theoretical roots in reason and derives its justification from the concrete realities of the world. Religions hold protections for individual and class privilege, and as such

always stand as obstacles in the way of attainment of socialism every where. There is no such thing as Islamic Socialism in the world.

(11) Islamic Constitution and Islamic Form of Government: - "Constitutions of countries depend on prevailing social and economic conditions there. There is and can, therefore; be no Islamic constitution or Islamic form of government anywhere in the world-including Pakistan, where things are being shouted the loudest since its inception. Only the fools or the Khaire talk about them in the modern world.

(12) Nation Building: -"The Sindhi people, though otherwise fully entitled to be called a nation have yet certain obstacles to remove in order to attain total national integration-One such most formidable obstacle being the deep and yawning elite gap among them, for bridging this gap, the Mullah, the Pir and the Vadera among their middle class will have to be either eliminated or suppressed effectively as the leading elite which they today happen to be in the Sindhian Society.

(13) Pakistan and Sindh: - "Sindh can exist without Pakistan, but Pakistan cannot exist without Sindh. Pakistan s existence depends on how it s ruling Classes treat Sindh. If they don t revise their, attitude and accept the national existence of Sindh and the people and grant them their rights, no power on earth is going to save Pakistan.

(14) Political Parties in Pakistan: - "With the exception of "Jeay Sindh" and Khudai Khidmatgar s all the existing political parties in Pakistan are all Pakistan parties. Basically all of them are founded On the basis of the ideology of Pakistan which denies the separate existence of Sindh and other provinces. For a Sindhi nationalist to join any of these parties is for him to sign the death warrant of Sindh.

(15)Policies of Government :- "For examining and evaluating policies of different governments vis-a-vis Sindh, the Sindhi nationalists have of necessity to place before themselves certain criterions of judgement, which according to me, ought to be the following

- (a) No government basing its policies or programs on the ideology of Pakistan can ever do any good to Sindh.
- (b) A government that aims at establishment of the Strong Center will always be hostile to Sindh.
- (c) A government that believes in Islamic constitution or Islamic Rule would always prove harmful to Sindh.
- (d) No ruler in Sindh or Pakistan, who prefers power to principles, can ever prove to be the well wisher of Sindh.
- (e) A government that denies the principles of freedom of Sindhu Desh must ipso facto be treated as the enemy of Sindh.

(16) Pro-Sindh Foreign Policy: - "Of all the foreign countries, the U.S.A. for reasons of its global policy and particularly for lessening pressures on Israel, which is the Kingpin of its imperialist strategy Afro-Asian part of the world, aims at keeping India, and Pakistan at longer-heads with each others. Besides, for the sake of keeping the wheels of the arms countries running, America s ruling circles would like to manage small wars in the world. American imperialism has also to stand at the back of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling circles in Pakistan for using them as its call-boys in its confrontation with the USSR "China, for reasons of its nationalist strategy in Asia and the world, has taken up an anti-India position, and would therefore always supplement and reinforce

American Imperialist policy of stoking fires of state-to state hostility among countries in the South Asia subcontinent.

"This being the case, all pro-American and pro-china policies of the ruling cliques in Pakistan are bound to prove detrimental for the rights and interests of the Sindhi people. Friendly relations with Bharat, Bangla Desh, USSR, Afghanistan, Iran, and Arab countries will on the other hand, positively serve the Sindhi interests and must therefore be cultivated as assiduously as possible.

(17) Pan Islamism: - This idea has entirely gone stale and out of date. All foreign relations and out in the modern world must be founded on pan-secular grounds. To believe any further in Islamism would tantamount to entrapping the Sindhi people in the class intrigues of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests for hegemony of Pakistan and to fall in line with the Sindh American conspiracy to promote their exclusive national interests in the world.

(18) Ethics of Politics: -As it is necessary to chose and adopt principles in Politics, it is also necessary that one must act upon those principles. To expect any principle politics or any ethical conduct in the field from, those who are not able to maintain moral integrity in their personal life, is expecting the impossible. Opportunism and somersaults in politics may bring temporary benefits to the individuals concerned. Such a policy, however, it is bound to prove fatal for the genuine and the long term good of nations and countries.

(19) Intelligence and ability: - No individual group or nation could deserve to rule unless it cultivates and acquires intellectual ability and merit. Without such ability and merit, all power and authority even if acquired somehow, is bound to vanish into thin air like a bubble under a whiff. If, therefore, you desire to be the masters in your country and inherit its greatness, you must develop political character and consistently try to attain excellence of ability and merit.

(20) Politicians: - There are two types of politicians; one, the practical politicians, who sacrifice principles for acquisition of temporary success of power; two, the idealist politicians who set before themselves certain principles for the collective good of the country and of the people, and shape their own political conduct and admonish others to pursue their course accordingly. For them, temporary success or power at the cost of principles has no meaning.

"These and many such questions are there about which you have to be very clear in your mind. Instead of going forth huffishly from your schools and colleges, supporting or opposing government politics or those of the Opposition parties. It would be better that you may first divert your efforts at properly informing and educating your own minds and that of your student brotherhood on these problems of very grave and far-reaching importance to your people. I invite you to form groups of 12 students each and meet at my village Sann for 7 days courses of study and discussions for gaining insight into these and other problems and principles of politics and of ethics of which the present day politics of power stands totally shorn off to the shame of us all.

My young friends, I wish you well and my good-bye to you "Jeay Sindh."

In a democracy, the people have a fundamental right to associate freely and to express freely on national problems. There could be no restriction even on apostasy. But here in Pakistan, its Muhajir-Punjabi Ruling Interests have so effaced these basic human rights that if some one as much as even whispers out his political views which are non-

conformist to those of the ruling class, not only his views are rejected in a huff, but he himself is whisked off to what they learnt from their British Imperialist masters to call "protective detention". The writer continues since to be in such a detention, for the crime of his non-conformity, for the crime of his assertion of the inalienable rights of freedom and Sovereignty of his people and of his motherland. Mr. Bhutto, the President of Pakistan and now its Prime Minister, even though he is a Sindhi, has no power or freedom to release the writer from detention, since he very well knows that all his power and position is at the sufferance of the Muhajir-Punjabi Imperialists who would not approve any such step on his part.

As a matter of fact, together with democracy rule of law has become the second biggest causality in Pakistan. What to speak of political opponents, for whom there is always one or the other law-less laws on hand to keep them deprived of their liberty. Even the plain, ordinary citizens are caught tortured and physically eliminated at the instance of petty officials of the ruling party, who are out to settle personal scores with individuals with whom they may be involved in a feud or vendetta. The entire machinery of law and order is at the back and call of the Party bosses for these purposes. They terrorize their enemies get them thrust into jails, their standing crops, shops and houses burnt, and get in killed through their *patharies* or private bands of desperadoes or even through the police. Judiciary has been reduced to the position of a pliable tool in the hands of the top men of the ruling party. There has been an instance, a District Sessions Judge was taken straight from his in court and bundled into jail under Defense of Pakistan rules, It has become almost a universal view in the country there is no law and no justice in Pakistan. Peoples faith these two institutions of civilized living have almost totally eared. No one, not even the police or any other department of government seems to be interested in the enforcement of law, All are out to snatch benefits and grab advantage by subverting it.

Pakistan has been given the name and title of an "Islamic Republic". But who are the men in charge of it? Almost out exception, certainly those who indulge in adultery, gambling drinking, tyranny, decrepit and lying. I am basically a religious minded person. In the first wall poster heralding the idea of Pakistan among the people in Sindh, I had said vide its item no 3 that "The reins of government under the Islamic State shall be in the hands of true and pious Muslims". Item 6 of the poster proclaimed that "There would be no gambling, no adultery, no drinking and no usury in Pakistan". But what do we actually see around ourselves in this Islamic State? Exactly the opposite of these goodly things; but the name of Islam is all the same used for labeling these very things as Islamic.

If today I am opposing Pakistan, the main cause for it is that through its existence today, in the words of Hazrat Allama I. I. Kazi. "The entire program of life as adumbrated in the Holy Qura'an is being debased and falsified". Under Present conditions, continuance of Pakistan instead of serving Islam is only effectively destroying it.

Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ah Jinnah was a Sindhi, but the lure of power and fame blinded him to the duty to his motherland, and he willfully threw Sindh to the wolves. His was the chief leading role in the establishment of Pakistan the empire of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests, which he administered as their agent to the utmost detriment of Sindh. Qaid-e-Azam Zulfikar Ali Bhutto too is a Sindhi. He has attained the top political position in Pakistan because of Sindh He is determined to hold that position at the cost of Sindh. For faithfully serving his masters, he is administering their empire fully resolved that Sindh, his motherland has to observe and subserve the interest of that empire and therefore, as a part of the Policy of his government, it is taken for granted that Sindh has no independent interest other than what devolves on it by virtue of its state of subservience to the empire.

Mr. Jinnah threw over board the ideology of Pakistan as a totally risky ballast for the pirate ship of Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism that had already developed leaks in its hold. Liaquat Ah Khan learned over and put the arm loads of it back to where it was, and made his Muhajir compatriots from India Stand guard over it in return for the most favored

treatment as one of the two marshalling gang on board. The Punjabi vested interests being the elder gang, not alarmed, and immediately restored the advantage to its side under Ghulam Mohammed. The happy balance was struck under General Ayub, who threw open additional sources of loots to the two parties in piracy in the shape of what his political and economic advisors termed "the Economic Prosperity of Pakistan", but which actually amounted to deprivation of the weaker people of all that belonged to them. Mr. Bhutto s being only the continuation of the policies of the Ayubian rule, the word socialism is being labeled now, under his Raj, along with the word Islam, on the piratical goods which the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests are gathering to their side in the name of National prosperity. The nation being only they themselves and none others in Pakistan. This type of over reaching sharpness has already cost Pakistan half of it. The lands of Baluchistan and Paktoonistan are already in a ferment. There is the lava agitating and burning under the surface in Sindh. How long is the lid going to hold?

It is no use, of course, to expect a rational response from Bhutto to the situation, since he is hardly free agent himself. We would therefore prefer addressing a few words to ruling elite of the Muhajir vested interests. It is possible it they, keeping aside for some time their power inflated ego, may yet consider these questions coolly:

- I. You and we both claim to be attached to Islam, as our common faith, though there is a considerable difference between us in its doctrinal interpretation, political strategy and tactics.
- II. You and we both had made collective efforts for the establishment of Pakistan, but experience has proved that our purposes and aspirations in it were different.
- III. It would be pointless to deny that many of you having centuries old ancestral connections with the Iranian and Mughal imperialist administrations and with literary and cultural atmosphere of these courts, are men of high civilization and culture. Many of you are also highly skilled in arts and crafts, and in trade and business. Your existence, therefore, in any society ought to be a matter of advantage and pride for it.
- IV. You must be aware that the nationality conscious elements of the people of Sindh are at present dissatisfied with you. Have you given a thought to this problem, in order to know as to why it is so?
- V. Do you know that in my welcome address the 1943, sessions of All India Muslim League at Karachi while speaking about the past of Sindh, I had invited men of talent and ability from amongst you to come to Sindh and assist the Sindhi people in their various fields of life.
- VI. It is possible that many of you might be wondering over the change, and have not understood the reasons for it. Let me give you some of the reasons:-
 - o We had invited you as our comrades and companions, and not as those who would teach us what Islam is, and exploit us, and would be our mentors, would claim to civilize us, would impose Urdu language on us, and would strive to rule over us in position of exploitative vested interest.
 - o We have thorough experience got dis-encharnted with you, because of the following things:
 - (i)Your obsession, with the concept of separate Muslim nation-hood.
 - (ii) Your concept of one-nation and one country for Pakistan.
 - (iii) Your state of self-illusion regarding Islamic Constitutions and Islamic system of government.
 - (iv) Your intention and desire to impose Urdu on us.

- (v) Your insatiable desire for economic exploitation.
- (vi) Your notions of cultural superiority and social exclusiveness.

VII. It is possible, some of you may ask to know as to how and by what efforts on your part, could there be an understanding for mutually harmonious living between you and the Sindhi people. So far as I have considered the problem I have reached the following conclusions on it.

- (i) You may give up your belief in separate Muslim nation-hood and absorb yourselves in the nationalist milieu of Sindhi culture and language.
- (ii) You may join us in ending Pakistan and in establishing independent and sovereign state of Sindhu Desh.
- (iii) You may retain Urdu as your language at homes. You may even study Urdu as your language in schools, but you must accept Sindhi as a sole national language of Sindhu Desh.
- (iv) You may give up your illusions and empty talk about Islamic constitution, Islamic form of Government and pan Islamism, and instead join us in establishing a secular modern State in Sindh.
- (v) You may give up your anti-India obsessions and for the sake of Asian Unity prepare your-selves for the unity of Bharat, Bangla Desh, Sindhu Desh, Afghanistan, Iran, Arab lands all as custodians of high spiritual values and for forward looking understanding with the USSR as the vanguard of Western civilization.
- (vi) You may cultivate conviction in your mind about the international mission of Sindh for serving interests of World Peace and Universal Brother-hood of man, and join us in the accomplishment of that mission.

VIII. It is possible that you may not accept the above suggestions which we have given in all sincerity for your consideration, and you may reject them because of your arrogance and airs of superiority and self righteousness in which you habitually live. In that case, you may know that there could be no understanding between you and the people of Sindh, and you may have to prepare yourselves to hear the terrible verdict of history about you. You have already left India, and the only place of further refugee for you, in the words of General Mohammed Ayub Khan, "may be Arabian Sea". You cannot be saved from this calamity by Bhutto's chance relation-ship with you, nor by your placation of Pir pagaro, nor by your alliance with the Punjab power elite not even through the "fatwas" of Maulvi Maudoodi.

The slogans and deceptive banners of Islam, socialism, Pakistan, pan-Islamism etc, are not going to work with the peoples of Sindh any more. You may please know that the nationally conscious Sindhis now prefer Raja Dahar to Ibn-I-Kasim. To them Dad Jethmal is a more dear and near person than your Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan. They hold Shri Jai ramdas in far greater esteem than Liaquat Ah Khan.

IX. It appears that extremist elements among you are now engaged in an efforts to remove Bhutto even though he faithfully carries out your desires and to foist the military rule on the country again. They believe that thereby they would be able to have the entire nationalist leadership eliminated and, as a result, to get their imperialist hold irrevocably established in Pakistan. It seems they have already forgotten the experience of Bangla Desh. Let them go through the experience again if they so desire. This time, the result that is bound to follow would spell the doom of not only the show-boys, but along with them, that of the entire hordes of the Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests, including Pakistan, the safest and the richest hunting ground for their predatory exploits in which they have engaged without any lit or hindrance from the very start.

The one fundamental fact of the situation in Pakistan is that the people living here are not one nation, nor are their interests common or identical. Mr. Bhutto in his turn may by all means keep himself in illusions on this score. He may well speak to exhaustion in the name of the non-existent Pakistani people and feel safe that the people being with him, no body is going to dislodge him. But he is wrong and his calculation would not stand the test. To please his Pakistan people he even proclaims himself to be the champion of Islam, democracy and socialism. But all the three claims of his are baseless which being, even otherwise contradictory interests are not going to serve any body's purpose except Mr. Bhutto's machiavellism of saying all the things to every body without meaning anything to any body.

Mr. Bhutto ought to realize that the interests of the Muhajir-Punjabi ruling classes, which he finds himself, obliged to protect at present, and those of the constituent smaller nations of Pakistan are mutually exclusive and contradictory. It does not matter that their oppressed nations have not been able yet to fully mobilize themselves internally nor have they succeeded in mustering external support for joining the fight, decisively for their liberation. The fact of the de-facto existence of these nations and their distinct interest cannot however, be denied by any means. The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests cannot succeed to keep them suppressed or in subjection, for long. By intimidating, or even liquidating Khan Wali Khan, Attaullah Khan, Khair Bakhsh Khan and G.M. Sayed, the existence or the urge for freedom of these nations cannot be ended or destroyed.

Every act of tyranny and despotism creates its reaction in the shape of resistance, mental as well as physical. Nothing can be attained permanently through violent or fascistic means. The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests would not like West Pakistan for that is all that now remains of it one-national state under the one Party rule with the fascistically groomed Control government, with Mr. Bhutto seated at the top, wielding the scepter on their behalf and breaking the skulls of the smaller nations that may raise in heads against such a nice arrangement. But this is no strategy for the Muhajir-Punjabi regime in Pakistan. Jinnah sat at the top of such an arrangement in the fanfare of popular acclaim. Liaquat Ali Khan held the same scepters as rightful wielder of it with unstinted backing of the civil service and his advancing migrant brother-hood. General Ayub Khan took his turn with full military support to perform the job of holding the fort. But of them could neither unite Pakistan nor consolidate it. Each one of these stalwart supporters of the Rule on the contrary, could only witness an increasing weakening of the foundations of the edifice. This was none of their fault either. It was the edifice itself that was inherently a faulty, founded as it was on very shaky and uncertain ground. The country was an amalgam of nations each with specific interests of its own, whom the Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests planned to dominate and exploit. This inherent contradiction between the alien ruling interests and the national interests of the smaller and weaker nations in the amalgam made it impossible for the country to know peace.

In face of this cancerous formation in the body-politics of Pakistan, none could succeed to give unity, integrity or stability to the country. Mr. Bhutto, on the contrary came to the task with certain irreparable handicaps. He hails from the province whose people are weak and backward. He does not command full backing of the Civilian or the armed services of the country. He cannot win or retain confidence of any one of the constituent peoples of Pakistan including his masters belonging as he does to one of the smaller peoples who are oppressed and exploited the most by the alien ruling interests at whose command he operates.

Finding him useful for the time being, he has been promoted to the position of supreme power by the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests, but they would not hesitate for a moment to pull him down, when they see him no more able to answer their purpose.

I have enumerated somewhere above the hopes and aspirations of the Sindhi people which they had associated with Pakistan and also the trials and tribulations which they have-actually borne under it. Reviewing all that has since passed before us, I have arrived at the following conclusions

- (1) Not a single hope or aspiration with which Pakistan was formed has materialized.
- (2) The smaller nations, particularly the Sindhi people have suffered the most under Pakistan.
- (3) Pakistan was established for the rule of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests, and it is being run for the sole benefit of those interests.
- (4)The ruling class in Pakistan denies the existence of the anciently established nations in order to serve its own interests. It desires to rule in the name of the self-constituted country and a self-conceived nation. Since no such a country and no such nation has ever existed in history, this contrivance based on illusory foundations as it is, cannot work.
- (5)The ruling class in Pakistan aims at destroying thousands of years old nations and countries for the sake of its class interests, in defiance of all lessons of history. Since its plan is contrary to the facts of history, it is bound to fail.

Considering these things, I believe that the condition of Pakistan is that of sick person, which has been lying on its deathbed for the last 26 years. Its well wishers, now, are heard openly praying for its quick and easy death.

With this condition of its health, it has now become impossible for Pakistan to survive. Its rulers have lost their common sense and have gone crazy. They are not ready to listen to any advice for its betterment or welfare. It is the duty of the sincere well wishers of the country; therefore to put it on the operation table, so that it could be rearranged into independent and sovereign states as originally planned. The emerging independent states would then be left free to establish mutual relations among themselves that may suit them in accordance with their best interests. More they are kept together forcibly under one center lesser would be possibilities of their mutual co-operation in future.

CHAPTER V - Sindhudesh - The Prospects

I have stated above that Sindh is a country with roots in the past and there lives a historically evolved people in this land, who possess their distinct culture, language, and political economic identity of interests. On the other, hand Pakistan ad no history, and no country under such a name ever existed in the past. It is a freak that has cropped up under an intrigue.

I have also described the fantasies and dreams which accompanied the formation of Pakistan, and how all such dreams vanished in smoke, and Sindh and the Sindhi people had instead landed into the position of a colony under a vicious and ruthless imperialism that knows neither restraint nor humanity. We have been accordingly left with no option but to struggle for our political existence, economic prosperity and cultural advancement outside the frame work of Pakistan as it exists and functions today. As for as I can see, we have to face among others the following main obstacles, as we go along in our struggle for freedom

1. Accusations by the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests.
2. Incarcerations and police excesses.
3. Treachery and faithlessness by comrades.
4. Losses in the process of struggle.
5. Obstacles on the way of national unity and reconstruction after attainment of freedom.

I will first deal in general terms with some of our difficulties arising out of the above obstacles, before I discuss the gains and the blessings which freedom is bound to bring to our homeland and to our people.

It is not only the physical means those are used for gaining superiority and dominations on individuals and nations. The intellectual means prove even more efficacious for the purpose. Clever persons, classes and nations always first confuse and distort the minds of ignorant and backward people for gaining control over them. The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests first deceived the Sindhis, Baluchis, Pakhtoons, and Bengali peoples in the name of religion and established Pakistan. Later they tried to pull their mind to sleep under slogans of glory of Islam, Muslim Unity, Islami Raj and security of Pakistan, so that they would accept their political, economic and cultural enslavement without making much of a very face about it.

The ideological deceptions that the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests fashioned very carefully for use in this connection were as follows: -

- (1) That all persons living in Pakistan were one nation based on religion.
- (2) That Pakistan was the homeland of all the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent.
- (3) That Pakistan was brought into being in order to unite all the Musalmans of the world.
- (4) That Pakistan shall become an ideal Islamic State to be run under an Islamic constitution.
- (5) That Pakistan has to perform the role of saving Islam and the Musalmans of the world.

Although these and such other deceptions of the Muhajir-Punjabi exploitor have been already discussed appropriately elsewhere in this book, it may not be out of place here to recount the same briefly in order to be able to keep a continuity of argument and to lend desired clarity to it.

I. PEOPLE LIVING IN PAKISTAN ARE A NATION

The plain answer to the specious claim is that they are not. Instead, they are an amalgam of four nations, each having a different body of interest than the other. The concept of Muslim nationhood based on religion is not in practice anywhere in the world. It was invented by the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests for establishing their fief in Pakistan for deceiving smaller peoples living there, into accepting subordination under it without demur. This concept nationhood is wrong and deceptive, defies history, and contravenes universally agreed principles of the United Nations Organization.

The concept is wrong because there have cropped up of sects in Islam which stand in conflict with one another. Each of the sects believes the other to be not only wrong but also summarily conscionable to hell. Musalmans have indeed never remained agreed in the matter of their religious belief to live and act as one nation on that basis.

It is deceptive concepts because during the last thirteen years, they have not only never remained united but have always jumped at each others throats, fighting bitterly internecine, racial, religious and territorial wars. Poetically, they have always remained divided in to nations and countries. There are over forty of them living in the world today.

The concept defies historical reality in as much as the world tried several times to build nations on its basis but failed. Emperor Ashoka based on Buddhism, emperor Vikramaditya based on Hinduism, Popes based on Christianity, and Muslims through their institutions of Khilafat all tried to bind people into a unity based on religion. However, none succeeded. Finding it through experience to be a non-workable propositions the world finally gave up the attempt altogether and adopted secular approach, separating politics from religion, in the constitutions and administration of States and government.

The concept contravenes universally agreed principles of the United Nations organization in as much as none of its member nations, with the exception of Israel and Pakistan, treats itself a nation on this basis. The Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests in Pakistan, being vicious Money-grabbers as the Jews and claiming their right to appropriation and exploitations of lands and people in Pakistan on the basis of combines take their stand usurpation only, just as the Jews do in Palestine and in other Arab Lands, both the predatory on the common squalid theory of religious nationhood.

2. PAKISTAN WAS THE HOMELAND OF THE MUSLIMS OF INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT:

This is a wrong and baseless statement; Pakistan consists of *four* geographically distinct homelands of four historically established nations viz., the Punjabi, the Pakhtoons, the Baluchis, and the Sindhis. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested Interests imposed their over-lordship on these lands and people with the help and support of British Imperialism, and are maintaining it by means of force. The four original peoples living in Pakistan have a right to establish their separate independent and sovereign states in accordance with the right of self-determination of nations.

Concomitantly, Sindh is the homeland neither of all Musalmans, nor of Musalmans alone. It is the homeland of Sindhi Musalmans, Sindhi Hindus, Sindhi Christians, Sindhi Sikhs, and Sindhi Parsis. Sindh's distinctiveness, and its excellence, consists in the fact of its being the land holding in its embrace all the leading religions of the world and representing their unity. The truth and the light that is divinely present in them all.

The Musalmans migrants from Bharat have no right on Sindh, because the nationalist Sindhis Musalmans do not believe in religiously based nationhood, and consider it even contrary to the fundamental principles of Islam, and hold this very concept, as that of the Khilafat, to be responsible for the dissolution and downfall of the "Muslim" nations all over the world. They consider Khilafat an Islamism, and all other steps and institutions such as the recently collected Muslim Sarbrahi conference to be wrong and harmful for the promotion and betterment of Islam. Just as American seeks to strengthen and consolidate its Imperialism in Asia and Africa by helping Zionism similarly the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interest, by propping up Arab feudalism and by whipping up their peculiar brand of Islamism are only trying to strengthen and consolidate their exploitative class hegemony in Pakistan as well as in the under developed Muslim areas outside.

3. PAKISTAN WOULD BRING ABOUT UNITY OF THE MUSLIM COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

This argument too is totally wrong and misleading. No country can be Muslim, Hindu, or Christian in the strict sense terms. The citizens of countries are free to profess faith they in their individual discretion choose. People not born Muslims. "It is easy to style oneself a Muslim, to reach that high spiritual state of mind is not as simple". It is a risky proposition to consider the existing Muslim countries and States Islamic. Unity and alignment of countries on bases of religions is dangerous for religions themselves. The countries with Christian majorities are stronger in knowledge, wealth, industry and military preparedness and are more developed even culturally than the Muslim countries. Should consider unity and alliance based on religions advantageous for Christianity, they would certainly attain it. But all attempts to that effect made in the past, in certain quarters among them, miserably failed to prosper. Among Muslim countries too, all types of efforts at unity made through the institutions of Khilafat pan-Islamism or under emanations of promised Messiahs have so far led only to other splits among them. Government of Pakistan, which has failed to do justice even among the Nations living within borders and to unite them, can hardly be relied upon to unite the Muslim countries of the world. To talk of such a thing only speaks hypocrisy and deception. Its, only purpose to detract the mind of the peoples of Pakistan from their real problems and to establish the Muhajir-Punjabi hegemony Pakistan behind the mirage of hopes that it raises before them. There has been no unity among Musalmans during the 1300 years. Opportunists, normally weak, highly irreligious and self professed agents of imperialist interests as Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Ayub Khan and Bhutto have been known to be, could never bring about the world unity of Musalmans, however, friendly any body may see horizons for it.

The world knows that the ruling circles of Pakistan have irretrievably involved the country into Military pacts under American Imperialism. They receive arms from their masters and, with the aid of those arms, keep the smaller nations inside the borders suppressed and under intense state of exploitation. America today has three main bases for the protection of its imperialist policies in Asia, viz., Pakistan, Israel, and Turkey. The slogan of the unity of Islam or the Muslim countries through Pakistan could not therefore, be anything but a naivish piece of deception and chicanery.

4. PAKISTAN SHALL BE AN IDEAL ISLAMIC STATE

This talk of an Islamic constitution and an ideal Islamic state too is only a stratagem on the part of the Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interests to turn the attention of the Sindhi, Balochi, and Pakhtoon peoples from their struggle for freedom and self-reliance in their political, economic and cultural life. Firstly, there exists no where anything like Islamic constitution. Secondly, in the modern framework of human society, the ticlic of Islamic jurisprudence cannot work. Thirdly, for instituting an ideal government, the first prerequisite is that the people should be politically, economically and morally raised and galvanized to work for it. Fourthly, there is nothing like any specific Islamic politics and Islamic economics, for which an individual or a people could work. Fifthly, it is contrary to the very nature of international law of existence

that a country founded as Pakistan may unite, attain peace and exist as a stable political fact on the map of the world. I would dwell below on these five points to attain greater clarity: -

THE ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION

I have said that there exists nowhere anything like Islamic Constitution. Casting a glance on past history, we come across No Muslim country in which any government may have pursued its rule on the basis of any definitely or deliberately formulated constitution. For some time in the recent past, however, some of the Muslim countries have started adopting constitutions in imitation of the western countries. However, all such constitutions are secular and have nothing Islamic about them. There are more than 40 Muslim countries in the world today. None of these countries has a system even of a truly democratic government. None of them has made any Islamic constitutions nor does it claim to have made such a constitution for itself.

As stated elsewhere here, constitutions have to deal mostly with the problems such as the following:

- Basic right of citizens.
- Powers of Central Government.
- Powers of Provincial Governments, if there is any such government in a State structure.
- Powers of taxation, and distribution thereof between the Central and Provincial Government.
- Powers and functions of the legislative Executive and judicial wings of the State.
- Whether the constitution should be parliamentary dictatorial or of any other type.

For none of these problems of constitution, do we get any and specific guidance from the religion of Islam. It could indeed be said that formal constitution making for a state is a development of the modern time, and the society in Arab at the time of the rise and growth of Islam had not so evolved come mature as to be fit for a constitutional government. At present merely for the sake of raising quixotic windmills before the eyes of the gullible masses, following points have been included in the constitution of Pakistan.

- (a) The state shall be named and styled as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
- (b) The Head of the State shall be a Muslim.
- (c) The Pakistan Legislature shall not enact any law repugnant to Qura'an or the Sunnah

The discerning readers could easily see through the facetiousness of the cloaking resorted to in these provinces make the constitutions look Islamic. A person only in name a Muslim and in every thing else by his own definition, quite the opposite of it, becomes the Head of the State, the State assumes the name Islamic with nothing Islamic in practice in it but quite the opposite to it being the general rule inside it, including its Penal and criminal procedure codes standing based on as ancient and un-Islamic Law as the pre-Islamic and even pre-Christian Roman Law there could hardly be more ridiculous piece of chicanery and deception that going about proclaiming such a state as an ideal Islamic State!

ISLAMIC LAW

It is an accepted fact of modern society that civil administration has hardly anything to do with religion. The organization of government stands based on secular consideration. Under every secular government, the marriage law and the law of succession, in case of every religious community, derive their sanction from the jurisprudence of the religion of that community. The rest of all the laws relating to various departments of government, such as the Revenue, the Police, the Judiciary, Health, Agriculture, Forest, Excise and Taxation, the Defense, the Foreign affairs etc. are made or unmade on considerations of changing requirements of social life and national interests, and are so made or unmade through Legislative Assembly and Councils composed of democratically elected representatives of the people. Under these circumstances, if the principles of making and for enforcing religious laws are accepted the entire democratic state structure of modern society shall crumble to the ground. For, such an attempt would give rise to a host of controversies, leading to innumerable difficulties hardly admitting of any man made solutions.

The first question that will arise in such a case will be whether the requisite laws for the Islamic Rule shall be made by the democratically elected people's representatives or by the Mullahs. If the leaders of Religious opinion have to exercise that power, what part will the member of the popularly elected legislative assemblies play in that field. And then what particular sect of religious leaders will have the privilege to hold and exercise these law-making powers. Who will arbitrate and settle disputes arising among such religious legislatures within a sect or outside?

Secondly, there will also arise a question as to who would interpret and administer these religious laws whether the present courts of justice will be allowed to function or be replaced with a new judiciary consisting of *Kazis* and *Muftis*. Moreover, if the new judiciary of *Kazis* and *Muftis* has to be created who will select them, and how will be they trained for their duties. Will the profession of pleaders and advocates be banned or the Mullahs and Maulvis will take up their place too before the religious courts. Thirdly, a question will also arise whether or not the Legislation work relating to the engineering, medical Excise, Finance, Foreign Defense, Banking and such other of modern state will be allowed to remain with its legislative organs or those too will be handed over for Islamicisation to the Mullah. How many of the Mullahs recruited to the different houses of legislation for about the needed Islamicisation in the existing Laws, d regulations relating to these and other fields of state activity and social life.

Since for the last twenty-six years, the Muhajir-Punjabi imperialists and their agents have been systematically raising dust storms over this issue, I would like to deal with each of these departments of government to show what scant guidance. If any, could they look for or obtain from the Islamic theology of the Mullahs.

(1) Administration

The highest authority of this department in the district is the Deputy Commissioner, also called the District Magistrate. Would the protagonists of the Islamic system propose training or selecting a person suited for this job, in consonance Islamic theology. Would these officers run their administration under the supervision of the Mullahs and could it be Mullahs themselves would staff these positions.

(2) The Police

Police men have to do parades and target-shootings, investigate cases of theft, murder and such other crimes, spy on the enemy, control traffic, put down rioting, and other violence and do such other duties as instruments to guard law and order in society. Would the advocates of the Islamic system propose to entrust these jobs too to the Mullahs to make them look Islamic.

(3) *The Railways*

This department concerns itself with laying railway lines, building stations procuring wagons and engines, fixing of freight rates and improving signaling techniques etc. for which engineers, station-masters, administrators, engine drivers, electricians and signal men are needed and not the of religious opinion or the Mullahs, however pious and learned they may otherwise be. The supporters of the Islamic system of government may well tell us what particular guidance may be Islamic theology have to offer in the matters of administering and running of the railway trains.

(4) *The Engineering Workers*

These deal with raising of barrages, digging of canals constructing roads and buildings, making of bridges and culverts, distribution of water of rivers, installation of factories, planning of towns and cities etc. The enthusiasts of the Islamic form of Rule should indeed tell us how and in what respect will the 1300 years old *Shariat* be of use to us in these things. Would the engineers have to build barrages and raise factories after obtaining blessings from the Mullahs.

(5) *Education*

In the modern times, the scope of education has outstripped by the imagination of the theologian. It covers varied extended fields of knowledge such as the arts, the science and the polytechnics of works and craft. There are schools, colleges and Universities in hundreds and thousands, with Libraries and Laboratories, in holding millions of books and the works of fresh discoveries and inventions inside their premises, waiting to spear out at the magic touch of man's genies. The theological pedagogy of the 1300 years old times, measured to the needs of life than existing could hardly touch the fringes of education as the modern society plans for itself. Would the mass-deceiving drum-beaters of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests let us know as to how the primitively instructed Mullahs could help and guide the new generations of today in the education of the modern times.

(6) *Defense*

Modern wars are fought with tanks, airplanes, machine guns, rockets, missiles, and such other deadly and mechanically operated weapons. The entire war strategy now depends on new discoveries and inventions in death dealing arms. In case Mullahs choose to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet and his companions and insist on the use of the camel, the horse, sword and the spears etc. in the war today, what would lead to? Would it be necessary to sanctify wars by rig the Mullah to enunciate religious formulas on them! Will it be permissible to collect war booty in order to Islamic war. Will the system of selling prisoner of wars-men woman as slaves be revived since that used to be the case in the hey-day of Arab expansionism. What will the modern civilized world think of it?

(7) *Foreign Affairs*

The department is meant for establishing state to state relationship with foreign countries with a view to promoting commerce with them, knowing their desires and activities so as to determine the nature of mutual relationship, maintaining constant communication with them, for deriving as much economic, cultural and political benefit out of relationship as possible.

Mullah's theology ordains permanent *Jehad*, as a duty against non-believers. Friendly relations can accordingly be maintained only with Muslim countries. According to the ice followed by the first *Khalifas*, the non-Muslims countries

are to be served with a notice either to accept Islam or get ready for the holy war. They have to be subjected brought into the ken of Islam. America, Russia and china have to profess Islam. Else there has to be a war against them till they saw the folly of remaining outside the fold. In the first period of the rise and spread of Islam, the state organization was centralized under a Khalifa. With the passage of time, there arose different Muslim Kingdoms often fought against one another, Mullah s theology make it incumbent on an Islamic state to bring the Muslim world under the rule of one Khalifa of Islam. Now, Muslim country refuses to accept the *Khalifa'* s suzerainty, what should be the next step? Has such a country or countries to be beaten into submission for forming the grand unity of Islam? Would these wars too be termed holy wars!

As a usual practice of modern times, Muslim countries get loans and other assistance from non-Muslim countries, on interest. What would the advocates of Islamic form of government say about such a thing?

Pakistan has to send ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries to foreign countries. What merits and qualifications and what shape and appearance should they carry, so as to reflect the Islamic brand of their State? Will they be the graduates of the theological Madrassahs. What type of beard would they grow, what costumes would they wear, should they be teetotalers and would their ladies be observing *Pardah*. Would it be necessary to appoint *Ulamaas* in the offices of the Ministry of Foreign affairs and in all the Pakistan Embassies in the foreign countries to ensure strict observance of Islamic requirements in all these matters?

(8) The Finance Department

For financing administrative, developmental and defense requirements, levying varied taxes on the people collects funds. One could hardly discover any justification for all this taxation in the holy Qura'an and the Sunnah. The Muslim Fiquah admits of no other tax to be levied on the people except the Zakat, which has proved to be totally inadequate and futile in the modern conditions. In most of the Muslim countries, it is not at all collected officially. The Qura'an and the Sunnah have to sanction to give for modern type of taxes such as the entertainment tax, the excise tax, the land revenue, the income tax etc. Interest is prohibited in Islamic theology only next to the use of pork. But what Muslim country exists anywhere today, which does not have the system of modern banking in full swing. How could all the trade and commerce, the world business at large, the vast industry and all economic construction and development in a modern country be at all possible without the institution of banking.

A great majority of the population in a backward country like Pakistan happens to be poor, half-starved, shelterless and exposed to disease. If a government were to take in hand any serious program for their rehabilitation and for the general economic and social uplift in the country, it would need vast funds for the purpose. For the procurement of such financial resources, should the government resort to measures shaping national economy towards socialist lines, the Mullahs are bound to mount in opposition to it on grounds property rights as guaranteed in Islam. Some clever persons and even some Mullahs very soul-fully put forth-Islamic Socialism as a modern progressive economy under Islamic Raj, to subtend orthodoxy opposition to Socialism. students of history know that socialism being the product the industrial era, it has nothing to do with Islam.

(9) Health

In ancient times, patients used to be branded, leeches and even beaten in order to be freed from diseases. The modern methods of medicine and surgery include electric treatments, X-ray machines, anti-biotic injections, blood-transfusions, Trans plantation of hearts plastic surgery etc. etc. which could *be* dreamt of in the past. There are medical colleges and

laboratories for the education and research in the fields, which could not exist then and which know no limit to expansion at present. What special help could the Islamic form of government be in all this? Would the Mullahs be called into read the holy Qura'an, turn the rosary and breath their incantations etc. in patients and to offer mass prayers and arrange feeding of the destitute and hungry in order to ward off epidemics and to meet emergencies such as arising in conditions of war or nature s calamities!

THE IDEAL GOVERNMENT

If the 26 years past history of Pakistan is any indication of what is yet to come, it can safely be assumed that evolution of an ideal government in the country is almost impossibility. An ideal government can be created and run by persons of high moral caliber. This could be done only by men of saintly habits, learned men who are inspired with standards of ethical conduct. The present lot of clans, petty men with petty minds, who cannot conceive any value higher than the personal or parochial, cannot do it. It is indeed because of the doings of these persons that Pakistan has come to acquire the notoriety of breeding a criminal society. No body's basic human right is safe here. The vultures Muhajir-Punjabi Vested interests are praying upon smaller nations. Bribery and corruption are on the rampage. Drinking and alcoholism are in vogue on highest of scales. Law permits gambling. Using of the, most rapacious type goes unchecked. There is hoarding, black marketeering, smuggling, thieving, and brigandage rampant every where. People are arrested without *warrants*. hustled into jails without trial and, even liquidated summarily if it suits some powerful interest. Persons who were entirely ignorant of Islam, clearly un-Islamic in conduct and surreptitiously even hostile to it, got biggest of musoleums raised on their dead bodies. The manipulators, the tricksters, the cleverest of dissimulators rise to be the people's leaders. There is starvation, unemployment, lawlessness and day light banditry, there is tyranny and exploitation all of which have become almost the usual features of society in Pakistan. To dare to dream of an ideal rule in these conditions is either pursuit to naivete or only an unmitigated figments of mind.

ISLAMIC POLITICS AND ISLAMIC ECONOMICS

It is pretentiously held forth that Government in Pakistan has to be shaped into the pattern laid out in what they speciously call the Islamic politics and Islamic economies. Truly speaking, there is nothing we may call Islamic politics, nor is there anything like Islamic economic either. It was indeed the most unlucky day in the history of Musalmans peoples, when religion was mixed with politics. I have stated Some where in my book "Pakistan-its Past, Present and Future" that the basic and the real objective of religion is the moral spiritual refinement of man, which can be attained only through change of heart by right education. It can be attained only spontaneously by means of a process of elevation of personal character. If politics and means of coercion are made to intervene in the process, or if opinions are thrust on man's mind for forcing the desired change, it causes more harm than the good expected out of it. It was precisely because of these considerations that the revered saintly thinkers every where setting themselves away from politics busied themselves in imparting their teachings for the spiritual and moral regeneration of human soul.

Economics is a science, which concerns itself with day-to-day problems of human livelihood and the methods and procedures for attaining the same. If the question should merely livelihood objections must be pursued on the basis of principles; it could indeed be quite a different matter. But when the matter arises relating to taxation, the nature and incidence and the rate there-of, to distribution and utilization of agricultural lands, to the establishment of industry and the means of keeping its wheels going and hundreds of such practical and day-to-day as pecks the problem, what could the religion do about it all, by its very nature, is non-moving phenomenon, and can hardly be of any use in the handling of issues, which change at every change of social reality and therefore demand a different approach and a different solution. To throw religion in for solving such an issue or issues is thus The correct approach would be to rely on human reason solely and primarily and to bring about economic justice in society by introducing changes in economic conditions in consonance with the changing social phenomenon which is all that economic is or is expected to do. Religion has hardly to do anything with economics as with politics.

Religion is not only in many cases hostile to the measures which the two social sciences apply for attaining their objectives, but often juxtaposes its own objectives awards such objectives, with the result that the two sciences stand

thwarted in the progressive social role which they are expected to play as dynamic instruments for inducing and effecting whole some timely change in society.

THE INTEGRITY AND STABILITY OF PAKISTAN

The past 26 years observation of events has proved that very idea of Pakistan was wrong and bad in conception. The basic evil in it was the religious theory of nationhood, which it stood. It was an impossible theory. It existed where in the world. It sought to force original and anciently existing nations into an artificially devised framework of one nation. The theory was invented by the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests to serve their class ends, instead correcting the wrong standpoint, in good time, they persisted viciously to hold it, and thus the conditions worsened. They little realized that in a partnership as soon as the partners saw that all were not sharing the advantages of it equally, and only some were having a monopoly in it those that suffered always left the partnership. Pakistan too was in a partnership of five nations who had come to gather under a pact, the essential conditions of which were the constituent units had to be independent and sovereign. The Muhajir Punjabi Vested Interest disowned that pact and instead went all out to gain monopoly control over Pakistan and to whip the Sindhi people and the other peoples into their subjection and employment as slaves. When the Sindhis, the Baluchis and the Pakhtoons of West Pakistan, demanded their rights and privileges of partnership, they were deprived of even their provincial status and were forced into one-Unit as colonies to the Punjab. On the hold-up fizzling out, the same was called off, and then driving out the Bengalis from the scene. Whose were a major party to the pact, the Muhajir-Punjabi Axis tightened up the more compact press on the rest of the smaller peoples in West Pakistan replacing the Provincial One-Unit with the Central Unit. What has transpired and is transpiring under this now and more efficient crush effecting the national existence of the smaller peoples, has been described elsewhere in this book. All prospects for bringing about unity among these peoples through Pakistan stand now totally belied. No hope exists any more for them to live together in peace, honor and sense of national security in Pakistan.

5) PAKISTAN IS ORDAINED TO PROTECT ISLAM AND THE MUSALMANS

This is a vainglorious statement and a blatant lie. The Musalmans living in Bharat are happier and secure than the original Muslim populations of the smaller provinces in Pakistan. There is violence and exploitation raging here in Pakistan. Islam has suffered no harm in Bharat, nor in China nor in Russia. Musalmans are living in peace and security in Europe too. Islam has been least injured in these countries at the hands of the Hindu or the Christian or even the atheist majorities. This slogan of Islam in danger is raised by the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests only for protecting their class domination over the indigenous peoples in Pakistan, Whom they are always at pains to deceive and keep ignorant of their real situation. There is no truth, whatsoever in their self executing claims of Pakistan protecting Islam or standing guard over the Musalmans of any country where in the world. With the establishment of Pakistan, there has been such excessive exploitation of the name of Islam, and the people have been so much served with the phobia of Hindus, communists, and such other self-induced anti-Islam and Pakistan obsessions like provincialism, nationalism, parochialism etc. and the Sindhi people have been subjected to such an intensive and total exploitation under these conjugations and threats that a great majority of youth in Sindh have turned total rebels against Islam and all other hospices that is usually raised in associations with that name by exploitative interests in Pakistan. The harm that Islam thus suffered in Pakistan is indeed incalculable as compared to what it may have ever, by any stretch of imagination, suffered in China, Russia, Europe or Bharat. It could therefore be confidently affirmed that end of Pakistan may, on contrary prove to be a supreme gain for Islam.

Of course, in the event of Pakistan disintegrating the Sindhi people will have yet to face immense hurdles in the, abashment of Sindhu Desh. The Muhajir-Punjabi vested interests, which have gathered and enjoyed so far the fruits of

exploitation in such huge abundance, can never allow Sindh to gain its freedom so easily. They will surely put in stiffest resistance against it. The Sindhi people, therefore, will have to make great sacrifices for freedom. Out of ashes will rise the phoenix of liberty with renewed youth to live through another cycle of rich and faithful existence, to the good of Sindh and to the good of humanity at large.

Sindh and Sindhis have lived as a distinct country and a distinct people for thousands of years. Freedom therefore, is their birthright and their struggle for it is only natural. It is a bird in a golden cage, feed it on nice and dainty fruits protect it against all enemies that prey on it, but no soon as you provide it with wings and open the door of the cage before it, flaps its wings, rises up in the air and flies away in a moment out of sight on the vast expanses of free and challenging atmosphere to live on its own and die on its own.

Omar the king took away Marui, the rustic girl by force and shut her up in his palace, and offered her all types of attractions and enticements of rich and tasty food, soft silken clothes and costly ornaments and untold niceties of life and great many comforts besides but the girl, loyal to her people, and devoted to her dilapidated home and to her land with its sun and cool breeze and wild fruits, she lived day after day longing for freedom in her poor attire, feeding on the simplest of victuals, only in order to live to see the moment which she could leave the castle of her captor and be free to go the way she desired, to love and hate and to live and suffer, as she desired. Pakistan is worse than a prison house for Sindh and the Sindhi people. Shah Latif the immortal Sindhi poet says: -

Oh my fate! how else could I fall inside these prison-walls

Oh my destiny ! break those prison walls! I must be free

The desire of the Sindhi people for the disposal of Pakistan and for the liberation of Sindh, which is their homeland, is a natural desire, *Khwarau*, some where, has said:

"I am a renegade and prefer love, I don't need Muslim-hood,

"Every nerve of mine is the string I need no sacred thread."

The Sindhi people in their disgust have reached a point, where they publicly denounce Pakistan, the prison-house under the Muhajir Punjabi *gendar merie*. Could it be that Pakistan is a heaven, they would prefer hundred times over the hell of free Sindh.

What better joy and felicity can the Sindhi people imagine than the state when they are free from their present condition of slavery and being an independent and sovereign people, join the United Nations Organization as one of its member nations. Let us know enumerate the gains of freedom that await the Sindhi people.

1. With freedom, the part of the national produce of Sindh, which now goes in Bulk to the Center in the form of taxes, serving the purposes of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested interests, shall be utilized for the good of Sindh turning Sindh into a well developed modern country.
2. With freedom, the people of Sindh, whom the alien exploiters today keep divided, leaving them weak and helpless shall be united and transformed into a powerful and dynamic nation. Whose cultural, political and economic

interests shall become one, and who will thus be able to face and drive out all those who today raise obstacles in the way their progress and development as a nation.

3. With freedom, both the indigenous people of Sindh as all such immigrant people who may have identified in selves With the interests of the Sindhi People, having their language and culture, shall advance, and prosper collectively as a nation, free from economic exploitation and cultural domination of the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested rests.
4. With freedom, the entire agricultural land of Sindh, now possession of the non-Sindhi outsiders and non-agriculturist shall be resumed from them and would be available for distribution among the genuine landless peasantry of Sindh.
5. With freedom, all trade and commerce that today, in the main part, is under alien control shall be brought under the management and control of Sindhi Speaking and permanently settled people in Sindh.
6. With freedom, undue and unnatural pressure of population on the land and other economic resources of Sindh shall checked by putting a stop to immigration of people from outside. All those who have temporary domiciled in Sindh and who resent absorption in the Sindhi Society and all the agents alien intrigue shall be expelled.
7. With freedom, all financial establishments in Sindh, like insurance companies and government agencies shall be brought under the management and control of the Sindhi nationals. At present these establishments being under the direct control of non-Sindhi, the major part of all wealth produced in Sindh caters for alien interests. The Muhajir-Punjabi ruling elite being in control of the policies of the central Government, they shape their policies and manage the given financial establishment under those policies in such a manner that the Sindhi people got financially more and more impoverished.
8. Socialism without national freedom is not only unthinkable but also thoroughly harmful for the people, if, by any means, it came without it. In the name of socialism today, if any factory, financial establishment or even land is taken over in government control, the benefit of such a measures are immediately passed on to non-Sindhis by the non-Sindhi controlling agency under the Central Government. With freedom, All benefits of socialism in Sindh will directly accrue to the Sindhi people.
9. With freedom, all employment avenues and job opportunities that emerge through industrial and developmental enterprises in Sindh shall be reserved for the Sindhi nationals. The position today is quite opposite of this. From manual labor to the skilled and semi-skilled labor and even the ministerial jobs, non-Sindhis appropriate them all to say of the managerial positions, in almost every factory that goes up anywhere in Sindh. This wont's happen while the Sindhis people become the masters of their destiny as an independent and sovereign nation.
10. With freedom, Sindh will have to go in for the basic and heavy industry, unlike what goes on in both the private and public sectors of economy today, when there is an all-round scamper for the light and secondary type of industry, only because of its demonstrability of easy and quick success in production and in fetching heavy cash returns.
11. With freedom Sindhi shall be the sole national and official language of Sindh. Any one who would not know the language, will not be given right of citizen-ship. He will not have the right of vote. He will not be given a

job. Thus the Sindhi people shall be permanently free from the domination of Urdu. The self-exploitation and concept that the Urdu-speaking Muhajirs exhibit today would stand permanently curbed. If, in spite of that, enthusiastic for Urdu chose to conspire and work against Sindh and the Sindhi people, they could be expelled physically from Sindh, even as they were expelled for similar reasons from Bangladesh.

12. With freedom, ways and expressions of Sindhi culture shall receive encouragement. The Radio, television and the shall be geared into service, in addition to utilizing the popularly established folk media, for promotion and dissemination of Sindhi language and culture with a view to restoring prestige to them as it fits for a national language and a culture.
13. With freedom, the citizens of Sindh shall be encouraged to cultivate pride in their nationhood through development of sense of identity in them, and to that effect a national dress reflecting their individuality as a nation shall be devised for on formal occasions for their nationals in general and for their representatives in international councils in particular.
14. With freedom, all non-Sindhi and anti-Sindhi names shall be removed from cities, *Mohallas*, markets, roads, schools, colleges, hospitals, and from all other public places and public institutions, and in their place Sindhi names reflecting historical greatness and national individuality of the Sindhi people shall be substituted.
15. With freedom, the homeless, the shelter-less and the nomadic Sindhi tribes living in cities, towns, villages out in the hills and on the plains in the forests and by the side of rivers and lakes shall be rehabilitated and settled in well-planned well constructed villages, provided with all essential modern amenities for civilized living like electricity, telephone, markets, recreation grounds, parks, schools, hospitals, Roads, and so on.
16. All outsiders, who have grabbed houses, shops, lands and factories left in Sindh by Hindus shall be dispossessed of these, which shall then be transferred to the deserving Sindhi Muslims or the Sindhi Hindus who choose to return to their hearths and homes in Sindh which is their motherland. The Muhajirs who may have participated in Sindh's liberation struggle shall not, however, be disturbed in their legitimate possessions.
17. At present, nearly 70% of the people in Sindh are living on agriculture. There are about 21 million acres of arable land available in the country. Thus under equal distribution of agricultural land, the agriculturist population in Sindh hardly receive 3 acres of land per individual. Counting 5 members in a family, each family would be entitled only to 15 acres of cultivable land, which, in view of very hard and scanty irrigation facilities available, would not be a good economic unit for comfortable living. The land ceiling shall therefore be fixed at 200 acres in the barrage area for four families to be cultivated on the basis of collective farming. The rest of the population in Sindh shall have to be provided with sources of livelihood in services, trade, handicrafts and big industry so that only 30% of the people are finally left to depend on agriculture.
18. A man-power survey shall be carried out and provision made for the housing, employment, free medical care, education and old age pension for all, and guaranteed maternity allowance for mothers.
19. It shall not be permissible to Possess building including the one in use for personal residence beyond a fixed Value.
20. All factories shall be nationalized except small ones employing 10 or less than 10 workers.

21. Law shall prohibit the institutions of Pirdom and tribal headmanship.
22. For the establishment of genuine democracy in the country, the Mullah the Pir, the tribal Sardar and the Government Officer shall not be allowed to contest elections for membership of legislative Assemblies.
23. Law shall prohibit all sectarian and communal propoganda. No party or organization based on such parochial loyalties shall be permitted to function in the country.
24. For raising common standard of living of the people and for guaranteeing full employment to them, and for ensuring steady progress and development of the nation all means of production, distribution and exchange shall be nationalized on the basis of the fundamental principles of Socialism.
25. All towns and villages in Sindh shall be kept with in easy access to each other through network of communications and regular and efficient means of travel such as railway, roads, air-lines, telephone and post and telegraphs so as to keep the blessings of modern civilization easily available to the people of Sindh living in the farthest corners of our land.
26. The people shall be educated and trained in the ways and methods of cultural livings. All social disorders and crime shall be suppressed. The villages and towns of Sindh be turned into havens of peace and security for the people.
27. With freedom, large-scale cattle farming dairy farming, poultry, the bee culture, fruit farming and vegetable production shall be encouraged so as to increase the overall question of food-supplies for adding to the nourishment of people.
28. With freedom, the land face of Sindh shall be beautified with flower gardens fruit orchards, tree plantations, lawns, water falls, lakes and streams, planned forestation, health resorts and beauty spots so that its people may look around and be happy and feel proud of the face of their beloved Land.
29. At present, the woman folk waste their time and energy in tiresome household jobs like sweeping the floors, dusting the furniture, grinding the corn, baking bread, washing clothes, and doing such other unattractive chores With freedom with these old jobs shall be left for machines to take care of, tile our woman folk, shall be educated and trained for more important and productive jobs and shall work side by with the man folk contributing materially and creatively to the general wealth and rising prosperity of the nation.
30. Religion shall be kept separate from politics and in a secular system of government, the Mullah, the Pir, the Pundit and the Priest, having thus been freed from expediencies and opportunism of politics shall be made to look after the moral education and cultural upliftment of the people at large.
31. Education system in free Sindhu Desh shall be so ire organized and reset that men shall live and work in cooperation and for the collective human good nationally; internationally and on humanist plane, inspite of professing different faiths and holding different political opinions, and irrespective of belonging to different classes, races, and nationalities.

32. With freedom, the land in Sindh shall be thoroughly prospected for mineral deposits including gas, petrol, iron and coal, and the mining industry shall be so developed that the country becomes self reliant in this field as far as Possible acquiring its own independent sources of mineral wealth and providing potentially rich opportunities of employment to its people.
33. With freedom the teaching of Sindhi language shall be made compulsory from the Primary stage of education to the -University level. Special arrangement shall- be made and top urgent measures shall be taken for the advancement and development of the language.
34. With freedom, education shall be made free from the start to the University stage. In the main education beyond the primary and necessary stages shall be through residential institutions. A network of hostels shall be planned for it, providing for free lodging and boarding arrangements for hundreds of thousands of students pursuing different disciplines of study in specialized Universities, spread far and wide in the country.
35. The original history of ancient civilizations of Sindhu Desh shall be investigated thoroughly and all gaps in the story of the growth and development of that civilizations shall be covered by arranging a thorough archeological survey of Sindh a planned excavation of all archeological sites shall be carried out for discovering the missing links for producing a full detailed history of Sindh, a Board of Scholars shall be set up, and all facilities and all assistance shall be provided to that Board to - complete the job to their full satisfaction.
36. A full and exhaustive dictionary of Sindhi language has yet to be produced. Linguists and philologists and Scholars of Sindhi language and literature of established merit shall be collected from inside the country and outside for -producing the dictionary. Small bilingual Dictionaries, such as a Sindhi-to English and an English to Sindhi, and such other dictionaries covering Arabic, Persian, Hindi and other modern language, shall also be prepared and published, in addition to shorter and concise Sindhi to Sindhi dictionaries, as companion works to the main and original dictionary of the language. Other reference books like general Encyclopaedia, and special ones on different subjects shall also be prepared and published in the language.
37. Standard as well as popularly readable books different subjects of Arts and Science shall be translated and published. Libraries shall be set up, one for every settlement habitations of 500 people, in which these and other useful books shall be kept for the benefit of the reading public.
38. With freedom, arrangements shall be made in every college and inside the Universities for the teaching of military science to students. For military training in use of weapons for drill, target practice, field tactics and all military and practice, specialized military academies shall be established to train the Sindhi youth in land, air and sea warfare.
39. In providing irrigation and also drinking water facilities to the people in Sindh at large, under ground water resources shall be thoroughly investigated and utilized. Serious steps shall also be taken for storing rainwater, and for conversion of seawater into sweet water, in order to meet prospective acute water shortage to which Sindh may be subjected both by hostile action of upper refrain neighbors and on account of consequences of nature s calamities.
40. With freedom, an- imposing large statue of Raja Dahir shall be installed at the ports now under a construction near Karachi and that port shall be named Fort Dahir instead of Port Kasim.

41. With freedom, motorable roads shall be laid up to Kutchh and Rajasthan, connecting Jati and Lakhpat Kadhan and Bhuj, Nangar Parkar and Kathiawar, Umerkot and Marwar, and Nawabshah and Bikanir.
42. With freedom, cultural relations and trade relations for exchange of Technologies know-how shall be established with Bharat, Afghanistan, USSR Iran, Bangla Desh and Arab countries, in order to strengthen neighborly ties with them for purposes of mutual benefits.
43. The State of Sindhu Desh shall be established on the basis of Secularism, Socialism, Democracy and Nationalism. The foreign policy-of Sindhu Desh shall be that of non-alignment. Such a policy alone shall reflect the best interests of the people of Sindhu Desh.
44. With freedom of Sindhu Desh, effort shall be set a foot to establish a common wealth of Bangla Desh, Pakhtoonistan, Baluchistan, Punjab, Bharat, Iran, Afghanistan and Arab Countries of West Asia.
45. With the unity of religions, culture and day to day social living having been founded and consolidated in Sindhu Desh, that shall be made the basis for building a grander edifice of world unity and human brotherhood. For identifying and strengthening future trends towards such a felicitous development seminars on national, regional and world level shall be organized, lectures shall be instituted, commissions shall be set up for the study of such trends and for channeling them towards the desired goal.

These and other such excellent proposals for the good of the people of Sindh can materialize only after Pakistan is dissolved, and Sindhu Desh is established. Those engaged in the task of liberation of Sindh must, in this connection, understand and - realize the following two most important things.

First, the biggest of hurdles in the way of the liberation of Sindh is the ideology of Pakistan. Second, it is futile to think or expect that liberation of Sindh can be secured through democratic or constitutional methods.

Our masses are not politically conscious. Our own-elite, which are the elite of a backward subject nation and have all the weaknesses of their class, too the Pirs, the Mullahs, the *Kamoras* and the *Vaderas* would rather prefer to serve as agents of the alien masters and join in the general exploitation. In the democratic elections, it is these elite whose are going to be effective for quite a long time to come. It is necessary, therefore, first to strike for freedom by mounting frontal attacks on the prison walls with the help of a van-guard composed of special squads of well-disciplined and able fighters for freedom, and then shaking off that servile and comprador class of anachronic native elite in the process, go forward to liberate Sindhu Desh finally and help it find its destiny as an independent and sovereign people among the comity of nations.

It has indeed, to be remembered that in the divine word of holy Qura'an;

"God changes not the condition of any nation, unless it strives itself and on its own first to change it".

It has been my habit from early childhood to see dreams and then strive to translate them into reality. There is the Sindhi proverb, which says "The servant s desire in the heart is one and that in the Master s quite another". Struggle for translation of dreams into reality is yet what lies entirely within the spheres of the powers of the servant.

The fight to liberate Sindh from the shackles of slavery in which it finds itself today is not an easy task. The Sindhi Savant Shah Latif says:

"The game of love is not an easy sport that children may play;

"The body breaks and the life is given at its every move;

"The fatal spear it holds, challenging the player ever,

"Throw he his neck at it and the neck gets cut into two and falls;"

The people of Bangla Desh have won freedom not without paying the cost for it. Nearly ten million of their people had to leave their homeland and live as fugitives facing untold hardships and innumerable suffering. Two hundred thousands of their good and gentle-women folk had to suffer disgrace at the hands of the brutal enemy. Three millions of their sons had to sacrifice their lives and give their blood at the altar of freedom.

"With us here in Sindh, as we have already noted elsewhere, our elite, the Zamindar, the *Kamora*, the *Pir*, the *Mullah* and the petty trader, are content with playing agents to the alien masters and collecting their preferred share in exploitation. Here too, the burden to lead the struggle lies on the shoulders of the awakened workers of Jeay Sindh movement and on its courageous student contingent.

In spite of this austere situation, we have not slackened our faith and our hopes are as firm as ever. The victory in the cause shall be ours.

"They had no coin in hand, and

gratis - none gave a lift on the ferry;

The full day they sat watching the

waves, and it was sun set at last,

"But relying on their own, they threw themselves in

and crossed to the other bank safe".

Shah Latif

CHAPTER VI - Mission of Sindhu Desh

Sindh's civilization is one of the oldest civilizations in the world. As in Egypt and in Iraq, here too, a great river valley civilization took birth in ancient times. On physical plane, life evolved from amoebae to human, similarly, human spirit has also evolved and become what it is today. The mind of human today is not what it was in its early life.

Ordinarily human is an animal. He has the same basic instincts as any animal has. Human excellence lies on one hand in nourishing and beautifying his body to attain as much perfection in it as possible, and, to the other, in establishing unity between thought and practice and identity between individual and social urges in order to reach perfection of human spirit. From early times, the founders of different religions, philosophers and saintly individuals have tried to bring about in human affairs as much approximation to the desired perfection of human spirit as possible. A drop of water is an entity in itself, but in further passage of its life, it sees itself to be part of the ocean. Similarly, human too has an individuality and in its sphere he finds himself free to develop, but on the other hand with further consciousness he realizes that he is only a part of humanity.

Just as a drop of water, however clean and sweet smelling it be, cannot retain its purity and sweet smell but acquires that tint and that smell, which the pond carries, in which it finds itself lodged; similarly, however evolved or capable a human may be, if he lives in a society that is defective and ethically low, all his mantle or spiritual advancement and capabilities must turn out to be futile and meaningless.

That being the case, the aim which human of worth choose to adopt in life is not only to equip themselves with knowledge and good moral conduct, but to enrich the society too, in which, they live, with these attributes. For reaching this basic aim of human advancement, two have been often taken in distinguishably as one from the other, by the world one, through religions or ideologies the other through historical evolution. For the improvement of society, hundreds of religions rose in the world. Through the means of these religions ideologies efforts were often made to bring about social unity and progress of human. With the change of conditions, having proved failures on the touch stone of realities, many of these religions and ideologies, however, disappeared from the field, leaving only a few imperceptible traces behind. Nevertheless a few world religions have yet survived and are still occupying the stage; the most important of which are four Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

Whenever any movement or thought seeks to influence the course of history, it brings into being an organization, within the framework of which it keeps its followers and other like-minded persons bound and disciplined. The leading religions thus started functioning as organized or institutionalized religions. These religions in the beginning operated within limited areas, but gradually extended their spheres and assumed international roles and jurisdictions. For their successful operation in that capacity. It became necessary for them to exercise some sort of uniformity or regimentation both in thought and action. With the expansion of their areas of operation, however, there inevitably arose differences in points of views and practices inside them. Differences arose not only internally among the followers of each religion, but departures; if not differences, which initially existed among them, as one from another, aggravated, by passage of time, of conflict, fanaticism and irreconcilableness, operating in the context of vested interests. These religions lost their usefulness and efficacy for establishing unity and peace among nations of the world and for ensuring their prosperity for which they initially arose among them.

Side by side with religions working for social peace and unity, people on their governments had formed themselves into clans, tribes, and finally nations, on the basis of common territory, language, culture, customs and traditions and economic and political interest. People, who came together in such groupings, professed different faiths and religions. The basis of their unity or association was national and not religious.

Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and Muslims no doubt continued trying to create unity among their brotherhood but since these religions had already formed roots internationally, their followers could not be limited to any single linguistic or territorial community. Inevitably differences of beliefs and religions practices and observance arose among them, and they could not help being divided into sections. The conditions and requirements of life being different from area to area and community to community even of the same religious faith and the concomitant vested interests being irreconcilable, the effort to establish unity and social compactness among people or peoples through religion did not succeed.

The countries in the Western world, who are today more educated; having seen the failure of religion as a method to unite people, gave it up, and instead resorted to nationalism as the basis for the organization of Society inside their territories. There is today the world organization of nations in which each, of its member nations has the linguistic, cultural, historical, political, and economic basis for its nationhood and none of them the religious basis except for the two world anachronisms, viz. Pakistan and Israel, where effort is yet afoot to bring about national organization of the people through the use of the religious method.

Those of us who have done some study of history and have also deliberated on the futility of the policy of making religion the basis of nationhood, see no other way open before us except to struggle for unity, peace and prosperity among our people through the universally accepted principle of nationalism as the very condition of modern existence nations in the world. We are convinced that since no where in the world have peace, unity and progress of peoples been attained through religion, here in Pakistan too, the same objectives cannot be attained through this method. We have therefore resolved first to achieve our people's integration and unity as the Sindhi nation. We propose there to join in our own modest way in human's effort to attain unity, peace and human prosperity internationally. It is our firm belief that Sindhu Desh, by virtue of its past traditions has a special part to play in this mission of establishing unity, peace and prosperity of human on earth.

The world today is divided into two camps. First in the part of the Western world camp, which has a brand of culture civilization, thought, mechanism of living and a body of interests which can broadly be called its own. The other camp of the eastern world, which though much backward today has at one time in the past remained in the vanguard human civilization, and today has a brand of culture, civilization, thought, mechanism of living and a body of interests that can similarly be termed broadly as its own.

These two parts of the world today appear to be different and opposed to each other. The one has tilted more towards, spiritualism, and has visibly neglected the material good in The other has attended to the national interests rather excessively, and in spite of securing great progress in it has not been able to attain Unity and peace which in fact are the very objectives of material progress. For a long time, thinking man and woman of good will been aspiring for the union of these two parts of the world, the two civilizations as they are called. For the attainment of these great objectives, the synthesis of the Western and the Eastern thought and practice the Sindhi people! being the product of peculiar historical circumstances and traditions, could be the most highly suited instruments or agency, provided they; are free and are given the opportunity to develop and play their part in the fulfillment of their mission in history. It was here in Sindhu Desh that the followers of different religions came nearer one another on the basis of mutual acceptance. The idea of the Unity of Faiths originated and bore fruit on this soil. The people of Sindhu Desh after they win their freedom, have therefore, to fulfil the mission of bringing together the thought and civilization of the two worlds the Eastern and the Western for the common good of humanity.

Among the great traditions, which the Sindhu Desh has received as its heritage from its part, can be counted the following: religious tolerance, national pride, love cooperative living, hospitality, nonviolence, altruism, generosity of

mind and nonpartisanship or sense of justice. The world today is the warring ground of difference and contradictions, making it impossible for the Unity and peace among peoples to take root and grow. Their clashes and conflicts stand today as obstacles in the way of human progress and further development of human spirit in him. The world today stands faced with the following main confrontations:

1. Atheism (materialism) and Idealism (spiritualism).
2. Democracy and Autocratic form of Government.
3. Nationalism and Ideological Imperialism.
4. Socialism and Capitalism.
5. Violence and nonviolence.

We may do well to go into these issues in some detail

1. Materialism and Spiritualism

Under the philosophy of materialism, matter is accorded primacy over spirit. In its view, Spirit is only an other name of the mutual action and interaction of different elements of matter. Whenever, therefore, dynamism or self-regulative and self-organizing activity in matter ends, or gets disturbed a given phase of life closes or comes to a stop. The advocates of this philosophy do not believe in the separate life or continuity of existence of spirit as a personal or objective entity. With belief in this philosophy, all the well-known religious beliefs such as life after death transmigration of souls. Divine retribution, Heaven and Hell, Teleological view of creation, existence of its creator or Sustainer i.e. the God, cease to have any meaning. The entire emphasis of the believers in this philosophy then turns to improving and entering life in this world, and reasons and experience become for them the sole means for ethical judgement.

Spiritualism or idealism on the other hand, takes the spirit or the soul to be the primary thing and the matter to be secondary thing or even nothing at all calling it image or illusion. From the point of view of the believers in this philosophy, the essence of thing is the spirit while matter constitutes only the attributes of it, spirit is eternal, having no beginning and no end, while matter is accidental, ephemeral and subject to change. All religions and essential beliefs there of have their bases in this philosophy.

As a substantive implication of this view of things, every person is responsible for his actions to himself and to his God, who leaves him, more or less, free to do what he chooses on earth. As some persons were industrious, able and strong and others lazy unintelligent and weak it inevitably happens that some move up to be masters of property, money and power, while others are pushed aside as destitutes, inferiors and powerless.

Since open competition was not only permissible but the very rule of the game under this philosophy, the class differences and vested interests arising as a result of the competition find recognition and protection under the laws and precepts of religions, which stand based on this philosophy. Religions thus forbid touching beyond limits the institution of property as a whole, and with it, all the private ownership of means production, distribution and exchange. As a consequence of such a taboo, human society presents contrasting sets of phenomena such as a small number of fatted land lords on one hand and multitudes of famished landless peasantry on the other or a few persons possessing dozens of palatial houses, factories and even many wives on one hand and shelterless, laboring, Semi-starved millions of human souls on the other. Religions forbid ending such social systems. Some of the religions treat them as products of law of natural retribution or even as the preordained conditions of human existence and hence very correct and very just not to be disturbed or interfered with at all. Religions derive their authenticity from the omniscient authority of a superhuman

being, and hence, in great many things, assign only a secondary place to human reason or experience as a means in ethical judgement.

Parties or organizations, which come into being as advocate or followers of these two philosophies materialism and spiritualism assume international status, and therefore are at the best; in different, and, at the worst, hostile to the vested interests of individual nations, such as territorial, cultural, linguistic and economic interests of such nations, which these philosophies often throw over board and, sometimes even subvert for their International choices and conveniences.

These two philosophies are thus both intellectual Imperialism which, after assuming their theories, believe and program to be of universal good, seek to bring into their respective folds all peoples both by propaganda and by force, and is a part of that purpose, try to discredit and distort all social and cultural patterns possessed by those peoples as different heritages of their varied past like social customs, national manners, and language and Arts such as literature, music, etc, and where ever necessary, even color them or reshape and refurbish them so as to make them reflect their, respective ideologies. Nations and their cultures are therefore always liable to suffer at the hands of parties and organizations formed on the basis of these international or supranational ideologies Materialism and spiritualism, in their extreme shapes have a tendency to divide the people instead of uniting them not only in, the state of mutual conflict between the two, but even in their respective individuals spheres of operation. For the resolution of this basic discord in human intellectual social life, the Sindhi thought has a way to offer. From the agreed view point of Monism (Unitism) of Islamic mysticism and Vedanta of the Hindu thought which has *advaita* or absolute non-duality as its basic elements of belief, the Sindhi mind does not consider the two philosophies as conflicting or contradictory. On the contrary, takes them as representing the two sides of the same thing. It finds it possible for the two to converge in agreement through the formula of their anti-thesis and synthesis. The world today is in strife due to this discord, between the two philosophies, and needs a viewpoint, which shows it a firm way-out, so that, inspite of differences on theoretical place, it learns to work untidily for mutual survival and for the common good of all humankind.

(2) Democracy and Dictatorship

Democracy recognizes equality of status of all members of nation. It gives right of free vote to all adults of same mind, and through such votes of all seeks to form government of elected representatives for meeting the political, economic and social needs of the country in accordance with the collective or the general will of the people. For this purpose, every individual is granted the right of freedom of speech and writing and of association. No doubt, in backward countries particularly where majority of people are illiterate, politically unconscious poverty stricken and unorganized clever, and cunning persons with the help of money and social status; almost, invariably, succeed in deceiving the masses and get into possession of all power. But basically because of acceptance of the principles of democracy and through repeated exercise of the right of vote people get more and more politically conscious, and, in fair and open competition, ultimately succeed in securing their rights. National freedom and democracy are interdependent. According to the basic principles of democracy, not only the rights of individuals but also of nations, including particularly, their right of self-determination, are accepted explicitly and universally.

As against democracy, autocracy or dictatorship bases itself on fascistic view point, according to which people are classifiable into strong and weak, capable and incapable, cultured and uncultured and only the strong capable and cultured people are entitled to hold and exercise powers of government and administration. Under such a situation, certain persons usurping leading positions in the fields of religion, politics education etc. get themselves appointed to posts of vantage, from where they rule the people; depriving them totally or restricting them in the exercise of their right of self government through elected representatives. To stabilize and consolidate their positions of autocratic rule, these

persons then impose controls on peoples right of expression and association. All dissent is condemned as subversion and ruthlessly suppressed. Under this view, only capable and strong thinking persons or nations survive in the struggle for existence. All others disappear and die out. It is therefore only capable persons and nations who deserve to rule, and their desires, opinion and actions are therefore all good and correct and can not and should not be defied or thwarted.

Translating these views in action, certain powerful, clever and aggressive individuals and groups acquire control over government and utilize its machinery for the protection of their vested interests. Due to their despotic measures, then the voice of opposition is silenced and there occurs a general stagnation and passivity in social atmosphere and the people cease feeling any concern for national affairs. Meanwhile the word of the dictator issues forth as law, and he is surrounded by battalions of servitors and flatterers who keep him well pleased with himself, supremely indifferent to storms brewing around him. Honest and able persons and persons of independent thinking are kept away from him, as a result of which he and his ruling coterie remain deprived of sincere and correct advice. They soon start blundering into pitfalls. Their officials get into a state of license. All criticism being violently resented, discontentment and popular anger goes underground. Constitutional way out of the impasse being denied the people conspiratorial politics take over and the country is pushed into condition of civil war.

Thus both democracy in its exaggerated form, opening unrestrained avenues to individual enterprise and ambition, and dictatorship restricting and suppressing even the legitimate aspirations of the people, prove of little real benefit to human. Even the Western countries, which have known democracy for a long time past, have certain extreme forms of poverty and affluence to show within their societies. The standard of living of their common people still stands relatively low. Most of the countries under democracy have steadily moved to plutocratic or even fascistic dictatorships.

A viable and healthy form of government midway between the two systems of rule has got to be discovered. The writer has confidence that Sindh, with its humanitarian and compassionate approach of mind and attitude of moderation and justness in things and with a composite type of society calling checks and balances to keep it going, should prove to be best testing ground for such an experiment.

3. Nationalism and Imperialism.

In the present times, nationalism is the universally established political creed of peoples in the world. Every nation appears to be trying to advance on the basis of faith in this creed. There have been several types of nationalism in vogue at different periods of history e. g. there have been at we may call nationalism of race nationalism of the city nationalism of religion and even nationalism of the *sword*, in all of which the word nationalism could only some sort of group sense among human. But the political creed of nationalism, which today is current in all countries the world, although it is that some group sense, has its not in the race, city, religion or even in the commonest of loot and plunder of smaller and weaker peoples h fired the imagination of the conquering hordes of barbarians in early times or which vets the appetites of powerful imperialist nations of the world today, but it is based on much, broader and from the human view point, much healthier grounds of country language culture, traditions and identity life interests. Good nationalism of this type in fact, constitutes the bricks and mortar of international brotherhood of modern world.

At present there are 135 such nations forming the United Nations Organization. The voice of nationalism indeed is powerful today. Quite a great deal of work is being for freedom, progress and development of countries in the world today in the name of nationalism. In the path of triumph of good nationalism, however, there stand the following obstacles, which are rather tough and have to be of the d by the United Nations Organization, if the peace world has to be saved:

Firstly, aggressive nationalism, which manifested itself some four decades back in Germany, Italy and Japan and nowadays is operating in Israel, South Africa, and the; Muhajir Punjabi Imperialism in Pakistan.

Secondly, religious nationalism, which is finding its expression through the ruling classes in Pakistan and Israel and is creating atmosphere of bigotry, fanaticism and hatred around, and jeopardizing the very existence of smaller and weaker nations.

Thirdly, color nationalism, which is being promoted by the rump white skinned European imperialists and certain color obsessed American circles, and is today operating in South Africa, Rhodesia and elsewhere in Africa and even in certain areas of America on the basis of race and color prejudice and hatred between human being.

Fourthly, nationalism of the majority, by which certain nations on the strength of numerical majority, are imposing themselves on other peoples viz, the British on the French population in Canada, the Punjabis on Sindhis, Baluchis and Pakhtoons peoples in Pakistan, the Chinese on smaller nationalities within their territory and the Americans on smaller peoples in their neighborhood and in South America.

Fifthly, the nationalism of ability, under which the advanced and developed nations of Europe and North America are today dominating and endlessly exploiting the backward and developed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

All these bad nationalism are the manifestations of nations ruling nations and may be termed imperialism of power and ability derived from the sword, the money and the pen nationalism seeking to dominate and exploit is imperialism on the prowl. Imperialism today is giving up its former ways and is even on the wane in the world. There are, however certain nations yet, who defy resolutions of the United Nations Organization and haughtily reject world opinion and maintain viciously their grip on colonies. Imperialism has also changed its forms in the modern times and pursues its objectives in some of the following new ways:

1. Certain powerful nations use the means of economic aid, arms aid for keeping the smaller and backward nations under their influence and control.
2. Others adopt patronizing approach, and counting themselves as superior nations, seek to take under their wings smaller and weaker nations, promising them protective umbrellas against aggression of their rivals.
3. Some nations advocating communism as remedy for all human ills incite other nations to adopt it in their societies of course under their leadership by use of different methods including the one of bloody revolution.
4. Certain leading circles of some nations, similarly their religion to be the means of both the temporal and heavenly salvation, strive to bring other peoples, through influence of that religion, under their physical and cultural domination.
5. In certain cases, herding different peoples together in a country and under one government, a facade is raised a political make-believe is sought to be maintained that country is one State is one, and the nation is one. With such a framework, then the powerful nation assumes and it s leading positions, dominating and exploiting the smaller and weaker nations fully and exclusively.

All these and such other forms of Imperialism are based on fascistic concepts such a right to pursue its self interest unreservedly and without restraint and right to use all means Lone 5 power, including persuasion, force and even deception secure objectives of such interest. As a result the smaller and weaker peoples, being victims of these means on part of the Imperialist powers, rebel against such a situation, and nations have to get involved into disastrous conflicts and wars.

The last two great wars were the product of such workings of imperialism on the world stage as a means to prevent recurrence of these disasters; nations joined themselves into United Nations Organization. But it too failed to curb Imperialist trends in the conduct of the powerful and Id nations for the following reasons.

1. Each of the five permanent member nations of the Security Council possessed power of veto, which reduced the council, to helplessness at critical times in world history.
2. On General Assembly of the United Nations, the smaller countries like Israel; Qatar and others had the same one vote each as the big powers like America and Soviet Union. The big powers could easily manipulate these valuable votes of the small countries and thereby reduce the UNO to the status of tool hands.
3. Whenever any one of the big powers, failed to manage the voting in the General Assembly to its choice it ignored, defied or sabotaged the Assemblies decisions and no nation could help it.
4. The two world blocks, the Communist and the Western Imperialists, are using the United Nations as a mere chessboard for the game of their world politics. The prestige of the Organization has accordingly been reduced to a nullity in the eyes of the weaker nations in Asia, Africa and South America.
5. The world organization does not possess any power or machinery for enforcing its decisions.
6. The World Organization failed to ensure against conspiracies of Imperialist powers of the world, their war preparations and unlimited manufacture of lethal weapons. It could not provide any firm dependable guarantee for justice security and freedom for smaller nations of the world.

Under these conditions, the peaceable and well-meaning nations of the world have to exert themselves to free the United Nations Organization from these weaknesses and handicaps. Sindhu Desh when free could play a good part to this excellent purpose.

4. Communism and Capitalism:

Under the ideology of communism, all the means of production, distribution and exchange have to be nationalized, and the state has to utilize these for the peoples good in planned manner, as a result of which poverty and destitution of the people disappears, which otherwise under the uncontrolled economy of capitalism had a tendency to aggravate never to come to a halt. The advocates of this ideology like those of religions somehow, believe that earthly salvation of humankind could be attained only in the event of their ideology gaining supremacy in the world. They therefore stand for the spread of their ideology universally, through voluntary acceptance of it by the people or by its imposition on them by force.

The only difference between religion and communism is that whereas the former derives its sanction from a supernatural authority, the last does so from what they call philosophy of historical materialism, the dependability or reasonableness of which they take for granted. In any case, both the fraternities of advocates stand absolutely convinced of the universal truth applicability and efficaciousness of their respective faiths.

The ideology of capitalism bases itself on the belief in the individual freedom of human, which in fact has its roots in the ideology of religion. According to this belief, every individual is responsible for that he does and is therefore free to do what he like Accordingly, he has every right to amass property, and to use all means of production and distribution and also use many for earning as much money as he can. For such a freedom of human to be moneygrubber, they have developed religious and philosophical arguments. The ideology of capitalism in practice, however means that the great majority of the people should be out their existence and shelterless, in sickness and in want, while some groups and classes should remain masters of the entire wealth, and control all means of production and distribution and should wallow in luxury.

5. Violence and nonviolence;

Those who uphold violence as a method of living base their view on the philosophy of Survival of the fittest according to which only strong and capable things, including the People or nations, survive and weak and incompetent things, including peoples or nations, invariably die out.

In the present times, most of the nations and their governments believe in this view and hence keep busy in making themselves strong, and to that purpose, they keep themselves obsessively engaged in gaining edge over others in agriculture trade and commerce, industries and finance capital.

There is thus a cut throat competition going on in all fields of life and among countries and nations, which leads to trade rivalries, technological, outdistancing and wars. There are on one-side atomic bombs, rockets, missiles and other unproductive war weapons being amassed by nations, and on the other side there is race for gaining superiority in arts and skills and all round productivity of natural resources. In this rivalry and competition among peoples and countries, a vast amount of time, money and energy is however wasted and the process of unity and peace among nations of the world and their general advancement often comes to a stop.

As against violence, the philosophy of nonviolence stands on the principles of mutual survival and mutual aid cooperation among human. It is only the intellectually developed minds and spiritually evolved souls who grow to be the followers of these principles. Such persons happen to be always limited in number. Time is however maturing, when people having known the disastrous consequences of violence would begin ending, adopting mutual aid as a means for attaining mutual survival. It could only be thus that peoples may be saved from wars and they may attain unity and peace and ensure for themselves happy and prosperous living as a universe human brotherhood on earth.

Human being today find himself on crosses roads having been driven there by the contradictory pulls of the several ideologies. From here, he has either to find a satisfactory answer to his problems on the basis of mutual understanding and go forward to save and further develop the human culture and civilization which he has so far built for his goal and proceed towards his destiny as human namely he unity of mankind, world peace, and human prosperity in which all may share or he may take the wrong path, and allowing himself to be the victim of mutual suspiciousness, hatred, division and violence fail in finding of solution to his problems and be the cause of his own fall and ruination as human, the inheritor to be "Gods Kingdom on Earth".

For the solution of his problems, human, indeed needs a culture and philosophy of life, which should provide right guidance to him in the choices lying before him. All human cultures and philosophies found in the world today have to be examined under this criterion. Those cultures and philosophies, which prove to be good and viable against this criterion, would serve as the warp and woof of the international culture and philosophy of life for which the griping human has searched so far. All other cultures and philosophies, inspite of their big claims and all the hard work and sacrifices put in for their success and the immensity of resources they may humanoid at the moment shall be dragged under the flood of and be thrown in the limbo of time.

It is to be seen if the culture and civilization of the Sindhu have any elements which may provide a lead for the of conflict and strife among different ideologies and the ending of the existing mistrust, hatred and divisiveness humankind.

The writer, after due thought on this question has reached feeling that with the freedom of Sindhu Desh, the Sindhi people, on the basis of what they have received as their national heritage, can prove of considerable use and help in arch for solution to this basis contradiction and challenge faces humankind today.

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE UNITY OF RELIGIONS

The world today possesses many religions. Each religion, in turn, finds itself split in many sects. Because of this plurality f religions and the sects therein, the basic and the original object of religions, viz., Unity of human world peace, universal human prosperity have not been attained. From ancient times, here in Sindh, various religions have existed side by side and their followers have lived in spirits of understanding and tolerance and have received inspiration and teaching from their saint, poets and religious for cooperative living for purpose of mutual survival. These testings and this way of life based on harmony and interdependence can reduce differences of religions and pave way for unity of human and international peace in the world.

The teachers and guides of different religions the saintly poets of Sindh have developed the following concepts in the context.

- Theory of Monism on Unitrism (Vedant).
- Non-Violence.
- Love.
- Tolerance.
- Non-alignment.
- Self-realizations.

We may dwell on these in some details.

1. Monism:

For the understanding of basic problems of life, two philosophic approaches have been developed by human of religious spiritual or idealist thinking (a) approach of monism or unitrism and (b) approach of manifestism or apparentism *Wahdatulshuhood*".

Manifestism among Musalmans is defined by the formulation: "All is from the Essence" According to this formulation although the entire Universe has its origin in one source, the material world after creation i.e. separation from the Source, possess separate existence. This approach recognizes dual aspect in all things; The spirit and the matter, truth and falsehood, light and darkness. This doctrine grew originally in Iran. Zoradhushttra observes the whole universe as divided into two parts, the main driving powers behind the two being Aharmuzd and Aharman the one being the power for good and the other for the evil, the divine and the devilish powers. There was a ceaseless confrontation between the two and it was in this confrontation or through this contradiction that life found its revival or renewal. The existing differences or contradictions like nationalism and imperialism, democracy and despotism, socialism and capitalism, violence and nonviolence etc., were all the products indirectly, of this philosophy of duality.

The approach of monism on the other hand is defined by the formulations: all is the Essence". It means that not only the entire universe has its origin in one source but the entire universe is itself the source. Without it and beyond it, nothing exists. There is nothing like the thing itself and the attributes of it as a separate phenomenon. According to this doctrine the outward differences in a thing do not make different things out of it. There is unity in all diversity. The monist approach thus puts basically such and original light on difference of religions, differences of right and wrong, good and evil, light and darkness, etc. that dichotomy splits in things cease to appear divisive and instead serve as factors helping life s movement towards harmony. It awakened love among people. It creates sentiment of mutual survival among people. It develops processes of mutual aid and curbs temptations for deadly mutual struggles among people. It helps lay down and strengthen foundations for world peace. It therefore moves humanity in constructive channels helping in the raising of glorious, social, economic and political structures f Universal human prosperity, and social bliss.

2. Love:

In the world of duality (Apparentism), there are two trends pulling in opposite directions, one being the trend to join and the other being the trend to split. The trend that joins and brings together is love. Love is the original essence of religion. Out of love unity arises. It builds up atmosphere of peace and harmony. For human to progress peace is an essential prerequisite. Whatever differences there are in the world today are all due to nonpresence of love. The opposite for love is hatred and it leads to division. With love, all pulls to recourses to violence for reaching of the goal and for gaining domination melt away. To win or earn and enjoy equality becomes the ruling sentiment in love. Love removes suspicion and mistrust. Love fears nothing. Love motivates evolution. Hatred pulls life to the depths of wickedness and misery. Attraction and love both are one. Reaction repulsion and hatred are the sentiments opposed to love.

3. Nonviolence.

The difference between human and animal is that human is not a slave of instincts as animal is. Violence, aggression or self assertion is also one of the animal instincts. It causes inequality, strife, exploitation and pride of power among human.

All the wars suppressions and tyrannies that take place in the world today are due, to the doctrine of violence at an arbiter of differences and disagreements among human. With nonviolence as a method for settling disputes, human give up aggression and take recourse to mutual understanding and altruistic approach to reach agreements. Violence is the

law of jungle. Violence prohibits love and separates human from human. Violence is the foe of reason and in absence of reason, unity, peace and human prosperity can never be reached.

4. Tolerance:

Tolerance has its opposite in bigotry, and fanaticism. Fanaticism is the product of self-interest. With fanaticism, road to love, unity and understanding gets permanently blocked. Fanaticism reflects miserliness of mind and condemns human to a narrow view of life. It blunts human's capacity to know or recognize truth.

Tolerance suppresses self-interest and arouses sentiments of altruism, in human. It produces realization of the need for mutual cooperation, among human. It creates sentiments of love and charity in human mind. Human learns tolerance as he begins knowing himself. Tolerance removes contradictions among religion and shows the way to the basic unity in them. Tolerance smoothes away differences among warring ideologies and creates conditions for their coexistence. Tolerance blinds people to the principle of mutual survival and thus paves way for unity among humankind.

5. Non-alignment

For understanding this concept, a great amount of care has to be exercised. Non-alignment can never be an ethically good and useful approach in the following situations

When it is the question of choice between right and wrong.

"When it is the question of choice between nonviolence and justice on one hand and violence and tyranny on the other.

When it is the question of choice between freedom and slavery;

"When it is the question of choice between love and hatred.

In such a situation, one has to declare one's partisanship openly and fearlessly and place one's weight in the balance in favor of truth and justice.

Non-alignment, however, is not only ethically but even programmatically a good and useful proposition in the following cases.

When certain powers are engaged against each other for their class interests and imperialistic objective.

When leaders of different, religions, in defiance of the basic unity of religions and the law of the religion of nature, claim truths monopoly on their respective sides and fight among themselves.

When individuals groups and nations fight among themselves for gaining domination over others depends upon their power of money, numerical strength and lethal weapons.

Truth has no delimitation. With expansion of areas of experience and knowledge, new truths emerge into light. Who like mantel robot stick to what at one time they convinced was the truth can never play the role of non- alignment. A

nonaligned person has an open mind, which ways prepared to review its wares, and change its thinking the light of freshly gathered information and data.

6. Self-realization:

Human is a composite of matter and spirit. He ought, there, to have an understanding of both. Spirit is the motivating or the dynamic force of life. Human would gain maturity in for his good through exercise of reasons and of love, and could realize the basic truth of his persons being only a t of the whole Self-realization can have no higher aim to attain than this. Knowing God could also mean the same thing.

From material viewpoint too, human s highest refinement would consist in his devoting his entire self for the good of nation and through his nation for that of humankind. The contradiction of matter and spirit is thus resolved trough self-realization, and both find identity of interest in working for the good of self as a part through the good of the nation and that of humanity as the greater whole. Freedom of Sindhu Desh would end following ills, which resulted from Pakistan.

- Bigotry,
- Hatred,
- The imperialistic mentality,
- Unsound religious ideas,
- Class exploitation.
- *Bigotry:* Bigotry arises out of religious parochialism. It is the result of defective knowledge and narrowness of vision. Pakistan, as we know, came into being under religious deception practiced on Musalmans of India by Vested Interests among them. It was taken for granted among Musalmans then that the fires of religious bigotry that were being stoked among them shall only burn the Hindus. It was however, seen later that the fires hardly singed the Kafirs and instead developed the stokers themselves. Like an epidemic it spread. It found its victims in a galore near at hand; It was turned against provinces non-Muslim league workers opponents of government, the indigenous inhabitants of the smaller provinces, and finally against nonconformist sects within the fold. The fire of bigotry has settled almost in every heart in Pakistan. Hardly any world seems to exist beyond any body s nose, and the atomized people sit ready to serve under any master that comes up swaggering with tongue in check and whip in hand.
- *Hatred:* Hatred is the product of sick mind. It is a poison that leaves the system with difficulty. It inevitably leads to opposition and conflict. In whatever climes or country it enters it throws put unity, peace and prosperity from that land. It ruins the people by pushing them into civil wars. It is the one single factor that endangers the social fabric the most. It is the arch, disturber of peace both social peace and the world peace.
- *Imperial mentality:* A few vested interests or some fascistically inclined nations pursuing their self-interests, establish their political control and domination over people and other nations in order to exploit them maturely, and for maintaining such a hold over them, also try to enslave them culturally. This we call imperialist or the master mentality. In Pakistan the Muhajir-Punjabi Vested Interests have kept the Bengali, Sindhi, Balochi and

Pakhtoon people under such domination, and have exploited these materially and also have sought to enslave them culturally. It is for liberation from this political, economic and cultural stranglehold that Bengalis fought and got free. The peoples of Sindh, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonistan are fighting for the same freedom. The Sindhis, the Baluchis and the Pakhtoons are certainly going to suffer terribly for daring to fight against the masters. The wounds and the scars of sufferings that would be left on them may have to take very long to heal and disappear.

- *Unsound religious ideas.* On the eve of establishment of Pakistan, the Muslim elite of the Muslim minority provinces and those Punjabi putting wrong interpretations on Islam declared Muslims a separate nation and arousing them against Hindus had the country divided. Therefore these same elements have been keeping the mind of the common people diverted from their real problems by raising smokescreens before them of Islamic constitution and Islamic form of state etc. Now they have taken in hand similar fresh bamboozling behind the slogans of Islamic unity and Unity of Muslim Countries. These groundless and deceptive ideas sold to the people in the name of religion have poisoned the people's mind, which now cries for health. After Sindh wins freedom, religion will have to be separated from politics and both will have to be administered on right lines. Politics will have to be used for building the nation politically, economically and culturally into an awakened, united peaceable and prosperous nation. Religion will play its due role in working for peace on earth and good will for humankind and for moral regeneration of the people.
- *Class exploitation.* In Pakistan, keeping the people pleased in circuses and the artful, there has been a rolling mill of exploitation turning round and round systematically crushing the last ounce of blood from the veins of the laboring masses. Bangladesh has managed to get free, but it may take them years to restore to their people what was drained out of them. Free and independent Sindh has to expropriate the Muhajir-Punjabi expropriators of the lands, services, trading interests, banks and factories etc belonging to the people of Sindh. The losses and devastation to be suffered during the course of freedom struggle shall have to be replaced and repaired. Economic reconstruction of the country will have to be taken in hand on the basis of socialist economy for raising all round production in the country. Production relations will have to be reset so as to end exploitation of human by human once and for all in Sindh. The people of Sindh will have to take following steps besides, for raising a stable, modern progressive national State in their homeland.

All the inhabitants of Sindh irrespective of difference of religion will be integrated into one United awakened Sindhi nation, by systematically working for the removal of sentiments of bigotry, intolerance and hatred from among them on the basis of the teachings of the saint and mystics of Sindh.

Sindhi language will be developed in all fields to serve as an effective vehicle for modern scientific thought and technological use.

A national dress will be devised for the Sindhi people.

All tribal marks and distinctions will be discarded and the people will be integrated into one single united nation;

For promotion and advancement of Sindhi national culture, a comprehensive program of work will be planned and executed.

Woman will be given equal rights with man. They will be freed from economic dependence on human. Steps will be taken by, which they will be enabled to work shoulder to shoulder with human and thus make an effective contribution to the wellbeing and advancement of the nation.

Pirs, Mullahs, and Tribal Sardars are a great hindrance in the way of the progress and development of the nation. For correcting them, they will be temporarily deprived of rights of citizenship, just like non-nationals of Sindh.

For promoting religious tolerance and the philosophy of Unity of religions and mutual survival on the basis of mutual cooperation, well planned and well administered teaching and research institutions will be set up in which teachings and studies will be carried out on the thought and wisdom of the saints and mystics of Sid on these subjects. Persons advocating or showing intolerance, bigotry or hatred will be stopped from doing so.

In the case of the working people, all effort at their enlightenment will be made through education and propaganda. Nothing will be forced on them; The State policy of Sindhu Desh will be strictly secular.

All religious institutions will be used for the study and propagation of what is best in religions from the viewpoint of human good, and the abiding truths in them will be used on the basis of mutual survival of religions, for the collect good of the nation. The teachings of Shah Inayat, Shah Latif, Sachal Sarmast, Sami Dalpat and Guru Nanak and other saints and mystics of Sindh shall be used for creating bond of understanding and unity of purpose among the followers of different religions.

There will be no restriction on the teaching of materialism or Atheism also, so that human of religious thought and the non-religious people may fraternize and together work for the good of the country.

Sindhu Desh has a specific message of love and peace and of intellectual and spiritual rise for the nations, of the world. This message has to be studied, properly arranged and developed. All attempts and experiments that have taken place in Sindh for bringing different religions and philosophies together have to be given a concrete shape through study and research in the light of past traditions; so that the people of Sindh are able to play their due part in the mission of the nations of the world for the general human good and for bringing nearer the state of universal peace and social felicity on earth.

Here in Sindhu Desh, some specific yet popular experiments with the sole object of human welfare in view will also be initiated for the meeting together of civilizations of the East and the West.

Here a comparative study will have to be carried out of religion, philosophy and science, and having resolved their differences, the three great fields of human thought will be used in a harmonious combination to the general good of human.

It will be from here that loves cup full to the brim will go round among the peoples of the world, calling them to the banquet of unity of nations and brotherhood of human in the world.

Politics in Sindhu Desh will be based on lasting ethical values, and will be an example of self-control and rectitude to the world.