POLITICS OF SINDH UNDER ZIA GOVERNMENT
AN ANALYSIS OF NATIONALISTS VS FEDERALISTS ORIENTATIONS

A Thesis

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Amir Ali Chandio

2009

Department of Political Science & International Relations
Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan

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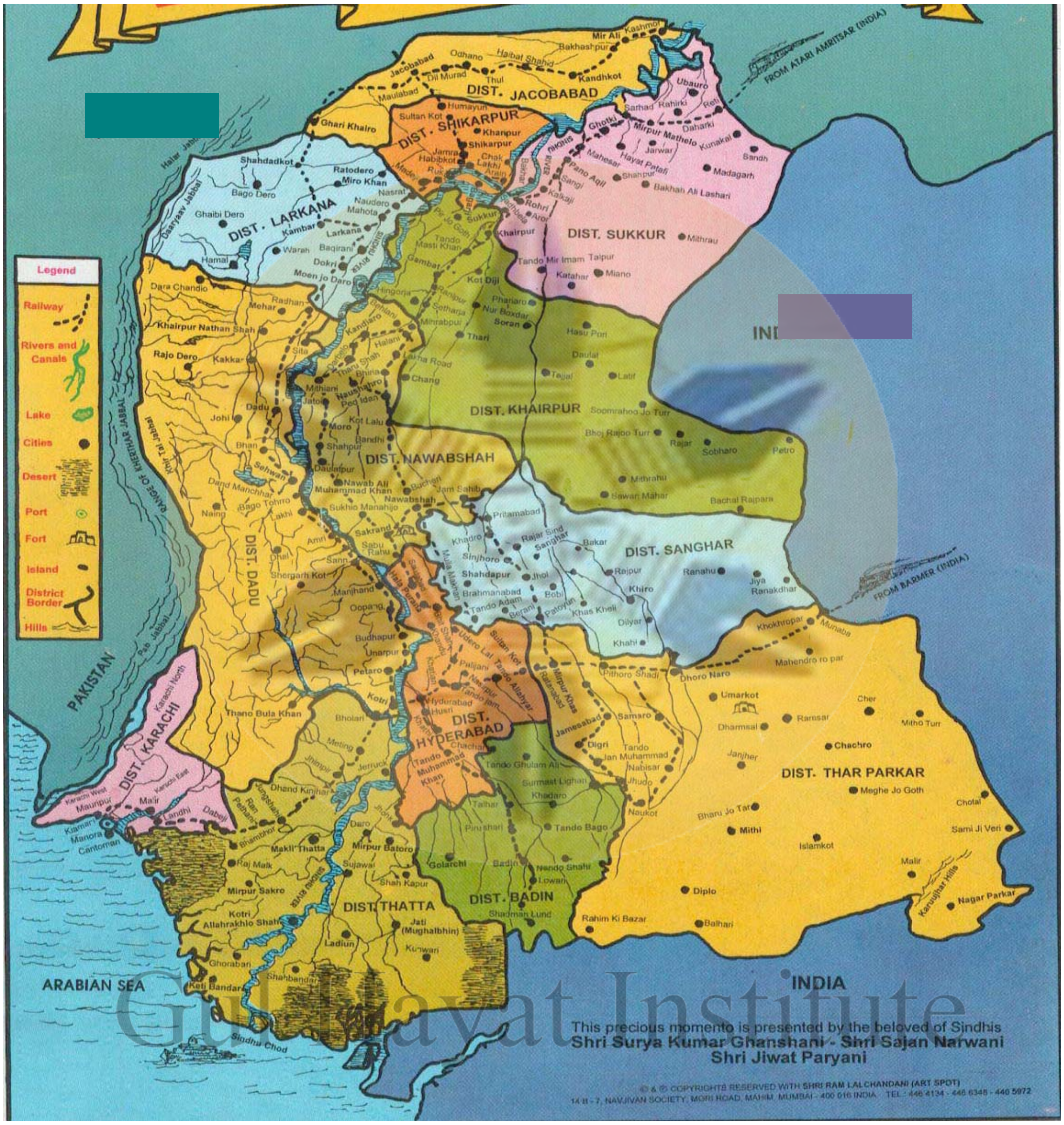
DIST. JACOBABAD
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DIST. SANGHAR
DIST. DADU
DIST. HYDERABAD
DIST. KARACHI
DIST. THAR PARKAR
DIST. BADIN
DIST. THATTA
Legend
Railway
Rivers and Canals
Lake
Cities
Desert
Port
Fort
Island
District Border
Hills
PAKISTAN
ARABIAN SEA
INDIA
FROM ATARI AMRITSAR (INDIA)
FROM BARMER (INDIA)
Jacobabad
Kandhkot
Shikarpur
Larkana
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Rohri
Khairpur
Ghotki
Mirpur Mathelo
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Sehwan
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Sanghar
Hyderabad
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Manora
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Diplo
Nagar Parkar
Keti Bandar
Moen jo Daro
This precious momento is presented by the beloved of Sindhis
Shri Surya Kumar Ghanshani - Shri Sajan Narwani
Shri Jiwat Paryani
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Dedicated to:

Baba Bullay Shah & Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai

The poets of love, fraternity, and peace

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed…….(candidate)

Date…….

CERTIFICATES

This is to certify that I have gone through the thesis submitted by Mr. Amir Ali Chandio thoroughly and found the whole work original and acceptable for the award of the degree of Doctorate in Political Science. To the best of my knowledge this work has not been submitted anywhere before for any degree.

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ABSTRACT

The nationalist feelings in Sindh existed long before the independence, during British rule. The *Hur* movement and movement of the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency for the restoration of separate provincial status were the evidence's of Sindhi nationalist thinking.

After the restoration of the provincial status of Sindh the politics of province dominated by the nationalist or provincial parties. The result of 1937 elections showed that country level parties such as All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress could not success to win the elections in Sindh. Even Muslim League did not achieve a single seat. After the guarantees of the provincial autonomy and sovereign status to the units in Lahore Resolution 1940, the politician of Sindh supported Pakistan with the hope that after the independence their identification as well as their legitimate rights would be protected. But unfortunately their hopes could not fulfill the requisites requirements of federalism such as grant of provincial autonomy to federating units, supremacy of constitution, democratic and participatory political system and independent judiciary.

Unfortunately the parameters of the federation had been undermined by the civil and military bureaucracy of Pakistan since the day of its independence. Although the government of India Act 1935 was adopted as a first interim constitution of Pakistan but its federal part was not implemented upto 1956. All three constitutions of Pakistan lacked pre-requisites of a federation, making difficulties of the provinces to function in a proper manner under a settled formula to create a federal state.

Nationalist feelings in Sindh upraised due to that flaws and also of the dominancy of the migrants in early years of independence. The feelings flourished as a result of unification of the four provinces of West Wing. During One Unit barrage lands were allotted to non Sindhis and large number of the people of Punjab and NWFP was settled in Sindh.

After the separation of Bengal, the power was transferred to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. First time after the death of Quaidi-e-Azam a Sindhi speaking had succeeded to acquire the highest seat of the country. Bhutto government tried to compensate the Sindhis to involve them in government affairs. Due to such efforts the sense of alienation and deprivation of Sindhis was reduced. They felt Bhutto's government as their own government. Therefore the affiliations and commitments of the people of Sindh were diverted temporarily towards the federation.

The situation of Sindh changed when elected government of Bhutto was toppled down by General Zia through the military coup. It was big shock for the people of Sindh because during Bhutto's era Sindhis has found an opportunity to enter in the power structure. After ousting of Bhutto, a large number of Sindhis were terminated or suspended from their services. This situation accentuated the nationalist feelings.

The case of the execution of Z. A. Bhutto increased sense of deprivation when four Punjabi judges of Supreme Court supported death sentence of Bhutto and three non Punjabis judges opposed it. Bhutto was executed, it was a big tragedy for the people of the Sindh.

The people of Sindh launched a movement against the regime Zia regime on MRD's platform to restore democracy in Pakistan. Military government used all

means to crush the democratic movement. Even Zia *junta* killed the number of the people and used air force. MRD movement actually was the first big threat to Zia regime but it was tackled with iron hands and subdued completely. If the people of Punjab had participated in the movement it would have become difficult for Zia to stay in power. Marginal participation of the Punjab in the MRD movement also increased the political gap in Punjab and Sindh.

The study of the Zia period shows that Zia patronized the ethno nationalist organizations in Sindh such as Muhajir Quomi Movement. He established the relations with G. M. Sayed; as well, who was against the existence of Pakistan. The formation of Sindhi Baluch Pashtoon Front also the part of Zia's strategy. Of 'Divided and rule policy' which created the unending political enmity among the people of country.

The policy of Zia government had also decreased the political sense when non party elections held in 1985. As a result the *bradary,* regional and religious thinking flourished and candidates got the support of the voters not on the ground of their political affiliations but on *bradary,* regionnal and religious basis.

The quasi democratic government formulated after the elections of 1985 and Mohammad Khan Junejo became Prime Minister. Martial Law was lifted in December 1985 but in Sindh a military General was continued as a Governor of Province. It created many questions in the minds of the people.

The authoritarian thinking of Zia even could not bear his hand picked Prime Minister Junejo and he dissolved his government and assemblies. This action of Zia increased the hatred thinking among the people of Sindh against the army as a whole.

The rule of Zia regime was not good for the integrity and unity of the country. In the enmity of PPP he established the relations with separatists. Those actions of regime went against the interests of federation. The federal forces downed at that time due to Zia's interest in prolong his dictatorial rule and encouragement of secessionist and ethno nationalist organizations. At that time only PPP upheld the banner of federalism in Sindh.

AKNOWLEDGEMENT

In completing this study, I am honoured for having Professor Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed Choudhry as my supervisor, whose reputation as a scholar is well known and respected especially in the field of Political Science, International Relations and Local Government. I am greatly indebted to him for steering me through this difficult task, tolerating my moods, peculiarities and weaknesses, always sparing time to fit my demands. I am particularly grateful to him for the critical but constructive comments on my studies. I am sure that without his valuable suggestions, proper guidance and hard efforts, this study could not have been completed.

I am thankful to all members of the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan and particularly Chairman of the Department Professor Dr. Khawaja Sayed Alquama, Admn. Officer, Sayed Amir Ali Shah and Mahar Munir Ahmed the Superintendent. I have to pay special thanks to my friend Dr. Hakoomat Ali Associate Professor Agriculture College of BZU Multan. He always took extra care of me during my stay in Multan.

I wish to acknowledge the extraordinary support and help of my colleagues of the University; specially Professor Dr. Ghulam Sarwar Markhand, Professor Dr. Abdul Majeed Chandio, Dr. Sayed Noor Shah Bukhari, Dr. Taj Mohammad Lashari , Ghulam Mustafa Buledi and Imdad Hussain Chandio who guided and supported me during research time.

I owe profound thanks to all the faculty members of the Department of International Relations and Political Science, University of Sargodha, who fully cooperated and helped me during my frequent visits to the University when my

supervisor moved there as Chairman of the Department and also as Dean Faculty of Arts, Social Sciences and Law.

My special thanks go also to Mr. Ghulam Qadir Abbasi Assistant Librarian Central Library, Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur for his cooperation and help during the search material. I would like to pay special thanks to all politicians and intellectuals, who made me able to complete this work.

Lastly I am appreciative to my family members, without their cooperation and support; it was difficult for me to complete this thesis. In this case I am in debated to my wives Shahida and Sardaran, both encouraged me for the completion of this work. I am especially in debated to my children for the completion of this study I spent precious moments which were purely for them. They were the source of my energy that inspired, pushed, motivated and drove me to finish what I started. I thank them dearly. I am also thankful to younger brother Rajib Ali who supported me in this work.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ANP — Awami National Party
- DSF — Democratic Students Fderation
- IJI — Islami *Jamhoree* (Democratic) *Ithad* (Alliance)
- J.S.S.F — Jea Sindh Student Federation
- JUI — Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Islam
- JUP — Jamiat-e-Ulma-e-Pakistan
- MQM — Mutahida Quomi Movement
- MQM(H) — Muhajir Quomi Movement Haqiqi
- MRD — Movement for the Restoration of Democracy
- NAP — National Awami Party
- NSF — National Students Federation
- NSSO — New Sindhi Students Organization
- PDP — Pakistan Democratic Party
- PNA — Pakistan National Alliance
- PNP — Pakistan National Party
- PPI — Punjabi Pashtoon Alliance
- PPP — Pakistan Peoples Party
- PSF — Peoples Students Federation
- SPSF — Sindh Peoples students Federation

GLOSSARY

• Awam	Peoples
• Azad	Independent
• Bazam-e-Soofian-e Sindh	Organization of the Soofis of Sindh
• Bihari	Peoples who migrated from Bihar (India)
• Biradary ,	Family, Blood relative
• Dubbo	Area near Hyderabad (Famous due to war B/n British and Talurs ruler of Sindh
• Haq Parast	The name of the members of MQM
• *Hari Sangat*	Farmers Organization
• Hari	Peasant, Farmer
• Hindu Maha Sabha	Organization of Extremist Hindus
• Hur	Mureed of Pir Pagaro
• Hyder Choke	Choke in Hyderabad city on the name Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi
• Ithad	Alliance
• Jagirdar	Land lord, Feudal
• Jawans	Youth, Constable
• Jeay Sindh	Long Live Sindh
• Kamdars	Managers of feudal
• Khaki Joyo	Renowned Sindhi Poet
• Khirthar	Mountain Area ar Sindh Balochistan Border p.
• Mahaz	Front
• Masjid Mazal Gah	Mosque Situated at Sukkur
• Miani	Area near Hyderabad (Famous due to war b/n British and Talpurs ruler of Sindh
• Molvi	Religious Scholar
• Muhajir	Migrants (Migrated From India to Pakistan)
• Mutahida Awami Mahaz	United Peoples Front

- *Neelam Band Kro* — Stop the Auctions
- Pakistan Jo Matab Chh Phasoon Phatka Martial Law — Pakistan means, sentence of death, flogging and army rule
- Pirs — Religious leader
- *Porhiat Sangat* — Labour Organization
- Rabita — Contact, Relations
- Sehri — Food for Fasting in Ramzan
- Sepah-e- Mohammad — Militant organization of Shia Muslims
- Sepah-e-Sahaba — Militant organization of Sunni Muslims
- Shahidat — Martyrdom Holy death
- *Sharif- un-nafas* — Gentle Man
- Sindh Dost — Friends of Sindh
- Sindh Hari Committee — Organization of the farmers of Sindh
- Sindhi Awami Tahreek — Sindhi Peoples Movement
- Thar — Desert area at Border of Pakistan (Sindh) and India
- Waderras — Chief of Clan or Chief of Village
- Watan Dost — Friends of Country (state)
- Zamindar — Land owners
- Zamindari — Occupation or Profession of Agriculturer

Chapter One

Introduction

Pakistan came into being in 1947 as an independent federal state. It consisted of five units Bengal, Punjab, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Balochistan and Sindh. All the units joined the newly born state according to the 1940 resolution of Lahore, which came to be known as Pakistan Resolution, passed in Lahore on 23rd March 1940 in the meeting of All India Muslim League. According to the resolution the units of the federation would be autonomous and sovereign.

> "No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely, that the geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign." (Khan, S. A., 1988, pp. 2, 3)

Pakistan was the result of the long struggle of the Muslim of the South Asia for their separate homeland.

Sindh is the most important province of the country due to its geopolitical situation. Sindh province is located in the southeast with the border of India and Arabian Sea. It covers about 1,51,440 square kilometers area (Encyclopedia Americana, 1986, p. 837). The total population of Sindh province according to the census of 1981 was 1,90,28,666 (Government of Pakistan, 1984).

Sindh lies between 23-25 and 28-30 north longitude and 66-42 and 71-10 east longitude. It is about 579 kilometers in length from north to south and its extreme wideness is 442 kilometers. The average breadth is about 281 kilometers (Sindh Quarterly, 1994).

Sindh province is placed between the desert of Thar, which is situated with the border of India and arid plateau of Balochistan. In East of the province there is desert of Thar connected with Indian border. The northern boundaries of the province are connected with the province of Punjab as well as Balochistan. In the west the *Khirthar* Mountain range separates Sindh from Balochistan. In the south there is Arabian Sea with its 580 kilometer long sea border. This is very useful and important for the province as well as for the whole country.

East India Company of Britain conquered Sindh in 1843. After the retirement of Charles Napier in October 1847 it was made a part of Bombay province (Lari, 1996). People of Sindh were against that merger. Therefore, they demanded the separation of Sindh from Bombay and restoration of its previous status. In this regard Sindhis launched a successful movement for the restoration of the previous provincial status of Sindh. The British Government accepted that demand and separated it from Bombay Presidency in 1936, under the 'Indian Act 1935'. Those were the days of the growing of Sindhi Nationalism. The feudal Lords of the province were more active in the movement of the separation. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, Seth Har Chand Rai Washindas, Ghulam Murtaza Sayed (G. M. Sayed) were prominent among them.

The majority of the Hindu community was against the separation (Khuhro, 1998). They did not participate in the separatist movement due to its domination on trade, education and other professions. And they felt secure influential position under Bombay presidency. It shows that federal and national politics existed in the region even before the creation of Pakistan. So the history of the conflict of federal and national politics in Sindh is old than the history of Pakistan. It started with the merger of Bombay and Sindh.

The Sindhi nationalist or provincial political parties were stronger than the country level parties from 1936 to 1942. In the said period, the federal or country level parties such as All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress could not successed to gain the support of the masses. It was also proved in the elections of

1937. The leadership of the Sindh province joined and supported the All India Muslim League on the assurance of the provincial autonomy.

During the struggle of independence, people of the majority Muslim provinces were promised by the leadership of All India Muslim League that the constituent units of the Muslim federation would be autonomous and sovereign. The leaders also told that after the independence they would take special measures for the economic development of the people of all the provinces. Accordingly, Sindhis were also given hopes for better social and economic prospects and happier living. These hopes could not be fulfilled after the creation of Pakistan due to continuous centralization of powers and imposition of authoritarian rule of governance.

A huge number of the migrants settled in the Sindh and even were offered important positions in bureaucracy and proprietorship of evacuee properties. The key posts of the government and the central leadership of the Muslim League was in the hands of non-Sindhis. There was no place in the decision-making institutions for Sindhis. The voice of the Sindhis was completely ignored on the matter of the separation of Karachi. It was the first violation of the principles of the federal form of the government and violation of 'Pakistan Resolution.' It became the reason of the growth of sense of deprivation in the people of Sindh.

Sindh Government and Muslim League Sindh branch also opposed the separation of Karachi but central government did not response to its provincial government and not his party colleagues. When Mohammad Ayub Khuhro was Chief Minister of Sindh, he protected the interests of the people of Sindh and opposed this decision. As a result he was dismissed by the central government, though he enjoyed the support of the majority of the members of the provincial assembly. It was the violation of the provincial autonomy as well as humiliation of the public mandate. This ignoring attitude of the federal governments towards the Sindhis was being as a stepmother's attitude. It turned them towards the provincial and nationalistic politics, away from the national stream.

Several governments of Sindh were frequently dismissed and the Chief Ministers of Sindh were changed according to the desires and needs of the federal government. It means that there was no importance of the provincial governments as well as provincial assembly. Pakistan government was run as a unitary state rather than a federal one. In that phenomenon the regional and provincial feelings were raised in the mind of the people of the province.

The ignorance of Sindhi language created the nationalist thinking among the Sindhis. Federal government declared Urdu as a national language of the country; even it was the mother tongue of only 3% people of the country. The Sindhi language was suppressed in Karachi, specially after the declaring it as 'Federal Capital'. So this action of the government was the main cause of the creation of the nationalist feelings in Sindh.

Muhajirs and Punjabis were dominant in the government in those years. Bengalis who were in majority, but they were also being victimized. The provincial elections were held in 1954 in Bengal province. United Front defeated to the Muslim League in the elections. United Front was the alliance of Bengali nationalist. They wanted more autonomy and rights for the Bengal. After the success of the United Front in the provincial elections in Bengal, the ruling elites felt threat to their vested interests. They decided to amalgamate the provinces of West Pakistan into One Unit to make the numerical majority of Bengalis ineffective, as they were demanding the rights on the basis of population. Hence they successfully formulate the One Unit in 1955 by ignoring the resentment and opposition of the smaller provinces.

The formation of the One Unit was against the interests of the Sindh and served only the interests of political elites of the Punjab in the name of unity and the integration of the country. It destroyed an identity of the Sindh that province had for the centuries and was restored after separation from Bombay Presidency. Now

it was only the administrative division of West Pakistan province. The historical status of Sindh was ended by threat and force.

After the formation of One Unit a huge number of Punjabis and Pathan migrated to Sindh and settled. The barrage land of Sindh was distributed among the military and civilian bureaucracy. The majority of them belonged to Punjab. The jobs were also occupied by non-Sindhis. The licenses of the business were also issued to the Punjabis and Pashtoons. So, that phenomenon changed the geopolitical and economic situation of Sindh.

Provincial and Sindhi nationalist organizations were organized during said period. They moved against the One Unit and made the alliance with Pashtoon and Baloch nationalists against the hegemony of Punjabis. They launched movements on the platform of 'Anti One Unit Front'. When the politicians of the smaller provinces tried to pass the resolution against One Unit in the West Pakistan Assembly, Martial Law was imposed and all the assemblies were dissolved by the Army Chief Ayub Khan. One Unit remained continued under the regime of Ayub Khan.

During that period there was no representation of Sindhis in the power structure. The Punjabis, Muhajirs and Pashtoons dominated in the army. There was no Sindhi and Baloch General in the army. There was marginal representation of Sindhis in the civil bureaucracy. After the creation of Pakistan, the Barrage land was allotted to the Punjabis and they were settled in various parts of Sindh under the shadow of the Government.

It was the time when nationalist forces flourished all over the country, specially in Sindh and Bengal.

> "The demand for "Six Points" by East Pakistan leadership (1966) however showed that new disintegrative forces had become strong. The demand in the "Six Points" programme was purely secular and rooted in a sheer desire for political power. The nation-building process was seriously disrupted." (Khalid, 2000)

The same type demands flourished in Sindh. The slogan of '*Jeay Sindh*' introduced. Many organizations were formulated on provincial and nationalist basis, such as Sindh *Nojawan Mahaz*, *Azad* Students Organization, *Marooara* Welfare Association and Hyderabad Students' Federation etc was the gift of One Unit. Abdul Khaliq Junejo leader of Jeay Sindh Mahaz said, "It was the big incident in the history of the Pakistan where the existence of the nationality was in threat (Interview with Khaliq Junejo).

The people of the country were continuously in efforts for the restoration of the previous status of provinces and the parliamentary form of government. Ayub resigned on 25th March 1969 and handed over the power to the Commander-in-Chief Yahya Khan as a result of a countrywide movement against him. Ayub's ex-cabinet member Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also moved against him and led the anti Ayub movement in West Pakistan. The Sindhi, Baloch and Pashtoon nationalists were already in struggle on the platform of 'Anti One Unit Front' against the authoritarian government of Ayub Khan. Yahya Khan announced to abolish One Unit and restored the provincial status of Punjab, NWFP, Balochistan and Sindh Provinces.

First general elections of Pakistan were held on 7th December 1970 on the basis of "one man one vote". The foreign observers as well as the local journalists said that it was free and fair election of Pakistan. Awami League won the elections. Sheikh Mujib-u-Rehman leader of Awami League launched his elections campaign on the basis of rights of the Bengalis. His six points were the core points of the elections campaign. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) won the majority seats of West Pakistan but he secured seats from Punjab and Sindh. In NWFP and Balochistan National Awami Party (NAP) won the majority of seats.

The Sindhi nationalists contested the elections on the platform of Sindh *Mutahida Mahaz*, but they were badly defeated. They did not win a single seat. G. M. Sayed

said, "If One Unit had not been abolished they would have won the elections as Awami League won in East Pakistan" (Interview with Yaseen Junejo). Dr Mubarak also agreed with these views during an interview with him (Interview with Dr. Mubarak Ali).

It was one of the reason of the defeat of Sindhi nationalists in the elections of 1970. Other than that, there was no political and economic programme of the Sindh Mutahida Mahaz. They gained the support of the masses on anti One Unit slogan when One Unit was ended there was no more attraction for Sindh Mutahida Mahaz in the people of Sindh. . Z. A. Bhutto, who was competing with them in the field of politics, used popular slogan '*Roti, Kapra Aur Makan*. Bhutto also used the nationalist slogans in the end of the Ayub era and moved against One Unit.

After the success of Awami League in the 1973 elections, the military elites were not ready to transfer the power to the elected representatives. Because the success of Awami League was against the wishes of the ruling class, due to its programme of more provincial autonomy.

When army delayed to transfer the power to the elected representatives, the people of Bengal launched a protest against it. The demonstrations and processions were started through out the East Pakistan. Army decided to crush the movement by iron hands. "It was decided on 22nd February 1971 by the Generals" (www.gendercide.org).

Sheikh Mujib, leader of the Awami League was arrested and military operation was started in East Pakistan. On 25th March 1971 the operation was launched at larger scale. "The University of Dacca was attacked and students exterminated in hundreds. Death squads roamed the streets of Dacca, killing some 7,000 people in a single night" (www.gendercide.org). It was the position of the oppression and suppression of the Bengali movement by the military of Pakistan. Millions of people were migrated to India. On 10th April 1971, the surviving leadership of the

Awami League declared Bangladesh Independent. In the movement, millions were killed and injured. Finally Indian troops entered and East Pakistan was separated from Pakistan and came into being as an independent state of Bangladesh on 16th December 1971.

After the defeat in Bengal war, army transferred the power to Z. A. Bhutto. He became Chief Martial Law Administrator, President and then Prime Minister of the rest of Pakistan. He was the first Sindhi, who became the head of the state and the government after Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Z-A-Bhutto gave the constitution to the nation. He believed in strong center. Therefore he ignored the existence of the nationalities in the federation. No doubt he accepted Pakistan as federal state consisted on four units. But he bitterly opposed the Sindhis, Balochs, Pashtoons and Punjabis as separate nations or nationalities. It was a reason that he bulldozed the norms of democracy and dismissed the Mengal government in the Balochistan province. The federal and nationalist politics were kept in epoch. In Sindh, G. M. Sayed demanded for the separation of Sindh as Sindhu Desh. G. M. Sayed, Habibullah Narejo, Abdul Wahid Aarisar and other leaders were sent to jail. Many Sindhi newspapers and monthly and quarterly journals were banned.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto countered the nationalist segments very wisely in Sindh. He offered the services to the people of Sindh, many Sindhis were appointed on the high posts on public and semi public sectors. First time Sindhis were appointed as government employees on priority basis. And many educational institutions were established and provided the health facilities to rural areas of the province. Sindhis felt Bhutto's government, as their own government, because it was the first time in the history of Pakistan that Sindhi entered in the power structure. So people of Sindh ignored the nationalist and provincial parties and groups. They got only a marginal support from the students and intellectuals. Pakistan Peoples Party of Z. A. Bhutto emerged as only popular party in the rural areas. In the urban areas religious parties such as Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamait-e-Ulma-e-Pakistan (JUP) secured a few seats in the assemblies. Bhutto's government was overthrown by

military coup in 1977. Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of Army Staff became Chief Martial Law Administrator.

General Zia was born in a lower middle class Arain family on 12th August 1924 at Jallundhur in East Punjab. His father was government employee in the British government as junior official. He sent his son to St. Stephen's College Delhi. After the graduation, he joined British Indian army in 1945. After the partition, Zia joined Pakistan army. The family of General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq migrated to Pakistan and settled in Peshawar. Zia's family belonged to Wahabi sect of Islam; therefore they preferred Peshawar, where the Wahabis were in majority.

Zia was selected as a Chief of Army Staff by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto after the completion of term of General Tikka Khan in March 1976. Bhutto preferred him over six senior generals. At that time he was corps commander of Multan. Shahid Javed Burki (1999) defined the main reason of the selection of General Zia by Bhutto He also had reputation of serving his superior with unquestioning loyalty. Bhutto liked such subordinates and even friends who would not ask any question from him. Bhutto's over trust on General Zia was proved harmful to him. He was hanged by his own handpicked General on 4th April 1979. People of Sindh once again felt thrown out from power structure. Under the government the execution of Z. A. Bhutto was a big shock for Sindh and hostility among Sindhi people increased against the military ruler.

Period of General Zia was crucial for Sindhis and also harmful for the integrity and unity of the country. He supported the nationalist and secessionist organizations. He patronized MQM in Sindh and also supported to the religious fundamentalist and extremist organizations. The drug and weapons smuggling increased during his period. The crime rate was high, generally in country and specially in Sindh province. The roads of Sindh were not secure; people felt unsecured even in their homes. Dacoits kidnapped the citizens for ransom. So the situation of law and order was worst in Sindh. The feudals and *Waderas* protected to dacoits. And the

authorities did not touch to them due to their vested interests. The common and opposite people were killed by them (Sahito, 2001).

Amita Pandya (1988) also supported to those views in these words:

"The direct result of his autocratic rule was the development of serious decisiveness among the ethnic groups of Pakistan. His government also allowed the development of a criminal network of exiled Afghan drug and arms merchants, in collusion with Pakistani military officers and civil servants."

Due to these policies of General Zia, nationalist and provincial politics flourished in Sindh. The ethno nationalist politics and extremism was grownup in his time. Many people were killed in ethno riots in the province. The economic activities were undermined in his rule. On the other hand, the national level parties supportive to federation and national integration were banned. They were not allowed to participate in the political process. As a result they could not play their role to counter the nationalists and secessionists effectively. The government machinery was busy to prove the national leaders as anti state and enemy of the country. Both, the federalist and nationalist forces of the province seem to be busy in contesting with each other at open and underground fronts.

The target of this study is to analyze this period in the context of struggle of the two forces against each other and the role of government or establishment in this regard.

The theme of the research is to analyze the Nationalists vs Federalists politics during Zia government. Federalists mean those who favoured federal system of government and advocated a strong central government. Nationalist means those who claimed themselves a separate nation (right or wrong) and they were active in the politics on the basis of nationalism in Sindh. The research would emphasis on the political strength and powers of the federalist politician and the nationalist politicians in Sindh. It also would analyze the

policies of General Zia towards the Sindh and Sindhis and its impact on the politics of Sindh.

Research Methodology

In this research, Scholar has employed a synthesis (combination) of two methods the research or investigation: the interpretative and the natural scientific method. "The interpretative method attempts to discover intentions of the social and political actors involved, focusing on their values, beliefs, perceptions and purpose. It attempts to discover the constitutive meanings of human actions through interpretation and understanding of both perceptions of the actors and the practices and convention of the society" (Amin, 1993, p. 12).

The scientific method on the other hand, looks for law like similarities in the behaviuors of the individuals, groups, state institutions and society and attempts to explain the phenomenon in a natural scientific mode (Amin, 1993).

In the research, both research sources means primary and secondary were used. The primary source is the important and valuable source to conduct and analyze the research. Same have been used in this work. The primary research sources depend on the field research comprising interviews, surveys and personal observation. The research on this topic is descriptive and qualitative because of its main source for data collection is the field research. It is a social research method that involves into the direct observation of social and political phenomenon in their natural settings. Various types of questions were prepared to apply for the conducting interviews and surveys for required material and knowledge from concerned quarters. Mainly questions were prepared on the policy of the Zia regime towards Sindh and the politics of federalism and nationalism.

Conducting of the interviews was not an easy task, specially from the feudal lords and politicians. After visiting many times to their Bungalows than they were agreed for the interview.

The secondary source of research also has been used in the research work. In this connection, the researcher visited various libraries and institutions. Others were contacted through the postal address, telephone and email. All sources were used to collect the published and unpublished material on the concerned topic. Analysis of statements, books, journals, magazines, gazetteers, newspapers government records, video films etc was made for the purpose of this research.

Organization of the study

The thesis is consisting on six chapters. First Chapter is an introductory and deals with the introduction of Sindh province. And also mentioned about the problem and its significance of the problem. The research methodology is also included in this chapter. After first an introductory chapter, the thesis is divided into five chapters including chapter of conclusion. The chapters are also divided into topics and sub–topics.

Second Chapter is Political history of Sindh this chapter is concerned with the history of the nationalist and federalist politics. Further tells about the federalist and nationalist politics from British period to Government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

Third Chapter is General Zia Phase-I Martial Law. In this chapter, the impact of the imposition of Martial Law of General Zia, the Execution of Z. A. Bhutto and its impact on the politics of Sindh and Movement for the Restoration of the Democracy have been analyzed. This chapter covers the nationalist and federalist politics during said period.

Fourth Chapter is about Nationalists vs Federalists. This chapter is about the study of the nationalists and regional organizations. Such as *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*, *Muhajir*

Quomi Movement, Punjabi Pashtoons *Ithad* and Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front. In which the reasons of origin and growth of organization traced.

Fifth Chapter is on the General Zia Phase-II Control Democracy. This chapter gives details of the last three years of the General Zia regime. It is divided into subtopics such as non-party general elections of 1985, Mohammad Khan Junejo, as Prime Minister, struggle of MRD 1986 under the leadership of the Benazir Bhutto and dissolution of the assemblies and its impact on the politics of the Sindh.

Sixth Chapter is about Conclusion. This chapter concludes and traces out the real and scientific reasons of the nationalist politics. A comprehensive understanding about the politics of the nationalists vs federalists have also been depicted. In the end of this chapter measures of integrity have been told.

Chapter 2

Political History of Sindh

The nationalist and federalist politics of Sindh started from the period of the British India. It left many impacts on the politics of Sindh. The grievances of the nationalists in the present Sindh also have their roots back in the history. Most of their claims are justified or supported from the history. They argue that the ruling elite of Pakistan centralists have betrayed from their commitments made during their struggle for independence or for separate homeland. So the research on the federalist and nationalist politics under the Zia government is linked with the politics of the period prior to it. Hence, the politics of that period is overviewed in the following pages.

Sindh during the British Period

The British occupied Sindh in 1843. They defeated Talpurs in the battle of *Miani* and of *Dubbo*. The British army conquered Sindh under the command of Sir Charles Napier who later was appointed as a Governor of Sindh. The British administration divided Sindh into three collectorats i.e. Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur. Sindh was merged with Bombay Presidency in 1847. As a result, Sindhis launched movement against this merger. It was initial step towards the separate homeland for the Muslims of India. In the history, "Sindh had remained more or less independent. Even when it formed part of large empires it always had its own governor and retained regional autonomy" (Khuhro, 1988, p. 88).

The people of Sindh opposed the decision of the merger of Sindh with Bombay Presidency. Bombay, headquarter of the province was about 800 miles (1280 Kilometers) away from Sindh. It was difficult for the local people to go to Bombay for their necessary works. Sindh could not be integrated with Bombay through a thousand years of its history. Some times Sindh remained under the direct rule of Delhi but as a separate unit. Also its culture, language and civilization were different from Bombay.

The British claimed that merger of Sindh with Bombay Presidency was taken for good administration and reduction of the expenditure. But after some time they withdrawn their previous idea and realized that due to the long distance there was lack of communication and ill administration and passed the "Sindh Act in 1868" which enhanced the powers of the Commissioner of Sindh (Khuhro, 1998).

When Sindh was the part of Bombay Presidency, there was no developmental work. The roads and other infrastructure were in worst condition due to the ignoring policy of the Bombay Presidency. There were fewer facilities of the health and education as compare to the other parts of the Bombay Presidency. There was no college until 1887. The first college was started in 1887 in Karachi.

> "Bribe and approach became the most corrupt elements in the country (Sindh) and the heads of the departments were coming to Sindh one and half week in a year for the sake of drinking and hunting in the limits of Sindh. And before going back they were giving illegal powers to their assistants and friends. By this way the departments of Sindh Government, Education, Judiciary Health, Irrigation etc became in worst conditions." (Sayed, G. M., a, p. 8)

Hindu and Muslim jointly demanded for the separation of Sindh from Bombay. Both, the Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League supported this demand. It was the effect of the separatist movement on Indian politics that Nehru demanded the separation of Sindh in his report that was famous as 'Nehru Report'. And Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also repeated that demand in his fourteen points (Khuhro, 1988). Finally the British Parliament passed the bill in 1935 known as 'Indian Act 1935'. According to its clause 46 Sindh separated from Bombay on 1st August 1936.

The movement of separation of Sindh proved a foundation stone for the Pakistan, which Sindh Assembly passed the resolution in the support of the Lahore Resolution and later it was first Assembly who decided to accede to Pakistan.

After the restoration of the provincial status of Sindh, Sir Lancelot Graham was appointed, as 1st Governor and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah became its first Chief Minister. Resultantly the politics of the province was entirely changed with in the days. The feudals and *Waderas* indulged in power race. "They were more concerned with personal rivalries and struggle for power than with political and party programs"(Talbot, 1990, p. 31).

The political parties were divided into federalist and nationalist/provincial parties. Actually provincial level parties were in strong position and supported by the Muslims. Federalist parties such as All India Muslim League and Indian National Congress were not popular in Sindh. Hindu Maha Sabha was also the country level party and supported by the Hindu community. In the election of 1937 Sindhi Muslims supported the provincial parties and Hindu community supported the country level parties such as Hindu Maha Sabha and Indian National Congress. The All India Muslim League did not win a single seat out of 37 Muslim seats in these elections. Indian National Congress succeeded only on eight seats. The results of the elections showed that provincial political parties such as Sindh United Party, Sindh Muslim Political Party and Sindh Azad Party were dominated on the Muslims politics of Sindh. The Hindu majority supported to Hindu Maha Sabha.

Though the majority of the members of the Assembly were Muslim but decisive power of the formation of the government was in the hands of the Hindus due to the differences between the Muslim members. At that time the parties dominated on the politics were as under.

Sindh Azad Party

Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi was the leader of the party. He formed the party in 1935. The party was converted from Sindh Azad Conference. Conference played a vital role in the separation of Sindh. Party also contested in the provincial elections of 1937, Azad party won three seats of the Assembly. "Main demand of the party was to establish an independent state of Sindh" (Ageef, 1989, p. 77).

Sindh United Party

The landowners of Sindh formed Sindh United party in 1936 on the pattern and line of Unionist Party of Punjab. The party established on non-communal basis. Hindus and Muslims were the member of the party. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, Allah Bakhsh Soomro, Abdullah Haroon, G. M. Sayed and Meeran Mohammad Shah were the leaders of the party. Party contested the elections of 1937 and won the Muslim majority seats. The main slogan of the party was 'Sindh for Sindhis' showed the nationalist posture of the party. Ageef (1989, p.23) narrated that the "slogan Sindh for Sindhis picked up the position of the party".

Sindh Muslim Political Party

Sir, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was the founder of the party and party formed in 1936. Hidayatullah was agreed to join the Sindh United party but when Sayed Meeran Mohammad Shah was nominated as a third deputy leader of the party, he showed his grievances and left the party. He established his own party, named Sindh Muslim Political Party. Party secured only four seats in the provincial elections held in 1937. The party formed first provincial government of Sindh.

Sindh Peoples Party

The party came into being on 12th July 1934 (Zardari, 2000). The party continued work even after the separation. Its politics was limited in the provincial boundaries. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was the founder and first president of the party. Allah Bakhsh Soomro, Meeran Mohammad Shah, Hatim Alvi and G. M. Sayed were the leaders of the party. Party was formed at the time when separation had been confirmed. Before the elections of 1937, party leadership joined Sindh United Party and the party lost its existence.

Sindh Hindu Maha Sabha

This party was the branch of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha. The organization of the party was on communal basis. The aim of the party was to protect the rights of the

Hindus and to establish a purely Hindu state. The party contested in the elections of 1937 and won the eleven seats of the Sindh Assembly.

Sindh Congress party

Sindh Congress Party actually was branch of the Indian National Congress. It secured only eight seats of Sindh Assembly in the elections of 1937. This Party opposed Pakistan.

All India Muslim League

All India Muslim League was formed in 1906. Muslim League Sindh branch was organized in 1907 but party could not gain the support of the people of Sindh. It was activated in 1917. First congress of the League was held on 11th November 1917 under the leadership of Sayed Assadullah Shah at Sukkur (Zardari, 2000). Yousif Ali (Ali Bhai) and Ghulam Hussain Bhurgari were elected as President and General Secretary respectively. Party could not get the support of the people of the province. Ian Talbot (1990, p. 38) narrated that point as under:

> "Surprisingly the Muslim League did not benefit greatly from the separation demand. The All India League did take up the issue from 1925 on wards. But this was more as a bargaining counter to secure adequate representation for the Muslim minority provinces in any future constitution development than out of solidarity with Sindhi Muslims cause".

In the elections of 1937 not a single candidate contested the elections on the platform of Muslim League. Jinnah visited Karachi in 1936 to convince the Muslims of Sindh that they would contest the elections on Muslim League platform but no one was ready for it. The party position in the Sindh Assembly was as under:

Sindh United Party	18
Sindh Hindu Maha Sabha	11
Indian National Congress	08
Sindh Muslim Political Party	04

Sindh Azad Party	03
Independent Muslims	09
Independent Hindus	02
Labour	01

Other seats of the assembly gone to the European members (Zardari, 2000, p. 52).

Allah Bakhsh Soomro was nominated as a parliamentary leader of the party. According to the democratic norms, rules and traditions, Governor had to invite Sindh United Party to form the government but Governor ruled out the principle of the democracy and invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah who had only 4 seats. It was the beginning of the horse-trading in the history of Sindh. In 1938, Sheikh Abdul Majeed and G. M. Sayed joined the Muslim League and worked for its organization. Muslim League highlighted the issue of the Masjid Manzal Gah and turned it into their political interest in which at least according to official statement "14 Muslims were killed and 12 injured, while 158 Hindus were killed and 69 were injured. According to other sources, riots were not limited to Sukkur and over 2,000 Hindus were butchered and thousands were injured and their property looted and burnt "(Lari, 1996, p. 186).

At that time Pir Sibghtullah Pagaro ordered to his Hurs to prevent the religious riots in Sindh. He worked for the Independent Sindh. "He was ready to scarify his life for the freedom of the country" (Nabi, 2001, p.44). Colonel Philip (2002, p. 99) said that "the main objective of the *Hur*s was to see Pagaro as a King of Sindh." He was hanged on 20th March 1943 in the case of Mutiny and rebellion by the British rulers. If Pir was not hanged and *Hur* movement was not suppressed and crushed before its maturity, Sindhi nationalist movement would have been strong and have created many problems even for the Muslim League as he opposed Muslim League. G. M. Sayed (1995, pp. 37, 38) wrote that "When I met the Pir before his arrest, I became convinced that he totally opposed the communalism and regarded the Muslim League as dangerous to Muslims interests. Also he wanted an end to British rule over Sindh."

Sindh Muslim League demanded for the separate homeland for the Muslim of India and passed the resolution in 1938 (Zardari, 2000). All India Muslim League

passed to some extent same resolution in 1940 at Lahore, now which is known as a 'Pakistan Resolution'. After the 1940 Resolution, Muslim League became popular in Sindh.

Muslim League succeeded in 1942 to govern Sindh. "G. M. Sayed moved the resolution in the support of Lahore Resolution 1940 in Sindh Assembly and the Assembly passed resolution on 3rd March 1943" (Lari, 1996, p. 190).

Mohammad Usman Soomro, the member of the Soomro group in Sindh Assembly opposed the resolution and said that "independence does not mean that our Sindh province should be combined with Balochistan, Punjab or Pakistan or with other provinces"(Lari, 1996, p. 190). "Sindh Assembly consisted of 60 members. When the resolution was passed in the favor of the Pakistan Resolution, only 27 members were present in the house and 24 cast their vote in the support" (Zardari, 2000, p. 206).

Muslim League achieved the support of the people and political lords. It was clear from the elections of 1946. In the elections of 1946, G. M. Sayed opposed Muslim League and contested the elections on the platform of Progressive Muslim League. Elections were held on 21st January 1946. Elections results are given below:

Muslim League	27
Sayed group	04
Soomro group	04
Indian National Congress	22
European	03 (Pirzada, D. A., 1995, p. 189)

After the results of the elections G. M. Sayed succeeded to form one Coalition Party in the assembly against the Muslim League and became the Leader of the coalition (Ageef, 1989, Zardari, 2000). The strength of the Coalition Party reached to 30 members, 22 of Congress, 04 of Sayed group and 04 of Soomro group. Muslim League secured 27 out of 60 seats. The leaders of the Coalition Party were hopeful that Governor would invite them to form the government. But position was entirely changed when European members supported Muslim League. After this position was equal in the house, 30 members supported the Coalition Party and same

number supported League. After all Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to form the Sindh Government. Indian National Congress and other nationalist groups criticized the action of the Governor.

Sindh Assembly session was held on 5th September 1946. The Coalition Party again filled no confidence motion, which resulted in tie, the Muslim League once again survived with the help of the votes of the European members. The British Governor Sir Francis Mudie, who had come under criticism by the congress high command for keeping the Muslim League government afloat with the help of the European members (Lari, 1996). Even after that Muslim League was not in a position to keep the majority in the assembly. Governor dissolved the assembly and kept Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as a caretaker Prime Minister and ordered the fresh elections in December 1946.

"If G. M. Sayed had succeeded to form a pro Congress government with the help of Hindu members, it would have weakened Jinnah's position in the center" (Lari, 1996, p. 203). It has been expected that if G. M. Sayed was succeeded to form the nationalist government in Sindh, he should have opposed the Pakistan. Ian Talbot (1990, p. 31) explained that situation in these words "A nationalist government in Karachi might 'bury Pakistan in Sindh'."

New provincial elections were held on 9th December 1946. Muslim League won all Muslim seats. G. M. Sayed was defeated in the election and he put allegation of the rigging in the elections and went to the election Tribunal. After the partition, tribunal declared G. M. Sayed as a successful candidate (Tribunal decision, quoted by Zardari, 2000).

On 26th June 1947, Sindh Assembly passed the resolution that Sindh should join the new Constituent Assembly in pursuance of the British government plan of 30th June 1947. "All elected members of the Muslim League cast their votes in the support of the Pakistan, 33 vote for yes and 20 for no" (Lari, 1996, p. 209).

Sindh Legislative Assembly decided on 26th June 1947 to join Pakistan and thus Sindh became the first province who opts for the new Muslim country. Pakistan came into being on 14th August 1947. Mohammad Ali Jinnah became the First Governor General of newly created state. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro became the Chief Minister and Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was appointed as a Governor of Sindh.

The politics of Sindh after the separation of Bombay was dominated by the provincial political parties but after 1942, Muslim League became in strong position. In general, politics under the control of feudals and Jagirdars and they changed their loyalty according to their interests. They supported Pakistan in this hope that after the creation of Pakistan they would fully authorized to rule on Sindh.

Politics of Sindh after Independence to 1955

After the independence the politics of Sindh was entirely changed due to the big numbers of the Muhajirs came and settled in the urban areas of the province. It was a big problem for Sindh government to settle and accommodated them. First difference took between the Sindh and federal government on the issue of the Muhajirs. Karachi selected as Capital of the country so majority of the Muhajirs moved to Karachi.

It was the policy of the Sindh government that Muhajirs would be dispersed in all over the Sindh. Due to lack of facilities and expenditure provincial government did not ready to accept the more Muhajirs. The differences were high between the Sindh Chief Minister Mohammad Ayub Khuhro and the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan.

The allotment of the evacuee property and maintenance of Law and order situation were also the points of the difference between the executive of the province and the executive of the country.

Central government decided that Karachi would become under the control of federal government and separated from Sindh. It became the core issue for Sindhis; they treated

it against the unity and integrity of Sindh. People of Sindh opposed the division of Sindh. Sindh Muslim League and other political parties were against it. The representative of Sindh in the Constituent Assembly also raised the voice against the separation of Karachi. "Sindh Assembly opposed the separation of Karachi and passed resolution unanimously on 2nd February 1948" (Ziring, 1997, p. 83 & Ageef, 1989, p. 190). Before that the Sindh Muslim League council passed a strong resolution against the proposal. Sindh Awami Mahaz moved against the proposal and arranged the meetings and demonstrations in Karachi and other cities of the Province (Ageef, 1989).

The workers of the Sindh Awami Mahaz were bitterly tortured by the authority and many of them were sent to the jail. The leader of the Mahaz, G. M. Sayed was also arrested. Sindh *Hari* Committee passed the resolution against the separation on 30th & 31st May 1948 at Ratodero (Sayed, G. M., 1989, p. 312) The 'Day of Karachi' was celebrated in all over the Sindh on 2nd July 1948 (Khuhro, 1998).

Ayub Khuhro, the Chief Minister of Province bitterly opposed the separation of Karachi and more settlement of the Muhajirs. Therefore, his government was dismissed by the Governor on 26th April 1948. "Jinnah authorized the Governor to dismiss Khuhro under the special emergency powers noted in section 51(5) of the Government of India Act 1935 and amended by the Pakistan Provisional Constitution Order 1947" (Ziring, 1997, p. 83). Pir Elahi Bakhsh became Chief Minister of the province. He fulfilled all the orders of the federal government.

Liaquat Ali Khan succeeded to convince Mohammad Ali Jinnah for the separation of Karachi. He was creator of the idea of separation of Karachi from Sindh. He was dominant on the Muslim League and led the federal government as a Prime Minister of the country. So he became successful to convince Quaid-e-Azam and other members of the Constitutional Assembly.

Governor General of Pakistan exercise his powers on 23rd July 1948, under sub section (1) of section 290 A, and amended the constitution (Independence Act 1947)

and made a law to be known as Pakistan (Established of the Federal Capital) order, 1948. Karachi was separated from Sindh and went under the control of the federal government.

After the separation of Karachi, Federal University of Karachi immediately abolished the Sindhi as one of the languages for taking examination. The secondary board of examination for federal area adopted its high school syllabus in such a form that Sindhi children had no option other than to drop either English language or their mother language as a subject of their studies. Sindhi primary education in the federal areas instead of expanding had actually contracted. Many Sindhi primary schools were changed into Urdu medium or closed.

The grievances of Sindhis aroused in the first eight years because of the settlements of the Muhajirs, allotment of the evacuee properties, separation of Karachi and ignoring to Sindhi language.

One Unit

In reaction of the Bengalis demand for the major share in the government on the basis of population, the ruling elite used the weapon of One Unit to undo their statistical majority. One Unit was a big geopolitical change in the history of Sindh. Once again the provincial status of Sindh was abolished after its separation from Bombay. Ironically it was done under the government of the same party (Muslim League), which earlier demanded for the provincial status of Sindh in the United India. The One Unit scheme left many impacts on the politics of Sindh as well as of the whole country.

The idea of the One Unit was more important for the ruling elites of Punjab, particularly after the sweeping victory of the provincial elections by the United Front in Bengal. The issue of the amalgamation of the western wing of the country in to One Unit was discussed in the meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party on 23rd July 1954. Malik Feroz Khan Noon, the Chief Minister of the Punjab Province supported the idea. While Sindh Chief Minister, Abdul Sattar Pirzada

strongly opposed it. Bengali members of the sub-committee, Khawaja Nazim Uddin and Noor-ul-Amin supported Abdul Sattar. Khan Abdul Quyoom Khan also lent his support to Pirzada. The supporters of One Unit argued that parity between the two wings of the country would prevent the provincialism. They further talked in favour of the proposal and said that Unified West Pakistan which would save the expenditure in the administration side and better for the economic growth. The supporters of the One Unit scheme suggested that Chief Minister Pirzada Abdul Sattar was likely to lead the opposition. He must therefore "go at once" and should be replaced by some one "Who has the character and the authority to replace the ground of Sindh for acceptance of the One Unit" (Malik Rizwan, 1988, p. 45).

On the other side opponent, of the plan launched the movement against it. "As a result many opponents of One Unit in Sindh were sent to jail and the elected Chief Minister was removed, though he had obtained the Signature of 74 out of 110 members of the Assembly against the One Unit before his removal" (Malik Rizwan, 1998, p. 343).

After the replacement of the Pirzada, authority selected Mohammad Ayub Khuhro as a new Chief Minister of Sindh. He presented the case of One Unit in Sindh Assembly on 11th September 1954. The majority of the Assembly members supported the motion and out of 109 members 104 were present in the house, only 04 members opposed the motion and 100 members supported it (Khuhro, 1998). G. M. Sayed (1995, p. 136) said "The Sindh Assembly was made to pass the One Unit resolution at gunpoint". During the session, Ali Mohammad Rashdi said in his speech that "if any person who courage to talk against the scheme should be sent to jail" (Ageef, 1989, p. 210).

During this time, the constitution making process was in progress. The Constitutional Assembly was close to assent the draft of the Constitution when the Governor General and the leader of One Unit supporters Ghulam Mohammad

Khan dissolved the Assembly on 24th October 1954. The hidden cause of this quick action was that the proposed draft was not supportive to the One Unit Scheme.

After dissolution of the first Constitutional Assembly, second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was elected. Its first meeting was held in July 1955. The first task of the new Assembly was to pass the One Unit bill. The bill was moved by the Sardar Amir Azam Khan. The discussion on bill started on 23rd August 1955. The mover of the bill Amir Azam said "the Governor General was empowered to rename the East Bengal to East Pakistan and the existing administrative units of West Pakistan into a single province of West Pakistan" (Malik Rizwan, 1988, p. 64). Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana talked in favour of the bill. Mian Mohammad Iftikhar Uddin, Hussain Shaheed Saharwardi, and Sheikh Mujib-ur- Rehman opposed the bill.

Eventually the bill was passed on 30th September 1955. Forty-three votes were in favour while 13 were against it. After the assent of the Governor General on the One Unit bill, the West Pakistan Province came into existence on 14th October 1955. Dr. Khan Sahib became the first Chief Minister of the West Pakistan. The formation of unified Western Province was strongly condemned by the Sindhi nationalists. To them it was a clear violation of the spirit of the 'Resolution of Pakistan, 1940'. It was also taken as a breach of the Sindh Assembly Resolution of March 1943, which recommended the autonomous status for the province of Sindh.

Anti One Unit politicians formed Anti One Unit Front. Many political parties of Sindh, N.W.F.P and Balochistan joined it. Azad Pakistan Party and Awami League Sindh branch also supported the program of the Front (Ageef, 1989). The leaders of the Anti One Unit Front formed National Party on 30th November 1956. The elections of the West Pakistan Assembly were held in 1956. Total number of the Assembly members was 310, ten seats were reserved for the women's and ten seats were reserved for the minority. The electoral college of the West Pakistan was consisted of the members of former Provincial Assemblies of Sindh, N.W.F.P and

Punjab and also members of the Khairpur and Bahawalpur states according to the West Pakistan Act 1955.

In the elections, the groups belonging to the Muslim League Party won the majority seats of the Assembly. Iskandar Mirza retained Dr. Khan Sahib as a Chief Minister of the Province. It was fact that he was supported only by 57 members out of 310.

Both parties in the Assembly claimed their majority. The vote of the members of the group of G. M. Sayed was decisive, therefore, both parties tried to get the support from them. Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgari member of National Party moved the resolution against the unification of West Pakistan on 17th September 1957. The members of the National Awami Party and Republican Party supported the resolution. While the Muslim League neither took part in the debate nor in the voting and decided to remain neutral. Even then some members of the Muslim League supported the resolution and resolution was passed by 170 to 4 votes (Pakistan Times, 18th September, 1957). The people of the smaller Provinces and East Pakistan welcomed the resolution. President Iskandar Mirza and Prime Minister Saharwardi issued the joint statement that "they would not allow One Unit to be undone "(Sayed G. M., 1995, p. 157).

Ayub Khan openly showed bitter reaction against the resolution. He was Commander- in- Chief of the Army at that time. G. M. Sayed (1995, p. 158) quoted it as under:

> "Ayub was in a bitter reaction against the resolution because he felt that the West Province Assembly by comfortable margin passed the resolution against existence of One Unit. So the National Assembly with the support of the Bengalis would easily pass it therefore he decided to block the constitutional process. He consulted with Iskandar Mirza and imposed the Martial Law and dissolved the assembly".

After the imposition of the Martial Law the One Unit continued. At the time of the One Unit, the politics of the provincialism and nationalism was increased and the federal politician reduced their political strength and mass support. Benazir Bhutto (1988b, p. 21) a federal politician also accepted it in these words "Sindhi nationalism owes its genesis to the creation of then West Pakistan".

The majority of the non Punjabi politicians opposed One Unit Scheme. It was supported by Ayub Khuhro who got certain assurance for the rights of the Sindh. But after the formation these were forgotten by the authorities and Sindhis were victimized in every walk of life.

In the employment Sindhis were ignored but before the One Unit they promised that in the services Sindhis would be on priority and also quota was fixed 40% for the Punjab and 60% for other areas. But after the implementation of the One Unit the position was entirely different and Punjab was dominated in every department from higher rank to lower rank. Ayub Khuhro, who was the champion of the One Unit in Sindh said that:

> "Promises were ignored and violated. It was signed before the One Unit that the services would be given to the local people, specially, the lower services would be reserved for them but after the formation of One Unit the situation was changed. Punjabi bureaucrats were importing even peons and clerical staff from their home towns." (Khuhro, 1998, p. 435)

Professor Aziz Ahmed supported above statement of Khuhro and quoted as it was presented in the Assembly on 12th March 1963, authority replied in a question that:

> "From the five members of the Revenue Board there is no Sindhi. Out of the six secretaries, nine deputy secretaries and three assistant secretaries, only one of them belonged to Sindh. He further said that out of 21 superintendents only three from Sindh

> and out of 140 assistants only 8 Sindhis and out of 235 clerks only 12 belonged to Sindh, some of them were non-Sindhis. From them one deputy secretary was Arain who was non-Sindhi". (Ahmed Aziz, 1988, p. 104)

Economy of Sindh depends on Agriculture. After the merger of the Sindh in West Pakistan province "a committee was formulated for the distribution of the land of Gudu Barrage. No Sindhi appointed as a member of the Committee. All the members were Punjabis" (Ageef, 1989, p. 225). Kotri and Gudu Barrages were constructed after the independence. The land of both barrages was allotted to the military and civil bureaucrats and other non-Sindhis (Ahmed Aziz, 1988).

The land allotted under the tractor scheme, previously belonged to *Haris*. It is said that allotment under this scheme displaced around 4 lac *Haris*. It was the attitude of the rulers after the establishment of the One Unit in West Pakistan. After these acts the arising of nationalism was natural. The persons who previously supported to One Unit but now they moved against it. After the separation of Karachi from Sindh, Sindhi language ousted from the institutions and many Sindhi medium schools changed into Urdu medium schools or closed.

At the time of the One Unit, Ayub government treated the indigenous languages as regional languages, in wake of the national policy on education in 1959. According to the policy:

> "the mother tongue should be used up to class V as medium of instruction and Urdu should be introduced as the medium of the instruction from class Vl from 1963 and should be continued progressively in the higher classes. It is necessary to give Urdu the same position in Sindh as in the rest of the West Pakistan." (Rehman, 2000, p. 116)

The people of Sindh opposed the decision and protested against it. They observed

the "Sindhi Day" on 9th November 1962 (Rehman, 1997). The Sindhi final exam was ended. It was equal to metric and on its basis people got the services in the education as well as in the revenue departments. Sindhi demanded for the restoration of the previous status of the language. Despite resistance from the Sindhi nationalists, West Pakistan authorities continued to ignore Sindhi as the dominant language of Sindh. During the One Unit era about 30 primary Sindhi medium schools were closed down (Legislative Assembly document L.A.D Sindh 29th May 1974, & Rehman, 1999).

During this period Sindhi language was suppressed everywhere. The names of the railway stations, government buildings and roads were written in Urdu script. Records and registers kept in Sindhi began to be reprinted in Urdu. Municipal Committee of Hyderabad resolved on 11th June 1965 that Urdu would be used for official work according to the policy of West Pakistan Government. Sindhi writers were discouraged and Sindhi newspapers were denied to advertisements. Sindhi publications were suppressed and widely censored. The Sindhi writers whose works were published in India were immediately dubbed as anti Pakistan and unpatriotic. The ignoring policy of the central authority towards the Sindhi language created resentment among the people of Sindh. It ultimately fostered the Sindhi nationalists. So in general during the time of One Unit Sindhis were victimized in every field of life. Punjabis and Pashtoons were migrated to Sindh and settled there. In that phenomenon Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi created the slogan of Jeay Sindh. The Muhajirs and other non-Sindhis opposed it. "Moulana Modoudi announced that Jeay Sindh meant the death of Pakistan" (Palejo, A., 1989, p. 106). Young Sindhi politician Z. A. Bhutto also used nationalist slogan in his speeches. He spoke against the One Unit (Palejo A., 1989). On 4th March 1967, the students of the University of Sindh marched from campus to Hyderabad city. Police and law enforcing agencies used tear gas, *lathi charge* and open the fire on protestors. Many students were injured and arrested. This day became the 'National Day' of Sindh and was celebrated.

This agitation became a part of the movement against the President Ayub Khan. It was spread through out the country. As a result President Ayub Khan had to resign and Yahya Khan became the Head of the State and Chief Martial Law Administrator. He abolished One Unit and restored the previous status of the provinces of West Pakistan on 31st December 1969 to be effective from 1st June 1970. He also announced the first General Elections of Pakistan to be held in 1970. Bhutto used same slogans in the election campaign, which were chanted by the Sindhi nationalists. He also demanded that the voter lists should be published in Sindhi language. Bhutto was successful to secure the interest of the federation in Sindh. The slogan of Sindhu Desh was actually the reaction of One Unit, which became on the political scenario in 70s. It was Bhutto who used the nationalist thinking against rulers and save the interest of Pakistan in Sindh Province.

Politics of Sindh during Z. A. Bhutto Government

After the separation of East Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto took over the power from Yahya Khan on 20th December 1971. He was first Sindhi, who reached on this highest post of the State. The transfer of power to Z. A. Bhutto by Yahya Khan was not in normal conditions. "The Indian army and Bengali Militants defeated the Pakistan army. About 93,000 military officers and Jawans were arrested by the Indian army as prisoners of war" (Waseem, 1994, p. 295). The East Pakistan was separated and became an independent state on the map of the world as a Bangladesh.

President Yahya transferred power to Bhutto on the pressure of the junior officers of army, General Gul Hassan Khan and Air Martial Rahim Khan. "And yet Bhutto ascendancy to power was through a mini-coup and his formal position as the Chief Martial Law Administrator point to the Military's continuing hold over political initiative for some time"(Waseem, 1994, p. 295). At that time the behaviour of the junior officers towards their leadership was not in discipline, it is quoted by General K. M. Arif (1996, pp. 36, 37) as under:

> "On 19th December 1971, General Abdul Hamid Khan, the Chief of Staff of the Pakistan army addressed the army officers in the national defense college auditorium at Rawalpindi. He faced a volley of hostile questions from the agitated junior officers and barely managed to extricate himself from an awkward situation".

It was mentioned by Hamid Khan (2001, p. 431) in these words:

> "Violent demonstrations began on 18th December 1971, against the military regime in West Pakistan, followed by a vocal revolt by army officers in GHQ, Rawalpindi on 19th December, which led to Yahya's resignation".

He further quoted that:

> "On 17th December 1971, Gul Hassan along with Rahim Khan went to the President House to confront Yahya. On arrival, they found Yahya still busy with his radio address. At the meeting at which General Abdul Hamid Khan was present, Gul Hassan and Rahim Khan informed Yahya that nothing remained but for him to go. At first Yahya resisted this suggestion but when they pressed him more firmly, he agreed and added that he would then go back to the army as Commander-in-Chief. This, Gul Hassan and Rahim Khan treated as absurd and insisted that Yahya must go altogether." (Khan H. 2001, p. 433)

Bhutto assumed power as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. The army had assisted him to power. (Qureshi M. S., 2002) This is unique example in the history that a civilian became a Chief Martial Law Administrator.

When Bhutto took the charge of the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of the country:

> "About Six Hundred square mile of territory occupied by India and nearly 93,000 prisons of war were in Indian jails. It was the first Sindhi who took the highest post of the country; Sindhis were very happy and well come Bhutto with great warm and heart." (Ageef, 1989, p. 260)

Dr. Mehtab Ali Shah (1997, p. 54) described it as under:

> "The PPP won the 1970 elections in Sindh, as opposed to Punjab, not on the basis of its manifesto but because of the personality cult of Sindhi. In the Punjab Bhutto rode the tiger of anti-India rhetoric, but in Sindh the PPP's propaganda machinery portrayed him as the personification of a Sindhi identity, '*Bhutto Saeen*'. By voting for Bhutto, Sindhi felt that something would be done for them."

The nationalist and provincial sentiments were reduced and the federal politics was flourished in the Sindh Province. The nationalists' feelings were flourished in previous governments, due to their policies. Bhutto took many steps for the betterment of the people and tried to fill the wounds of the Sindhis.

He was first Sindhi who became the head of the State and the government. So Sindhi felt that Bhutto's government was their own government. So they became committed with the federal government and the space for federal politics was increased in the people of Sindh.

It was the first government in which Sindhis were preferred in Jobs and services in government, semi government and private sector. Omar Noman (1988, p. 181) wrote that:

> "Bhutto was the first Sindhi to hold such an important political post. Under him both substantive and symbolic measures were taken to

> rectify past discrimination against Sindhis. Preference was given to Sindhis for government jobs in Karachi as well as other parts of Sindh."

Sindhis got the jobs also in Islamabad specially in education and health departments (Shah, M. A., 1997). Bhutto announced the Agriculture Reforms on 11th March 1972 through the Martial Law Act. He reduced the land ceiling from 500 to 150 acres of irrigated land and from 1000 acres of non-irrigated land to 300 acres only and from 3600 to 1500 produces index units (Khan H., & Ageef, 1989). But the speed of distribution of the land was very slow:

> "From May 1972 to November 1974, only 229219.4 hectors were distributed but the land was fixed for the distribution 646365.2 hectors. In other words the all land was not snatched from the feudals." (Ageef, 1989, p. 264)

When Bhutto announced more reforms in 1977 and reduced the ceiling of the land and increased the taxes on the property, mostly *Zamindars* and feudals opposed it and left the PPP. They joined the opposition against Bhutto (Ageef, 1989).

The Land Reforms by the Bhutto government also grew the self-confidence in the *Haris*. The trust on the federal government also increased. The farmers being suppressed and exploited for the centuries by the feudals and *Waderas*, were honored and respected first time. So their loyalty with Bhutto and country was firmed. Bhutto generated the political consciousness among the people. Dr. Safdar Mahmood (2000, p. 140) narrated "Bhutto and his party gave the political sense to the people of the country. PPP gave a democratic constitution and imparted political consciousness and a sense of elevation to the common people".

Nationalization policy was introduced by Bhutto, many factories as well as financial institutions and private schools and colleges were nationalized. The jobs were given to Sindhis on the priority basis. Sindhi became directors and members of the board of the governors of many institutions. He announced his nationalization program in the first phase on 2nd January 1972. Ten categories of

basic industries were being taken over by the State for the benefit of the people of Pakistan (Khan, H., 2001).

Life Insurance Business was nationalized on 19th March 1972. Government established the State Life Insurance Corporation to under take Life Insurance Business. All Pakistani Banks were nationalized on 1st January 1974. Private schools and colleges were also nationalized. These steps of Bhutto Government increased the resentment in the capitalist class of the county (Rizvi, 1992). Sindhis got the jobs in many companies after the implementation of the policy of nationalization. Dr Feroz Ahmed (1999, p. 163) also mentioned "Under the PPP government many Sindhis got jobs in the nationalized sectors."

Bhutto gave the constitutional coverage to the Quota System. According to it, percentage for government services was fixed for the rural and urban areas of Sindh. The rural Sindhis were more benefited from that policy. The introduction of Domicile and National Identity Card also went in the interest of the Sindhis. The admission in the professional colleges and jobs on the basis of the domicile prevented the outsiders and gave the benefit to the local people in getting jobs. Bhutto also focused on the construction of the infra structures. The facilities of the education and health also provided to the people of Sindh on the priority basis. Chandka Medical College, Larkana, Shah Abdul Latif Campus, Khairpur, Mehran Engineering University, Jamshoro and many schools and health centers were opened by his government. The policy of the Lateral Entries was introduced, according to that policy many professors of the universities inducted in the district management and other departments. All these steps of Bhutto government enhanced the patriotism in the people of Sindh. The nationalist of Sindh such as G. M. Sayed and others went to low profile. *Awam* did not response to them. The slogan of Sindhu Desh did not impress the people. Many nationalist leaders including G. M. Sayed, Abdul Wahid Ariser and Habibullah Narejo were arrested. Even then the sympathies of the Sindhis remained with Bhutto.

Sindhi Language was made official language of Sindh as was promised by Bhutto during the election campaign of 1970. It was passed by the Sindh Assembly on 7th July 1972. However, this decision was opposed by the Urdu speaking people concentrated in Karachi and Hyderabad (Shah, M. A., 1997). To neutralize the opposition of the Urdu speaking minority in Sindh, following decision was made by the government:

> "Sindhi would become the official language of Sindh that Urdu would be honored and promoted as the National Language and that for a period of Twelve Years no one would be disadvantaged in Public employment or transaction on the ground that he did not know Sindhi."(Khan, H., 2001, p. 466)

The right wing religious parties, left wing progressive parties and nationalist parties were against Bhutto. The nationalist parties demanded for more provincial autonomy. At that time G. M. Sayed, the Sindhi nationalist, launched the program of Sindhu Desh, an independent State. However, Bhutto's support in Sindh could not be affected, though, the Sindhi nationalist called him an agent of the Punjab (see, G .M. Sayed's book 'Sindhu Desh Chho Ain Chha Laai'). It was only due to his charismatic personality, its behavior towards the masses and practical work for the welfare of the people.

On the 7th January 1977, Bhutto announced that the general elections would be held in March 1977. After it, President dissolved the assemblies. Election Commission of Pakistan fixed 7th March for the polls of National Assembly and 10th March for the four provincial assemblies. Bhutto was sure that he would win the majority seats. At that time the opposition of Bhutto was not united. When the elections were announced, nine opposition parties were united under the title of "Pakistan National Alliance" to contest the elections.

The National Assembly elections were held on 7th March 1977. The 15 candidates of the Bhutto's PPP, including him, declared successful as unopposed. The Bhutto's opposite

candidate Jan Mohammad Abbasi was kidnapped before the submission of nomination by the Governmental agencies and he was released after the last date of the submission of the nomination. Hamid Khan (2001, p. 561) also quoted it as under:

> "The district administration in his home town, Larkana, arrested his opponent, Jan Mohammad Abbasi, on 18 January 1977, and kept him at an undisclosed location until after the date for the filling nomination papers (19 January) had passed .The Prime Minister was thus declared to have been elected unopposed."

So it was the position that an unknown person was arrested and was not allowed to file the nomination papers. If he had been allowed, he would have not been able to get even a few hundred votes. So the arresting of Jan Mohammad Abbasi was really a blunder. It only reduced the popularity of Bhutto and degraded him in the political world. The elections results came in the favour of Bhutto. Personally, he won 5 seats out of 6 (Larkana, Thatta, Karachi and Multan) and loosed only one seat to Mufti Mahmood from Dera Ismail Khan. PPP won 155 seats; it was more than two third majority. Party position was as under:

Punjab	Total	PPP	PNA	PQL	Independent
	116	108	08	---	---
Sindh	43	32	11	---	---
NWFP	34	08	17	01	08 (Tribal)
Balochistan	07	07	---	---	---
Total	200	155	36	01	08

Source: -The Pakistan Times, 9th March 1977.

Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) did not accept the election results of National Assembly and accused the ruling party of rigging. They boycotted the elections of the provincial assemblies (Dawn 8th March 1977). Hamid Khan (2001, p. 561)

narrated that t "PNA also resorted to mal practices, where it could, and notable in the city of Karachi".

The PNA launched a countrywide movement against Bhutto. It became very strong in the cities such as Hyderabad, Karachi, Multan, Faisalabad, Lahore, Rawalpindi. During the movement, the curfew was imposed in Karachi, Hyderabad, Faisalabad and Lahore. Martial Law was imposed in the big cities of the country such as, Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad under the article 245 of the Constitution. The one thing was notable that the big cities of Sindh means Karachi and Hyderabad were the center of the movement. These cities were concentrated by the non-Sindhis. However, the Sindhis did not participate in the movement.

While imposing partial Martial Law in the main cities, he forgot his own warning of five years earlier that:

> "Once armed forces intervene, they play the game according to their own rules. It is necessary for a civilian government to avoid seeking the assistance of the armed forces in dealing with its responsibilities and problems." (Lamb, 1991, p. 564)

According to Khan, Hamid (2001, p. 83):

> "On 17th April 1977, Bhutto made an attempt to dislodge the religious parties. He banned drinking and gambling, shut down night clubs and race-courses, and reconstituted the Islamic Advisory Council with the mandate to propose measures for Islamization the country's law with in six months."

In a speech in the National Assembly on 28th April, he asserted that agencies of the United States Government, presumably the CIA and the American Embassy at Islamabad had instigated and funded the PNA movement (Khan, H., 2001).

The Martial Law was challenged in Lahore High Court and a full bench declared on 2nd June 1977 that the Martial Law was unconstitutional (Waseem, 1994, & Khan, H., 2001).

Meanwhile, the negotiations between PNA and the PPP leaders were started. On 1st July 1977, the negotiators were reached on conclusion of the final draft of the agreement. The agreement needed the PNA Council's approval. The negotiators of the PNA were hopeful that the Council would approve them. But when the Council met on the evening of the 2nd July, Asghar Khan, Sher Baz Mazari and Begum Nasim Wali Khan condemned the negotiators for entertaining the Bhutto's proposed changes. . Finally Council recommended nine more points for the agreement and authorized to Mufti Mahmood that if the Government negotiators accepted the new draft they would sign an agreement.

The PNA team took new additional points to Bhutto at 10:00 pm on 3rd July 1977. Nawabzada and Mufti Mahmood urged that new point's are only technical so be accepted. Bhutto told Mufti Mahmood that he needed more time to consult his friends. Bhutto called the meeting of the cabinet at the same evening; the dominant view of the cabinet was to oppose the further concessions to the PNA. "Zia who was also present, stood up once again, both hands on his chest, to assure Bhutto of his complete support, adding 'please rely on us; we are your strong arm" (Khan, H., 2001, p. 570). On the evening of the 4th July 1977, Bhutto called the meeting of the cabinet to rethink on the issue of the agreement with the PNA and discuss on the political situation of the country. The chances of the military coup were also discussed. After that Kausar Niazi recalls that, when the cabinet rose, "Zia had a private meeting with Bhutto, after which the General left hurriedly, unsmiling" (Khan, H., 2001, p. 571). On the evening of the 4th July the fear of the coup was appearing. Bhutto was ready to make an agreement with PNA. He consulted Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Chief Minister of Sindh, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada. Jatoi and Mumtaz counseled that accept the demand of the PNA but Pirzada opposed it.

Bhutto arranged the press conference at 11.30 pm and announced that he accepted the demands and said that I will sign the accord tomorrow (Khan, H., 2001). But before tomorrow, Zia took over the reins of the country and declared the Martial Law through out the country on the night between 4th and 5th July and Bhutto ousted from the Government and under arrest.

The history of the politics of Sindh showed that the nationalist politics was the pre independence phenomenon in the province. The nationalist movement started against the British rule in the leadership of Pir Pagara in 19th and 20th centuries. The separatist movement of Sindh from Bombay Presidency was also the struggle of the people of Sindh for the restoration of their provincial status. The feudal lords of Sindh were most active in this movement.

The results of the elections of the 1937 also described the position of politics of province. In those elections the regional or provincial parties won. All India Muslim League could not succeed to convince the politicians that to contest the elections on its platform.

The All Muslim League won the sympathies of the people of the province only after the Resolution of Pakistan in 1940, in which the provincial autonomy and right of self determination was promised. The settlement of the Muhajirs, allotment of the evacuee property and separation of Karachi from rest of the province also raised the provincial and nationalist feelings.

The formation of One Unit and the allotment of the land of Sindh to the army and other non-Sindhis in Sindh also increased the nationalist feelings in the province.

The struggle of the nationalists for the restoration of the previous status of the province was organized by the nationalists. Even the federal oriented politicians like Z. A. Bhutto also supported the nationalist politics, though by keeping a

balance between federalists and nationalists. In this way, Bhutto very successfully defused the momentum of the later during his tenure.

Chapter 3

General Zia Phase I - Martial Law

This chapter consists of the Zia's first eight years of Martial Law during which he exercised the powers exclusively and executed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Both of these factors deeply influenced the politics of Sindh. It also provided the opportunity to the nationalist forces to flourish. These impacts are discussed in this part of thesis. The Movement of Restoration of Democracy (MRD) launched by the opposition parties against Martial Law is also discussed. The people of Sindh played very vital and main role in this movement. Though the Movement could not be very fruitful, it affected the politics between federalists and nationalists in the province.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the agreement between Bhutto and the PNA leaders was nearly reached conclusion and Bhutto also declared in the press conference that the agreement would be signed next day. But the military never wanted to slip the opportunity of taking over the government, hence declared Martial Law before the next sunrise i.e. 5th July 1977. Bhutto was ousted from the power and General Zia became Chief Marital Law Administrator.

It was the mistake of Z. A. Bhutto that he involved the army in the political matters. He sent Chief of Army Staff General Zia-ul-Haq to talk with the leaders of the Pakistan National Alliance. General Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 160) narrated "On the advice of Bhutto, Zia and his Corps Commanders met the political leadership of both sides and urged them to reach a mutually acceptable formula to resolve the political crises confronting the country." Dr. Waseem (1994, p. 349) argued "Once the military intervention in the politics of a third world country, it tends to take up a permanent political role".

The impacts of the imposition of Martial Law

The country was divided into five military administrative zones and General Sadiq Rashid was appointed as a Martial Law Administrator Sindh. "The 1977 coup was by

and large welcomed by the bureaucracy" (Waseem, 1994, p. 372). This take over gave big shock to the people of Sindh. They were of the opinion that first time throughout the history of the country a Sindhi political leader had achieved the highest post of the government. Before this, there was nominal share of the Sindhis in the power structure of Pakistan. During his government some benefits were given to them they thought that military regime would victimize their legitimate rights given by previous government. So they strongly condemned this coup and protested against it. Martial Law regime had serious impacts on the socio-political and economic life of Sindhi people. Some of them are as under:

Alienation from Power

Sindhis felt Bhutto government as their own government because it was the first time that Sindhi politician entered into the power structure and benefited. Common Sindhi easily approached to the government but the approach of the common people to military administration was much difficult as they had very marginal representation in the army, specially in the officers' cadre. As compare to Sindh it was very easy for the Punjab to approach the military government due to their major share in the military and the civil bureaucracy. This phenomenon created an inferiority complex in the minds of Sindhis, so they opposed the military rule and demanded the restoration of the democracy.

This alienation of power from the State structure created the sense of deprivation in the people of Sindh. Mushahid Hussain (1991, p. 96) described it as "The sense of alienation among Sindhi intellectual and other educated professionals from Islamabad is greater than before." Dr. Tahir Amin (1993, p. 168-177) also mentioned it as under:

> "The state elite during this phase consisted of Punjabis, Pashtoons and Muhajirs, while the Sindhis and Baluchis were greatly under represented. … Zia followed the policy of repression in Sindh. The regime adopted a number of both subtle and strong-handed methods to break the PPP and other regionalist parties' power in Sindh."

Even regime banned 'Sindh Graduate Association' (SGA) a purely social and non-political organization of the educated peoples. This was the attitude of the regime towards Sindh and this phenomenon strengthens the sense of deprivation. Ayesha Jalal also mentioned the supremacy of the Punjab and about the alienation of power as under:

> "Predominantly Punjabi military and federal bureaucracy has at each step heightened the sense of alienation on the part of non-Punjabi provinces and significant linguistic minorities with in them." (Jalal, 1995, p. 184)

The alienation from power and suppressive policies of Zia regime also enhanced the nationalist feelings in the people of Sindh. Mushahid Hussain (1991) supported this view that arising of the Sindhi nationalism was the result of the alienation of Sindhis from the power structure.

Termination of Sindhis from the services

The military regime was of the opinion that Sindhis were the supporters of Z. A. Bhutto (Interview with Professor Aziz Uddin Ahmed). So the regime targeted them. It was policy of Bhutto to involve Sindhis in the government, semi-government and autonomous bodies. So many Sindhis were appointed in the services. They felt that ousted of Bhutto from power actually was the ouster of the Sindhis from the power structure.

When Zia came into power he took step to terminate and suspend the Sindhis from the services. It was claimed by regime that all the terminated officers and employees were involved in the politics and supported to Bhutto. "After Zia's coup, Sindhi recruited to the provincial civil services were dismissed on the grounds that they were political appointees. By February 1978, some 1,746 Sindhi had been thrown out of the provincial service" (Jalal, 1995, p. 195).

Dr. Feroz Ahmed (1999, p. 71) also mentioned the attitude of regime in these words: "Military government purged tens of thousands of Sindhis from government service and public sector enterprises."

During this regime, Zia announced special quota for the military men in the civil services. Regime provided a 10% quota in administrative jobs and 33% quota for lower jobs in the industrial sectors for the military and ex service men (Waseem, 1994). Kennedy (1987, p. 123) also described that position in these words "A distinct features of the new government was increased penetration of military personnel to the civil services. From 1980, military officers could fill onward 10% of vacancies at grade 17 and 18. The fixation of quota for the army men in the civil services minimizes the chance for Sindhis to get the jobs".

Zia tried to facilitate the army officers and *Jawans*, because he wanted that the army must be satisfied from him. Therefore, he took the measures, which were beneficial only for the military personnel. Hassan Askari (1992, p. 243) narrated it:

> "However, the real break through came in the form of military officer's appointment to the top bureaucratic jobs. Where, they occupied almost quarter of permanent secretary-ships. From the top military officers none of them was Sindhi. In 1982 almost half of the Pakistani ambassadors came from the military, while many officers were inducted into the higher administrative services either permanently or on contract."

The appointment of non-Sindhis at the place of the terminated Sindhi officers created the feelings of enmity against the army in the minds of the Sindhi speaking people. "The subsequent replacement and victimization of PPP workers also fuelled ethnic antagonism. Sindhi administrators were quite often displaced by Punjabi military officials from 1977 to 1985" (Noman, 1988, p.181). Due to such policies of Zia regime, Sindhis felt it as targeted victimization. The actions of the military regime created the sense of deprivation among the people of Sindh but no one raised the voice against the discrimination except the PPP and the Sindhi

nationalists. All other federal political and religious parties were keeping silent. Zia regime preferred army men and other Punjabis as compare to Sindhis. In 1980s about 4 million Punjabis settled in Sindh and most of them in bureaucratic jobs (Lamb, 1991). The situation went in the interest of the anti State elements and they tried to use it against the unity and integrity of the country.

Denationalization

Bhutto implemented the policy of the nationalization and introduced the land reforms in the country. When the movement was launched by the PNA, the bourgeois and the feudals were very active against him. Zia announced that the factories and financial institutions would be returned back to its previous owners. It was his first step to gain the support from them and than used them according to his interests. "General Zia gave back industries to the owners and they have repaid by investing" (Duncan, 1990, p. 95). The denationalization policy of General Zia was also harmful for Sindhis. Many Sindhi officers and workers were terminated by the non-Sindhi owners of the industries and factories. So the terminated employees, their relatives and families moved against the actions of the government. They went to the political leaders of the PPP and Sindhi nationalists. The political leaders picked up their problems at national level and moved against the regime.

Support for the Feudalism

General Zia's Martial Law faced a situation in which the nation was divided into pro-and anti-Bhutto camps. It was, therefore, a challenge to the military rulers to seek the support from one of these camps (Waseem, 1987). For this purpose Zia immediately repealed the land reforms introduced by Bhutto's government in 1979 (Noman, 1988). Resultantly the feudal and landlords reoccupied their land, which was distributed between the landless farmers during Bhutto government. The legal owners of the land were tortured and beaten, if they were not agreed to pay the payment or withdrawal from their legal ownership. Even some time the legal owners of the land were sent to jail in false cases. When approached to higher authority against it, they were not listened.

After the imposition of the Martial Law, Nawab Sultan Ahmed Chandio, Chief of Chandio tribe, also reoccupied the land, which was distributed among the farmers by Bhutto Government. The farmers who resisted against it were tortured and beaten by the *Kamdars* of the Nawab. Even some of them were sent to jail or kidnapped by the dacoits. Mostly *Haris* were belonging to Solangi, Chandio, Khaskheli and Ghaincho clans. That incident was happened in district Dadu.

General Zia wanted to suppress the political parties, for that purpose he implemented the policy of divide and rule. He supported the tribal chiefs, feudal and *Waderas* to establish private forces, such as Magsi Force, Gopang Force, Kalhora Force and *Hur* Force. They used them against the opponent political workers. Harrison (1992, p. 242) described the situation in these words:

> "The Zia-ul- Haq regime, like its predecessors, relied heavily on alliance with *Waderas* and Pirs in seeking to impose its grip on Sindh during the years of intermittent turbulence there following Bhutto's execution."

He supported tribal chiefs in the organization of militant forces and later he used them against the democratic movement.

Violation the Rules of Federation

Pakistan is a Federal State, which came into being as a result of the 1940 Resolution. According to this Pakistan would be a Federal State, in which all the component units are sovereign and autonomous. Objective Resolution also supported federal status of the country. Same was declared in 1973 constitution passed by the elected representatives. But after the imposition of the Martial Law all the rules and traditions of federalism were violated and practically Pakistan became a unitary form of state. Tahir Amin (1993, p. 175) wrote:

> "The regime in the beginning, maintained a semblance of constitutional face by upholding the 1973 constitution, but gradually established a highly unitary and authoritarian political system through a series of sweeping and arbitrary constitutional amendment in 1981 and 1985. The amendments through the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) of 1981 and Revival Constitutional Order (RCO) of 1985 were virtually tailored to suit the interests of the ruling military junta. The amendments also empowered him (President, General Zia) to appoint Governors and the entire important key officials in the province."

Those steps and amendments changed the federal structure of the state into unitary state. It was the open violation of Pakistan Resolution, Objective Resolution and 1973 constitution. All the power of governing was in hands of one man. There was no distribution of power between the center and the units, the symbol of a Federal State. Under the government of General Zia, the Martial Law authorities took all the decisions and there were no representation of the provinces. One man used all the power and authority. He took many measures to implement their idea of the unitary government through the ordinance and amendments in the constitution in 1981 and 1985 (Amin, 1993, Manzar, 1994). The military junta suppressed all the provincial rights.

Suppressive and Oppressive policy

The political activists,' intellectuals and the trade unionist were the main target of Zia regime due to their anti Martial Law s activities. Zia government issued an ordinance on 12th August 1983, according to which if any employee of the government found involved in the politics should be punished fourteen years. During those days, a military court verdict lashes and imprisonment to 50 citizens at Hala town in the blame of the participation in the protest against the military regime (Ageef, 1989).

Civil rights of the citizens were suspended. Workers of the PPP and other progressive and nationalist parties were arrested and put in jails without any investigations. They did not allow appeals against their detentions. They had no right to meet their relatives and friends. At that time only High Courts and Supreme Courts had rights to hear the appeals of the detained persons. It was also the jurisdiction of the court to review the Martial Law Orders or challenging the decisions of the Military Courts. So people went to High Courts and challenged the decisions of the military courts. After that phenomenon Martial Law authority issued the ordinance on 26th May 1980. "It amended the article 199 of the constitution baring High Courts from reviewing Martial Law orders or challenging the judgment of military courts. Any person could now be detained without being told the charges against him" (Waseem, 1994, p. 374). So those types of the ordinances were the open violation of the human rights. Even human rights guaranteed in the UN Charter or Declaration of Human Rights were totally ignored and violated. According to the Martial Law Order No 5 "Any one organizing or attending a meeting of trade union, students union or political party without permission from the Martial Law Administrator will receive up to 10 lashes and five years imprisonment. And Martial Law Order No 13, criticizing the army in speech or writing will be punished by 10 lashes and five years imprisonment. The Martial Law Order No 16 'seducing' a member of the army from his duty to the Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia ul–Haq, is punishable by death". (Bhutto, B., 1988a).

Up to 1979, it was the power of the judiciary to protect the rights of the citizens. Majority of the people went to High Courts against the sentences awarded by the military courts. Baloch students' leader Hamid Baloch sentenced to death by the Special Military Court. He filed the appeal in Balochistan High Court against the decision of the Military Court and the High Court issued stay order against the decision on the ground of the farcical trial of Hamid Baloch. The name of the victim was changed two times as it was discovered that the alleged murder victim was still alive. In same decision court declared

that Zia's measures for curbing the judiciary were illegal (Dawn 3.3.1980). After the decision of Balochistan High Court, the government decided to curtail the power of judiciary and issued the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO):

> "Measures taken against the judiciary were directed at removing two critical powers. First, the power of judicial review of the legality and constitutionality of executive decisions was removed. Second, the judiciary was deprived of the authority to protect civil rights. These were taken away through successive annual measures between 1979 to 1981. The Constitution (Second amendment) Order of '79 established a system of military courts, parallel to the civilian courts, to try offenses under Martial Law. In the above year the regime extended the jurisdiction of military tribunals at the expense of judiciary. The same order barred the higher courts from the reviewing the action of the Military Courts. However, by far the most severe measures to curtail the jurisdiction of the law courts were contained in the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) of March 1980". (Noman, 1988, p. 123)

By issuing such order, the doors of justice were closed for the citizens, who had wanted to go to the Higher Court against the decisions of the Military Courts.

The PCO terminated judicial scrutiny of any politically important executive action. It declared void all court's decision on the legality of Martial Law. Thus, rendering the 'doctrine of necessity' irrelevant judicial protection against arbitrary arrest was eliminated by the removal of right of a prisoner habeas corpus (Noman 1988). So, after the implementation of PCO the military regime was fully authorized to arrest any person and sentence him. There was no right of the appeal against the illegal arrest or sentence.

It was the main function of the military officers to arrest the workers of the PPP, and other progressive organizations. The following table shows year wise figure of the arrested people during the regime.

Year wise list of arrested people during Zia regime

Year	Arrested
1978	1,327
1979	1,831
1980	612
1981	1,197
1982	4,212
1983	6,012
1984	2,100
1985	2,513
Total	19804

Source: Noman, 1988, p. 123

The actual number of the arrested people was more than showed number. It was very difficult to collect and find the actual number of the arrested people due to strict censorship in the country. The sources depended on the official statements, which were published in the newspapers. More than twenty thousand people were arrested in 1983 only in Sindh province. (Lamb, 1991)

The number of the flogging sentences also is more than four thousand. It was the open violation of the human rights because there was no right to appeal against it. It was reported that during those (1978 to 1985) year's 4,214 peoples were sentenced to flogging (Noman, 1988). Benazir Bhutto (1994, p. 125) wrote that "after the imposition of the Martial Law, the arrest and flogging continued totaling 700 by December 1977."

The sentences by the military deepened the thinking of nationalism in the mind of the victims, because mostly heads of the military courts were non-Sindhis. The arrangement of the sentence of flogging on the public places by the regime was clearly humiliation and violation of the basic human rights. Martial Law authority took that type actions to spread a terror and harassment. Hence people would not dare to move against the tyranny and autocratic rule of the regime.

> "Outside prison, public lashing were also becoming more frequent. Instant judgments and punishments from mobile military courts were meted out by a single Martial Law officer who toured the bazaars deciding whether the merchants were cheating on weights, over charging or selling inferior goods. In Sukkur, one officer demanded that a man, any man, be handed over. We need some one to lash, he said. The stall keepers didn't know what to do and finally led the officer to man suspected of selling sugar on the black market. Though the crime was being committed by almost everyone in the bazaar, the man was promptly–and very publicly-lashed. (Bhutto, B., 1988a, p. 129)

The Amnesty International also reported in 1982:

> "Various cases of the violation of human rights in the country relating to political prisoners who were detained with out trial, prisoners not being formally charged, being held incommunicado, not being allowed to meet their families, not being defended by lawyers, not being given the right of appeal against conviction by military courts, as well as torture in jails and flogging." (Waseem, 1994, p. 391)

There was no place of humanity in the government of Zia regime. The prisoners were treated as animals, even two time meal was not provided to them. Some time prisoners were not taken to hospital in a serious condition. Regime tried to prolong

his undemocratic and tyrannical rule. For that they issued the ordinance to give maximum punishment in the minor cases. "An ordinance was issued on 27th September 1982, for sentence of death for those peoples, which would be found involved in the damage of the State property" (Ageef, 1989). Nazir Abbasi, a leftist leader of the students' organization was killed by the military regime in torture cells (Awami Awaz 06-07-2004). Many political workers were sent to jail.

Under Zia regime the writers were also in trouble, many famous Sindhi writers were sent to jail, including "Amar Jalil, Ibrahim Joyo, Sheikh Ayaz, Tanveer Abbasi, Najam Abbasi, Tariq Ashraf and Rashid Bhatti". The blame on them was that they undermined the ideology of Pakistan. (Ahmed, F., 1992)

So in the time of Zia regime, there was neither respect of the human nor the respect of the citizens and no justice.

> "In the Martial Law days, there was the much publicized case of a police constable who was lashed for taking a 100 rupee bribe or the man whose hand was ordered to be amputated for steeling a clock. But never was a smuggler punished for drug running or an industrialist hauled up for tax evasion. (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 30)

Attitude towards Religious and Secular Parties

Zia felt secure himself in the cover of Islam, so he supported the religious parties in his personal vested interests. He announced that Pakistan would become an Islamic State and he claimed that Pakistan was achieved in the name of Islam. So, for that purpose "An Islamic stance was projected to counter a wide range of political developments such as a perceived communist influence from the north, the ethnic nationalism of provinces other than Punjab"(Waseem, 1994, p. 387).

During the military rule, the insult of Sindhi people was the daily routine of the army officers in the name of religion. Sindhis were opposed the bigotry of the

rulers. Zia unleashed the forces of the religious fundamentalist. Whether or not to fast during the holy month of Ramzan had always been the personal choice of Muslims in Pakistan.

> "Under Zia, public restaurant and food concessions were order to close from sunrise to sundown. At the universities, water was shut of in the campus, water fountains and even the bathrooms to prevent any one from taking a drink during the fast. Fundamentalist gangs roamed the streets freely, banging on doors in the middle of the night to make sure people were preparing *sehri*, the pre dawn meal. Smoking cigarettes, drinking water or eating in public was punished by arrest. There was to be no room for personal choice in Pakistan" (Bhutto, B., 1988a, p. 98).

Zia regime took all the measures of suppression in the name of Islam and Pakistan. If any person or party opposed the policies, government alleged him/them that they were against the Islam and Pakistan. Akbar Zaidi (1992, p. 347) described it in these lines:

> "To justify their rule the military used Islam as means to control the people of Pakistan where all forms of healthy expression were suppressed. Music, sports, art and culture, all had to subscribe to some medieval Islamic code. At the same time, graft and corruption took deeper root in society where heroin and arms mafias were encouraged and given state protection."

Zia adopted the policy to crush the progressive and democratic forces on one hand and patronized the religious and fundamentalists on the other hand. They allow the students' organizations of the religious parties, such as Islami Jamait Tullaba to terrorize the progressive and democratic organizations. In the University of Karachi the member of the Islami Jamait Tullaba targeted and beaten the workers and members of Peoples Students Federation (PSF), Democratic Students Federation

(DSF), National Students Federation (NSF) and other progressive and liberal students with the support of the regime. The students of the religious parties were not arrested even they were involved in crimes. On other hand the leader of the DSF Nazir Abbasi was killed by the military authority during the torture. "Governor of Sindh, Sadiq Rashid Mohammad Abbasi organized a force to crush the opposition. At that time the Islamic militant organization was organized in the universities"(Ageef, 1989, p. 392). So, Zia fully supported and patronized to religious fundamentalists and sectarian terrorist organizations in the name of Islam and Jihad.

Punjabization

Zia regime tried to create the differences among the people of country. In this connection he tried to use the Punjabi speaking peoples who were settled in Sindh for the years. They got marriages in Sindhi speaking families, learned Sindhi language and even they selected the Sindhi medium in the education. The majority of them did not feel themselves separate from the old Sindhis. Some of them came in Sindh during the British Raj and settled in Sindh. The Punjabis who came and settled in Sindh during *Hur* uprising, they spoke Sindhi fluently and their children got education in Sindhi medium. Even the people who came in 1932 after the completion of the Sukkur Barrage, they were also mixed with Sindhi Culture.

The policies of the Bhutto Government were improving the process of merger. But when Zia came in to power, he consciously tried to prevent that process and developed the idea of Punjabization. The military officers and *Jawans* supported to the settler Punjabis in every walk of life. After this, many settler Punjabis called themselves Punjabi because they wanted to get some benefit from the military rulers. Zia regime organized the settlers in the name of Punjabis in personal interests against the secular, democratic, progressive and nationalist forces. Sindh Punjabi *Abadgar* Board was organized to counter Sindh *Abadgar* Board. Punjabi Board supported the policies of the military regime. The rulers used Sindh Punjabi *Abadgar* Board against the democratic forces.

New Sindhi Students Organization (NSSO) organized in the educational institutions in rural Sindh and Punjabi Students Association in Karachi. The DMLA of Hyderabad, Major General Saeed Qazi organized and led the NSSO (Interview with Qadir Magsi). The workers and members of the New Sindhi Students Organization were trained by the army officers. The workers of the above said organization were openly carrying the weapons in the educational institutions. They beaten and tortured Sindhi students in the colleges specially in the Government College Kari Moori, Hyderabad, Technical College Hyderabad and the Colleges of Tando Jan Mohammad, Mirpur Khas and other colleges in the shadow of the army officers. More than 10 students assassinated during the clash between the NSSO and the JSSF and SPSF during Zia regime. In these ethnic riots regime also used their Sindhi agents which had already penetrated in the organizations of JSSF and SPSF (Interview with Khaliq Junejo). The large valuable Sindh agriculture land has been granted to Punjabi military and civil officials (Jalal, 1995). It was also the part of the Punjabization in the country.

The Punjabization by the Zia is also clears from number of employees in two Fouji sugar mills, NFC and Exxon fertilizers. In the surrounding of those factories Sindhis were in the majority but officers of the above units belonged to Punjab and even lower cadre of the employees were also from same province. That situation narrated by Shahid Kardar (1987, p. 45) is as under:

> "The two Fuji sugar mills and the Fuji Fertilizer Company, Fuji fertilizer, NFC and Exxon fertilizer, production units in interior Sindh. They are almost entirely manned by non-Sindhis. More ever the agriculture land around the sugar mills, from where the sugar mills purchase the sugarcane is owned by the present or ex personal of the armed officers."

It was the policy of the Zia regime to victimize and ignore the Sindhis in every field of life. For that purpose "regime frankly projected the interest of a non- Sindhi military bureaucratic industrial alliance" (Jalal, 1995, p. 195). Government of

General Zia encouraged the residents of the other provinces to come and settle in Sindh. So during Zia era, Punjabis were dominated on the economy as well as in the political field (Ageef, 1989). General Zia patronized the Punjabi identity and in the reaction Sindhi, Baloch and Pashtoon identity were created in the country. After that situation General Zia also supported the Muhajir identity in Sindh province. (Lamb, 1991).

Jones Rodney (1985) also indicates the Punjabization in the name of Islam and federalism by Zia regime. According to him, Islamization program and over centralization policy was aimed at punjabizing the whole country. General Zia made military his political party and constituency and then tried to establish his constituency in the Punjabi middle class. For that purpose he promoted the interest of the Punjabis. Christina Lamb (1991, p.86) a London based journalist narrated it in these lines:

> "Zia had begun to build for himself a constituency among the Punjabis urban lower-middle class, whose interests he promoted and from which he tried to create an identity for Pakistan. But by doing so he alienated the other provinces and increased ethnicity, particularly among Sindhis whose first feeling struck by the 'Judicial murder' of a Sindhi Prime Minister, now resented the imposition of an orthodox Punjabi Islam which they saw as trying to smother their traditional worship of Sufi saints and Pirs."

The Punjabization also showed in Pakistan even after the death of General Zia, when his flourished politician Nawaz Sharif became the Chief Minister of Punjab. Christina Lamb (1991, p. 110) narrated it as under:

> "The more the center seemed to be picking on Nawaz Sharif, an embodiment of Zia's Punjabi identity, the more Punjabi chauvinism emerged to horrifying levels. As Sharif was sworn in as Chief

> Minister, Punjabis out side the Lahore Assembly yelled, we will not be governed by a Sindhi."

So, one or other way, Zia promoted Punjabization in the country and he forgot that in reaction other nationalities also would select and prefer Sindhi, Baloch and Muhajir identity for themselves as compare to Pakistani.

In 1984, about 40,000 acres of cultivable land in Thatta district was given on lease for 30 years at only Rs. 7/= per acre to Karachi industrialists and high government officials or to those having contacts good connections in the civil bureaucracy. Most of the alloties were Muhajirs or Punjabis. Again, land along the 100-mile super high way from Karachi to Hyderabad was passing into non-Sindhis hands (Kardar, 1987).

Zia trusted on the non-Sindhi leaders as compare to Sindhis leadership. This situation described by Shahid Kardar (1987, p.47) as under:

> "Even the political parties sympathetic to the present regime are controlled by non-Sindhis, this has further heightened the ethnic differences making it even more difficult to achieve a compromise and assimilation of the Urdu speaking population in Sindhi society."

It was the result of the policy of the Punjabization by the military *junta* that Punjabis were dominated in the Federation of Pakistan, Chamber of Commerce and Industries. The report published by the Karachi Chamber and Commerce indicates "three families who have belonged to northern area were most benefited by the denationalization policy of General Zia"(Alvi, 2002, p.107). Alvi further wrote that "in the decade of eighties, Punjabis became a powerful group in industry and commerce and it was due to the policy of General Zia" (2002, p.107). So, the policy of the Zia regime supported Punjabi chauvinism. It was ultimately danger for the unity and integrity of the federation.

Ignoring Sindhi Language

The status of Sindhi language denounced by Zia regime as it did in the era of Ayub's Martial Law. Sindhi language was also victimized during the days of the Zia regime. They did not give due status to Sindhi language. It was decided in 1972 that Sindhi should become the official language of the Province after twelve years. But after take over of the military it went behind the bars and army rulers ignored the Sindhi language and tried to develop and improve Urdu. The attitude of the Zia towards the Sindhi language was not friendly. The people of Sindh were ignored in various institutions because they could not speak Urdu fluently (Ahmed, F., 1992).

During the military regime ban was imposed on the various Sindhi newspapers and journals. And there was the strict policy towards the declaration of any new newspaper or journal. Therefore, there were less chances of the publication of any writing in Sindhi. In such circumstances, a writer had to publish his writings in India. As a result, he was immediately declared the traitor of the country (Ahmed, F., 1992).

Issue of Kala Bagh Dam

General Zia reopened most controversial issue of Kala Bagh Dam in 1984 and tried to create the differences between the people of Punjab and smaller provinces. The issue of Kala Bagh Dam also created the hatred feelings against the military regime. This issue upraised the nationalist ideas in Sindh.

The proposal of Kala Bagh Dam and barrage was raised during British rule in 1871. Sindh opposed it and as a result the opposition of Sindh, scheme was postponed. During the British government, the contradiction on the water distribution was continued until 1945. Punjab and Sindh government signed an agreement on water distribution. According to that accord any barrage or Dam would not be established with out the acceptance of Sindh. That accord was famous as 'Sindh Punjab Agreement (Bhutto, B. A., 1998).

Choudhary Aitazaz Ahsan leader of PPP said:

"Zia announced to construct the Kala Bagh Dam, according to his policy of 'Divide and Rule'. He was not sincere with project or to Punjabis or Sindhis. He played all the games to prolong his rule. Choudhary further said that central government of General Zia supported the Kala Bagh Dam but his chief Minister of Sindh province, Sayed Ghous Ali Shah and Governor of NWFP, Retd. General Fazal Haq bitterly opposed the Project of Kala Bagh Dam (Interview with Aitazaz Ahsan).

Separate Electorate System

The separate electorate was the demand of the Muslims of India when they were the biggest minority in united India. It was the basic pillar for the separate homeland of the Muslims of India. When British accepted the demand of the separate elections for the Muslims on that day they accepted the separate homeland for the Muslims in south Asia. It was the first success of the Muslims and step forward to independent Muslim state. After the independent there was no need of separate elections because Muslims in Pakistan were in dominating majority. Hence there was no provision of separate electorate in the constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973.

In the elections of 1977 and after it during the PNA movement, the religious parties felt that minority vote would go to PPP. So, "the religious parties like Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamait-i-Ulema-e-Pakistan and Jamait-i-Ulema-e-Islam felt disenfranchising members of the minority from the general seats would go to their advantage and correspondingly detrimental to the PPP" (Khan, H., 2001). General Zia also favoured to separate electorate because he himself afraid of the popularity of PPP. He introduced the separate electorate through an amendment in Representation of the People Act 1976, in 1979 by the ordinance. It became a part of the constitution through Revival of the Constitution of 1973 Order, 1985 Clause (4-A) of Article 51 and Clause (5) of 106 were substituted providing for elections of members of the national and provincial assemblies respectively belonging to minorities on the basis of separate electorate(Khan, H., 2000). It was a part of the policy of Zia to crush the PPP. The majority of the minority voters

supported PPP. It was also loss of the Sindhis in the urban areas of the province because their voters were divided on the basis of religion.

Sindhi people returned their sympathies from the Pak Army

The people of Sindh respected Pak army though there was no share of the Sindhis in the military. In the wars of 1965 and 1971, the people of Sindh fought against Indian army on the front line under the command of the Pakistan army Officers. It showed the commitment of the common people with the army. But after the ouster of Bhutto, the situation was entirely changed.

"Zia proclaimed himself as guardian of the Islamic ideology, so military wrapped itself into the role of an ideological vanguard for a theocratic state" (Noman, 1988, p. 117). The establishment of the Summary Military Courts and sentences to the people by those courts created hatred against the army. The hatred thinking was increased due to the arrogant and misbehaving attitude of the officers to the common people in Sindh. The officials used abusive language against the workers of the PPP and other political parties. After this behaviour and attitude of the regime towards the people of Sindh, they reacted and opposed Pakistan army. After the coup of Zia there was no respect of military among the common people and it changed into enmity after the execution of Z. A. Bhutto and MRD movement.

Impact of the Execution of Z. A. Bhutto, on the Politics of Sindh

The people of Sindh thought that the murder case of Muhammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri against Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was political move and his execution was the conspiracy of the Generals and Judges. "Nevertheless, the trial appeal and eventual execution of Bhutto have left a deep and everlasting effect on the political scene of Pakistan"(Khan, H., 2001, p. 597). It left many impacts on the federalist and nationalist politics of Sindh. General Zia was very sharp and intelligent. Bhutto appointed him as Chief of Army Staff and he worked under him but Bhutto could not understand him. Even Bhutto assigned him task, to talk with the leaders of PNA to settle down the problems. When PNA and Bhutto agreed on compromise

and Bhutto announced that he would sign the accord next day but before it, he brought the coup and ousted Bhutto. After the take over, he met Bhutto to show that he was not against him. He announced that he imposed the Martial Law only to maintain the law and order situation and holding the fresh elections.

General Zia turned his attitude and spoke against Bhutto when he was assured that he became in strong position to face any agitation and movement. Before that many leaders of PPP were sent jail and some were house arrested. He met many leaders of PPP and other parties and got assurance from them that they would not support Bhutto. The army officers met and drank them in the dark night (Talpur, 2002,).

Zia knew very well that the main challenge to the military regime could be from the Pakistan Peoples Party (Yousif, 1999). General Zia was also afraid of the PPP and its leader Z. A. Bhutto, so he wanted to get rid of them at any cost. Zia was afraid from him because he openly spoke that when he would return in power, he would punish to those who were involved in army coup against the elected government. Lt. General Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 161) narrated it as under:

> "However Zia's regime was to face its first test soon after taking power. Bhutto, upon his release, first proceeded to Karachi and then to Larkana. In spite of Zia's warning, he became very defiant and started addressing his party workers in the course of which he criticized the promulgation of Martial Law and even threatened that when he returned to power, he would try Zia and his team for treason."

General used the case of Mohammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri against Bhutto and through this case he was succeeded to execute Bhutto with the help of Generals and Judges. (Interview with Dr. Mubshar Hassan)

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was arrested in the murder case of Mohammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri, on 4th September 1977. "Unlike the July 'arrest' this time Bhutto was treated

as a common criminal after being informed that he was being charged with murder and other serious crimes" (Ziring, 1997, p. 433). The unknown persons killed Kasuri in 1974. The name of the Bhutto had been included in the First Information Report (F.I.R.) lodged by Ahmed Raza Kasuri, his son, in Lahore on 11th November 1974 (Qureshi, M. S., 2002). The *challan* was submitted in the Session Court, on 11th September 1977 but State moved an application in Lahore High Court to transfer the case to the High Court. The Acting Chief Justice Molvi Mushtaq ordered to transfer the case to High Court. The case was transferred to the Lahore High Court without any notice to Bhutto (Khan, H., 2001). The case of Nawab Mohammad Ahmed Khan was trialed against Bhutto in the Lahore High Court.

Molvi Mushtaq Hussain was the Chief Justice of the court. After the imposition of Martial Law General Zia appointed him as a Chief Election Commissioner and Chief Justice of Lahore High Court. He was the native villager of General Zia. Both belonged to Jullundar of East Punjab. General Zia personally knew about his grievances with Bhutto. Molvi Mushtaq Hussain angered on Bhutto because during the Bhutto government he was superseded when PPP government appointed Justice Aslam Riaz Hussain as a Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. Even he was junior than Molvi Mushtaq and other six judges (Khan, H., 2001). General Zia appointed Mushtaq Hussain with a hope that he may be grudge against Bhutto (Khan, H., 2001). Benazir Bhutto (1994, p. 120) daughter of Z. A. Bhutto described the entire phenomenon as "One of Zia's top judicial appointee Molvi Mushtaq was from Zia's home area of Jullundar in India and was an old enemy of my father. It was the doubt of the Bhutto family that Molvi would not do justice with them. The mistrust and appeal of Bhutto family against the Judge was needed to change the bench according to the tradition."

Benazir (1994, p.131) wrote about the attitude of the Molvi Mushtaq in these words "The Chief Justice from the Punjab took advantage of the in camera proceeding to reveal his racial prejudice against Sindhis, the race from the southernmost province of Pakistan to which my father belonged."

Bhutto was released on bail on 13th September 1977 but he was rearrested on 17th September 1977 under the Martial Order number 12 from Larkana. People protested and stoned on police and many were injured (Ahmed, G., 1990).

General Zia had displeased on the release of Bhutto on bail. After that he did not trust the civil court and "announced that Special Military Court would be established under the Brigadier or a Major General in Lahore" (Daily dawn 19th September 1977). Later he retreated from it on the advice to his close advisers.

Nusrat Bhutto wife of Z. A. Bhutto filed an appeal in the Supreme Court against the arrest of Bhutto and other leaders of the PPP under Martial Law Ordinance 12. The Supreme Court dismissed appeal of Mrs. Bhutto on 10th November 1977. The full bench of the Court consisted of nine judges under the leadership of the Chief Justice Anwar-ul-Haq. According the verdict of Court, "Martial Law was the necessity of the State and justified Martial Law (Ahmed, G. 1990).

The rallies and demonstrations arranged by the PPP throughout the country. A big procession was held in Karachi on 18th December 1977 against the Martial Law. Police injured Nusrat Bhutto in national stadium Lahore, when she led the procession against Zia regime. In Karachi, protestors attacked on police parties and stoned on the vehicles and blocked roads. (Ahmed, G., 1990, p. 156)

Lahore High Court formed five judges full bench for the trial of Bhutto. Molvi Mushtaq was the head of the bench. Dr. K. M. A Samadani was kept out from the bench, who had granted bail to Bhutto. Full bench of the Court rejected the bail on the petition of government. This was clearly against the established practice of the High Courts that the petition of the cancellation of bail is fixed before the same judge who granted it in the first place or before a bench of which he is member (Khan Hamid, 2001). Though Bhutto was already in Jail so

there was no physical difference after the cancellation of bail but a question was raised in the mind of the people that why the existing practice was violated. The doubt of the impartial of the Chief Justice became more doubtful when a "Sindhi judge Samadani was transferred from Lahore High Court" (WolPert, 1993, p. 320).

The full bench of Lahore High Court consisted of Chief Justice Molvi Mushtaq Hussain, Zakiuddin Pal, M.S.H. Qureshi, Aftab Hussain and Gulbaz Khan. Bhutto and his party leaders showed mistrust on the bench, they claimed that Molvi Mushtaq Hussain was anger on Bhutto due to his promotion. Pal was the old Muslim Leaguer and against Bhutto. Aftab Hussain was the very close and dependent on Mushtaq Hussain.

The Director General of 'Federal Security Force' (FSF) Masood Mahmood and Ghulam Hussain were the witness against the Bhutto in the murder case and both were already pardoned before the trial. Mian Mohammad Abbas a senior officer of the Federal Security Force, Ghulam Mustafa, Arshad Iqbal and Rana Ikhtiar Ahmed all three were the junior officials of the FSF also accused in case. Except Bhutto all of them belonged to Punjab.

High Court Lahore charge sheeted *(farad Juram)* case against all five accused on 11th October 1977. In the beginning, trial proceedings were open for the public but later were closed for the common people and case was processing in camera.

On the witness of some officers of the Federal Security Force (FSF), full bench of High Court Lahore found Bhutto and four other accused guilty and sentenced them to "death" on 18th March 1978. Three accused namely Ghulam Mustafa, Arshad Iqbal and Rana Ikhtiar Ahmed confessed their involvement, and two including Bhutto denied from the charges. But court did not discriminate between them in the judgment.

After the decision of High Court Lahore, Zia declared himself President of Pakistan in the month of September in same year (Ziring, 1997). But before that Zia frequently expressed his disinterest in politics. The change behind the ideas of the Zia was the case of Bhutto. According to law of Pakistan, it is the power of the President to pardon any person in any case. Zia had a doubt that Fazal Elahi Choudhary as President would accept the appeal of clemency of Bhutto, so, he occupied the seat of the President of the country and controlled power of the clemency in his own hands.

The partiality of the regime was clear from the publication of series of white papers during the trial that cited many crimes of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his administration. Zia could now publicly describe Bhutto as a murderer, stating that Kasuri had not been the only victim of the Quaid-i-Awam's decision making apparatus (Ziring, 1997). Justice Shamim Hussain Qadri has mentioned that "Acting Chief Justice (Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain) was confirmed during the trial, for that he once or twice to my knowledge communicated to General Zia to either confirm him or he would transfer this case to a district session judge for a normal trial" (Qureshi, M. S., 2002, p. 363).

Z. A. Bhutto filed an appeal in the Supreme Court of Pakistan against the verdict of High court. Supreme Court formed full bench for his trial. The bench consisted of nine judges. Chief Justice Anwar-ul Haq, Justice Karam Elahi Chohan, Justice Mohammad Akram, Justice Nasim Hassan Shah, Justice Kaiser Khan, Justice Wahiduddin Ahmed, Justice Dorab Patel, Justice G. Safdar Shah and Justice Mohammad Haleem. The bench was lead by the Chief Justice Anwar-ul- Haq. At that time he was also Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan. Bhutto's advocate Yahya Bakhtiar raised the question against his partiality and mistrust on Chief Justice. Z. A. Bhutto also showed his mistrust on judges.

The two judges of the Supreme Court retired during the hearing of appeal of Bhutto. It was fatal for the Bhutto because the retired judges were in the favour of the Bhutto (Interview with Dr. Mubashar Hassan). The advocate of Bhutto, Yahya Bakhtiar took

four months (long time) in the arguments. If he had not prolonged his arguments, the retiring judges could have participated in the decision. (Interview with Professor Ghafoor Ahmed)

On 6th February 1979, Supreme Court dismissed the appeal of Mr. Bhutto and confirmed the verdict of High Court Lahore. The judgment of the Supreme Court was passed by the marginal majority by 4 - 3. Four judges including Chief Justice Anwar-ul Haq supported the decision of the High court while the remaining three senior judges acquitted Bhutto. Four Judges who were in favour of the sentence to death of Bhutto belonged to Punjab. Three judges who acquitted Bhutto belonged to smaller provinces. Craig Baxter, Professor of Politics and History and the expert on South Asian politics wrote on 6th February 1979 that the vote appeared to be slanted (biased) by province: The four Punjabi justices voted to uphold the conviction; the three from other provinces voted to strike it down.

The famous Newspaper Guardian wrote, "After a mock trial presided over by the Punjabi judges of the Lahore High Court in April 1979, having established a hot line with the Supreme Court, General Zia sent Bhutto to the gallows (Guardian, 5th April 1979, referred by Shah M. A., 1997, p. 55). The execution was receiving worldwide condemnation (Far Eastern Economic Review, 13th April 1979).

Ayesha Jalal Professor of Columbia University also called the execution of Bhutto as a 'Judicial Murder'. She wrote that "The civil bureaucracy in the province is largely non-Sindhi as is the police. And of course the judicial murder of Bhutto in 1979 provided Sindhis with a martyr" (Jalal, 1995, p. 195). Pir Pagaro supported the decision of the Supreme Court (Bukhari, 1994). While the Sindhi nationalist and leader of the Jeay Sindh G. M. Sayed did not appeal for the mercy of Bhutto (Kazi Azad, 1989, and Interview with Mujtaba Shah Rashdi). Even worldwide appeals were reached for the mercy of Bhutto. Secretary General of United Nations also appealed to General Zia for his mercy. American President, British Prime Minister,

the UAE Amirs of the Kuwait and Qatar sent mercy appeals to the President of Pakistan (Ahmed, G., 1990; Bukhari, 1993 and Khan H., 2001).

Mir Murtaza Bhutto son of Z. A. Bhutto told in the press conference at London that "if Bhutto would be hanged the civil war would be started and it would be danger for the integrity of the country" (Ahmed G., 1990, p. 321). Bhutto's execution left deep impact on the minds of the people of Sindh. The economic and administrative disparity also flourished after the death of Bhutto. Mohammad Waseem (1994, p. 396) narrated it as "these economic and administrative grievances were ignited by the psychological shock of Bhutto's execution for which the 'Punjabi army was held responsible. It assumed a violent character in Sindh."

On other side, Ahmed Raza son of Mohammad Ahmed Khan Kasuri appealed to the authority and said that if Bhutto would be released it would be danger for the country and he would become Sheikh Mujib for Sindh (Ahmed, G., 1990).

Benazir Bhutto (1994, p. 152) explained the division of judges into 4 -3 as under:

> "Four Punjabi judges from the military heart of the country –two of them had been appointed on adhoc and their tenure was confirmed by the military regime after the verdict – had voted to uphold the lower court, while the three senior judges from the minority provinces had voted to overrule."

It was the decision of the Supreme Court but was controversial because before the decision of the court the President of the country openly said, "If the Supreme Court releases him, I will have the bastard tried by a Military Court and hung" (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 265). Zia also told to Roedad Khan that "It's either his neck or mine", Roedad Khan recalled 'He said "I have not convicted him, and if they hold him guilty, by God, I am not going to let him off" (WolPert, 1993, p. 327). So when court gave verdict against Bhutto, people thought that it was decided in pressure of General Zia and not on merit. So the credibility of the court also became doubtful in the eyes of the common people, specially in Sindh.

It was the law of country that the execution of any person was announced at least one week before but it did not implement in the case of Bhutto. Benazir (1994, p. 11) also mentioned it as, "under the Pakistan Law the date of any execution must be announced at least one week before its implementation. But in the case of Z. A. Bhutto it was not announced." The action of the military regime traced the biasness of the junta towards Bhutto.

The doubt of the injustice in the trial was increased in the people of the country when Bhutto was sentenced to death. There was no example in the history of the judiciary of the Britain that the person who was involved indirectly in the murder case was punished to death sentence according to the criminal act 302. It was implemented from 1860. It is the international accepted law that if, the judges of the bench were divided in the decision of the case than less punishment should be followed but that rule was not followed in the case of Bhutto. The three judges out of seven acquitted Bhutto from the murder charges. This point also increased the doubts about the partiality of the judges in the case.

Impacts of the Execution are:

1) Rise of violent politics in Sindh
2) Increase of Sindhi Nationalism
3) Bhutto became Hero

Violence Factor in Politics

Government arrested thousands of the workers of the PPP before the execution of Bhutto as a precautionary measure. Even then the wave of protest started all over the country after the execution of Bhutto. When government tried to deal the protests highhandedly, they became violent. At that time many workers sentenced to lashes by the military courts. Benazir (1994, p. 133) claimed, "60,000 people were arrested from Sindh. Race courses were converted into open-air prisons." Even then the government did not succeed to prevent the demonstrations against the military junta. Many vehicles, petrol pumps were burned in Hyderabad, Kotri, Dadu, and

Nawab Shah on 5th April and on next day the violent demonstrations were held in Shikarpur, Thatta and Sukkur. Protesting demonstrations were launched throughout Pakistan (Waseem, 1994,). The curfew was imposed in even small towns such as Mehar (a small town of District Dadu). The railway line sleepers were burned in Sukkur (Ahmed G., 1990). "… the violence followed by the military trials, which sentenced a large number of Bhutto's supporters ranging from rigorous imprisonment to lashes" (Waseem, 1994, p. 362).

General Khalid Mahmud Arif expresses the similar views; "Students of Jamshoro University set three vehicles and a police station on fire. A few shops, public buildings and banks were attacked in Larkana and its telegraph office was set at blaze. Minor incident of violence took place in Nawabshah and other towns in Sindh"(Arif, 1995, p.197). It was done in the worst and strict measures, which were taken by the Zia *junta* before the execution of Bhutto. Thousands of the workers of the PPP and political activists were sent behind the bars. "The administration machinery in all the provinces was put on alert in February 1979. The political atmosphere being emotionally charged, it was considered to take pre–emptive measures and act with firmness to maintain peace and tranquility (Arif, 1995, p. 198).

The militant organizations were organized after the execution of the Bhutto. Some young, committed, and reactionaries chose the way of terrorism in politics. They secretly formed the militant organization for the guerrilla war. They openly talked about revenge of Bhutto from the Zia and his associates. Bhutto's sons lead those persons and formed "Peoples Liberation Army"(Arif, 1995, p. 267). The head quarter of the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) was in Kabul. Government of Kabul was pro Russian and against Zia government. The PLA was changed into Al-Zulfiqar Organization (AZO) on the birthday of Z. A. Bhutto. AZO also led by Bhutto's sons, Mir Murtaza and Shah Nawaz. They were active against the military rule in the country. The organization accepted many terrorist actions. The PIA aeroplane was high jacked in 1981 and Al-Zulfiqar Organization accepted its responsibility.

Sindhi Nationalism Enhanced

During the military rule of Zia-ul-Haq, "Bhutto's home province Sindh became the main venue of provincial dissidents" (Jalal, 1995, p. 194). These words of the Ayesha Jalal really showed the phenomenon of the Sindh province due to the oppressive policies of Zia regime. Musa Khan Jalalzai (1993, p. 198) an Afghan Journalist comments on the military coup and the hanging of Bhutto as "The Sindhis faced worst nightmare in their history under General Zia's most reactionary Martial Law. The hanging of Bhutto inflicted the greatest setback to Sindhi people who were beginning to feel at home in Pakistan." The division of the judges on the basis of the Punjabis and non-Punjabis created many questions in the minds of the people. It was the idea of the majority of Sindhis that Bhutto was hanged because he was Sindhi. Four judges of the Supreme Court who favoured the decisions of the High Court Lahore were all Punjabis.

The leaders of Sindh PPP and other parties talked too much about the division of the judges of Supreme Court in the decision. They interpreted it Punjabi chauvinism. As a result the ethnic division was raised in the country. Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 162) wrote about it:

> "The sentence was received with deep shock in the interior of Sindh where it was openly termed as a verdict by a Punjabi High Court against a Sindhi Prime Minister. There was, however, no large-scale agitation against this verdict, as the PPP leadership did not pay attention to the mobilization of the public against Bhutto's trial."

The nationalist forces of Sindh specially *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* led by G. M. Sayed expose the case against the unity of the federation. While G. M. Sayed was against Bhutto. He supported PNA movement and General Zia. But some workers of Jeay Sindh participated in the agitation. Bhutto's execution was really a big shock not only for Sindhis but all the patriotic citizens of the country. It was very harmful for the unity and integrity of the country. General K. M. Arif (1996, p. 214) wrote, "Bhutto's execution polarized the country."

The resentment and resistance against the military regime of General Zia ul Haq was felt throughout the country. However, in Sindh the sense of sorrow and bitterness had distinct quality, tinged with the lament for a son of the soil (Ahmed, F., 1999,).

The leader of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* G. M. Sayed, who was the political opponent of Z. A. Bhutto, also wrote about it that military regime took strict measures to crush the any mass reactions in the result of execution of Z. A. Bhutto. G. M. Sayed (1995, p. 199) wrote:

> "Eventually, the rulers sent Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to the gallows. In order to prevent any adverse reaction among the youth in Sindh, strict Martial Law rules were imposed; some were beaten to death in torture cells. Some were maimed. No consideration was given to age or sex."

Omar Noman (1988, p. 181) said about it "Thus Bhutto's trial was perceived in Sindh to be motivated by the Punjabi elite's intolerance of competing claims to power from other regions."

That thought arose in the mind of the people of Sindh, because from the day of the independence it was the first Sindhi who reached on the highest post of the country, and was hanged. So the growth of the Sindhi nationalism as a result of death of Bhutto was natural. Sindhis went far away from the main stream of the administration.

Federalist politicians and even the followers of Bhutto started to support Sindhi nationalism. Babar Ali (1992, p. 187) narrated political scenario as under:

> "If a referendum were held in Sindh and the people were asked, whether they would (i) be willing to stay with Pakistan (ii) Join India (iii) become independent, there is little doubt that a great

majority of those whose mother tongue is Sindhi would take the first option."

Though Bhutto was Pakistani nationalist and did not believe in Sindhi or Punjabi nationalism, his ouster from power and death increased Sindhi nationalism. Harrison (1992, p. 241) comments his death as, "Bhutto's ouster at the hands of the military and execution in 1979 made him martyr to Sindhi cause."

Common people of Sindh took it as the execution of Sindhi by Punjabis (Awami Awaz, 31st July 1991). So, the execution of Z. A. Bhutto increased the sense of deprivation in Sindhi speaking peoples. "They considered Zia their principle enemy and he had similar feelings for them" (Shah, M. A., 1997, pp. 55-56). Benazir Bhutto (1988a, p. 39) remarks

"When you want to break a nation, you make the national party and the national leader a target because when you take out the national leader and the national political party, you have provincial leaders and you have grown the provincialism which means you have grown of secessionism. So Zia-ul-Haq took a conscious decision to persecute Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto because in my opinion he is not a friend of Pakistan, he want to destabilize, destroy and disintegrate Pakistan. And this is the very reason why he wanted to clear the country from having a national leader."

Benazir (1988a, p. 40) further said

"General Zia worked to destroy the Pakistan for that purpose he visited G. M. Sayed and "G. M. Sayed has never made secrete of the fact that Sindh should be an independent nation. Zia-ul-Haq patronized him, visited him, and praised him. G. M. Sayed is the same to him; Zia said 'G. M. is doing my work' while G. M. said

> 'Zia is doing my work'. Both were doing each other's work and destroying Pakistan and taking it to the point of disintegration."

Due to his charismatic personality, Bhutto's death created the resentment among the people, as it was the death of the masses. In this regard Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah (1993, p. 112) wrote "For Sindh the hanging of Bhutto was a moment of shock, disillusionment and disenchantment, as history in Pakistan was going to repeat itself by a single murder instead of a mass murder." He further wrote in same book as, "The single death left scare and wounds and created an awe which millions of death could not generate" (Shah, G. M., 1993, p. 113).

Bhutto Became Hero

Bhutto became the hero of Sindhis after his death. Sindhi counted the execution of Bhutto as the judicial murder of a Sindhi leader by the Punjabi judges and generals. They counted the death of the Bhutto as *Shahadit* (martyrdom). Those people who were against the PPP or Bhutto also turned their hatred into sympathy to Bhutto and his family. The Bhutto family regarded as *Mazloom* family of Sindh. The behaviour of the military junta towards Bhutto was one of the main causes of the increasing of sympathy towards Bhutto and PPP. General Khalid Mahmud Arif accepted that the graph of PPP and Bhutto increased after the hanging of Bhutto. He wrote, "The Bhutto tragedy created a wave of sympathy for the PPP." (Arif, 1995, p. 214) It was also proved in the elections of 1988, when the PPP swept the election from Sindh province. In the elections the most opponent leader of the PPP, Pir Pagaro that was happy on the execution of Z. A. Bhutto, was bitterly defeated by the PPP worker Sayed Parvez Ali Shah.

Bhutto became the hero of Sindhis as like other heroes such as Hoshu and Dodo. Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah (1993, p. 98) a well-known scholar of Sindh narrated it as under:

> "Sindh was benumbed at what happened. He was not the first one in the line of this kind of crucifiction – Dodo, Housho, Shah Inayat, Makhdoom Bilabial, Allah Bakhsh, Pir Sibghatullah Pagaro, made a

> proud and unparalleled line of the braves. Sindh was proud of him when he lived, will remain proud of him when dead and will adore him in history".

The execution of Bhutto was the great tragedy for Pakistan. Autocratic and military ruler hanged him. The appeal of mercy was not accepted by Punjabi General. It increased the hatred thinking against military as well as for Punjabis in Sindh and enhanced the gap between the Punjabis and Sindhis. After the death of Bhutto the continued imprisonment of Bhutto ladies and other leaders increased the same hatred thinking. Lt. General Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 172) wrote:

> "Bhutto's hanging had completely alienated the Sindhis from Zia's regime, Maulvi Mushtaq Ahmed, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, who had sentenced Bhutto to death and Mr Justice Sheikh Anwar ul Haq, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan who had rejected his appeal, were both from the Punjab. There was thus widespread resentment amongst the Sindhis against the Punjab because of the hanging of a Sindhi Prime Minister. This was taken to be a deliberate act of hostility towards Sindh."

It was the time when the federal politics in Sindh depended totally on PPP. If at that time PPP had been moved against the federal politics, there was no any other politician in Sindh who could get the support of the people of Sindh in the favour of federation of Pakistan. It was, however, the strategy of PPP leadership that they preferred the interest of the country over that of Sindh.

Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) 1983

It was the largest democratic movement of the history of Pakistan. This movement launched by the allied parties of MRD against the Zia's Martial Law. Movement became stronger in Sindh as compare to other provinces. (Waseem, 1987)

In the beginning, it was peaceful but after the oppressive actions of the military it tuned into a militant struggle. Sindh, the home province of Bhutto, became the centre of the movement. The people of the province were ready to move against Zia regime, but at that time none was there to lead. Pakistan Peoples Party continued struggle against the dictatorial rule of General Zia. The situation was entirely changed after the execution of Bhutto, when General Zia postponed the elections. Some parties of PNA contacted PPP for the alliance against the military rule and restoration of the Democracy. It was the starting of "new pattern of political alignment between the PPP and certain parties of PNA" (Waseem, 1994, p. 392).

It was really very difficult for the leadership of the PPP to make alliance with such parties which remained active against Bhutto and supported General Zia. But in the interest of the country and restoration of democracy, the leadership of PPP agreed for this alliance. The first official meeting of the leaders for the formation of Alliance was held at 70 Clifton Karachi on 6th February 1981.

The leaders were agreed and the alliance was formed and named as "Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) ". It was formed

1. Pakistan Peoples Party
2. Pakistan Muslim League (Khawaja Khair Uddin Group)
3. Pakistan Democratic Party
4. Pakistan Mazdoor Kisan Party
5. Pakistan National Party
6. National Awami Party
7. Quomi Mahaz-e-Azadi
8. Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI)
9. Tahrik-I-Istiqlal (TI)
10. National Democratic Party (Zardari, 2001, p. 355).

Alliance sponsored a four point programme, An end of Martial Law, Restoration of the 1973 Constitution, Parliamentary elections and Transfer of power to public representatives" (Waseem, 1994, p. 393).

Jamaat-e-Islami and Muslim League (Pir Pagaro Group) were still supporting to Zia regime. "Jamaat-e-Islami supported Zia due to close relation of Jamaat's leader Mian Tufail Ahmed with Zia. Both were Arain and belonged to Jullundhur (East Punjab)" (Khan, H., 2001). Pagaro supported Zia because he was the man of the military. "He (Pagaro) admitted at many occasions that he was an agent of Army's General Headquarters (GHQ) of armed forces" (Khan, H., 2001, p. 643). Jam Saqi said, "Pir Pagaro was the man of the GHQ so he supported Zia and his team" (Interview with Jam Saqi). Pagaro declared himself the man of GHQ, so he was not in a position to oppose the army rule and Martial Law. It was the trust of the Pakistan army on Pir Pagaro that they permitted him to organize the *Hur* Force. This force was used by the military junta against the democratic forces, specially, in the suppression of the MRD movement. Ageef (1989, p. 396) narrated it as under:

> "Pir Pagaro was allowed by the military regime to establish an armed organization consisting of purely the trustworthy mureeds (followers) of Pir Pagaro and that force was used to sabotage the opponents' gatherings and also attacked on their sessions and jalsaas."

"*Hur* force played a vital role in the suppression of MRD movement" (Interview with Rasool Bux Palejo, Hussain Bux Narejo and Arbab Khuhawar).

Struggle of Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD)

After the announcement of the movement against the Martial Law by MRD Martial Law authority issued Provisional Constitutional Orders (PCO) and reduced the power of the Judiciary. "On 23rd March 1981, finally the President issued the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO), according to which the judiciary could no

longer quash (cancel) detention orders of the military courts, and stay flogging and execution on the basis of lack adequate evidence" (Waseem, 1994, p. 375).

After the formation of MRD, the first setback for it was the hijacking case of PIA aeroplane in March 1981. It was high jacked by the armed persons during domestic flight from Karachi to Peshawar. The plane was taken to Kabul airport. The Afghan Government supported the high hackers. After getting fuel, they flew to Damascus the capital of the Syria. The hijacking drama was ended when demand of the hijacker was accepted by releasing sixty prisoners (mainly workers and leaders of PPP) from the prisons of Pakistan. Al-Zulfiqar Organization (AZO) accepted the responsibility of the hijacking. Mir Murtaza Bhutto, the elder son of Z. A. Bhutto was the leader of the organization. He himself issued the press statement and took all the responsibilities. On the other hand Murtaza's mother and sister were leading MRD.

After the hijacking many questions were raised about the leadership of the MRD. "Government propagated that it was the conspiracy of the PPP leadership against the army and Pakistan. The hijacking of the plane and specially, the murder of army Captain Tariq by the hijackers left the negative impression in Punjab" (Interview with Aitazaz Ahsan). It lowered the tempo of the movement in specially in Punjab.

After the organization process, MRD decided to launch a country wide Civil Disobedience Movement on 14th August 1983 under the leadership of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. It was also decided by the leadership of MRD to start a voluntarily arresting movement. The MRD launched agitation from 14th August 1983, in pursuit of its demands and movement soon gained momentum in the larger context of public activities.

Professional organizations, trade unions, bar councils, and the students' organizations were supportive to the programme of the MRD. About a hundred labour leaders endorsed the MRD's call in their meeting in Karachi on 27th July (Waseem, 1995). Trade unions demanded for their rights as well as

democracy in the country. When the rallies and gatherings of the trade unions increased in the country, the government issued the ordinance No 53 in September 1982. Accordingly to which death sentence was fixed for those involved in the damage of social property (Ageef, 1989). Even then the struggle of the unions could not stop.

However, the *Waderas* of the Sindh also participated in the movement, though they did not had such practice before. The supporter of the Zia junta said that *Waderas* of Sindh participated in the movement due to the implementation of the Usher. But it was not a strong argument because the usher was also implemented in the other provinces of the country. The feudal class of those provinces did not support the movement. Mushahid Hussain Sayed described it as "*Waderas* has been pushed into the movement due to pressure from below i.e. the rural masses and the feeling of deprivation extends also to the affluent section of Sindhi society, particularly access to political power" (Hussain, M., 1991). They had lost the share in power structure given to them by Bhutto. So they were trying to get back the same status through this movement.

The movement became popular in Sindh and succeeded to gain the mass support. It turned into a violent movement because of the crushing policy of the military junta. Army used Tear gas, *Lathi charge*, and gun firing against the demonstrators. Tahir Amin (1993, p. 197) describes "The most important reason for the rise of the movement has been near total exclusion of Sindhis from the state elite".

The movement for the restoration of democracy (MRD) started disobedience movement on 14th August, the Independence Day of the country. The voluntarily arrests were started to be given through out the country. It was first time in the history of the country that the leadership was on front line. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the President of PPP, voluntarily surrendered.

> "On the first day of the movement, the alliance arranged a big gathering at Locus Park in Sukkur, where the leaders were called for the speeches. At that time police and other law enforcing agencies used tear gas and then did firing on the people, even then Allama Mohammad Shah Amroti, the leader of JUI did not leave the stage." (Qadri Zulfiqar, 2004)

It shows the commitment towards the movement. The first day of the movement was very successful through out the country. The military government felt threat to rule and used all means to prevent it. This action of the Martial Law authority was changed the peaceful movement into violent Tahreek.

> "The movement in Sindh had a spontaneous character as distinct from the rest of the country: It was more rural than urban. It involved more unplanned, leaderless and mob action than was the case in other provinces. There followed cases of shooting, arson and armed attacks on trains, police stations, railway treasury, banks and various other government institutions." (Waseem, 1994, p. 393)

In the beginning MRD movement was peaceful in Sindh like other province of the country. It assumed violence when the army used state force to suppress it. The attitude of the military authority towards the people of Sindh was very hard as compare to the people of the Punjab. It was deliberately done by the authority to achieve their goal i.e. "divided and rule", and regime was successful in it's planning (Waseem, 1994).

> "A large number of leaders and workers of PPP and MRD were arrested. But policy towards the public was different in Sindh and Punjab. This was the reason that the roads and streets of Punjab were not closed during the MRD movement. But in Sindh people

were fighting with the army. They even did not allow Zia to land in Dadu." (Interview with Aitazaz Ahsan)

No doubt PPP Punjab participated in the MRD movement and their leaders and workers were also arrested, but they could not succeed to mobilize the common man against the government.

It was the target of the army junta from the beginning to create a division between the Sindhis and the Punjabis and to crush Punjab and Sindh based PPP"(Interview with Professor Aziz Uddin Ahmed). By such division between the people of the country military junta wanted to prolong its rule. They gave more privileges to the people of the Punjab as compared to Sindh. And behaviour of the officers as well as the army *Jawans* towards the Sindhis was humiliating and insulting. It was due to the reason that the majority in the army belonged to Punjab and Zia was afraid of the rebellion from this province. The Punjab was silent at the time when movement was at its peck in Sindh. It was propagated by the Martial Law authority that people of Sindh were fighting for the freedom, not for democracy. To strengthen this impression Zia regime penetrated his men in the movement. They chanted a slogan against Pakistan in the rallies and the procession of MRD (Interview with Hussain Bakhsh Narejo).

The movement was very strong in Sindh. If it had been sustained for a few weeks, the army ruler would have to leave the country. "If the Punjab had participated in the movement Zia would not been able to stay" (Interview with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi). The conditions in Sindh were such that the President could not move in the interior Sindh. During the movement when General Zia visited Dadu, he could not complete his visit. The people of the city and surrounding areas came out of their homes and rushed to the convoy of the President and stoned his motor car. The people rushed to the helipad but before reach. General Zia went away. Nobody had predicted violence in Sindh at such as massive scale (Waseem, 1994).

At that time people of Punjab Province and Karachi city supported and participated in the movement as they played the part in PNA movement. In Karachi tens of thousands of anti government protestors fought in the streets. Mostly participants belonged to Sindhi and Baluch community while there was marginal participation of Urdu speaking peoples (Burki, 1991). The movement proved to be an important landmark in the politics of Sindh but its failure lay in its inability to provoke a response in Punjab (Noman 1988).

On 15th August 1983, anti government demonstrations were continued all over the Sindh province. About more than four hundred demonstrators were arrested including opposition leader Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi (Burki, 1991). The struggle increased day by day. On 17th August 1983, a clash took place between the police and demonstrators; one person was killed in Dadu. On 18th August other four people were reportedly killed in Sindh (Burki, 1991). Movement became stronger as the Martial Law junta took the strict measures. People did not afraid from the strict measures and stiff punishments. They demanded for the restoration of democracy. The protestors were chanting the slogans to get the revenge of Z. A. Bhutto. The provincial autonomy was the main point of the speakers in their speeches. It became violent, as A.T. Choudhry wrote in the daily Dawn, "Angry mobs attacked all the symbols of the federal government, banks, government offices, courts, colleges, post offices, railway stations, jails, and arsenals. (Dawn, 27th August 1983) General K . M. Arif (1995, p. 219) wrote about it:

> "The MRD leadership fell into the hands of inexperienced low level workers, (the main leadership was arrested by the Martial Law authority) who lacked the capacity to lead. From the noble slogan of restoring democracy, the movement took anti social turn. Public buildings were burnt; railway lines were uprooted; banks were looted; canals were breached. Road became unsafe for travel; dacoits and miscreants took advantage of the disturbed conditions.

> As the law and order situation took a turn for the worse, public hostility turned against the anti social elements."

In Sindh the leftist organization were more active and organized in all the processions and demonstrations. Sindhi *Awami Tahreek* lead by the Rasool Bux Palejo and Fazal Rahoo played an active role in the movement, specially in the organization of the movement. It was the duty of the *Awami Tahreek* to organize the movement in Sindh province. The stability in the movement was the result of the organization of the MRD, which was done by *Awami Tahreek* under the guidance of the commuted leadership of the party" (Interview with Rasool Bakhsh Palejo). Professor Aziz Uddin Ahmed also supported to it and said that "it was the struggle of *Awami Tahreek* that who organized MRD in Sindh" (Interview with Prof. Aziz Uddin Ahmad). Watan Dost Mazdoor Federation and some factions of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* also participated in the movement. However, the leader of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* G. M. Sayed was opposing the movement. He said, "We are staying out of this agitation. It is not a popular movement. It is only led by PPP's feudals for their lust of power. Like a dog, the PPP is only seeking crumbs and bones" (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 43). Omar Noman (1988, p. 183) also accepted the role of the other regional parties. In 'The Political Economy of Pakistan 1947-85' he wrote:

> "There were four principle political forces responsible for mobilizing support in the '83 Movement. A major part was played by the PPP, which is led by landlords in Sindh but commands support across a wide spectrum of Sindhi society. However, the party to have emerged as a serious force in Sindhi politics was the Sindhi *Awami Tahreek* (SAT). R. B. Palejo led the Party, a one time 'Maoist' who now combines Sindhi nationalism with a socialist platform. SAT draws its support from students, workers and peasants. It also has close links with Baloch student and labour unions. A cluster of small parties and groups provided the third organizational force; the most prominent amongst them was the Sindh *Hari* Committee and the Jeay Sindh Group. Jeay Sindh represents the hard-core

> Sindhi nationalists in the intelligentsia and is led by the veteran advocate of the rights of Sindhis, G. M. Sayed. Finally, a significant role was played by religious leaders who exercise considerable influence in rural Sindh."

In the movement of MRD, Jamait-Ulma-i-Islam played a vital role in the movement, as acknowledged by the convener of Sindh MRD Hussain Bakhsh Narejo. He further said that the workers of the Jamait brought Quran Sharif with them, when they came for voluntarily arrests and demonstrations (Interview with Hussain Bakhsh Narejo).

It was the reaction of the people of Sindh against the oppressive policies of the Zia regime. In the reaction people also used same way and attacked on the government properties. It was the reaction of the suppressive policy that the land less farmers sold their cattle and bought guns to fight the army (Kardar, 1987; Hussain, M., 1991; Sheikh Mohammad Ali, 2000). G. M. Sayed, (1995, p. 199) who was even against MRD also accepted

> "State terrorism was seen at its worst when the shortsighted leadership of the MRD brought villagers to the streets. People reading the Holy Quran was treaded under trucks, air raids were carried out. Whole villages were put to the torch even women processing fired upon."

The movement became more violent in the month of September 1983; the clash took place between the demonstrators and the law enforcing agencies. The military troops were deployed all over Sindh. Para military force, Rangers, and *Hur* force also were used to crush the movement. Military opened the fires on unarmed demonstrators. "Seven people were killed by the military in K. N. Shah a taluka headquarter of District Dadu, on 4th September. (Burki, 1991) The demonstrators were peacefully demanding for the release of the two persons who were arrested and reportedly tortured by the army in the military camp. When protestors reached

near the military camp, an army *Jawan* sitting in the *morcha* opened the fire on protestors and as a result seven person were killed on the spot and many were injured. Army did not allow taking the injured persons to hospitals. (Interviews with the injured people)

During the movement there was a strict and hard censorship on the newspapers and other news agencies. So, many incidents were not reported. It was claimed by the leaders of the MRD that the number of the killed people was more than the reported in the news.

> "The army killed at least 16 persons on 29th September 1983, when the people of the Chandio village protested against the killing of the innocent people, and recitation Holy Quran in the honor of the martyrs of the MRD. When people were busy in reciting, a motorcade of the military reached and opened the fire." (Zardari, 2001, p. 396)

The movement of the restoration of democracy was crushed by the military by guns and bullets. Zia regime used gunship helicopters and military planes against the protestors. In village Lakhat, district Nawab Shah after killing of army *Jawan*, army used the Air force and bombarded on the village and used Petrol bombs. In the result of those bombs village was burnt (Zardari, 2001; Interview with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi).

Police and other Law enforcing agencies killed the innocent people. There was no confirmed number of people killed during this movement due to the strict censorship on press and publication. There was much difference between the claims of MRD leaders and official figures. Benazir compared the massacre of Sindh with the massacre in East Pakistan in 1971 by the Pakistan army.

> "The nationwide rebellion was not crushed by the guns and tanks of the army until the second week in October, leaving particular bitterness in the hearts of the Sindhis. 800 people were reportedly

killed. Whole villages were erased and crops burned. Women reportedly were molested by the army, bringing back dark memories of the army's rampage in Bangladesh twelve years before. In the ashes of fury, Sindhi nationalism was born. The move towards secession escalated in the other minority province as well. The fragile federation of Pakistan was strained to breaking point under the ruthlessness of Zia and six years of Martial Law." (Bhutto, B., 1994, p. 244)

Lt. General Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 173) Governor of Sindh, during Zia government wrote, "A summary of the casualty list, as available in official documents, was fifty killed and a hundred and fifty wounded. The actual figures may have been much higher." The Daily Muslim reported the official statement that number of the killed people was 61, while 200 hundred were injured. The arrested people were more than 4691" (The Muslim, 11th November 1983). Sindhi nationalists estimate that 800 were killed, 2000 injured and thousands of people arrested. (The Muslim, Islamabad, 20th June 1984). Tahir Amin (1993, p. 197) reported that "Most impartial observers estimated the casualty figure at 600 to 800, and 1000 were injured.

Harrison (1992, p. 242) wrote that "The 1983 clashes in which at least 300 hundred Sindhis were killed, have led to a consolidation of Sindhi nationalist sentiment". After bombardment and killing of the people all over the Sindh, the movement was ended. It left many impacts on the country and specially on the politics of Sindh. The people of Sindh considered Pakistan as *Punjabistan*. Many slogans were taunted by the Sindhis during and after the movement. Such as, '*Pakistan Jo Matlab Chha Fasyoon Fatka ain Martial Law* ', a poem of *Khaki Joyo* meaning 'Pakistan means hanging, lashes, and Martial Law '. Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 172) accepted this very fact in these words, "The Pakistan army and Martial Law were considered to be synonymous with the Punjab. The majority of Sindhis felt that

their interests were no longer safe in the hands of Martial Law and the army dominated by Punjab."

It was the struggle and braveness of the people of Sindh who fought against an organized army without the support of the Punjab and people of the urban areas of the province. Therefore, the observers commented that it was the nationalist movement of Sindh. As Akbar Zaidi, said, "The 1983 and 1986 movements of the MRD due to lack of support in other provinces was labeled a "Sindhi Rebellion" (Zaidi, 1992, p. 131).

It was the result of the mass support to the movement that the "American Defence Secretary, Casper Weinberger visited Pakistan in September 1983. He said that "In this situation, we have to look at alternative" (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 122). During the movement the appeal of the Nusrat Bhutto improve the moral of the participants which was secretly published in English, Urdu and Sindhi languages and distributed. Benazir Bhutto quoted that appeal in his autobiography as under:

> "My patriotic and heroic countrymen, my honorable brothers and sisters, my brave sons and daughters! The aim of our movement, a civil disobedience, for six long years we have been facing persecution and oppression. Our cause for resumption of democracy have been ignored, our workers have been imprisoned and sentenced to death. Enough is enough. We appeal to all the bus owners to take their buses off the roads, to all the railway men to stop plying the trains. The policemen we say: follow the example of your brothers in Dadu and do not shoot innocent people who are your brothers. Do not be frightened of this movement. It is for our people, for our poor, for our children so that they do not live in poverty, hunger and diseases. Struggle for your Parliament, for your Government, for your Constitution so that the decisions are

> taken for the poor people and not for junta and its stooges." (Bhutto, B., 1988a, p. 243)

Some observer said that MRD was failure. Actually MRD was totally not failed. The first success of the MRD was the announcement by the Zia on 12th August 1983 for holding the general elections, while MRD already declared the agitation to be started on the 14th August (Waseem, 1987).

MRD was a powerful movement of the people of Sindh. Before that the people of Sindh never had been as active as they were in the MRD movement. It was the struggle of the people of Sindh under the banner of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy that first time the ruler of the country saw the militancy of the Sindhis. It was the movement of MRD, which proved that Sindhis can fight any organized army and rejected the remarks that 'Sindhi would not fight.' It was quoted by Mushahid Hussain Sayed in these words "The militancy of the movement demolished some myths about Sindh and its people" (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 114).

Mushahid Hussain (1991, p. 125) said, "MRD attempt to mobilize street power failed to develop into a nationwide mass agitation, barring Sindh where causes of upsurge are some what indigenous to the province marked by a sense of deprivation following Bhutto's hanging." The same views were of a Sindhi scholar Mohammad Ali Sheikh (2000, p. 90) he wrote:

> "For the first time in the history of the country, the rural areas came out with agitation. Amongst all the provinces, the people of Sindh were in the lead. As a matter of fact they were taking revenge of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's assassination from the regime, though four year later."

The feudal and *Waderas* of Sindh participated in the movement due to no space for them in the power corridor. The landed elite, consistently out of power since 1977,

strongly reacted against the regime and played the most important role in the agitation (Amin, 19937).

The situation of the Sindh province was bitterly affected due to MRD movement, the law and order situation was very worst, as is clear from the writing of ex-Governor of Sindh, Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 240). "Bashir Siddiqui, I G Police, Sindh had been delayed a day earlier near Dadu while on his way to Larkana. He had to return to Karachi, as his police escort could not guarantee his protection." He further wrote in his same book on page 245 about law and order situation in Sindh as under:

> "As a result of the ethnic divide, widespread corruption and the MRD agitation, the provincial administration had been rendered ineffective; in fact it was paralyzed. In the interior, many policemen and other government employees were part of criminal gangs. In addition, if they had any loyalty, it was only towards their own clan and creed. Police station locked to gangs to provide them protection against gangs."

During the movement Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi issued the statement on the killing of the innocent Sindhis by the army. K. M. Arif (1996, p. 221) has quoted Mrs. Gandhi's as, "India could not remain indifferent to the cause of the people of Sindh." Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Sayed who wrote to the Indian Prime Minister to use her influenced to stop the massacre of the Sindhis by the military junta as under:

> "Although I did not join the MRD nor did I consider it of any use for Sindh's interest, I could not bear this bloodshed. Therefore, I wrote to the world organizations such as the United Nations and Amnesty International, appealing them not to ignore Sindh. I also wrote to the Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India to use her influence to end the massacre in Sindh. At this Indira Gandhi

> expressed her concern over the Sindh situation in the Indian Parliament." (Sayed, G. M., 1995, p. 199)

He also appealed to the people of Sindh that they would not participate in the MRD Movement. (Interviews with Amanullah Sheikh; Dr Arbab Khuhawar and Jam Saqi) After the statement of the Indian Prime Minister on the Sindh situation, Zia used it against the democratic movement. Sayed Mushahid Hussain (1991, p. 118) also took that point:

> "During the autumn of 1983, when the agitation in Sindh seemed to have the potential to over flow into the Punjab, Mrs. Indira Gandhi came out with a public statement of sympathy with those against the regime. This maneuvers of late Indian Prime Minister back-fired and the regime able to exploit quite skillfully the situation in a way that, many observers posed a certain linkage between the agitation in that province and India."

Aitazaz Ahsan, a PPP's central leader, expressed the same views about the statement of Indian Prime Minster (Interview with Aitazaz Ahsan). The struggle of the people of Sindh for the restoration of democracy left many impacts on the politics of country in general and specially on the politics of Sindh.

Though MRD initially was not successful for the holding of general election and restoring the democracy, but it left many impacts on the politics of the country, which are as under:

Referendum

After the pressure of the movement, Zia announced the referendum, to show the world that the people of the country were supporting him. The so-called referendum was held on 19th December 1984. There was a nominal participation of the people of country. Specially in Sindh, the polling booths remained open for all the day but people did not come to the polling stations. Only some government

servants and *Waderas* cost their votes. But government announced that more than 97% people supported to General Zia in the referendum.

General Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 174) wrote about the interest of the voters in the referendum in these words: "On the morning of the referendum, I went out to see the conduct of the polling in district West of Karachi. All the booths presented a desert look." It was the situation of Karachi, where the majority of the population was non-Sindhi. One can imagine the situation in the interior Sindh where the majority belonged to Sindhis and they fought with the army for the democracy. There, no official was ready to go to the polling stations to perform the duties in the referendum. No person came to cost the vote. Only the members of *Nizam-i-Salat* Committees, *Zakat* Committees, men of the intelligent agencies and employees of the government went to the polling stations to cost their votes under official directives.

Policy of Revenge

After the suppression of the movement for the Restoration of Democracy of 1983, the military junta decided to crush the political consciousness of the people of Sindh. It followed the policy of revenge and took the following measures in this regard.

The arresting of people was continued though, movement was ended. Zia targeted the workers of PPP and other progressive organizations. Many leaders and members of Sindh Peoples Students Federation, *Sindhi Shagird Tahrik* and Democratic Students Federation were arrested and tortured. Imdad Hussain Chandio, central President of Democratic Students Federation (DSF), Sher Mohammad Mangrio leader of DSF of Sindh University was arrested and sentenced to 14 years imprisonment. Faqir Iqbal Hisbani was killed in a so-called police encounter. Mohammad Yousif Jakhrani was killed in the torture by law enforcing agencies. Seven students of the University of Sindh were killed in the encounter on Thori railway crossing near Sann on 17th October 1984. Actually regime was afraid

from the re-uprising of the movement in Sindh. Therefore, they continued the policy of oppression and suppression.

The militancy in the MRD movement has threatened to the military regime and as a result they planned to construct the new cantonments in Sindh. Pano Aquil Cantonment was part of this strategy. The main aim of the regime behind this planning was to be able to effectively face and prevent the people's movements in Sindh in future.

After the MRD movement government also decided to establish political organization in Sindh, they would counter the PPP and other anti government political parties in Sindh. Hence for this purpose many racial, linguistic and regional organizations were created and supported by the army. The existence of Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM), Muhajir Ithad Tahreek (MIT), Punjabi Pashtoon Ithad (PPI) and Punjabi Students Association were the examples of that policy of Zia regime. The contact of General Zia to G. M. Sayed was also the part of the same policy. The existence of the crime culture in the universities and colleges was also the result of this policy. The main aim of those leaders was to crush the democratic and progressive students' organizations.

After the MRD movement, regime tried to patronize and developed the religious as well as racial and ethnic extremists. In this way government eliminated the political conscious of the people of Sindh. It was the part of the divide and rule policy of regime. Regime established the sectarian and militant organizations. In this regard Shia, Sunny, Devaband and Bravely sectarian and militant organizations, such as Sepah-e-Sahaba and Sepah-e-Mohammad. The main purpose of the Zia regime behind that was to crush the secular, liberal and democratic forces of Sindh.

During the movement it was announced by the Martial Law authority that if any arrested worker and leader of the MRD would appeal for the release and assure in

writing not to participate again in any anti- government movement, then would be released. After that many leaders and workers of the MRD mostly belonged to the *Waderas* and feudal families appealed to the army authority and got released (Qadri, Z., 2004).

After the MRD movement of 1983, the dacoit factor was increased in Sindh. It was the policy of the government to curb the political consciousness and the political movement of the Sindh by establishing a non-political culture, where the people were disturbed and feeling unsafe, hence not able to think about the political matters. As a result of the movement, the ammunition and weapons were spread through out the province. Afghan refugees and military men were involved in that business (Sahito, 2001).

The Afghan refugees visited the jungle and mountain areas of the province and sale the weapons to the dacoits. There was no check on the Afghan refugees all over the country. The main factor in the growth of dacoits in Sindh was the false cases against the innocent people. The Summary Military Courts sentenced many people. The sentenced people could not be arrested; they went to jungle and involved in the crimes. The army and the other law enforces agencies were deployed in Sindh to maintain the law and order situation. The operation was continued after the 1983 movement in the name of the dacoits. But the dacoit's activities were increased day by day. Army and specially *Hur* force targeted those villages, which were more active in the MRD. Many villagers were killed and many set burnt during the operation. In District Dadu, the Village Birhmani, near Dadu town and the village Machhi in taluka Mehar were the examples. Both villages were completely burned by the law enforcing agencies. Eighty-year-old man was killed in village Birhmani in the firing of the army and they declared him as dacoit. The village Taib Thaheem of District Sanghar was another example of the army's revengeful activities after MRD movement.

Rise of the Nationalism and Provincialism

The leaders of the MRD were fully hopeful that Punjab would participate in the movement. But when MRD launched 'Disobedience Movement' against the military

regime, the people of Punjab responded poorly as compared to Sindh. The army used iron hand to crush the movement. At that time the silent role of the Punjab created the sense of alienation from Punjab while the nationalistic feelings were increased.

The ousting of Bhutto was also the reason of uprising Sindhi nationalism in the province. Omar Noman (1988, p. 184) supported this view as, "Indeed, the demise of democratic government provided a critical spur to the growth of the Nationalist Movement in Sindh."

The demand for provincial autonomy as well as the independent Sindh gained momentum. However, it could not get the support of the people due to the lack of organization. At that time *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* was the only separatist organization in Sindh, but due to the opposition of MRD it could not gain the mass support in Sindh. Its leader G. M. Sayed openly opposed the MRD movement. Harrison also mentioned the growth of the demand of independence after the MRD movement; "The demand for the independence has clearly grown much stronger since 1983 clashes" (Harrison, 1992, p. 243). During the movement, the hard policy of the government and the killing of the demonstrators increased the Sindhi nationalism. Shahid Kardar narrated this situation as, "It is believed that hundreds died in 1983. And as those deaths were at the hands of an army and civil administration composed of non-Sindhi further strengthened the position of Jeay Sindh" (Kardar, 1987, p. 47).

In the movement of MRD people of the Punjab could not be ready to participate in the movement launched against the military. PPP had won the majority seats from the Punjab province in the general elections of 1970 and 1977. When Benazir Bhutto came in Pakistan, the people of the Punjab welcomed her very warmly. Her welcome at Lahore Airport (Punjab) is still known as unprecedented in the known history of the Punjab. But when the same PPP called the movement against the military regime, Punjab could not participate as Sindh. Shahid Kardar (1987, p. 48) described the entire situation as under:

> "The failure of the 1983 movement to dislodge the Martial Law regime has made the moderate elements more pessimistic. With the Punjab, for whatever reasons, not joining in the revolt has made it easier for Jeay Sindh to plead that nothing can be achieved by looking for help from a province which, although claims to love Bhutto, opted out of the struggle against the present regime. They claim that the Punjabi ruling elite will not loosen its grip and hence there is no acceptable alternative of an independent Sindh."

It was the impact of movement that if any one who would go to the interior Sindh in the public transport and visit the hotels and public places, he will find every where Sindhi national songs being played. The people of Sindh listened those songs heartily and expressed honour for them. At that time, there was a ban on the political gathering. So in the social gatherings and also in the '*Urs*' (anniversary) of Shah Abdul Latif and other heroes of Sindh such as in the day of the Makhdoom Bilawal, Housho Shedi, Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi, Shah Inayat Shaheed and Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi the national songs and national poetry became very popular. Such socio-cultural and religious gatherings were used for the expression of the political feelings of the people of Sindh. The sense of deprivation increased in Sindh as was acknowledged by Zia himself. This fact was quoted by General Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 239) as, "It was clear from Zia 's briefing that he was worried about Sindh, particularly the deep rooted sense of deprivation which came out in the open during the 1983 MRD agitation." Both the nationalistic feelings and the hatred thinking against army grew and flourished during this movement. This type of the thinking went against the interest of the federal politics.

Violence and Radical Factor

After MRD's movement, the violence factor increased in the politics of Sindh, which emerged after the execution of Bhutto. It appeared in the shape of MQM and other ethno nationalist and sectarian organizations.

After the MRD movement, "A more radical line emerged from the platform of Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front (SBPF) demanding establishment of 'Confederation' in Pakistan by recognizing the equality of all the nationalities and which is based on the principle of voluntary association of their territories in a union of states, whose sovereignty is abridged only by the voluntary surrender by its historic processor" (Waseem, 1994, p. 401).

It was the result of the movement, that famous scholar of the Pakistan and expert on the ethno nationalist politics Akbar Zaidi called MRD movement as a nationalist movement of Sindh. He wrote:

> "After the separation of East Pakistan in 1971, there have been at least two national uprisings in Pakistan where the people of one nationality have risen up against the center. From 1973 to 1977 there was a guerilla struggle waged by some Baluchi nationalists against the center; in 1983, and briefly 1983 the interior of Sindh province launched a militant struggle against the center." (Zaidi, 1992, p. 91)

Zia's kitchen cabinet member K. M. Arif also accepted the nationalist posture of the MRD in these words "The MRD movement in Sindh launched under the guidance of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi soon took a regional turn when it adopted a catchy slogan that Sindh faced a sense of deprivation" (Arif, 1995).

It was the impact of the MRD that the supporter of the strong federation, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi also demanded for the new agreement between the federating units of the Pakistan. Jatoi reached on that result due to poor participation of the Punjab in the movement for the restoration of Democracy. He was fully hopeless from the politicians of Punjab. Dr Mohammad Waseem (1987, p. 70) also narrated it as under "Jatoi and other PPP leaders have started talking about a new social contract among

the federating units of Pakistan." It was also result of the movement that PPP leader and the author of 1973 constitution Abdul Hafeez Pirzada formed Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front (SBPF). The federal politicians were despaired from the people of Punjab and in that hopelessness they turned their political line and the way of nationalist politics.

MRD Movement launched by the PPP and other opponent parties at country level but could gain the mass support only in Sindh. Army crushed it with iron hands. Harrison (1992, p. 142) said, "Zia's heavy handed military administration of rural Sindh during the post Bhutto period provoked continuing unrest that burst into the open in mid 1983 in bitter clashes between the make shift Sindhi guerrilla bands and some 45,000 Punjabi troops". Resultantly, anti military and anti Punjabi feelings were increased in the common people of Sindh. They thought that the Punjab could not participate in the movement because the majority of the army belonged to their home province. Tariq Rehman (2000, p. 127) described it as "The suppression of the movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was so violent in Sindh that anti Punjabi and anti Military feelings ran high. Eventually it took the nature of a civil war."

The nationalistic feelings raised in Sindh against Military because they brutally crushed the people and many innocents were killed by them. At that time people of Punjab did not raise the voice against the killing of the people of Sindh effectively. The Punjabis settled in Sindh used by Zia regime against the political workers. They played the role of the agents of Zia regime. So due to its dirty role the hatred thinking increased among the masses.

The violent and terrorist thinking arose in Sindh. All the ethnic organizations tried to make their militant wings, which were showed in the ethnic riots between the Punjabis, Pashtoons, and Muhajirs. It was also expressed during the riots between Muhajirs and Sindhis. The incident of Orangi, Suharab Goth, and massacre on 30th September 1988 in Hyderabad, and 1st October 1988 in Karachi respectively were

the examples of that thinking which went against the unity and integrity of the country.

Movement for the restoration of democracy was the strong challenge for the Zia regime. It challenged the authoritarian rule of the military after the coup-data of 1977. It was chance that if the people of Punjab participated in the movement as Sindh, Zia might have held the elections and left the power. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi said, "If the Punjab had supported the movement of MRD, Zia would have left the power and army gone back to the barracks" (Interview with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi).

The use of the brutal force by the army against the workers of the MRD and the low participation of the people of Punjab created the nationalist feelings in Sindh. So the political scenario of Sindh went against the interests of the federal politics. The worst law and order situation was also cashed by the anti federal elements in their interests. Ex-Governor of Sindh accepted it in the following words:

> "There was no traffic on the roads at night except for convoys on the National Highway which had to be escorted by army contingents. Economic activity was at a standstill, with all industry closed. People were afraid of working even in their fields for fear of being kidnapped by dacoits. This Anarchic situation ideally suited regionalists like G. M. Sayed and communist like Rasool Bakhsh Palejo in subverting the minds of people of Sindh against Pakistan and its ideology." (Khan, J. D., 1999, p. 241)

It was only the leadership of PPP who protected the interests of the country and encourage the federal politics in Sindh during this crisis and save the federation.

Chapter 4

Nationalists vs Federalists

This chapter is consists of discussion on those nationalists and provincial parties and groups which were active during the Zia regime. Some of them were originated and supported by the regime itself while others arose in reaction to the oppressive and suppressive policies of this government. Eventually the discourse of those parties and groups went against the national integrity and federal politics. Though the nationalist and provincial politics was the pre independence phenomenon, but after the partition it was re-originated/organized during the military rule of General Ayub Khan and General Zia.

The nationalist feelings in Sindh province were weakened during Bhutto's period. But it regained strength after the execution of Bhutto and MRD movement. Discussion in this chapter is focused on *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* and other smaller groups of Sindhi nationalists. Role of Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM) is also covered. Besides Sindhi-Baloch-Pashtoon Front and Punjabi-Pashtoon Ithad (PPI) are also studied.

Jeay Sindh Tahreek and other Sindhi Nationalists Groups

Jeay Sindh Tahreek is a nationalist and secessionist party led by Ghulam Murtaza Sayed, well known as G. M. Sayed. It was formed during Bhutto government but flourished under Zia regime. The Sindhi nationalists were divided into various groups. The most popular and strongest of those was *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. It struggled for Sindhu Desh (Independent Sindh). Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Dr Arbab Khuhawar and others worked for the rights of Sindh in the framework of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto (1988a, p. 221) differentiates them, as "The nationalist wanted their rightful place for Sindh within Pakistan. The secessionists wanted a role for Sindh outside the context of the federation and possibly for a union with India."

The leader of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*, G. M. Sayed was active in the politics of Sindh pre and post independence. He played also vital role in Pakistan movement. Sayed was born on

17th January 1904. He entered in the politics at the age of 14 years. He participated in the Khilafat Movement of 1919. He was also the member of Indian National Congress. He left Congress and joined All India Muslim League. Before that he was active in the movement of the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency. He actively participated in Sindh *Hari* (Farmers) Committee. Sayed formed Sindh People's Party with Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto in 1934. He contested the elections of 1936 from the platform of *Ithad* Party and won election (Sheikh, A., 1995). After joining Muslim League, he worked hard, day and night to organize the Muslim League. It was his struggle that annual session of All India Muslim League was held in 1938 at Karachi. He was elected as a President of Sindh Muslim League on 3rd March 1943 (Sheikh, A., 1995). He was firm believer of 'Two Nation Theory'. When Hindu Muslim riots took place in Sukkur on Masjid Manzil Gah issue, he led the Muslims and played active role to organize the Muslims against the Hindus. He agitated against the government on *Masjid Manzil Gah* issue and imprisoned for two months. He was member of the Sindh Assembly before partition. He played role in the formation and toppled down Sindh Government in Sindh. He left All India Muslim League over the issues of the central interference in the provincial party matters and on the nomination of the candidates for the Sindh Assembly elections January 1946. He explained that he left Muslim League because Muslim League ignored the provincial autonomy in its objectives (Sayed, G. M., 1995).

Sayed formed Sindh Progressive Muslim League. This party won 4 seats of Sindh Assembly in the elections of January 1946. But he was defeated in the elections of December 1946. He challenged the result of the elections and the election tribunal decided and declared him as winning candidate in 1949. After the independence, he wrote a letter to Liaquat Ali Khan for the co-operation for the development of the new country (Sayed, G. M, 1995). Sayed opposed separation of Karachi from Sindh. He was also against the formation of One Unit and formed Anti One Unit Front and mobilized the masses against it. After the dissolution of One Unit, Sayed organized Sindh *Mutahida Mahaz* in the month of April 1969.

He contested in the general elections of 1970, on the platform of Sindh Mutahida Mahaz. In the election, he made alliance with Mumtaz Mohammad Doultana and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro; both were the pioneer and strong supporters of One Unit. Therefore, the people of Sindh did not vote him. Sayed accepted it in these words "We, the nationalist, did not win a single seat in the general elections of 1970 due to the policy of the government "(Sayed, G. M., 1993, P. 252).

Awami League won the general elections of 1970. General Yahya Khan did not transfer the power to Awami League. Sayed supported Awami League. Awami League launched the movement for the transfer of power to the elected representatives. Military decided to crush the movement and military operation started in East Pakistan against the Awami League. As a result East Pakistan was separated from Pakistan with the help of Indian army on 16th December 1971. In rest of West Pakistan power was transferred to Bhutto. G. M. Sayed offered cooperation for the development of the rest of the country and for the provincial rights of the smaller provinces (Interview with Khaliq Junejo).

After the separation of Bengal, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became Chief Martial Law Administrator and President of Pakistan. Bhutto gave the priority to releasing the Prisoners of War from India. Sayed also helped Bhutto by using his old relations with Nehru family (Sayed, G. M., 1995). Sayed also cooperated with Bhutto in the formation of interim constitution of 1972. He met Baloch and Pashtoon nationalist leaders and convinced them for the cooperation with Bhutto (Interview with Dr. Hayee Baluch & Amanullah Sheikh). After that Baloch and Pashtoon leaders agreed to cooperate with him.

Sayed formed *Jeay Sindh* Mahaz on 18th June 1972 with the merger of Sindh Mutahida Mahaz and *Jeay Sindh Nojawan* Mahaz (Sayed, G. M., 1995). This was led by Yousif Leghari. Before the formation of *Mahaz,* the students formed *Jeay Sindh* Students' Federation. Sayed supervised students' organization. "The programme of the *Mahaz* was to get the maximum provincial autonomy for the federating units,

and recognition of Sindhi as the only national and official language of Sindh" (Amin, 1993, p. 144).

Sayed's party was active in the Language crises of 1972. Many workers of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* were also arrested. Party opposed the agreement of PPP government with Urdu speaking leadership on language issue. *Jeay Sindh* demanded that Sindhi would be made national and only official language of Sindh. They launched the processions and demonstrations for their demands. Bhutto government took strict measures against the Mahaz of Sayed. Many leaders and workers of Mahaz were sent to jail.

Bhutto government passed the Constitution of 1973, Sayed opposed it. Korejo (2000, p. 76) wrote about it as: "Sayed also found fault with Bhutto's 1973 Constitution because it failed to provide the status of nationality and adequate autonomy to Sindh thus perpetuating its helplessness against the uncontrolled immigration."

Sayed said that situation was deliberately created by Punjab to enslave Sindhis. He further said, "Under those circumstances the only solution for Sindh was to secede and declare itself an independent Sindhu Desh". (Sayed G.M., Azadi Chho Aen Chelae & Interview with Khaliq Junejo)

Sayed was impressed by the independence of Bangladesh and introduced the programme of Sindhu Desh. He argued that if majority of the Bengalis could not succeed to get their rights, how it would be possible for Sindhis that they would get their rights in Pakistan (Sayed, G.M., 1993). Tahir Amin (1993, p. 144) writes about it, "As the center adopted repressive measures towards this faction of the movement, it turned secessionist and began openly working for the independent state of "Sindhu Desh" on the pattern of Bangladesh."

Sayed demanded the Sindhu Desh as an independent State of Sindh on 31st March 1973 (*Jeay Sindh* Study Circle, 2005, p. 25). The slogan of *Tunhanjo Desh Muhanjo*

Desh Sindhu Desh Sindhu Desh (Your country, my country is Sindhu Desh) was chanted by the workers of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*.

Ideology of Jeay Sindh Tahreek

The ultimate aim of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* was to struggle for separate homeland of Sindhu Desh. The ideology of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* consisted of four points.

1) Nationalism
2) Secularism
3) Democracy
4) Socialism

These four points are described by G. M. Sayed in his book *'A Nation in Chains'*. He write in his book that Pakistan was the bastion of Punjabi–Muhajirs imperialism and Bhutto, though a Sindhi in origin, was merely a show boy of the Punjabi-Muhajir axis"(Amin, 1993; G.M. Sayed, 1974, p. 24). Sayed (1974) said that Sindhis are a separate nation due to their geographical status, historical heritage, culture, language and economic and political interests.

The leader of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* was confused to determine the ideology of the party. The four points of his party programme also showed his confusion. Sayed advocated for nationalism on one side, while on other side he added socialism in his party programme. Actually he was not socialist and opponent to the class struggle. He said, "Before the independence advocacy for the class struggle was the enmity with Sindh" (Manzar, 1994, p.140). Sayed formulated party programme according to regional and international situation. During the 'Cold War' Pakistan was on the side of USA, therefore, the relations of Pakistan were not better with Russian Block. So he wanted the help of Socialist Block. He also mentioned Secularism and Democracy in his party programme to seek the help from India.

Social Base

Jeay Sindh Tahreek could not succeed to get the popular support of Sindhi masses. A faction of middle class of the Sindhi society was the base of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. The educated class of Sindhi society supported the programme of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. Universities and colleges of the interior Sindh were the center of the Tahreek. Sayed, leader of *Jeay Sindh* himself was a second class feudal. The few feudal, however, supported the cause of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. They participated in Sayed's birthday gatherings at Sun. It was a political gathering in which Sayed and other leaders of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* defined his party programme and clearly opposed the federation of Pakistan and advocacy an independent Sindhu Desh in their speeches.

Jeay Sindh Tahreek during Bhutto Government

Sayed formed his party *Jeay Sindh* Mahaz. He wrote his famous book '*Sindhu Desh Cho Aen Chha Lai*. He could not succeed to get the masses support of the people of Sindh in Bhutto era. Bhutto countered him very wisely. He addressed to the peoples and talked against G. M. Sayed. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto said, "The programme of G. M. Sayed was not in the interests of the people of Sindh" (Interview with Aman Ullah Sheikh). He told that there is no place for Sindhis out of Pakistan. He argued that present and future of Sindhis is only and only with Pakistan (Pakistan Times, Lahore, 28.01.1974).

The President of Pakistan issued the ordinance against the secessionist and regionalist nationalist. In January 1974 Senate passed this ordinance giving power to the government to ban and take action against such organizations and persons. According to it organizations advocating more than one nation were illegal (Ageef, 1989). After it G. M. Sayed was arrested. The ban was imposed on his writings, 37 Magazines and Sindhi Newspapers. (Interview with Khaliq Junejo) Some students and intellectuals supported Sayed's *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. However, the majority of the people of Sindh did not impress from his programme. Korejo (2000, p. 81) described the situation as under:

> "During the Bhutto's tenure of 1972-77, the idea of Sindhu Desh remained subdued and confined to small pockets of pro Sayed groups, while main stream Sindhis became busy in taking advantage of many opportunities opened up for them for the first time by Bhutto."

Bhutto took the measures for the betterment of Sindhis and tried to compensate all the grievances of Sindhis against the previous governments. Many Sindhis benefited during this period. As a result the masses of Sindhi society rejected Sayed. The main reasons of this rejection are:

1) Z. A. Bhutto's charismatic personality,
2) The social structure o f the province.

In the seventies Sindhi middle class was in the growing position. Middle class played an important role in nationalist movements. Bhutto played important role in this growth. Bhutto Government appointed Sindhis in the government as well as the private sector. It was first time in the history of the country that Sindhis entered and emerged in middle class. Government issued the permits of the export and import to Sindhis and also given the licensees of industries to them. The Sindhi feudal entered in industry. Jatoi, Jumani and Mir families started the business and established the industries.

Jeay Sindh Tahreek during Zia Regime

The *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* made most significant headway in terms of gaining public support in Sindh during this phase (Amin, 1993). Sindhi nationalism arose during military regimes due to their authoritarian and unitary rule. In the regime of General Zia an incident of Shereen Soomro happened. She was a student of Peoples Medical College, Nawab Shah was attacked and raped by Major Kifaiat Ullah. This news was spread in the educational institutions. The students of Sindh University reacted against it and proceeded to the

demonstration. A rally against it was convened. They blocked Indus Highway at Jamshoro railway crossing. The angry mob attacked on army men, they killed two *Jawans* of the army (Inqulabi, 1982).

The action of the army officers and the reaction of the students enhanced the nationalist feelings in Sindh. The nationalist feelings went in the interest of nationalist organizations against federal parties specially PPP. Zia regime accepted and encouraged those actions in the enmity of PPP; even those went against the interest of country.

Dr. Teesta Ghosh described the situation of rise of nationalist feelings in Sindh during Zia regime as under:

> "Zia encouraged the rise of ethno-nationalists groups primarily because political parties were not allowed to function. In fact it has been suggested that Zia deliberately fomented ethnic and sectarian divisions to perpetuate his rule. It is a well-known fact that Zia encouraged the creation of MQM solely with the objective of undermining his main political opponent, the PPP. The MQM came into existence at a time when Sindh was in the midst of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in 1984. Zia also courted G. M. Sayed, the leader of Sindhi nationalists party *Jeay Sindh Mahaz*, and an implacable enemy of the PPP." (Ghosh, 2003, p.118)

Malik Lal Khan a Punjabi settler and former leader of PPP and NPP also said that, Martial Law governments ruled by the army officials and there was no share of the Sindhis. Therefore, the inferiority complex created in the minds of the people of Sindh was natural (Ahmed, Z., 1988).

At that time the politics of Peoples Party Sindh, was also nationalistic. PPP also demanded the provincial autonomy and struggled for the rights of the people of

Sindh. They demanded more share in the services for the Sindhis. The graph of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* was further downed when Sayed opposed MRD movement and called it the movement of the power hungry people. And further said that I did not participate in the movement because it was '*Pakistan Bachayo Tahreek*' (Save Pakistan Movement) and we struggle to break Pakistan (Speeches of G .M. Sayed on his birthday gatherings & Interview with Mujtaba Shah). He supported PNA in 1977, and due to this duel policy he could not get the mass support in Sindh.

Bhutto's enmity was common between G. M. Sayed and Zia (Interview with Qadir Magsi). Both wanted to paralyze the PPP. In continuation of this policy Zia established relations with Sayed. He succeeded in his strategy and Sayed did not support to MRD movement, as this movement was led by PPP in Sindh and all over the country (Interview with Qadir Magsi).

Sayed declared MRD movement as *Pakistan Bachayo* (save Pakistan) movement. However, after two year he gave three-point formula to save Pakistan. The three points are under:

1. A new accord would be signed between the provinces on the rights and autonomy.
2. The distributions of taxes and federal wealth would be on the basis of justice.
3. Independent foreign policy would be adopted and peaceful relations would be made with India for that purpose requested to Khan Ghafar Khan to play the role for it (Manzar, 1994).

After it, in 1987 during Zia government, Sayed traced his new programme to save Pakistan. He suggested a Round Table Conference, in which Pir Pagaro, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan and General Zia would participate. He further said, "Now who want to save Pakistan they would arrange the conference" (Sayed, G. M., 1987). Sayed argued in his policy that Martial Law government was in the interest of Sindh. Martial Law government's oppressing policies would mobilize the people against the federation as well as the Punjab, hence fruitful for the independent

Sindh (Interview with Aman Ullah Sheikh). He further said that the leaders of MRD were the power lusting people wanted to replace General Zia, and would see Tikka Khan and Asghar Khan as the head of the government. If they found opportunity to rule the country, it would be more dangerous for Sindh cause (Bhatti, 1991,). The opposition of MRD by G. M. Sayed went into the interest of the Military junta and those feudal and *Waderas* of Sindh who used the name of Sayed to gain their personal interests from the military government. Soomro family of Shikarpur, Khuhro of Larkana and Jatoi family belonged to Mehar district Dadu and Sayed's of Sindh who belonged to Matyari and Mirpur Khas. The Sayed's opposition of the MRD movement went against the interest of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* and it lost support.

The people of Sindh had already doubts that Sayed was allied with army in opposition of Bhutto. But doubt changed into certainty, when Zia met to him in Liaquat Medical College (LMC) Hospital at Hyderabad. The meeting was arranged by Elahi Bakhsh Soomro (Interview of Elahi Bakhsh Soomro on KTN & Khan, J. D., 1999, p. 255). Soomro contested the elections of 1985 and he supported it. He was the candidate of the Prime Ministership. The meeting between Zia and Sayed went into the interests of Zia. He succeeded to persuade to Sayed that he would not oppose to non-party basis elections.

Due to his statements in the favour of General Zia, the common people of Sindh turned away from Sayed and his Tahreek. Many workers of *Jeay Sindh* resigned due to his lenient policy towards Zia, and the selection of Hamida Khuhro as party Chairperson. Hamida Khuhro had good relations with Zia. Her brother Shah Mohammad Pasha Khuhro was minister in Zia's cabinet. At that time Sindhi nationalism arose against Zia, as well person who supported him. Jahan Dad Khan, ex-Governor Sindh, also observed the visit of Zia to Sayed as: "The visit however did not turn out to be propitious for Sayed who was subjected to a lot of criticism by his *Jeay Sindh* workers. Politically, the visit was very damaging for the *Jeay Sindh* movement as due to this gesture Zia was

able to neutralize the opposition to his regime from the strongest group of regionalists in Sindh" (Khan, J. D., 1999, pp. 255, 56).

The rise in Sindhi nationalism was also the result of the policy of centralization by Zia regime. The key posts of the administration were under the military and civil bureaucracy belonging to Punjab. At that time the representation of Sindhis was very marginal; only one Sindhi among fifty top military officers. Following table shows the representatives of Sindhis in the army.

Ethnic Origins of top Military Elite

Identification	Number	Percentage
Punjabi	20	40%
Pashtoon	17	34%
Muhajir	10	20%
Sindhi	01	2%
Baloch	00	0%
Others	02	4%
Total	50	100%

Source: *Regional Representation in Pakistan Army: An Unpublished Report, 1981* (Amin, 1988, p. 174).

The same situation of Sindh's share was in the Civil Services, as clear from the following table, showing the ethnic representation.

Ethnic Origins of Top Bureaucratic Elite (Class l Officers)

Identification	Number	Percentage
Punjabi	6590	47.94
Pashtoon	1638	11.91
Muhajir	2382	17.32
Sindhi	601	4.37
Baloch	103	0.74
Others	2438	17.72
Total	13752	100

Source: *Federal Government Civil Servants Census Report, January 1983 (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 1984)*

So, the marginal representation of Sindhis in the top military and civil officers created the inferiority complex among them, specially in youths and that situation went in the favour of nationalism and provincialism as compared to federal politics.

Dr. Tahir Amin (1993, p. 177) further described it as "The regime adopted a number of both subtle and strong hand methods to break the PPP and other regional parties' power in Sindh." Zia banned Sindh Graduate Association (SGA) a non-political organization of Sindhi Graduates in 1983. The Zia regime proceeded to crush the movements as ruthlessly as possible. It employed nearly two division of the army (40,000) to crush the movement and also used the gunship helicopters to straff the villages (Amin, 1993). The worst law and order situation created the anarchy and it went into the interests of the regional and secessionist. Such situation is described by Jahan Dad Khan as, "There was no traffic on the roads at night except for convoys on the National Highway, which had to be escorted by army contingents" (1999, p. 241).

Zia regime targeted the political parties specially Bhutto's PPP and other democratic and progressive parties and groups. Martial Law authorities deliberately ignored the law and order situation. The secessionist took advantage from it and used the situation against the integrity and unity of the country. Jahan Dad Khan (1999, p. 241) noted it "This anarchic situation ideally suited regionalists like G. M. Sayed and Communists like Rasool Bakhsh Palejo in subverting the minds of the people of Sindh against Pakistan and its ideology." As a whole, all actions and policies of general Zia directly or indirectly went in the interests of the regionalists and secessionist groups.

Jeay Sindh became stronger during Zia regime as compare to democratic government of Z. A. Bhutto. The suppressed policy of General Zia in the enmity of Bhutto led the Sindhi nationalism. Zia was lenient to Sayed, because he wanted to fulfill the vacuum of politics in Sindh by ethno nationalist politics, which was not dangerous for him. Mohammad Suleman Korejo narrated it as follows:

> "He sought to fill the vacuum in Sindh at least, by patronizing ethnic nationalism, represented in rural Sindh by Sayed and his *Jeay Sindh* Movement, and in urban Sindh by Altaf Hussain and his MQM. In Zia's calculation this step posed no danger to Pakistan; once the monster of Bhuttoism was demolished, the rural part of Sindh would be swallowed by Sayed and the urban part by Altaf Hussain. If need be, Zia could then move to crush both of them using his military muscle if they failed to cancel each other out." (Korejo, 2000, p. 109)

The people of Sindh stayed away from *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* during Bhutto period but after the fall of Bhutto and imposition of Martial Law there was a political vacuum for *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. Zia imposed ban on all political parties but "G. M. Sayed enjoyed a free reign in rural Sindh" (Korejo, 2000, p. 82). *Jeay Sindh* celebrated the birthday of Sayed every year. Tahreek celebrated the Latif Day, Housho Shedi and other hero's days. Actually it was the political work of Tahreek in the name of Jashan-e-Latif and the name of the hero's. Student wing of Tahreek, JSSF worked in the educational institutions of the province. They were stronger in University of Sindh and other educational institutions of Hyderabad and interior Sindh. *Jeay Sindh* students' federation imposed the ban on progressive and democratic students' organizations in the institutions of Jamshoro, such as DSF, SST, Progressive *Jeay Sindh* Students Federation and Sindh Dost Students Organization (SSO). The leaders of the students of *Jeay Sindh* targeted Punjabi settlers and some to Muhajir students. At the time of the admission the documents were snatched from them. The members of the progressive organizations and even common students were also beaten by them. A rally was arranged by Democratic Students Federation (DSF) in Sindh University, against the death of Nazir Abbasi in the military torture. But it was not allowed by the leaders of JSSF. There was no entry of those students who left JSSF. But criminals were living in the University hostels which were occupied by JSSF. Some leaders of JSSF were involved in the criminal activities. But government did not move against those notorious persons. The

leaders of *Jeay Sindh* Students Federation were used by Zia regime in their interests (Interview with Jam Saqi). When some leaders and workers of *Jeay Sindh* tried to work independently, they were intervened by the military regime. The murder of Ihsan Memon and Thori incident was the example of the policy of the regime. Army killed seven members of Tahreek, in Thori railway crossing incident, when they went to Larkana to attend the party meeting on 17th October 1984.

The non-party based elections of 1985 under regime also increased the ethno nationalist organizations. Though *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* did not contest in the elections but they used it against the federalist politics. In the result of those elections, people cast their votes on ethnic and language as well as tribal and *bradary* basis. Dr Tahir Amin (1993, p. 181) narrated it as, "The most significant consequence of non-party based elections were the political campaign, inevitably revolving around tribal ethnic and sectarian issues in the absence of any programme."

In Martial Law regime "*Jeay Sindh Tahreek* is acquiring potential became the focal point of the resistance in Sindh" (Kardar, 1992, p. 313). G. M. Sayed went to India on 2 July 1987 with his son Sayed Imdad Mohammad Shah who was the member of Sindh Assembly. Sayed said, "Zia is good person than Bhutto."(Ahmed, G., 1993, p. 325) In India, he met Rajive Gandhi and other officials of the Indian Government. After coming back from India he said that India would not ready to help the Sindhis even than we would fight for the independence of Sindh (Interview with Khaliq Junejo).

MRD and Jeay Sindh Tahreek

It was the strategy of General Zia to unite those forces, which were against the PPP. For that purpose General Zia selected Pir Pagaro and G. M. Sayed and other Bhutto's opponents from Sindhis and MQM from Muhajirs in Sindh province. When the people of Sindh fought against the army in 1983, Pagaro fully supported regime and his *Hur* Force was deployed in some parts of Sindh to crush the democratic movement. G. M. Sayed also opposed the MRD movement and called it

the struggle of the power hungry peoples. Shahzad Manzar (1994, p. 123) said as "During the MRD movement of 1983, Zia, met with Sayed and convinced him far away from MRD movement.

Sayed issued statement on 4th July 1983 that the people of Sindh would not support the MRD movement because the leaders of the movement only seek the power (Ahmed G., 1993). Actually Sayed was disappointed from the people of Sindh. He expected that the people of Sindh would support him. He was unhappy due to participation of the people of rural Sindh in MRD movement. Mohammad Soaleh Korejo (2000, pp. 109, 110) narrated it as:

> "Sayed was disappointed that rural Sindh rose to a rebellion of this magnitude for democracy but not for his cause. This rural Sindhi rebellion for the restoration of democracy reduced the significance of Sayed's struggle for Sindhu Desh to game of hide and seek."

Military rulers used all means to linger on rule. For this purpose they used military, para-military and private forces and even Air Force against MRD movement. Those actions of the government raised the feelings of nationalism. It went in the interests of the secessionist and regionalists like wise G. M. Sayed, Palejo, Altaf Hussain and Mumtaz Bhutto. Tariq Rehman (2000, p. 127) also indicated it in these words: "The suppression of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was so violent in Sindh, where anti Punjabi and anti-military feelings ran high, that it took on the nature of a civil war." At that time, many workers and some leaders of JST requested Sayed to join the movement, in the interest of Sindh. But he plainly refused and said, "We would not participate in it because it is the movement for the protection of Pakistan" (Interview with Dr. Arbab Khuhawar). After that policy many members and leaders of the organization left the party and supported the democratic movement. Idress Chandio, a member of Central Committee of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*, Bagh Bughio Chairman, Sindhi *Porhiat Sangat*, Faiz Pirzada, General

Secretary JSSF, Asghar Qureshi Joint Secretary of JSSF and many other workers left the Tahreek.

General Zia met twice Sayed. He called Zia "*Sharif- un-nafas*" and in the return Zia called him patriotic. Sayed was not only against the democratic movement of the MRD but also did not believe in the democratic form of the government. He believed that democracy in the framework of Pakistan is only to protect the interest of the Punjab. He was against class struggle because Sayed himself also belonged to feudal class. He thought that the class struggle was the conspiracy against the unity of the Sindhi nation (Ali, B., 1992).

Politics of Jeay Sindh Tahreek

The politics of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* was not in the interest of democratic movement. The leadership denied participating in any democratic movement. Sayed opposed the MRD movement and called it the movement of power lust people. General Zia also used him against the PPP in Sindh and visited him for this purpose.

Dr. Hamida Khuhro joined *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* and G.M. Sayed nominated her as Chairperson of Tahreek, while Zia took her brother as a member of his cabinet. After assuming the chair of *Jeay Sindh* by Hamida Khuhro, *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* pleaded for drafting a new constitution for Pakistan envisioning greater quantum of autonomy for the provinces with center retaining only defense, currency, communication and foreign affairs (Amin, 1993). Due to a lenient policy of Sayed to Zia regime, *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* could not succeed to gain the mass support of the people of Sindh. Sayed himself accepted it in the interview with Akhbar-e-Jehan. He told that the people of Sindh cast 80% votes in favour of the federal parties and only 20% supported *Jeay Sindh Tahreek's* favorable candidates (G. M. Sayed, 1991). *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* did not participate in the elections of 1985 and 1988, but party supported anti PPP candidates. The supported candidates of JST could not succeed in the elections. Though the nationalist sentiments grew during Zia regime but *Jeay Sindh* could not succeed

to gain the support of the people of Sindh due to the favour of General Zia. Other nationalist became stronger during this time.

Sindhi Awami Tahreek

Sindhi *Awami Tahreek* was formed in 1970 (Interview with Rasool Bakhsh Palejo) At that time there was no significant programme of the party. But its aggressive and revolutionary slogans attracted the middle class as well as the peasants of the Province. The leader of the Party, Rasool Bakhsh Palejo fully participated in the '*Neelam Band Kro*' movement. Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Hafeez Qureshi and Mir Ali Bakhsh Talpur were the founders of the Sindhi *Awami Tahreek*. It introduced its political programme during the Bhutto government. They demanded the provincial autonomy for the federating units of the country and struggled for the rights of the lower class. They criticized G. M. Sayed due to his secessionist programme and his lenient policy towards the feudal lords..

Palejo worked with G.M. Sayed in Sindh *Hari* Committee and *Bazam-e-Sofian-e-Sindh*. He also worked in National Awami Party (NAP). As opposite to G. M. Sayed, Palejo opposed the Martial Law regime of General Zia. Palejo took the national issue of Sindh and practically participated in the democratic movement against the military junta. He took the national question of Sindh according to democratic norms and values. *Awami Tahreek* fully participated in MRD movement. Due to its democratic posture and participation in the MRD movement the support of the Tahreek was increased among the Sindhi masses. Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Sayed opposed Punjabis in 1980's and wanted to cooperative with the Urdu speaking population. But Rasool Bakhsh Palejo bitterly opposed the Urdu speaking people. He did not recognize Urdu speaking as a part of Sindhi nation as Sayed accepted them. When Sindh National Alliance came into being on 20 May 1988, Palejo opposed to give the membership to Urdu speaking peoples. Even he did not agree on Maraj Mohammad Khan, leader of *Quomi Mahaz Azadi,* though Maraj Mohammad Khan never believed in Muhajir nation, rather called himself as Sindhi. However, majority of the allied parties decided that Urdu speaking who came

before 1954, are the part of Sindhi nation and any Urdu speaking agreed with the programme of Sindh National Alliance deserve to be the member of the alliance. After that decision he did not stay more in SNA (Interview with Khaliq Junejo).

Awami Tahreek played vital role in the MRD movement of 1983 and 1986. The leader of the party Rasool Bakhsh Palejo was in jail from 1980 to 1986. During that time Fazal Rahoo led the party. Hussain Bakhsh Narejo, Sayed Aalim Shah, Mohammad Khan Magsi, Qadri Ranto, Dur Mohammad Buriro and Zafar Qadri were the leaders of the party. After PPP, the arrested number of the *Awami Tahreek* workers was higher than any other party. "During the MRD agitation, over 1200 activists of the Sindhi Awami Tahreek have court arrested including over 400 from Badin, over 200 from Thatta, over 75 from Khairpur and other 75 from Tharparker, Dadu and Larkana. These areas can be classified as the power base of the *Awami Tahreek*" (Hussain, M., 1991). The party leader Palejo was in Kot Lakhpat jail at Lahore. A countrywide movement was launched for the releasing of Palejo in 1984 to 1986. Amnesty International awarded him "Prison of Consciousness".

Palejo was against the nationalist concept of G. M. Sayed. He openly criticized on him and his Sindhu Desh Programme. Palejo said that the main contradiction in the society was the contradiction between the farmers and feudal. He also took the national problem of the smaller provinces specially Sindh province and demanded for the provincial autonomy. Ideologically *Awami Tahreek* followed the Marxist Leninist and Maoist organization. Party leadership also was impressed from the struggle of Houchi Munh of Vietnam. *Awami Tahreek* struggled for the rights of Sindhi farmer, *Abadgar*, little *Zamindar* and new Bourgeois classes.

Party established the study circles for the education of the workers and members where Marxist, Leninist and Maoist education was given to them. It also launched a monthly bulletin '*Tahreek*'.

Party also worked among the women of the province. A large number of the women became the member of the party. It was the largest organization of the women in the country. Educated and also uneducated, specially wives of the farmers were the members. It was a powerful voice of the women all over Sindh and Pakistan as well. Zarina Baloch famous folk singer of Sindh, Shahnaz Rahoo, Zahida Sheikh, Khairunisa Khoso, Sahibzadi Dahri and Shama Bhatti were the leaders of the Sindhiani Tahreek.

The students' wing of *Awami Tahreek* such as Sindhi *Shagarad* Tahreek (SST) and Sindhi Girls Students Organizations (SGSO) were also active in the educational institutions of Sindh, though they were not as strong as JSSF. Badin, Thatta, Khairpur and Kamber taluka of Larkana District were the centers of the SST. Nazir Sheikh, Dr Mustafa Suhag, Ayub Sheikh, Dadan Bhand, Zulfiqar Rahoojo, and Hairf Chandio were the leaders of the SST. Actually *Awami Tahreek* struggled for the national rights of Sindh as well as struggled against feudalism.

After the MRD movement, *Awami Tahreek* became popular among the people of Sindh and succeeded to get the support of a larger faction of the Sindhi people. It became the second strongest after PPP in Sindh province. Number of the arrested members of *Awami Tahreek* was also second then PPP during the MRD movement. *Awami Tahreek* leader Fazal Rahoo and Hussain Bakhsh Narejo organized the MRD in Sindh while the party leader Rasool Bakhsh Palejo was in jail. The struggles and movements always create new leadership. So, the MRD movement introduced Rasool Bakhsh Palejo as a country level leader. Before it he was not popular even at provincial level. No doubt Sindhi *Awami Tahreek* played vital role in the MRD movement of 1983 but Zia regime highlighted its role as the movement launched by the communists and Marxist.

Before participating in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy, this party also participated in the movement of the journalists for freedom of press. It was the *Awami Tahreek* who managed the big gathering of the farmers in Rahooki, District

Badin, during the ban on the political activities and gatherings. It was the first political gathering after the imposition of ban on the political parties and activities. Ideologically *Awami Tahreek* was the left oriented party, believed in the Leninist and Maoist approach of socialism. It also fought for the rights of the provinces, specially for autonomy of Sindh. Mushahid Hussain wrote as "The Sindhi *Awami Tahreek* is very much for the united federal Pakistan although it does hold the view that Pakistan is a multi national state" (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 48).

Mushahid Hussain (1991, p, 49) further said about the Sindhi *Awami Tahreek* that "The line of SAT differ both from the tradional left as well as Sindhi nationalist represented by G. M. Sayed. *Awami Tahreek* also rooted among the masses of Sindh due oppressive and suppressive policies of Zia regime." No doubt the support of *Awami Tahreek* increased in Sindh but Palejo lost the election of 1988 due to opposition from PPP and less experience of the election politics. The money was also the main reason behind the defeat of Rasool Bakhsh Palejo in the elections.

Watan Dost Inqulabi Party

The dissident workers of the *Jeay Sindh* and the *Awami Tahreek* formed the *Watan Dost Inqulabi Party* (Patriotic Revolutionary Party) in 1980. The central leader of the *Jeay Sindh Mahaz* Dr. Arbab Khuhawar left *Jeay Sindh* in 1979 when *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* did not participate in the protests against the sentence to death to Z. A. Bhutto and G. M. Sayed did not appeal for the mercy of Bhutto. *Watan Dost* party followed the Marxist and Leninist line and believed in Communist ideology but it did not forget the national rights of Sindh. Party claimed that Pakistan is a multi national federal state, so they did struggle for the autonomy of the province as well as for the rights of lower class. Party was popular among the workers of the factories of district Larkana. Mostly trade unions were the member of the *Watan Dost Mazdoor* (Labour) Federation; it was the labour wing of the party. Labour Federation led by Aziz Abbasi, Hyder Joyo, and Mohammad Khan Ahmadani.

Party criticized G. M. Sayed due to his feudal character. *Watan Dost Inqulabi Party* bitterly opposed Rasool Bakhsh Palejo due to his Maoist line. Progressive *Jeay Sindh* Students Federation, the students' wing of the party, also existed in the universities and colleges of the province. Ibrahim Soho, Dr.Murtaza Khuhro, Qazi Sarfraz and Shabir Solangi led the students' wing of the party. The Party participated in MRD movement, though it was not the component party of the alliance. At least four party members were died during the agitation of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (Interview with Arbab Khuhawar). District Larkana, Khairpur and Badin were the main centers of the party. Party worked also among the farmers. *Watan Dost Hari Sangat* was the *Hari* wing of the party. Ghulam Hussain Malokani was the leader of the *Hari Sangat*.

Party has close relations with the Baluch leaders specially Sher Mohammad alis General Sherof and Nawab Khair Bakhsh Mari. General Sherof also participated in the open session of the party in 1986 at Superior Science College, Khairpur. Party ended after the restoration of democracy in the country and dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Sindh Dost Inqlabi Party

It was a small group of the nationalist workers. Idress Chandio, Jalil Korai, Jugdesh Aahuja, Habib Jatoi, Manzoor Sheikh and Dilshad Bhutto were the leaders of the party. The majority of the members and leaders of the group left *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* in 1983, after the sharp differences with the party chief G. M. Sayed. When Sayed nominated Dr Hamida Khuhro as a party chairperson many workers of the party, protested and resigned. Before the formation of *Sindh Dost Inqulabi Party*, they formed *Sindh Dost Mazdoor Tanzeem* in 1985.

Party followed the Marxist and Leninist line and wanted an independent Sindh. It bitterly opposed the feudal system and believed in communist society. Party published the *Ianqlabi Rah* as party journal. It nominated the candidates in the general elections of 1988 from Hala and Gambat constituencies. Though candidates

did not succeed in the elections but they secured a handsome number of votes in the elections. After Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, it was the dare of that party to nominate the candidates against the feudals. This party also did not survive after the restoration of the democracy in the country and dissolution of the USSR.

Sindh Sagar Party

This party led by Moulana Aziz Ullah Bohio and was also a nationalist party. There was no popular support to this party. The party believed in Islamic Ideology. They called themselves the followers of Moulana Ubedullah Sindhi. During Martial Law of General Zia nationalist sentiments were raised due to the oppressive and suppressive policies of the government.

Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM)

Muhajir Quomi Movement (Now, Mutahida Quomi Movement) was the organization of the migrants who migrated from Muslims minority provinces of India to Pakistan after the partition. The majority of Urdu speaking people settled in the urban areas of Sindh specially in Karachi Hyderabad, Sukkur, Mirpur Khas and Nawab Shah. They came in Sindh as an occupier mentality and treated the indigenous people with contempt. General K. M. Arif (2002, p. 205) narrated the superiority complex of the migrants in his book 'Khaki Shadows' in these words: "The refugees from the 'Non Agreed Areas' called themselves Muhajirs in Pakistan. The more prominent among them hailed from the province of UP and considered themselves culturally superior to others. The superiority complex in the Muhajirs was the main reason of the conflict with the local peoples." Actually word Muhajir is derived from Arabic word 'Hijra'. It was used when Mohammad (P.B.U.H) was migrated from Mecca to Medina along with his followers. Dr. Feroz Ahmed (1999, p. 33) narrated that as under: "The Muhajirs took immense pride in this term that had a religious connotation and was thus, legitimate and contextually appropriate in a country created on the basis of religion, however, in the present context, it connotes the Urdu-speaking population from India." A well Known expert of Political

economy Kaiser Bengali (1988) also agreed that the term Muhajir was used for the political identity.

The definition of the Muhajirs according to the MQM as "Not only the Urdu-speakers who migrated from India in 1947, but also the Memon, Gujrati, and Kathiawari who have been living in Pakistan before the partition and the *Biharis* who migrated from East Pakistan in 1971." (Ali, B., 1992, p. 186)

Muhajirs became more powerful and more dominated when Karachi was separated from Sindh province and went under the control of federal government as a federal capital area in 1948. From this decision a separate territory was given to the Muhajirs. General K. M. Arif (2002, p. 211) wrote:

> "Karachi became the capital of Pakistan in August 1947 for reason of administrative necessity. The heavy concentrations of Muhajirs in Karachi were provided economic opportunities generated in establishing a new capital city. They also received a generous share of job opportunities in the government and its attached departments."

The imposition of Urdu language as national language of newly established country increased the superiority complex in the Urdu-speaking people. At That time Urdu was the mother tongue of only 3.7% of undivided Pakistan. And it was 7.5% of West Pakistan population of the country (Ahmed, F., 1999).

The Muhajirs were in superiority complex. They thought themselves as the creators of Pakistan hence their rights to rule on others. They were more adept at political maneuvering and had skill necessary to form and run the state machinery. They took over economic and political power in Pakistan (Zaidi, 1992; Jalal, 1999). Before 1977, Muhajirs believed only in 'Pakistani Nation'. They did not consider themselves separate nationality such as Sindhis, Baloch and Pashtoons. They were the big advocates of the ideology of Pakistan and believed that ideology of Pakistan

means the Ideology of Islam. So they supported the idea of Pakistani and Muslim nation on the basis of religion.

Rise of Muhajirism

The assassination of the first Prime Minister of the country Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951 was the first shock for the Muhajirs. Some Muhajirs assumed it as conspiracy against them. "Many Muhajirs suspected that it was a Punjabi plot to wrest control of government" (Lamb, 1991, p.148).

In the time of Ayub Khan:

> "The Muhajirs from India who had an edge in the earlier days were now threatened. In the Ayub Khan era, large number of (mainly Punjabi) civil servants and military officers were made substantial land grants in Sindh, which worsened the situation, specially since these new landlords imported labour from the Punjab. This was also the period when Pashtoon labour moved to Karachi in a massive exodus (mass departure) from the north… Sindh was no longer the domain of the Muhajirs: the Punjabis began to dominate industry, land, services and also displaced local labour in both the rural and urban areas of the province. (Zaidi, 1992, p. 336)

The capital of the country was shifted from Karachi to Islamabad in 1959. Muhajirs opposed it. Ayub regime was the patronizing of the Pashtoons in Sindh and specially in Karachi, "Ayub Khan also added to the security of the Pashtoons and help them migrate" (Ali, B., 1992, p. 182).

The presidential elections of 1964 also increased the contradiction between the Pashtoons and Muhajirs. Pashtoon voters supported Ayub Khan (as he himself was Pashtoon) while Muhajirs favoured Fatima Jinnah. The riots took place when the supporters of Ayub Khan arranged rally after wining the election. K. M. Arif (2002, p. 212) summarized whole the situations in these words:

> "The pro-Ayub supporters took out a victory procession in Karachi, and the political polarization intensified as the victory procession, led by Ayub's son, was largely attended by the Pashtoon supporters of the President. At this time the victors used strong, irresponsible language that increased ethnic bitterness, led to many deaths in the resultant riots, and left deep scars on the body of Pakistan's nascent democratic order."

When Sindhi became active against One Unit, Muhajirs made alliance with Punjabis and Pashtoons named as *Punjabi Pathan Muhajir Mutahida Mahaz* (PPMMM) on 5th October 1969 against the Sindhis (Manzar, 1994, p. 165). This was also the example of the rise of Muhajirism.

The Sindhi language Bill, Quota System, and policy of nationalization were introduced by the Bhutto government. Urdu speaking people felt those steps against them. The Muhajirism also grew in those days. General K. M. Arif (2001) said, out of the ashes of the language riots, as they came to be called, emerged the slogan of a 'Fifth Nationality' (Muhajir). But at that time they did not organized their own organization on the ethnic basis. Jammaat-e- Islami (JI) & Jamait-e-Ulma-e-Pakistan (JUP) led the Muhajirs and turned there angered into anti Bhutto movement.

It was the hope of the Muhajirs that they would get the benefit from Zia government, but their hopes did not fulfill because Zia's constituency belonged to Punjab not to Sindh. So, he preferred the Punjabis as compare to others. Christina Lamb covered it in her famous book 'Waiting for Allah' as:

> "Initially when Zia took over he seemed to offer hope. He purged thousands of Sindhis from public corporations and proclaimed on television that the Muhajir deserved special favors because of the sacrifices they had made. With his lower-middle class background,

> the identity he was putting forward for Pakistan seemed to coincide with what the Muhajirs strove for. But they were soon disillusioned. The identity Zia promulgated was too associated with Punjabis, who took over the leadership of JI and flooded Sindh's colleges and government institutions. The disproportionate third of top civil service jobs that the Muhajirs had in 1973 had been pushed down to 20% by 1983. (Lamb, 1991, p. 157)

So the favour to the people of Punjab and Pashtoons increased the sense of Muhajirism in the Urdu speaking people. (Interview with Mubarak Ali and Hamza Alvi, (1989, p. 29) a political scholar, also said to some extent same about it "Under Zia's patronage the new Punjabi businessmen established themselves smoothly and their kinship linkage with the ruling class played an important role in negotiating with the bureaucracy". It was very difficult for the businessmen to develop their business without the support of the government. At that time many Karachi based shifted their business to aboard. Karachi was the hub of the business activities. It was attractive to the economic migrant's and unemployed persons. They were migrated to Karachi from various parts of the country. Even people came to Karachi from other countries like Bengal, Srilanka, Iran, Afghanistan and India.

During the Zia era the migration of the people of Punjab, NWFP and Afghanistan was changed the socio political situation of Sindh specially Karachi. The majority of these migrants were settled in urban Sindh and compete with Muhajirs in every field of life.

The occupation of the business and factory by the Punjabis under the shadow of the Zia regime was the main reason of the rise of Muhajirism. They were not in a position to compete Punjabi business class, due to the support of Zia regime. "This economic and political power in the hands of Punjabis had caused resentment

amongst the Muhajirs of Karachi" (Ali, B., 1992, p. 185). The same views also wrote by Teesta Ghosh (2003, p. 104) as under:

> "The Zia Years (1977-88) saw the rapid ascendancy of the Punjabis and to some extent the Pashtoons in the upper echelons of the central administration. This was an obvious corollary to the fact that the army had emerged as the most powerful institution in Pakistani politics and it was overwhelmingly Punjabi in composition. Muhajirs considered themselves to be the main victims of this development."

Amber Saeed (1996, p. 59) said that "With the rise of Pashtoons and Punjabi middle classes, the jobs were occupied by those and added fuel to the fire." It was one reason for the rise of Muhajirism. Dr Feroz Ahmed (1988, p. 18) wrote, "Muhajirs separatism is not simply a reflection of a subjective decision to maintain a separate identity, but it is a consequence of the objective conditions, including the ghettoization of the Muhajirs over which the Muhajirs had no control."

In the same years, Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was dominated by the Punjabi leadership and this situation was not acceptable to Muhajirs. So they left the JI and join the Jamait-e-Ulma-e-Pakistan (JUP) and Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM). "JUP was a religious cum communal party. Its leadership belonged to Muhajir community but it also espouses (Advocate) policies, which show a definite Muhajir bias." (Ali, B., 1992, p.184)

Zia government extended the quota system for another decade, thus further sidelining the Muhajirs. This action was also inspired to them to establish their own organization on ethnic ground. Zia took advantage and mobilized the Muhajirs to unite on this issue. He used them through the agencies against the PPP and other political parties. Mehmood-ul-Haq Usmani, an Urdu-speaking leftist politician, was the founder of the concept of 'Fifth Nationality' of Pakistan (Jamal, 1984, p. 70). However, during seventies Nawab Muzafar Hussain was the champion of the

Muhajir politics. He won the seat of Sindh Assembly in the elections of 1970 on the basis of Muhajir politics.

Formation of Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM)

There are many ideas about the formation of the Muhajir Quomi Movement. MQM came into being on 18 March 1984 (www.fas.org/irp/world/pass/mqm.htm). But its seed was sowed in the time of Liaquat Ali Khan, when he patronized the Muhajir community and settled them in the urban areas of Sindh. The separation of Karachi from Sindh also was the part of this strategy. The Muhajir students of Karachi University saw other ethnic organization such as *Jeay Sindh* Students federation (JSSF), organization of Sindhi nationalist students, Baloch Students Organization (BSO) represented the Baloch student's, Punjabi Students Association and Pashtoon Students Federation, organizations of Pashtoon, and Punjabi students. In that phenomenon All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization (APMSO) was formulated purely on the ethnic basis on 11th June 1978. Altaf Hussain, Azim Ahmed Tariq, Liaquat Ali, Hassam Uddin, and Arif were the founders of the APMSO (Jamal, 1994 Arif, 2001).

Altaf Hussain, leader of the student's organization was student of Karachi University. When he announced the programme of the student's organization and organized the unit of APMSO. The student's wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami, *Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba*, declared no entry on Altaf Hussain and other leaders of APMSO in the Campus (Jamal, 1994). The main aim of the APMSO was to protect the rights of the Urdu speaking students. When Zia Government imposed ban on student's organization in 1984, Altaf formed Muhajir Quomi Movement.

During the m*ilitary junta,* Punjabi hegemony increased day by day in Sindh. The licenses of the foreign trades as well as the new industries were given to the Punjabis on priority basis. And also Fouji Foundation opened their units. This situation was very harmful for the Memon, Gujrati, Bohra and also other capitalist communities of Sindh. In such situation they formed '*Maha Sindh*' organization to

protect the interest of the local capitalists (Joyo, 2001). They established their relations with Sindhi nationalists, specially with G. M. Sayed through the Haroon family (Interview with Khaliq Junejo). However, they could not succeed to get the support from them because majority of the Sindhi nationalist belonged to the feudal class. So they did not take any step to protect the interest of the local capitalists. After the formation of MQM they contacted to Altaf Hussain. He promised to help and protect their interests. After this, Memon and other capitalists supported and financed MQM. Many industrialists also joined organization. Farooq Sattar was the representative of the industrialist's class in the organization. So MQM came into surface on 18th March 1984 (Arif, 2001).

Before it, they use to finance the religious parties such as Jamaat-e-Islami and JUP of Shah Ahmad Noorani. Altaf Hussain got the support from the masses of the Karachi and Hyderabad in the anti-Punjab slogans. Altaf openly talked that the Punjab was dominated and the rights of the Sindh snatched by them. He openly opposed the settlement of the Punjabis and Pashtoons in the Sindh. The reason of the u-turn of the Muhajirs' politics as allies of the Punjabis against Sindhis was the dominance of the Punjabi and Pashtoons in the Karachi. Shahzad Manzar (1994, p. 195) described it as: "Punjabi and Pashtoons were dominated in the sector of the industries, business, transport and construction. It created a sense of insecurity in the minds of the Muhajirs because before that Muhajirs were dominated on the economic of Sindh."

Majority of the liberal and democratic thinkers were agreed that MQM was the result of the Zia's policy 'Divide and rule'. After the MRD movement Zia was afraid from the uprising of movement in Sindh against him. So he took the precautionary steps to prevent any move in Sindh against his rule. For that purpose he supported the ethnic organizations. After its (MQM) formal establishment in 1984, was supported and backed by the military dictatorship to break the opposition of the military in province of Sindh. To some extent the same views are of a Communist leader Jam Saqi "MQM was the creation of Zia regime" (Interview with Jam Saqi).

But Khaliq Junejo, the leader of *Jeay Sindh* Mahaz, was not agreed with the views of Jam Saqi and said that "MQM was the production of the situation which was the result of Punjabi dominancy and exploitation of Sindh by the Punjabi army and elite class. It was used by Zia regime against the cause of Sindh (Interview with Khaliq Junejo).

Amber Saeed (1996, p. 89) said about the formation as under: "The formation of MQM is also to be seen in the context of the highly repressive and explosive socio-economic environment created by the Zia regime." Rasool Bakhsh Palejo told about the emergence of MQM that it was the tube baby of USA. He further said that Zia was nothing; America controlled all the matters of Pakistan (Interview with Rasool Bakhsh Palejo).

Dr Mubarak Ali, an Urdu speaking retired Professor of History, told that Zia supported both, MQM and *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*, against PPP (Interview with Mubarak Ali). Christina lamb a famous journalist also supported the idea that MQM was formed by the army. She wrote as under:

> "When the government claimed to have discovered a pamphlet distributed by Sindhi nationalists, who advocate co-operation with Muhajirs to oust Punjabis and Pashtoons from the province, then it turned on the Muhajirs. This revelation (surprise) set Muhajir and Sindhis on each other. Almost overnight new party had emerged, demanding the recognition of Muhajirs as a fifth nationality". (Lamb, 1991, p. 154)

MQM was formed by the establishment of Pakistan, Chief Minister of Sindh Sayed Ghous Ali Shah supported MQM to counter the Jamaat-e-Islami, when his differences were on peck with the mayor of Karachi, Abdul Sattar Afghani. General K. M. Arif described the situation in these words

> "He (Ghous Ali Shah) hobnobbed with Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM) to reduce the political influence of Jamaat-e-Islami. The Sindh Governor, Lieutenant –General Jahan Dad Khan did not oppose the triple edged strategy adopted by the Chief Minister; disciplining Afghani, diminishing the influence of the JI and encouraging the MQM" (Arif, 2001, p. 221).

At that time the Governor was directly responsible to General Zia and the Governor of Sindh fully supported the policies of Ghous Ali Shah patronized MQM, and it was not only the policy or strategy of the provincial executive but it was the strategy of the Zia regime. The role of Zia junta in the formation of MQM was also clear from the statement of K. M. Arif, (2002, p. 240) which was wrote by him in his book Khaki Shadows as below:

> "During the conferences of Martial Law Administrators, which I used to attend, it was mentioned more than once that the *Jeay Sindh* nationalists and the Mayor of Karachi, Abdul Sattar Afghani at the behest of JI, created hurdles for Sindh Government which planned to discipline them politically by propping up their political opponents."

The slogan of fifth nationality was against the Sindhis and they claimed other nationality in Sindh. Sindhi nationalist felt that it was the first steps towards the division of Sindh. The emergence of MQM and the slogan 'Muhajir Power Super Power' created many questions in the minds of the people of the country. "Many people claimed that it was a creation of Zia's policy 'divide and rule', to continue army rule. Christina Lamb quoted Kamal Azfar as, "Zia had approached him in 1985 suggesting an attempt to harness (connect) Muhajirs support, a proposal he rejected" (Lamb, 1991, p.155). It supports the idea that MQM was the creation of General Zia. Though leaders of MQM denied it. Aftab Ahmed Sheikh, member '*Rabita* Council of MQM and ex-MNA of MQM told that:

> "MQM was the result of the sense of deprivation which was created in the minds of the Urdu speaking people, when all things were snatched from them. And the federal parties did not support them when they cried for their rights. Jamaat-e- Islami and other religious parties used them against Bhutto, but when they came into power in the days of the General Zia, they ignored them. The Punjabi leadership of the JI worked only in the interest of the Punjabis" (Interview with Aftab Ahmed Sheikh).

A well known political scientist of Pakistan Dr. Tahir Amin (1993, p. 281) said about the formation of MQM that:

> "MQM is the product of the unintended consequence of the zia regime to promote non-party based politics had disastrous consequences for the national politics in general and provincial politics in particular…. In its zeal to weaken the PPP in Sindh, the regime sought to appease Sindhi nationalism through such specific acts like extension of quota system in Sindh for another ten years, preferential treatment to the Sindhis in terms of providing employment and political contacts with the extremist Sindhi leaders to enlist their support for the regime. This policy of the appeasing Sindhi nationalism gave a partisan (Support) image to the state structure, which in turn provoked (motivated) Muhajir nationalism."

Punjabi, left oriented intellectual Professor Aziz told that MQM was the part of the Zia's policy of municipalized politics (Interview with Aziz Uddin Ahmed). Sindhi nationalist believed that it was formed to prevent the mergers of Urdu speaking people in Sindhi culture. While PPP leaders claimed that it was established by Zia regime to counter the PPP strength in Sindh province. While Altaf said that it was the production of the attitude of the establishment and other politicians towards the Muhajirs. He said that:

> "We've been treated as third grade citizens for the last forty one years. We would like the people of Pakistan to be one nationality, but how can that be when primary education books show four pictures of the nationalities of Pakistan-Punjabis, Pashtoons, Baloch and Sindhis? We are the one who sacrificed our wealth and assets to come here, yet it seems we are not considered full Pakistanis. If we had been treated as equal citizens there would have been no need to raise slogans of Muhajirs." (Lamb, 1991, pp. 155, 56)

The MQM was established by the regime to counter the PPP strength in Sindh. Famous leftist writer Lal Khan wrote in his book '*Marxism Aur Quomi Sawal*' about the formation of MQM that:

> "According to the policy of the army *junta* the revolutionary proletariat class was divided into ethnic and nationalist line all over the country. Karachi also was divided on that line before the formation of MQM. Here were the organization of the Sindhis on Sindhi basis; the organization of the Punjabis on the Punjabi basis and Pashtoon also organized their own Tanzeem on Pashtoon nationalist basis. Even the minority groups also manage their organizations. In that situation the uprising of the Muhajir Quomi Movement was natural. ….. Social conditions favoured to the formation of MQM but it was promoted and organized by the agencies. General Zia's Gobbles General Mujib-U-Rehman played vital role in the formation of MQM." (Khan, Lal, 1999, p. 49)

Anees Jillani (1991) described Zia indirectly helped in the creation of the MQM to exacerbate the policy of divide and rule. Korejo (2002, p. 29) wrote, "MQM was the brainchild of the establishment."

MQM came into being just after one year of 1983 uprising in which the rural areas of Sindh fought against the military rule. At that time Muhajirs were sidelined and did not participate in the movement. The main demands of the MQM were against the interests of Sindhis, for example, to abolish the quota system, repatriations of *Biharis*. Even than the Veteran Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Sayed welcomed the creation and rise of MQM (Ali, B., 1992). He supported MQM due to its anti-Punjab line and against the concept of 'Two Nation Theory'.

Social Base

MQM mainly consisted of middle and lower class of urban Sindh. Youth, students and small businessmen were the strength of the party. Karachi University and other colleges of the cities were the main center of the party. The lower and middle employees supported the organization. Party succeeded to get support from the labour unions such as Karachi Electric Supply Corporation (KESC), Karachi Water And Sewerage Board (KWASB) and the workers of the Pakistan Steel Mill and Machine Tool Factory. The main cities of the province such as Karachi, Hyderabad, Mirpur Khas and Sukkur were the strong bases of the party. The leadership of the party was also from the middle and lower middle class while the leadership of other parties mostly belonged to feudal or upper class. The leader of the party, Altaf Hussain was fully authorized to take the decisions; nobody had power to ask him. He was not responsible to any institutions or party forum. The leader of the MQM also used the Awami language in their speeches, he selected the common phrases for party slogans for example the most popular slogan at that time was "*Sindhi Muhajir Bhai Bhai teesari Quom Kahan se aaie*" or *Naswar aur dhoti Kahan sai aye*" these slogans was chanted by the workers in their gatherings against the Punjabis and Pashtoons (Interview with G. Sarwar Awan). Another slogan which was also famous among them was "*Addha Tumhara Adha Hamara*". It means MQM was totally lower and lower middle class party in their social character and also aggressive in nature.

Ideology and Strategy

Basically MQM (Muhajir Quomi Movement) has no ideology. Which was clear from the statements of its leader, "We will accept help no matter where it comes from East or West, North or South" (Daily Jang Karachi, 9th August 1986).

The ethnic nationalism was the base of MQM. It was claimed by the leadership of the MQM that their party is against the 'Feudalism. Dr Mubarak Ali told, "The MQM insist to solve the economic issues like unemployment, and admission to educational institutions which have been agitating the minds of Muhajir youth. So, due to those important issues MQM succeeded to gain the support of the masses (Interview with Dr. Mubarak Ali).

In the beginning it was against the Punjabi and Pashtoons dominancy. In the early days of the organization, party was much closed to *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. Altaf was invited by JSSF at Liaquat Medical College Jamshoro, strong hold centre of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. MQM fought against Punjabis and Pashtoons in 1986 and fought with Sindhis in 1987. So, there was no clear programme and ideology of the MQM. It was at war with system of domination of Punjabis against the army and civilian recruitment method, against the intelligence agencies (ISI, MI). In an interview Altaf said to Humayun Gohar that "If the helpless and down trodden want to be free of the feudal lord…. join the MQM and strengthen Altaf Hussein's hands (Gohar, 1995, pp. 15-19; Saeed, 1996, p. 98).

> "Muhajirs pretend to fight the Punjabi ruling class. But actually they are against the people of Sindh. Against whom is the demand for a fifth nation? Against whom is the demand for scraping the quota system? Against whom is the demand for bringing *Biharis* from Bangladesh." (Saeed, 1996, p. 100; Palejo, R. B., 1995, p. 17)

Palejo said that MQM was terrorist and fascist organization and it was against the Pakistan (Interview with Rasool Bakhsh Palejo).

Demands of MQM

MQM did not stand for much time on demands. It changed their demands according to their strategies. All political powers were tried to alliance with MQM due to its influence in the capital city of the Province, Karachi. This is the single largest seaport of the country, all import and export of the country takes place through this port. MQM kept on changing its demands but in 1987, it presented a "Charter of Resolution". In fact it was the basic document of the Party in those days. The main and important points of the resolutions were as under:

1) Only real Sindhis (Muhajirs and Sindhis) should have the right to vote in Sindh. (This demand of the MQM was against the Punjabis, Pashtoons and other settlers).

2) Business licensees and permits should not be given to those who do not have the franchise to vote.

3) "Standard Pakistanis" (*Biharis* living in Bangladesh) should be allowed to settle and become citizens of Pakistan. (Sindhis were against its)

4) Afghan should be restricted to their official refugee camps in NWFP and Balochistan and not to be allowed to buy property or reside in Sindh.

5) Local Bus services should be taken over by the Karachi municipal corporation and bus drivers must be literate before being given driving license. (It was against the Pashtoon Transporters)

6) Non-Sindhis and Non Muhajirs should not be allowed to buy property in Sindh. (Against Punjabis and Pashtoons)

7) Afresh census should be held in Sindh province and Muhajir share of the federal quota should be revised upward to reflect the true population of the Muhajirs.

8) The basis of Sindh domicile for purpose of the federal quota should be 20 years continuous residence in the province.

9) Police officers implicated in atrocities against Muhajirs should be tried before special tribunals (Most of such officers were Punjabis).

There were also some other demands of the MQM related to education employment and health (Saeed, 1996& Charles, 1992).

The demands, politics and organization proved that MQM was an ethno-nationalist and regional organization. It was against the federal politics. MQM participated in the elections of local body in 1987, the Karachi and Hyderabad cities were won by them. Before that both cities were under the influence of religious parties. After the death of General Zia, MQM won general elections in 1988 from the urban area of Sindh. MQM swept the urban seats of the National Assembly and as well as the Provincial Assembly from the urban areas in the general elections 1990 the number of the MQM seats were increased. Following table shows all the figures:

Party wise result of National Assembly seats of Sindh Province in 1988 and 1990 elections:

Party	1988	1990
PPP	31	24
MQM	13	15
IJI	00	03
Independent	02	04
Total	46	46

Source: The Herald special issue, December 1990.

Party wise result of Provincial Assembly seats of Sindh in 1988 and 1990 elections:

Party	1988	1990
PPP	67	47
MQM	26	28
IJI	01	06
PPI	01	00
Sindhi Nationalist	00	01
Independent	05	18
Total	100	100

Note: Jamaaat-e-Ialami was part of IJI in 1988 and 1990
Source: The Herald Election Special 1993.

MQM won all the seats from the urban areas of Sindh province, 12 out of 13 from Karachi, and 2 from Hyderabad district and 1 from Tharparker district.

The people of the urban areas neglected the federal parties. Before Zia regime the urban areas of Sindh were the centers of religious parties. They were firm believers of Pakistani nation. They were the voters of right wing federal parties such as JUP and JI. In the general elections of 1970 and 1977 urban areas of Sindh supported and voted for those parties. Before the emergence of MQM, Urdu speaking people supported the ideology of Pakistan and believed in strong center. But during the Zia rule they followed Altaf Hussain and he said, "*Hum nay Pakistan Ka Theeka naheen Liya"(*we are not bound to save Pakistan*)* (Banori, 1991, p. 17). During Zia regime they went against Pakistan. Altaf Hussain and other burned the flag of Pakistan at Mazar-e-Quaid (Arif, 2002).

There were two lobbies in MQM; one was pro Punjabi, they had the opinion that the real power was in the hands of Punjabis. Hence if we would go against them, we would never get the rights of Muhajirs. This lobby was more active against the Sindhis. They were separated from MQM (Altaf) and formed their own organization as MQM (Haqiqi) but they did not succeed to get the mass support of

Muhajirs. The other lobby was lead by Altaf Hussain himself. He was lenient towards the Sindhi nationalists. They thought that Sindhis are the indigenous people of Sindh and we are also the permanent resident of Sindh. So alliance with Sindhis would be in our interest. The MQM leadership visited Sann, (Native village of G. M. Sayed) on the birthday gatherings of G. M. Sayed. (Interview with Mujtaba Rashdi)

The ethnic nationalism was the base of MQM's politics. The federal politics in Sindh and specially in Karachi, became weak. The staunch supporters of the strong center turned their loyalties to the ethnic and regional politics. Karachi was the centre of politics of Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamait-e-Ulma-e-Pakistan. But it turned into the centre of Muhajir Quomi Movement. MQM started their practical politics from the first public meeting at Karachi on 8th August 1986, from Nishtar Park. "It was marked by heavy aerial firing from pistols and rifles, which the party activists were carrying with them" (www.fas.org/irp/world/pass/mqm.htm). Some statements of Altaf Hussain also instigated the youth to take the arms and fight for their rights. It was his address to press club Hyderabad on 25th October 1986 that the Muhajir youth "Collect arms, if our rights are not given to us, we will use every kind of force"(Daily Jang 26 October 1986).

MQM and Punjabi Pashtoons Riots

The clashes of MQM were started with Pashtoons and Punjabis on Bushra Zaidi case in 1985. In which the mini bus crushed a college girl. She was Urdu speaking. After the accident Muhajirs burnt the mini buses and attacked on Pashtoons.

The riots re-upraise between Pashtoons and Muhajirs on 31st October when fires were opened on the caravan of MQM at Sohrab Goth (Pashtoon locality in Karachi) by the unknown armed persons. After it, bloody riots were continued in the province. During those riots at least 50 people were killed in one night in Orangi Town on 14th December 1986, and 70 more killed on 15th December 1986. (www.fas.org/irp/world/pass/mqm.htm). It was ghastly

manslaughter in Karachi. Hundred innocent Pakistani who were Punjabi, Pashtoons or Muhajirs were lost their lives during these riots. According to the available statistics, 173 persons scarified due to the politics of MQM. At least 10 banks, 75 vehicles 24 houses and 20 shops were burnet during the last 153 days of 1986. (www.fas.org/irp/world/pass/mqm.htm). During these riots Altaf Hussain said: "Karachi is no more mini-Pakistan." And he further said, "Sindh could not bear any more population." There are also Lahore and Faisalabad in the way. (www.fas.org/irp/world/pass/mqm.htm). The bloody riots between the Punjabis, Pashtoons and Muhajirs continued in 1987. After winning the local body elections of 1987, MQM changed their guns towards Sindhis. Khaliq Junejo said about it "After winning the local body elections MQM wanted to established their links to the establishment and get the privileges for their organization (Interview with Khaliq Junejo).

MQM and Sindhi Riots

MQM swept the local body elections 1987 in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. The base of the MQM's politics was on hatred thinking. MQM opposed Punjabis and Pashtoons in its first four years. They had advocacy for the unity between the Sindhis and Muhajirs. But in 1987, they started the fight with Sindhis. The Sindhi Muhajir riots started when MQM tried to rename *Hyder Choke* as Muhajir Choke on 6th April 1987. At that time the mayor-ship of Hyderabad city occupied by MQM. Aftab Sheikh was the mayor of the city. It was also conspiracy to create the tension between the Sindhis and Muhajirs. The name of Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi was very respectable for the Sindhis. He dedicated his life for the rights of Sindh and peasants. Change of the name of *Hyder Choke* was the part of the policy of divide and rule of the Zia regime. After the protest of Sindhis, Altaf Hussain directed to his workers to rewrite the name of Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi on said choke. But the anti Sindhi Lobby of MQM was active against the Sindhis. On the other side, Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Qamar Bhatti, Qadir Magsi and some workers of JST also were active against the Muhajirs. There policies went in the interest of Zia regime and Sindhi Muhajir riots took place all over the province. Many innocent Sindhis and Muhajirs were killed.

The relations of Sindhis and Muhajirs once again went into enmity. G. M. Sayed, the leader of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* continued struggle to reduce the tension between them. The same wishes were of Altaf Hussain but both leaders did not succeed to prevent the Sindhi Muhajir riots because of the differences in their party ranks. MQM Chairman Azim Ahmed Tariq, Imran Farooq General secretary, Aafaque Ahmed, Badar Iqbal and Iqbal Khan (Now leaders of Muhajir Quomi Movement Haqiqi) were trying to create a state of war with Sindhis. They were supporters of the strategy of the Zia regime. In these events the agents of the establishment also played their role to instigate politicians and peoples of the both sides.

Hyderabad city was the center of the riots between the Muhajirs and Sindhis. On 18th June 1988 the riots spread all over the city when students of Sindh University

went to participate in the procession before the press club of Hyderabad. As the buses of the University reached near the Municipal Office the fires were opened from Municipal Office and adjoining buildings. At least 8 persons were died inspite of the imposition of curfew (www. Fas .org /irp /world /pass/mqm.htm).

During this time, unknown person attacked on Mayor of Hyderabad Aftab Ahmed Sheikh on 17th July 1988. MQM blamed on Bashir Khan Qureshi and Niaz Kalani leaders of *Jeay Sindh* Students federation. After it the riots spread in the cities of the province and the situation became worst. G. M. Sayed told newsmen on July 22 that both, the Governor and Altaf Hussain were responsible for deteriorating law and order situation. Altaf Hussain had become arrogant and inflated. On the following day, Altaf Hussain called on Sayed at Hyder Manzil and the two leaders met and remove misunderstandings. (www.fas.org/irp/world/pass/mqm.htm)

After the dialogue between Sayed and Altaf Hussain, the tension reduced between the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* and the workers of the MQM but situation could not be controlled. In the month of August APMSO attacked on Sindhi students in the educational institutions of Karachi city. Those were the days when General Zia died in an air crash on 17th August 1988 near Bahawalpur. He passed away but his strategy still continued. In the month of September, APMSO leaders under the guidance of five councilors attacked on the Sindhi students and lectures in Karachi University and colleges.

After the death of General Zia, Senate Chairman Ghulam Ishaq Khan became acting President of country and he announced that elections would be held on due dates. General Zia, before his death, had dissolved the assemblies and dismissed the Junejo government on 29th May 1988 and announced the general elections to be held on 16th November 1988. The riots, however, could not be controlled in the big cities of the province. "On 30th September, the worst carnage of Hyderabad's history took place in which more than 150 persons including Urdu speaking, Gujratis, Sindhi and Memons were killed." (www.fas.org/irp/world/pass/mqm.htm) Majority of them belonged

to Urdu Speaking. Government and MQM blamed *Jeay Sindh* faction of Qadir Magsi for it. On the following day i.e. 1st October 1988, MQM had a preplanned attack on the houses of Sindhis and more than 90 Sindhis were killed. After it the bloody ethnic riots continued. They left wounded history of the country; the fraternity and brotherhood did not exist in the land of Sindh, which was the land of peace and love.

In general the politics of MQM was against the integrity of the country. MQM fought with Punjabis, Pashtoons and Sindhis and even they killed their own Muhajirs. It behaved as a fascist organization on racial and ethnic basis. It had no ideology at all. MQM gained strength under the shadow of Martial Law. Zia junta supported to the regional, ethnic and nationalist forces as compare to federalist and democratic parties. Zia regime oppressed to PPP and supported G. M. Sayed and MQM. Rabbani (1999, p. 315) truly wrote about it "The main objective of forming the MQM was to throw a political force in front of PPP G. M. Sayed's Sindhu Desh and other dominant political groups of Karachi who were opposing Zia's Martial Law."

It was the reason that MQM never moved against Zia's Martial Law in its history. The mass support of the MQM reduced the support of the federal parties such as JI and JUP in the urban areas of Sindh. Mushahid Hussain (1991) described it in his book 'Pakistan's Politics, The Zia Years, that: The victory of MQM greatly reduced the political importance in Sindh and national (Federal) politics of such religious political parties as Jamaat Islami (JI) and Jamait Ulema-e-Pakistan. The both parties were the supporters of the federal politics and firm believer of the ideology of Pakistan and Islam. Both parties lost their support in Urdu speaking people. Before that the Urdu speaking people were supportive to those parties. In the general elections of 1970 and 77 the majority seats from the urban areas of Sindh went to those parties (Interview with Dr. Mubshar Hassan).

Martial Law of General Zia created many problems for Sindhis; one of them was the Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM). MQM came into being in 1984. MRD was

suppressed by the military junta through the iron measures. But Zia regime was afraid that the angry people of Sindh would move any time against their dictatorial rule. Therefore regime took two main steps to finish that thinking forever; one of them was the creation of MQM. The urban populated Muhajir did not participated in MRD as Sindhis did. Zia was a sharp mind Military General. He did not miss the chance to use those differences in his favour. MRD movement did not succeed because of the less participation of Punjab and urban population of Sindh. Zia understood it that any movement would not be successful in Sindh without the participation of the urban population. In the fear of the alliance of the urban and rural peoples Zia adopted the old policy of divide and rule. The politics of MQM served the interest of Zia and adopted anti democratic policy. It went against the unity of the country and integrity of the state. The quarrels of MQM with Pashtoons, Punjabis and later with Sindhis were not in the interest of the country. In those riots the anti state elements were flourished and enemy of the country used them against the federation of Pakistan .

Punjabi Pashtoon Ithad (PPI)

Punjabi Pashtoon Ithad formed by the Punjabi and Pashtoons of Sindh after the armed clash with Muhajirs, specially, MQM. Punjabis and Pashtoons settled in Sindh under the British rule and after the independence under the military rule of General Ayub Khan. Punjabi and Muhajirs were dominated in the civil and military bureaucracy of the country. "Under One Unit government there was a steady influx of Punjabi employees in the provincial institutions located in Sindh" (Ahmed, F., 1999, p. 108). When a million people came to Sindh, Sindhi felt threat to their majority in their own province and they moved against it. G. M. Sayed and other Sindhi nationalist leaders moved against the migration and settlement of the Punjabis, Pashtoons and others, in Sindh. In this connection he invited to Muhajir leaders to unite against the settlements.

Nawab Muzafar Hussain, a Muhajir leader was also invited by Sayed. "He attend the meeting with Sayed but he boycotted the meeting when G. M. Sayed talked

against the ideology of Pakistan, Punjabi dominancy and autonomy for the Sindh according to the 1940 Resolution" (Manzar, 1994, p. 63). After it G. M. Sayed and other Sindhi leaders formed *Sindh Mutahida Mahaz*, while Nawab Muzafar and others formulated the *Punjabi Pathan Muhajir Mutahida Mahaz* to counter the *Sindh Mutahida Mahaz* and to protect the rights of the settlers in Sindh. Shahzad Manzar, (1994, p. 165) a non-Sindhi, wrote, "It was first alliance of non Sindhis privileges against the Sindhis." But Mahaz could not be popular in the Pashtoons and Punjabis as compare to Muhajirs. Mahaz could not succeed to gain even the support of the Muhajir masses. It was proved in the elections of 1970. The majority of the Muhajirs supported the Islamic parties, like Jamaat Islami and JUP of Noorani. Mahaz won only one provincial seat.

Bureaucracy played a vital role in the settlement of the Punjabis and Pashtoons during the military regimes of Ayub Khan and General Zia. Babar Ali (1992, p. 181) narrated it in these words:

> "With the bureaucracy playing a major role in the early years in setting up business and industry, the Punjabi entrepreneurial community found it easier to settle in Karachi as it offered direct access to bureaucracy."

After the Green Revolution a large number of the peasants ousted and in the search of employment found the road of Karachi, the capital of Sindh. They were settled in the city under the shadow of the government. On the other hand there was a trend of migration of Sindhis from rural to urban areas, particularly to Karachi. Such migration though was natural and within the province, exerted extra pressure on the cities.

The main industry of the country was located in Karachi and other parts of the province. Sindhis were mostly related with agriculture sectors. Muhajirs who worked in the factories were also turned to the small business. So the Punjabi and Pashtoon workers filled that space. Feroz Ahmed wrote that:

> "Thousands of Pashtoons peasants, ejected from land, are working as factory workers and laborers throughout Pakistan, specially in Karachi, the primate city of Pakistan. According to some estimate over 80 per cent of the entire factory workers in Karachi are Pashtoons, and a large proportion of Pashtoons are to be found among the dock workers, cab drivers, road diggers and other occupational categories in the city." (1999, p. 205)

So the big number of those workers was settled in the city and increased the political strength of the Punjabi and Pashtoons in Sindh province, specially in Karachi. Feroz Ahmed (1999, p. 107) further wrote, "The expansion of the industrial sector in Karachi and other parts of lower Sindh was accomplished almost entirely with the help of immigrant Pashtoon and Punjabi worker." The majority of Pashtoons belonged unskilled workers. But "some of them were involved in the drug and armed trade"(Ali B., 1992, p.182).

The riots took place between the Pashtoons and Muhajirs when Ayub won the Presidential elections from Fatima Jinnah. The son of Ayub Khan arranged a procession. The procession marched in the city even the Muhajir dominated areas and they chanted the slogans and taunted to the Muhajirs. After it the riots took place all over the city. Punjabi and Pashtoons were the allies of the Muhajirs during the language crises in 70's. But when the negotiation arranged by the federal government under the Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto no Punjabi and Pashtoon was member of the negotiation committee of the Urdu language. "It was felt by the Punjabis and Pashtoons" (Interview with Ghulam Sarwar Awan).

During the military rule of Ayub Khan and General Zia, Punjabi and Pashtoons were replacing the Muhajirs in the police services (Ahmed, F., 1999). It was the time of General Zia when Punjabis and Pashtoons were elected as the members of the local bodies as well as for the Provincial Assembly of Sindh and member of National Assembly from Sindh (Ahmed, F. 1999). As a result of Afghan crises a large numbers of the Pashtoons as well as

the Afghanis came to Karachi and settled. At this time they occupied the transport and also many shopping centers. The money was not problem for them, because against the USSR and Socialism, America and Islamic countries supported them in the name of 'Holy War'. They sold the weapons, ammunitions and even involved in drug mafia trades. Military government of Pakistan did not care about such things. They were totally free. So in a short time they purchased a big property and open the business and spread all over the Province specially in Karachi.

Pashtoons came to Karachi under the leadership of the transporters and smugglers. The transporters developed their relations to the police officers. Transporters were in a position to create the law and order situation for the administration. So administration denied to touch them. Many police officers were purchased for them and they did not dare to take the action against those even they violated the rules and regulation of the traffic. "General Zia used them subsequently to remove the pressure on the military Governors of Sindh. They in return, received lucrative route permits and a greater immunity from the law" (Ahmed, F., 1999, p. 120).

The patronage of Punjabis and Pashtoons in Sindh by the President of the country and Chief of the Army staff, created a sense of superiority among them. It became the reason of the creation of sense of deprivation and thinking of ethnicity among the Muhajirs and Sindhis. Feroz Ahmed described it as:

> "It was the Zia government's active involvement in the Afghan insurgency that facilitated a dramatic increase in the Pashtoons power in Karachi. The officially tolerated Pashtoon smugglers' markets, called 'Bara Markets' at the head of the highway linking Karachi and Hyderabad became a major national center of weapon and heroin trade, spurred on by Afghan war. Thousands of Afghan refugees moved from their camps in the north of Karachi. The drug and gun mafia, linked to right-wing leadership of the Afghan rebels, also exercised control over the Afghan refugee in Sindh." (Ahmed, 1999, F., p. 120)

During the Bhutto government on the issue of language the riots took place between the Muhajirs and Sindhis. The Punjabi and Pashtoon supported to Muhajirs. It was the reason that when PNA launched the movement against the Bhutto government, the urban areas of the province were the center of the movement. When Bhutto was ousted by army, Muhajirs welcomed it. But their hopes did not fulfill by the Zia regime due to the lenient policy of Zia towards the Punjabis and Pashtoons. After it they turned their loyalty and spoke against the Punjabi hegemony. The Pashtoons became privileged due to Afghan policy of Zia regime. Many Afghan and other Pashtoons settled in the Karachi city and occupied the sources of the production against the Muhajir interests. So the Muhajirs also opposed the influence of the Pashtoons in the cities of the province specially in Karachi. During that time Muhajir Quomi Movement was formed by the Muhajirs in 1984.

Punjabi and Pashtoons became more powerful due to the Afghan and Punjabization policies of Zia regime. A famous scholar of ethno national politics Feroz Ahmed (1999, p. 118) wrote:

> "The Zia government carried forward the Punjabization of power and privileges to its limit. Such an outcome was inherent in the hegemony of the military, which was and is predominantly Punjabi. The civilian bureaucracy demoralized under Bhutto, willingly accepted the position of a junior partner. In ethnic terms the Pashtoons clearly emerged as the junior partners of the Punjabis in the military and bureaucracy. The share of the Muhajirs in the civil bureaucracy was further reduced under Zia."

Even those people who were involved in the drug as well as in the weapons trade were not arrested due to their relations with army generals and the police officers (Interview with Jam Saqi).

During the riots between the Muhajirs and Punjabis and Pashtoons, Pashtoons attacked on Ali Garah Colony of *Biharis*, police and military did not interfere. Many innocent people were killed and number of shops and houses were burnet by the mob (Interview with Aftab Ahmed Sheikh). At that time the majority of the police officers belonged to Punjabis and Pashtoons. Others were purchased by the drug mafia and some were under influence and could not move against the Punjabis and Pashtoons. It shows the justification of the reaction of masses against the military regime. In the years of 1984 and 1985 the number of the Punjabis in police department was high than the others, which is clear from the following tables.

Number of police officers in Hyderabad and Sukkur regions:

Designation	Punjabi	Muhajir	Pashtoon	Sindhi	Total
S. P	05	13	03	15	36
D.S.P	23	43	05	34	105
Inspector	121	69	22	79	291
Total	149	125	30	128	432

Source: Sayed Shams, 1986, p. 31.

It was the position of Hyderabad and Sukkur regions, where the number of the settlers as compares to Karachi was very limited. Even than the number of the Punjabis were more than the other linguistic groups. Following table shows the numbers of the police officials of Karachi region.

Number of the police officers of Karachi region:

Designation	Punjabi	Muhajir	Pashtoon	Sindhi	Total
S.P	02	10	03	00	15
D.S.P	15	32	05	03	55
Inspector	73	36	20	07	136
Total	90	78	28	10	206

Source: (Sayed Shams. *1986, p. 31).*

According to the above tables the total number of the officials became 638. The total number of the linguistic groups and percentage is mentioned in the following table.

Punjabi	Muhajir	Pashtoon	Sindhi	Total
239	203	58	138	628
37.46%	31.81%	9.09%	21.63%	100

The number of the Punjabis and Pashtoons was more than Muhajirs. When ethnic violence took place in Sindh, police force was also sympathetic to their respective ethnic group. When Pashtoon, Punjabi and Muhajirs riots took place in Karachi and Hyderabad, Punjabi and Pashtoon officers and *Jawans* supported to Punjabi Pashtoon *Ithad* (PPI).

Government of General Zia issued the licenses of the trade and industries to the ex military officers mostly of them were Punjabis. Feroz Ahmed (1999, p. 119) described it as "Distribution of agriculture lands, urban residential plots, and industrial and commercial licenses to retired military personnel took place on an unprecedented scale". It also showed the favour of the governments to the Punjabis and Pashtoons. Due to the support of the government, the chauvinist feelings also grew among the Punjabis and the Pashtoons of Karachi.

Formation of Punjabi Pashtoon Ithad

Punjabi Pashtoon Ithad was formed on 7th March 1987 after the blood riots between the MQM and Pashtoon and Punjabis in Karachi and Hyderabad. Malik Ghulam Sarwar Awan the first President of PPI told that:

> "Punjabis and Pashtoons were firm believers of the federation and they supported the federal parties in Sindh and they did not feel to organize their political parties on ethnic or linguistic basis. However, after the formation of MQM and its bloody attack on

> Pashtoons in 1986 we felt the need either to protect ourselves or leave Sindh. It was the situation when the workers of the MQM used to keep kalashnikove along the terrorist of *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* and attacked on Pashtoons and Punjabis; killed many Punjabis and Pashtoons but no one came to us for the support and help. (Interview with Ghulam Sarwar Awan)

He further said, "Punjabis and Pashtoons build the city and the blood of the Punjabis and Pashtoons is included in the constructions of Karachi. Every road and building was constructed with the labour of the Punjabis and Pashtoons and about 80 lac acres land cultivated by the Punjabis in Sindh so we could not leave it" (Interview with Ghulam Sarwar Awan).

Before the formation of the Punjabi Pashtoon Ithad, there was no separate political organization of the Punjabis in the urban area of the province. They supported the Muslim League or PPP, both parties believed in strong federation.

Sindh Punjabi *Abadgar* welfare Association organized by the Punjabi *Abadgars* and students formed New Sindhi Students Organization (NSSO) by the Punjabi students to protect the rights of the Punjabi *Abadgars* and Punjabi students in the interior Sindh. The Punjabi Students Association also exited in Karachi University and other educational institutions of Karachi city. Sindh Punjabi *Abadgar* Board was active as a non-political group to protect the rights of the Punjabi *Abadgars* in Sindh. The support of the Punjabi voters in the districts of Sanghar and Mirpur Khas was decisive to win the elections.

The one reason of the formation of Punjabi Pashtoon *Ithad* were the statements and the policies of the MQM. The leaders of the MQM talked against the exploitations of Sindh and they accused Punjabis and demanded from the government that all the jobs would be reserved for the Sindhis and Muhajirs. They also demanded that Punjabis and Pashtoons should be returned to their home provinces. After that

Punjabis of the Karachi felt threat to their interests and formed the Punjabi Pashtoon Ithad. Malik Ghulam Sarwar Awan became President and Hakeem Khan Sawabi Walay General Secretary. Mir Hazar Khan Pashtoon elected as Chairman of the Alliance. The rest of the offices of the PPI were distributed among the Punjabis, Pashtoons, Hazara and Kashmiris. The Alliance succeeded to get the support from the settler Punjabis but it could not be popular among Pashtoons. Actually PPI was the organization of the Punjabis, though it used the name of Pashtoons. There were the separate organizations of Pashtoons such as 'Pashtoon Federation (Manzar, 1994). A major portion of Pashtoons was the member of the Awami National Party of Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

After the formation of PPI, Punjabis wanted to share in the political structure of Sindh province as many Punjabi were elected as member of the Assemblies and local bodies. Altaf also did not accept Muhajir to those peoples who migrated from Eastern Punjab and said "the people who migrated from Eastern Punjab called themselves Punjabi and related themselves with the interest of Punjab and they did not call themselves Muhajirs." (Hussain, A., 1987)

Altaf Hussain got the support from the masses of the Karachi and Hyderabad in the anti Punjab slogans. He openly talked that the Punjab was dominating and the rights of the Sindh was snatching by them. He openly opposed the settlement of the Punjabis and Pashtoons in Sindh. Shahzad Manzar described it as under:

> "Punjabi and Pashtoons were dominating in the sector of the industries, business, transports, constructions was created a concept of insecurity in the mind of the Muhajirs because before that Muhajirs were dominating the economy of the Sindh." (1994, p. 195)

The contradiction between Pashtoon and Muhajirs became sharp after the Bushra Zaidi case in 1985. Bushra died in an accident of mini bus in Muhajir dominated area Nazim Abad. She was a student of Sir Sayed College and belonged to Muhajir

family. In the reaction angry mob of the people burned the mini bus and tried to kill the bus driver. In the reaction Pashtoons attacked on the Muhajirs in the area of Banaris colony, a Pashtoon majority area. It was not the first time that a mini bus was burnt in the reaction but it was first time that ethnic riots took place in the reaction of the accident. Many Pashtoon as well as Muhajirs were killed in those riots. The riots increased in the city and the police did not take any action against the bus drivers because mostly bus owners belonged to police department officials or their relatives. So, many of them were not punished.

The clash between the Pashtoons and the Muhajirs reached at its peck point when MQM announced that the caravan of the buses would go to Hyderabad from Karachi by road and caravan would pass from Suharab Goth route. After it the banners were showed on Suharab Goth by the group of Pashtoons that they would not allow the Caravan of MQM from Suharab Goth. When caravan of MQM was passing from Suharab Goth on 31st October 1986, the fires were opened on the procession and ethnic riots took place and spread all over the city as well as in Hyderabad. Many innocent Muhajirs, Pashtoon and Punjabi were killed. Punjabi officers and transporters as well as Punjabi bureaucracy fully supported Pashtoons and *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* supported MQM in these riots. But Palejo and other Sindhi nationalists were against MQM.

After this many people started to compare Karachi to Beirut (Jeelani, 1991). The clash between the Pashtoon and MQM was turned into Punjabis and Muhajirs because during quarrels between Pashtoons and Muhajirs, Punjabi fully supported to Pashtoons. The speeches of the leaders of the MQM also one reason of the clash between the Punjabis and Muhajirs in which MQM demanded to stop the settlement of the Punjabis in Sindh province. A Punjabi leader Ghulam Sarwar Awan said "they supported Pashtoon because the Pashtoon leaders came to him and appeal to help and protect from the terrorism of MQM after that they supported Pashtoons " (Interview with Ghulam Sarwar Awan).

General Zia comments about riots as, "Such events are a result of civilian set-up" (Jillani, 1991, p. 273). But the reality was against it; the ethnic politics and ethnic riots were the result of the policies of Zia regime. The regime created that issue and crises to prolong their rule. Anees Jeelani (1991, p. 274) said about the ethnic riots that "Afghan policy of the government, long years of political suppression, and deviation from the constitutional rule responsible for the catastrophe."

PPI demanded for the quota in services of the provincial government for the Punjabis, Pashtoons, and peoples of the northern areas. They also demanded for the protection of Punjabi and Pashtoon officers (Ahmed G., 1993). The riots took place between the Punjabis and Muhajirs in those areas where Punjabis were settled. Shah Faisal colony, Green Town, Azimpur, Azam Basti and Model Town were the centers of these clashes. Many innocent peoples from both sides were killed.

Punjabi were in the complex of superiority due to the army government. The policies of the Zia regime also patronized the Punjabis and to some extent also the Pashtoons due to the share in the army and Afghan policy. Teesta Ghosh described the lenient policy of Zia regime towards the Punjabis and Pashtoons as under:

> "The Zia years (1977-88) saw the rapid ascendancy of the Punjabis and to some extent the Pashtoons in the upper echelons of the central administration. This was an obvious corollary to the fact that the army had emerged as the most powerful institution in Pakistani politics and it was overwhelmingly Punjabi in composition." (Ghosh, 2003, p. 104)

A famous journalist Christina Lamb visited to Karachi during the riots and she quoted the interview of Muhajir (Boy) youth as under:

> "For all this time we've felt it was our city but now we're being outnumbered by the Pashtoons and Punjabis. Vast areas are under Pashtoon control, patrolled by drug and gun mafia supplied by the

> Afghan war and the army. You must have passed the Bara Market coming into Karachi." (Lamb, 1991, p.146)

So these types of the fears rose in the Muhajir youths in the city of Karachi. The same insecurity feelings were also grown in the Punjabis in Karachi. They felt threat from the MQM and *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*, and specially they were more conscious when the workers of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* protected to Altaf Hussain in the rural areas of the province when he visited the interior Sindh. When Altaf came in a public rally of the *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* in Liaquat Medical College (LMC) at Jamshoro. The armed members of JST welcomed Altaf Hussain. Those types of the coalitions between the MQM and *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* created the sense of insecurity in the mind of the Punjabis and other non-Sindhi and non-Muhajirs.

Sindhi Muhajir Bhai Bhai Naswar aur Dhooti Kahan se aaie or *Sindhi Muhajir Bhai Teesari Quom Kahan se Aaee,* type slogans and chalking by the MQM on the walls in Sindh also the cause of the creation of the insecurity in the minds of the Punjabi people (Interview with G. Sarwar Awan). PPI was organization of the business, industrialist and transporters class of the Punjabis and Pashtoons. The leaders of the PPI said that it was not a political party but it was the pressure group to protect the rights of the Punjabis and Pashtoons in Sindh and specially in Karachi.

PPI also was considered as an ethno nationalist organization because its base was also on the ethnicity. Before that organization, Punjabis fully supported the federalist parties and organizations and believed in the federal politics. Punjabi even did not believe in Punjabi nation, but after that organization they organized themselves on the basis of nationality and ethnic basis. So that act also increased the nationalist politics and decreases the thinking of the federal politics. When the people of the smaller nationality saw the Punjabis in that scenario they also reacted and said "if the dominate nationality formed and worked on the basis of language why should not they move on the basis of language and race" (Interviews with Taj

Mohammad Langah, and Aitazaz Ahsan). So it again enhanced the ethnic and nationalist politics in Sindh as well as in the country.

Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front

The politics of Sindh was dominated by the feudal lords , and the civilian governments were fully under their control. At the time of Martial Law or the military rule they were also allies of the governments. When they were ousted from the power structure, they tried to regain it and find out the ways to enter in the power corridor. Sometimes they got the share through the people's power by democratic means and sometimes they entered from back doors. The Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front was also formed by the feudal lords of indh, Balochistan and NWFP, which were ousted from power structure. Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front was nationalist alliance of the oppressive nationalities of the country. The Sindhi feudal Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, a Baluch Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal, and the Pashtoon leader Afzal Bangash were the leaders of the Front.

Sindhi leaders Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada were the former leaders of the Pakistan Peoples Party and the federal ministers in Z. A. Bhutto's cabinet. They were very close to him. Hafeez Pirzada was the author of 1973 Constitution. When Bhutto dismissed the elected government of National Awami Party (NAP) in Balochistan and started the military operation against Baloch leaders, Hafeez and Mumtaz supported the action of the government. They did not protest against the action of Z. A. Bhutto. But after 13 years, they demanded for the autonomy of the province. When their party was in power, Baloch leaders demanded the same.

Bhutto's government ended by military coup and he was hanged in murder case by army government. Mumtaz and Hafeez did nothing to save Bhutto. Mumtaz confessed it and told, "We could not do anything to save Bhutto because it was the order of Bhutto ladies to keep silent" (Interview with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto). When MRD movement did not succeed to topple down the Martial Law of General Zia, than Mumtaz along with Hafeez Pirzada,

Baloch leader Atta Ullah Khan Mengal and Pashtoon Leader Afzal Bangash formed Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front at London and demanded for the Confederation.

The leader of the Balochistan, Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal was ex-Chief Minister of the Balochistan. Z. A. Bhutto dismissed his government in 1973. He was sent to jail in the case of insurgency against the State and federal government. Afzal Bangash belonged to NWFP and represents the Pashtoons in new alliance. The Alliance formed against the dominancy of the Punjab province and the centralization of the federal government.

Front demanded for the new constitution on the basis of the 'Confederation' in which all the units would be autonomous and sovereign. It was claimed by the leaders of the Front that they demand to restore the autonomy according to 1940 Resolution. Front occupied the space in the politics of Sindh but it did not appeal to the people of the Balochistan and NWFP. It left many impacts on the politics of the country in general and specially on the politics of Sindh.

After the MRD movement Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada a prominent leader of PPP were completely hopeless from leaders of PPP Punjab and the people of Punjab (Interview with Bhutto Mumtaz Ali). Mumtaz told, "We were hopeful that Punjab would participate in the movement it was the center of PPP and assured by provincial leaders that Punjab was fully prepared for the movement but the claims of the leaders of Punjab were failed (Interview with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto).

Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada were the members of the Pakistan Peoples Party and PPP was federal party and believed in federal system of the government. But newly formed Sindhi Baluch Pashtoon Front demanded for the confederal system of government for the country. After the formation of the SBPF their contradiction with the PPP became sharp. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi demanded from Benazir to end the party membership of both. He claimed that PPP is a federal party and believe in the unity of the federation, but Mumtaz

and company are going to break the Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto opposed the confederal programme of Mumtaz and Hafeez and repeated demand of the restoration of 1973 Constitution. She ended the party membership of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada on 15th September 1985 (Interview with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, and Mumtaz Ali Bhutto).

Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front was the result of the growth of Sindhi nationalism. Also it was the sharp reaction of the confrontations between the military and the people of Sindh during the MRD movement. After the failure of MRD movement, the establishment of the country was worried about the re-uprising of the movement in Sindh. So they supported the MQM in the urban areas of the province and also they encouraged the Front and other right wing nationalist organizations in the rural areas to counter the strength of the PPP and the leftist organizations, such as Sindhi *Awami Tahreek*, *Watan Dost Inqulabi Party*, *Sindh Dost Inqulabi Tanzeem* and communist factor. The Communist Party of Pakistan worked in the name of the Sindh *Hari* Committee among the peasants and in the name of DSF among the students. So the elite class was in fear that leftist organizations would be successful to gain the mass support of the people. Therefore, they preferred to help the right wing nationalist organization as compare to the leftist organizations. The leftist organizations played considerable role in the democratic movement.

Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front was formed in those days when MQM came into being in the urban areas of Sindh. Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front was the part of the strategy of the rulers to divide the power of the people of Sindh in general and PPP in particular. It was also created by those who created the MQM (Interview with Jam Saqi).

Professor Mohammad Waseem (1987, p. 171) said about the emergence of SBPF, "The SBP Front is the latest organizational form of ethnic politics in this country. It is the product of a continuing alienation of the smaller provinces from the state

system of Pakistan." Lawrence Ziring (1997, p.516) wrote, "Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Benazir's uncle, had also broken with the PPP to form the Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front, a strong supporter of a Confederal Pakistan."

Formation of Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front

The faction of Sindh PPP under the leadership of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada formed Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front and demanded for the confederation form of government in April 1985 (The Muslim Islamabad 2nd April 1985). Before that Mumtaz Ali Bhutto wrote a booklet on 'Confederation' in January 1984.

Front was formulated at London in 1985. It was the political organization of the nationalists of the smaller provinces of Pakistan. Actually it was organized after the MRD movement. In which the people of the Sindh fully participated but Punjab did not respond as the leaders of the MRD were expecting. In other words the Front was the organization of those politicians, who were hopeless from the people of Punjab. It surfaced at that time when the MRD movement had exhausted itself a year ago. It was the result of the continuous ignoring and suppressing policies of the military regime. There were fewer shares of the Sindhis and Balochs in Federal government and also in the provincial governments. There was complete dominance of the army in the policy-making institutions, so the Front was the reaction of those policies and the acts of the politicians, who wanted and look for the share in the power structure.

Professor Dr. Mubarak Ali said about the formation of Front "it was the result of the oppressed and divided and rule policies of the Zia regime. He further said it was the continuation of the policies of Zia government that MQM was established in 1984 and SBPF in 1985" (Interview with Dr. Mubarak Ali).

So the formation of Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front was the result of many factors; first and strong of them was the MRD movement, in which people of Sindh played key role against the army dictatorship. Mumtaz Bhutto also fully supported the

movement. After the movement the regime was afraid from uprising of any further movement in Sindh. So they implemented the policy of 'divide and rule'. Second was the marginal participation of the people of Punjab in the MRD movement, and the third was the nature of the feudal lords, who wanted the share in the power structure.

Ideology

The Front had no new economic programme for the people of the country. They wanted only the provincial autonomy for the provinces according to the 1940 Resolution. The leadership of the Front wanted to bring the new constitution of country in which all the federating units would be independent and sovereign**.** They wanted to make Pakistan a 'Confederation' of the Punjab, Sindh Balochistan, and NWFP. In other words they wanted the new contract between the units of Pakistan according to the principles of the confederation. Atta Ullah Aali described it in these words "Front did not challenge the existence of Pakistan, but they wanted new contract on the basis of the confederation between the units of the federation" (Aali, 1988, p. 120). The programme of the SBPF consisted of only one point that was "Confederation" form of State instead of the federation (Waseem, 1987). Mumtaz Bhutto said, "Confederation means strong, progressive and powerful Pakistan" (Interview with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto). They also demanded for the complete autonomy for the units. He explained as, "Confederation would consist of four states of Sindhi, Baluch, Pashtoon and Punjabi peoples" (Amin, 1993, p.196). Mumtaz told about the programme of Front "In confederation it would be the right of the states that states have choice to live or leave the center" (Interview with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto).

The Confederal programme of the Sindhi Baloch and Pashtoon Front was consisted of the following points:

1) Confederation shall consist of the center, which shall be known as the federation, and the provinces, which shall be known as states.

2) The states must be recognized as autonomous and sovereign: They shall coexist and federate to form the Confederation and shall surrender a part of their sovereign authority to federal institutions.

3) The authority and power to be surrendered by the states to the federation shall be restricted to the following subjects:

   (i) Defence

   (ii) Foreign Affairs

   (iii) Currency

   (iv) Inter state and international communication, including telecommunication, Economic co-ordination and interstate movements of goods, including the power of arbitrate in disputes between states.

   (v) Election of federal legislature

4) The confederation shall have a parliamentary democratic system. Elections to the federal and state legislatures shall be held by adult franchise and for a term of five years. The federal and state governments shall be responsible to the federal and state legislatures respectively.

5) The office of the Prime Minister shall rotate among the states.

6) The state shall have an all authority and power has not been expressly and by mutual consent surrendered to the federal government including the power to enter into agreements of a commercial nature, and for the purpose of development of the states with foreign countries provided it is not in compatible with the foreign policy of the country.

7) There shall be one and same flag for Pakistan. As mark of their 'autonomy and sovereignty' the state shall also have their own flags

8) In the event of any subversion of the constitution and the overall democratic set-up usurpation of powers of the federal government and /or interference with the autonomy and sovereignty of any state

or states, by the armed forces or any individual or agency being a part of the confederation, the state or states concerned shall have the power to separate from the confederation and declared independence. In such an event the state or states concerned shall be at liberty and shall have the power to appeal to the international community and or the United Nations to provide it all the protection and aid necessary to preserve its sovereignty and independence under the provisions of international law and the character of the United Nations. (Noman, 1988, pp. 184-186)

Tahir Amin (1993) quoted that Front demanded that all the subjects would be under the control of the units except the four subjects:

Defence

Foreign Policy

Currency

Communication

Mumtaz Ali Bhutto replied in the question that you were the pioneer of the 1973 constitution but now you opposed it and demanded for the new constitution he said that it was violated by the Punjab in 1977 when elected government ousted by military and majority of the military belonged to Punjab. When Sindh fought for the democracy, Punjab was silent (Interview with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto).

Mumtaz Bhutto was arrested on 3rd November 1986, before his arrest he said that He would make strong Pakistan through the confederation (Ahmed, G., 1993). Lawrence Ziring wrote about the ideology of the Front as under:

"Mumtaz Ali Bhutto (leader of Front), Benazir's uncle had also broken with the PPP to form Sindh Baloch Pashtoon Front. A strong supporter of a Confederal Pakistan, this member of the Bhutto clan believed that the country could be saved only by

honouring the wishes of the many regions for greater autonomy. (1997, p. 516)

Front was formulated when the nationalist approach in the people of Sindh increased as compare to past. Christina Lamb a famous journalist described the situation during her visit of Sindh, "Sindh is an occupied territory". It was written on every wall, we don't want Pakistan. Christina Lamb wrote that unlike Sayed (G. M. Sayed), Mumtaz believe in Pakistan, but he told me that he saw the only remedy as a confederation. If Pakistan is to survive than be decentralization of power. A multinational government can not be run like a unitary state" (Lamb, 1991, p. 134). Front like G. M. Sayed did not explain their economic programme. They opposed the class struggle and said that the division on the basis of class would be dangerous for the nation.

Social Base

There was very poor representation of the Sindhis in the power structure of the country. These were very difficult days for the feudal lords of the province that they ousted from the hub of power. So SBPF was the organization of those feudals who were away from the government. In this way they tried to pressurize the establishment for share of power. (Mumtaz Bhutto became caretaker Chief Minister of Sindh in 1997)

Benazir told to the newspapers in Larkana that SBPF was the result of the Martial Law government and supported those persons who wanted to break the country (Ahmed G., 1993). Babar Ali (1992, p. 190) wrote in his research paper, "It was a right wing nationalist organization like other narrow nationalists in Sindh. It took a hard anti-Punjab position. This ignored the class question." So, the Front was the organization of the right wing nationalist feudals, which demanded for the provincial autonomy for the smaller provinces and ignored the class question and exploitation of workers and peasants by the upper class. In this way they protected the feudal interests.

Politics

The main theme of the politics of the Front moved for the provincial autonomy for the federating units of Pakistan. Actually the movement of the provincial autonomy was as old as Pakistan. But the leaders of the Front take it in new shape under the slogan of 'Confederation'.

The politics of the Front to protect the interests of the feudal of the smaller provinces could not appeal the masses. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto could not succeed to convenes and snatch the workers and leaders of PPP. Only small number of the PPP workers left the party and joined the Front. Majority of them were the personal friends of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, such as Nawab Yousif Talpur (After some years he left Front and rejoined PPP), Nabi Bakhsh Bhurgari, Abdul Rehman Lakho and others. Though he succeeded to cover the youth and students. Some student leaders from SPSF and JSSF joined Mumtaz. Jamil Ahmed Soomro, Safdar Korai and Samar Ali Shah of SPSF and Gul Mohammad Jakhrani ex-President of JSSF also joined the Front. Front did not succeed to get the space in the politics of Balochistan and NWFP. It claimed that before colonization, Sindh, Balochistan and Pashtoonistan were sovereign states. So the character of the nationalities should be recognized. It was demanded by the Front in the London declaration in 1985 (Waseem, 1987).

Front divided the Pakistan in two adversaries Punjab on one side and other three provinces on other side. So it was the main center of politics of the Front. They moved against the dominancy of the Punjab. The programme of the Front reflected the mistrust on the center, as before this Sheikh Mujib mistrusted the center and launched his six-point programme. So many people of the country, specially people of Punjab considered it as a separatist organization and against the integrity of Pakistan.

Mohammad Waseem wrote about the politics of Front as under:

> "The politics of SBPF can best be understood in the terms of Sindh's cynicism (distrust) vis-à-vis the Center, which is normally equated with Punjab or more precisely with the Punjabi army'. The old problem of provincial autonomy is thus produced with renewed vigor, as the center constantly ignores the aggrieved parties and is prepared to offer only symbolic solution to concrete issue." (1987, p. 166)

The leftist politicians also demanded for the autonomy of the provinces according to the Leninist and Marxist ideology. But Front found its solution in 1940 Resolution of Pakistan. Mumtaz said that the 1940 Resolution supported the programme of the confederation. He further argued that the words 'Autonomous and Sovereigns States' indicates actually the programme of confederation (Interview with Mumtaz Ali Bhutto).

Front believed in the constitutional struggle for the rights of the provinces. Baloch leaders fought armed struggle against the Pakistan army in 60's and 70's during Ayub and Bhutto era. But after joining the Sindhi Baloch Pashtoon Front they agreed to move constitutionally for the rights of the province. The leaders of the Front talked against the federation and the dominancy of the Punjab. They also talked about the politicians of the Punjab and said that they emphasized on the integrity of the country but they do not talk about the rights of the smaller provinces. Dr. Mohammad Waseem (1987, p. 172) wrote about it "They talk of the integrity of Pakistan, but they never talk about the rights of the smaller provinces."

The leaders of the SBP Front and other nationalist leaders said that Pakistan is a constitutional federation but Punjab dominated in all the matters of the federal government. It was also mentioned by Dr. Mohammad Waseem as "Despite the fact that Pakistan is constitutionally a federation, it is administrated by various elite services recruited by the Center on the basis of merit, which system essentially favour to Punjab." (1987, p. 173)

Front could not succeed to attract the people of Sindh because it directly compete with PPP the mass party of the Sindh province favouring the federal system of the government. On the other side it competes to *Jeay Sindh Tahreek,* a secessionist party, in Sindh. All the rigid nationalists supported to *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* and the progressive nationalist favoured the Sindhi *Awami Tahreek*. So in the presence of these three parties, it was very much difficult for the Front to get the support and to make the space in the masses. Front got support from some small landlords only. It was the main reason that Mumtaz tried to convince G. M. Sayed to participate in the parliamentary politics and for some time he forget the programme of Independent Sindhu Desh. After the struggle of Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Elahi Bakhsh Soomro, Abdul Hamid Jatoi, and Shah Mohammad Shah, G. M. Sayed agreed for the parliamentary politics. But he clearly said to them that *Jeay Sindh Tahreek* would not participate in the elections and for that purpose they would make the alliance. In this connection Sindh National Alliance (SNA) formed on 29th May 1988, at Sann. SNA demanded for the rights of the Sindh and autonomy of the provinces. SNA participated in the general elections 1988. The alliance was bitterly defeated in the elections because during the lection campaign the leaders and candidates of the Alliance talked against PPP and Bhutto ladies. All the opponents of PPP made alliance in Sindh from Pagaro to G. M. Sayed from Haroon to Soomro but PPP won the elections. In the urban areas of the province MQM's supporter '*Haqparast*' won the majority seats.

After the MRD movement of 1983 Military junta decided to suppress and oppressd the strength of the democratic movement in Sindh province. In this regard it was also the part of the strategy of Zia regime to "divide and rule". Zia wanted to crush the federalist parties and supported to the ethno nationalist and sectarian parties and groups. In this connection he took the special measures for the Baloch and Pashtoon nationalist. He established relations with nationalist leadership of Sindh. In this connection Zia visited G. M. Sayed and patronized MQM in the urban areas of Sindh Province. Zia wanted to decrease the support of PPP in rural Sindh for that purpose he supported anti PPP nationalist and also feudal politicians. He countered

the strength of Jamaat-e-Islami with MQM in Karachi and Hyderabad. So the formation and politics of Front would not go in the interest of democratic as well as in the unity of the federation and the integrity of the country.

Chapter 5

General Zia Phase II - Controlled Democracy

This chapter consists of the politics of Sindh after the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) which was followed by presidential referendum of 1984 and then non-party elections of 1985. These incidents had deep impact on the future politics of the country. Nomination of Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minster by General Zia and then the dissolution of his government and the assemblies in 1988 are the events having impacts on the nationalistic politics.

General Elections of 1985 on Non-Party basis

General Zia announced on Radio and Television on 12th January 1985 that the elections of National Assembly and all Provincial Assemblies would be held on 25th and 28th February 1985 respectively. Before this, he announced general elections twice but could not be materialized. This time he fulfilled his promise and elections were held on due dates on non-party and separate electorate basis. These elections were the result of pressure of MRD movement. There were the reasons that Zia preferred the non-party elections, one of them was the popular support of PPP. He did not want to see the PPP in power. Second reason was that he did not want a strong parliament and strong members of Assembly, because he knew very well that non-affiliated members would be weak as compare to the affiliated members. The separate electorate also would come against the PPP as large number of the Hindus living in Sindh, and majority of them were the voters and supporters of PPP, which is a secular and liberal party. Separate electorate snatched a large portion of the vote bank of the PPP.

The first threat to Zia appeared in 1983 when Sindh upraised against his dictatorial and authoritarian rule. Before this, there was no any problem for Zia regime. Even the execution of Bhutto did not create a threat to his regime as was created by MRD movement in 1983. Christina Lamb (1991, p. 8) also narrated that "The greatest threat to Zia came in 1983 when the PPP led the Movement for the Restoration of

Democracy (MRD) to topple him". Though the MRD movement was crushed through a brutal force but afterwards the regime took many measures to minimize the anger of the masses.

When Zia ousted Bhutto from the power PNA supported him. But during and after movement of 1983, the scenario was entirely changed and majority parties of PNA joined the MRD against the Martial Law. Christina Lamb wrote about it as "Most of the MRD members had previously belonged to the PNA movement which had helped propel Zia to power and he was jolted by its initial success. Realizing he needed more than force to stay on top" (Lamb, 1991, p. 86).

Zia searched the constitutional means to prolong his rule. According to Khan Hamid (2001, p. 660):

> "He did not want to face a national election and risk of mobilization of people against him by the political parties. He knew that he could not be elected in a fair election. Rigging in the elections was also not easy and not with out its many risks and dangers. So, ingenious scheme was made by his brilliant and contriving advisors. A referendum was to be held for a vote of endorsement to the process of Islamization. Who would against Islam? The affirmative vote was deemed to have given him a term of five years as President."

Zia announced the referendum and through this, he wanted to get the vote and support of the people for the President-ship for another five years term. He took this step because he was afraid from the political representatives. Even he did not have any trust in the members; they would be elected on non-party basis elections.

Mushahid Hussain (1991, p. 114) writes about its step of referendum as: "The referendum was the most significant political move by the President because it was

his maiden attempt in seven and half years to seek a constituency beyond the armed forces."

The referendum was held on 19th December 1984 "The aim of the referendum was to elect General Mohammad Zia–ul-Haq as the President of Pakistan for a further period of five years after the Martial Law was lifted" (Arif, 1995, p. 227). A tricky type question was asked from the voters that if they want Islamization and peaceful transfer of the power to the elected representatives they tick 'Yes' and Yes means the General Zia elected as a President for five years after the lifting of Martial Law.

General K. M. Arif wrote:

> "The question put to the voters was 'Do you endorse the process initiated by the President of Pakistan, General Mohammad Zia–ul-Haq for bring the laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunction of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet Peace be up on him and for the preservation of the ideology of Pakistan and are you in favour of the constitution of that process and for the smooth and orderly transfer of power to the elected representation of the people? Every voter was required to answer Yes or No." (1996, p. 229)

General Zia used all means to ensure that people would participate in the referendum and cast their votes in column of 'Yes'. He used local *Waderas* and influenced persons as well as the name of Islam to prolong his rule. The question was that do you want to implement the Islamic laws in the country or not. It was very difficult to any Muslim to say no. Therefore the majority of the people decided that they would not cast the vote in the referendum.

Before the referendum General Zia addressed to the nation on 1st December 1984 and said, "If the majority of the electorate responds to this question in Yes, it will

take to means that the people of Pakistan have expressed confidence in the present government. And endorsed his policies and have elected General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq (as President) for the next five years" (Arif, 1996, p. 229).

Daily Nawa-e-Waqt, a strong supporter of the Islamization and Martial Law in the early days of Zia, also observed Zia's policies and wrote "It is a bitter truth that we talk of Islam as a fashion, while our deeds are apart from Islam" (Nawa-e-Waqt, 1st January 1985).

The people of the country did not cast the vote in the referendum. They did boycott of the referendum in general and people of the rural Sindh in particular and did not respond to the appeal of the government. Very few people went to polling stations to cast their votes. Even the *Waderas* and Local Administration tried and forced to the people that they should go to the polling stations and cast their votes but people ignored them. Hamid Khan (2001, p. 660) quoted the entire situation in these words "All the polling stations gave a deserted look and the government staff on the duty stuffed the ballot boxes with affirmative votes."

Before the referendum, General Zia visited the country and persuaded the people that they should cast votes in his favor. The big number of the people was seen in the gatherings of General Zia but they were forcibly brought. "The turnout of the people during the campaign meetings was heavy. The local administration ensured that" (Arif, 1996, p. 228).

The referendum was totally failed in the country and specially in Sindh Province. The independent observers reported that only 2% to 3% percent of the voters participated in the referendum but government claimed that more than the 90% percent of the voters participated and 97% voted in the favour of the policies of General Zia. The Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan announced that the polling was fair, orderly and out of 34,992,425 registered voters 21,750, 901 (about 62%) had cast their ballots. And 21,253,757 (97.7% of the total polled) answered in

the affirmative and only 316 918 in negative. The 180,226 ballots were found to be invalid (The Muslim, 21st December 1984). It was the claim of the government but people said that referendum was a big fraud. According to Omar Noman (1988) the result of the referendum in which people were asked whether they supported the measures undertaken by the regime to Islamize Pakistan was an embarrassment for the government. The turnout was approximately 10%.

MRD gave a call for the boycott of the referendum but Jamaat-e-Islami and Pir Pagaro fully supported the regime. Jamaat-e-Islami supported Zia due to close relations of its leader Mian Tufail Mohammad to General Zia. Zia and Tufail belonged to Arian clan of Jallundhur, India. Their cultural, social and economic background was same. Pir Pagaro supported Zia and his regime as a man of Military. This was admitted on more than one occasion that he was an agent of General Headquarters (GHQ) of the armed forces (Khan, H., 2001).

After the failure of referendum government was under pressure. Mushahid Hussain (1991) wrote that it was after the referendum that the President made overture to the MRD: for the first time even according legitimacy and recognition to the opposition alliance to allowing its leadership to meet the Abbotabad summit in January 1985." It was the impact of MRD and referendum that General Zia agreed to share the power with the politicians. For that purpose he contacted to the politicians and other non-political landlords and industrialists to get the help from them for the coming general elections that would be held on the non-party basis. Zia was not ready to hold the elections on the party basis because he was afraid from the support of PPP and political power. Due to that fear Zia made amendments in the political parties Act 1962 in January a month before the election of 1985. Zia assured from those amendments that no important leader of the PPP would be elected in the non-party election even in his individual capacity. The presence of such persons and politicians in the National Assembly or in any Provincial Assemblies or Senate could cause difficulties and problem to him. He took such type of actions and amendments to secure the assemblies from the

politicians which were related with the PPP in past. Hamid Khan (2001, p. 684) said as under:

> "The Political Parties Act provided that any person who had at any time after 1st December 1971 been office bearer or even a member of the executive committee at the national or provincial set-up of a political party which had neither been registered nor declared eligible to participate in elections by the Election Commission by 11th October 1979 would not be qualified for a period of seven years to be elected or chosen as member of parliament or a Provincial Assembly. However, the members of the federal council (hand picked by Zia and his underlings) were not to be hit by the aforesaid disqualification. It was further provided that any person who had been a federal minister or minister of State, any advisor or provincial minister at any time between 1st December 1971 and 5th July 1977 (during Bhutto regime) would not be qualified for a period of seven years to be elected as a member of the parliament or a provincial Assemblies. These provisions clearly and manifestly ensured that the entire leadership of the PPP was disqualified from being elected to the parliament or the provincial assemblies".

Zia made plan to meet the politician as well as the non-political feudals, industrialists and traders. He wanted to create the group of his supporters who would contest the election and after winning the elections support him on any matter without asking the question. He was successful in his strategy; many power hungry *Waderas* and *Choudharies* welcomed the offer of Zia and assured him that they would fully participate in the forthcoming general elections and help him.

After announcement of schedule of the elections, MRD and its component parties declared that they would boycott the elections. Jamaat-e-Islami and Muslim League (Pagaro) fully participated in the elections. Jamaat-e-Islami did not get the

countable support in the elections. It won only eight seats, four from Lahore and Karachi, and four from the rural areas of NWFP (Burki, 1999). Though, Jamaat-e-Islami contested on sixty seats of National Assembly. In comparison to the religious parties Muslim League Functional (Pir Pagaro) group won 42 seats of National Assembly, while the dissident of PPP won 38 seats. In 1985 elections, majority of the ministers of the Zia cabinet were defeated.

In 1985 elections, MRD and its component parties boycotted the elections. Though Benazir herself favored to participate in the elections and said that space should not be left for the enemy (Interview with Aitazaz Ahsan). But the local leadership of the MRD and PPP decided to boycott the elections. Benazir honoured the decision of the leaders of the MRD and appealed to the people of the country for boycott. The participants of the ex PPP MNA's and MPA's in the general elections ignored the appeal of the MRD and PPP for the boycott. It increased the moral support of the military regime. It was the big shock for the leadership of PPP and specially for Benazir Bhutto. The *Waderas* and number of the feudal families contested the elections, majority of them were unknown in the politics before it. People did not respond to the appeal of the boycott and participated in the election process. About 44.6% people of Sindh and 59.6% people of the Punjab participated in the elections. In general, 52% people cast the vote in the elections (Burki, 1999). The elections turnout was really surprise for all the groups, the military, the candidates and the opposition (Rabbani, 1999).

Peoples participated in the elections but they rejected Zia regime. The majority of the ministers of Zia cabinet were defeated and also majority of the members of the Majlis Shoora could not succeed in the election. Benazir commented that the voting was a resounding rejection of Martial Law and Zia's policy of Islamization. Six out of nine Cabinet Ministers who ran for the National Assembly were defeated, as were many of his other associates. "The candidates backed by the fundamentalist religious parties in the provincial elections also failed badly. In contrast, candidates who had claimed association with PPP in spite of our boycott did remarkably well, winning fifty out of fifty two seats" (Benazir B., 1988a, p. 273).

The elections held were free and fair, the government did not interfere. The main proof of this was that majority of the ministers were defeated in the elections. Zia regime did not do rigging in the elections because he already succeeded in his strategy that main opposite party PPP and its allies boycotted the elections. Any one who would win in the elections ultimately will join the team of General Zia. The second reason was that "regime believed in bullet and not ballot and it only wanted a democratic cover, not democracy" (Rai, 2000, p. 178).

Zia was very happy when MRD announced to boycott the general elections. It was good news for him that after the boycott by MRD there was no one in opposition to challenge the regime in the forthcoming elections. In the referendum, people supported the MRD and other parties but in the general elections people ignored the appeal of the boycott and participated in the elections. MRD received great setback and could not succeed to convince the people for boycott of the non-party elections. Zia and his regime were very happy about the result and turnout of the elections. Unlike the referendum, the people fully participated in the elections. Over twelve hundred candidates contested for the 207 National Assembly seats for the Muslims (Mahmood, S., 2004).

Turnout was large because the candidates persuaded the voters. They appealed and convinced voters and used the personal as well as the religious relations. In Sindh, *Waderas* were most powerful but even then they sent their women to the ladies voters to convince them to cast the vote in their favour. The turnout of the voters in Punjab was more than other provinces. Total turnout of the voters in the National Assembly elections was 53.69% of which 60.14% Punjab, 40.63% NWFP, 44.38% Sindh and 37.42% Balochistan (General Election 1985, p.73).

The turnout was increased in the provincial elections due to the result of the National Assembly elections as well as due to the small constituencies and more number of candidates. It was 57.37% nationwide from which 62.34% in the Punjab,

48.20% in NWFP, 50.51% in Sindh and 46.86% in Balochistan (General Election 1985, p. 205).

After the elections, The Pakistan Times, daily newspaper of 3rd March 1985 reported about turnout that:

> "The mass participation of the people in the elections, an average of 55% which is comparable with the best turnout anywhere and has resulted in the total isolation of the proponents of negative politics which have done immense harms to democracy and the political process in the country in the past. Relatively heavy turnout was definitely a plus for the regime because it allowed every one to contest individually and local political rivalries played a big role in ensuring a big turnout but to interpret it as a vote against political parties was not right. Soon after the appointment of the Prime Minister, the treasury benches had to join the Muslim League for better discipline in the house."

The turnout in the elections was unexpected for all. Government, pro-government politician and opponent leaders also were surprised on the elections results. The component parties of the MRD were hopeful that the people would respond to the appeal of boycott of the elections as in referendum. Government also guessed that majority of the voters would not cast their votes.

The high turnout in the elections was the result of the continuous Martial Law and ban on the political activities. The people of the country wanted political activities. The election was the big step for political activities. Other point which impressed the people to cast the vote in the election was the promise of lifting of the Martial Law after the elections. The rivalries among the *Waderas* of Sindh were one of main reason of turnout in Sindh province. Some *Waderas* bought votes from local chiefs of the clans and small landlords. One of the examples is Haji Amir Bux Junejo, who

won the provincial seat from Khairpur Nathan Shah, District Dadu. He bought votes from the local influential persons and head of the *Bradari.*

Famous Economist Shahid Kardar (1987, p. 44) also supported this idea by saying that: "…a major factor was the price in the rural Sindh for 20 or more votes Rs.10,000/= considering the extent of poverty, households which could deliver 20 votes, facing no real alternative choice, were willing to vote for Rs.10,000/=. This eased the burden of the poverty". So the money also played vital role in the turnout in the elections of 1985. The purchasing of votes put a negative impact on voters that they did not see the program and personality of the candidate while casting the vote. It was not good sign for the country. These circumstances and acts were not good for the society because in this way the corruption increased in the country. The members who invested in the elections would try to get money back from public resources. It was seen, when Junejo government gave money to the members in the name of development of their constituencies. It was first time in the history of the country that development fund was directly given to the assembly members. It was on the wish and will and honesty of the members how to utilize the funds, either in proper or wrong way.

There was a difference in the turnout of all four provinces. The landlords of the Punjab and NWFP participated in the elections themselves or put up the candidates of their own choice. But this was not the case in Balochistan and Sindh. The tribal chiefs of Balochistan were not more interested in the elections. The landlord class of Sindh was divided into two camps, one and large camp supported the line of MRD and other camp was in try to accommodate themselves in the proposed structure. PPP was loser in this game that many members of PPP participated in the elections, who were elected in 1977 election on PPP tickets. Even Benazir talked and directed many of them directly not to participate in the elections but they ignored all the instruction and directions of their leader (Interview with Aitazaz Ahsan). PPP expelled at least thirty one members in Sindh who contested in the elections (Noman, 1988).

As the general elections of 1985 were on non-party basis, therefore, the political issues were not on the agenda of the elections. It left the negative impact on the society, such as the base of election campaign on the *bradary,* (clan), race, language, sectarianism, and as well as on local issues. So it created the ethnic and sectarian issue in the politics of the country. Tribe, clan, sect and ethnicity are the factors that appear to be the frame of reference for the voters in today's electoral contest (Noman, 1988; Amin, 1993).

Regime claimed that the elections had purpose to take step forward the process of Islamization with the participation of the people. But it was not seen during the elections. Majority of the candidates talked about the local issues and convinced the people on their personal and *bradary* relations. Rai Shakil Akhtar (2000, p. 179) comments on the elections as, "Elections primarily concerned was with the local issues and seldom took up bigger national issue. Islam, Democracy, Martial Law, Economy, Foreign Affairs, etc. were not part of electioneering. These elections reduced national politics to municipal level." After the party less election there were many ethnic groups came into being as a power full groups. Such as MQM, PPI, Pashtoon Federation, Sindh National Alliance and other nationalist and ethnic groups.

Benazir Bhutto, a federalist politician believed in strong center and was against the nationalist movements of Sindh and other provinces of the country. Though she boycotted the elections due to the non-party basis, she comments on the impact of the elections as under:

> "The non-party elections held by the regime had furthered the country's fragmentation. By banning political parties, the regime forced candidates to campaign not on a platform of political ideals, which transcended ethnic and regional boundaries, but on the basis of individual identification. Vote for me, I'm a *Shiite* like you, candidate in these elections told their constituents. Vote for me, I'm a Punjabi. (Bhutto, B., 1988b, p. 313)

So, the comments of Benazir Bhutto show that elections of 1985 grew the ethnic and sectarian line in the people of the country.

The feudal class was victorious in the elections. They easily won the elections in the absence of any political programme. They convinced the voters through the *bradary* system and used the power of criminals to gain the vote from by the force. In the rural areas of Sindh province the landlords were power full, due to their economic hold and their private forces. Many dacoits were also under their control. It was clear when the foreigners were kidnapped by the dacoits and than they were returned through the *Waderas*. Government did not touch them because they favored by the regime. So in the elections a new elite class came into being which was non-political as well as the opportunist. There was no political affiliation of those elected members and nor they were under any discipline, so they were easy to control. Therefore, Zia was happy to make them the junior partner in the power structure (Amin, 1993). As the elections were on non-party basis so there was no concept of the majority or minority. However, one thing was clear from the result, that people of the country in general and particular of Sindh rejected the candidates who were close to Zia regime. The majority of the ministers of the Zia cabinet were defeated. It showed that people of Sindh did not support to Zia. He claimed that the turnout showed that people supported the policies of his government, while the fact was that five out of nine his cabinet members were defeated, and sixty three members of Advisory Council lost the elections. Only nine of its fifty candidates won" (Noman, 1988). It showed the hatred of the people of Sindh towards the Zia regime.

Sindh province was more affected from this phenomenon. MQM became powerful and the ethnic riots took place through out the province. The regional and the nationalist organizations became more powerful after the non-party election. It proved when local body elections were held in 1987. The urban areas of the Sindh province were completely won by the ethno nationalist as well as the regional organizations. It was in the interest of the military and feudals. People were

divided along *bradary*, clan and sectarian lines. The political issues such as foreign policy, economic policy and the question of the integrity of the country went into waves. Members came into assemblies without political agenda and programme. Political bribe and corruption was increased.

Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister

After the election process Zia promulgated the 'Revival Constitutional Orders' (RCO) on 2nd March 1885. The new constitutional measures were taken place to protect the Martial Law and secure the power of the President.
According to the new amendments:

> "The executive authority "Shall vest in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinates to him." A new provision was added to further strengthen the hands of the President. It stipulated that "if any question arises whether any matter is or not a matter in respect of which the President is by Constitution empowered to act in his discretion, the decision of the President in this discretion will be final and the validity of any thing done by the President shall not be called (into) question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in this discretion." (Burki, 1999, p. 60)

It means before the sharing of power Zia ensured the power of the President and protected his all action, which were done by him from July 1977, because he was not ready to loose his grip. It was the reason that he did not relieve the post of Chief of Army Staff till death. Zia kept both of the designations in his hands. Benazir rightly said about it "The merger office of Chief of Army Staff and the President of Pakistan has subordinated the Parliament to the arbitrary will of the military commander" (Benazir B., 1988a, p. 186). The remarks of Zia also clarified the power of Prime Minister in the eyes of General Zia "Prime Minister would be the executive head and I would be supreme executive" (Khan, R. 1998, p. 111).

Zia nominated Mohammad Khan Junejo for the Prime Ministership. But before his getting the vote of confidence from the National Assembly, the election of the Speaker of the National Assembly shocked the President and his team, when official candidate Khawaja Mohammad Safdar was defeated by Fakhar Imam. Safdar was very close to General Zia, his defeat in the elections showed that even the members of the National Assembly did not support to the policies of Zia.

After the amendment in the constitution it was the power of the President to appoint the Prime Minister from the members of the National Assembly. Because there was no party in the assembly, so there was no question of the majority and minority. It depended on the will of the President to appoint any one from the National Assembly for the Prime Ministership. Those powers were given to the President according to the Revival Constitutional Order (RCO). Similarly the provincial governors were empowered to nominate the Chief Ministers from the respective assemblies. So after the implementation of RCO the National Assembly became powerless and dependent even in election of the Prime Minister. Hamid Khan wrote about it "That was exactly what Zia wanted; divided and dependent assemblies, with all power gravitating in his own hand and in the hands of his nominated Governors" (2001, p. 675).

On one side the appointment of the Prime Minister by the President was totally against the parliamentary system and dignity of the Assembly. While on the other hand the selection of the Chief Minister of the Province by the Governor was totally denial to provincial autonomy and contradictory to the principle of federation and violation of the will of the people. The Governor was the representative of the federal government. To appoint the executive of the province at his own will was to humiliate the vote of the peoples of the province.

There were many names for the future Prime Minister such as Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor Hooti, Mohammad Aslam Khattk, Mir Zafar Ullah Jamali, Elahi Bakhsh Soomro, Makhdoomzada Hassan Mahmood and Hamid Raza Gilani (Suhail,(year

not mentioned)). The names from the Punjab and NWFP were not considered due to their large share in armed forces. General Zia himself was Punjabi and COS belonged to NWFP. The name of Zafar Ullah Jamali of Balochistan was also under consideration but finally it was rejected due to its inexperience and the weight-age of Sindh in the politics of the country. The selection of Sindh Province for the Prime Ministership also was the result of the peoples struggle against Zia regime.

Finally two names (Elahi Bakhsh Soomro and Mohammad Khan Junejo) for premiership were selected from the Sindh. It was also confirmed by Lt.-Gen. Jahan Dad Khan as, "The candidate in the field were Elahi Bakhsh Soomro and Mohammad Khan Junejo. I was asked to give my recommendations for the future Prime Minister of Pakistan. I recommended Mohammad Khan Junejo as the first choice" (1999, p. 257).

A conference of MLAs' was held in which the names of Ellahi Bakhsh Soomro and Muhammad Khan Junejo were selected for the next Prime Minister of the country. President also agreed with the recommendations of MLAS'.
K. M. Arif (1996, p. 234) wrote:

> "On 18th March 1985 a small exclusive meeting was held in the President's office. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Sahabzada Yaqoob Khan, General Rahimuddin Khan, Major General Abdul Waheed and myself attended it. The President apprised the group for the recommendations made in the conference and asked for the comments. The group endorsed the MLAs' views. Soomro was preferred to Junejo".

Finally Zia appointed Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister of the country on the recommendation of Pir Pagaro. Elahi Bakhsh Soomro also confirmed it in these words: "President informed me that my name was suggested for the Prime Ministership, but Pir Pagaro did not agree" (Elahi Bakhsh Soomro Interview on

KTN). Mohammad Khan was unknown and unpopular in the masses of the country. Before that he had been the member of the cabinet in Ayub Khan's government. The main merit beyond the selection of Mohammad Khans Junejo was Sindhi. He was the most confidential personality for Zia. He fully supported to Zia government during the MRD movement. Zia also preferred Junejo because he had no relations with the army. Zia was afraid that if he elected the Prime Minister from Punjab or NWFP there were possibilities that he might have developed relations with the army generals. It was another reason that he preferred Prime Minister from the Sindh. There was even no Sindhi speaking General in Pakistan army.

The recommendations of Pir Pagaro were important for Zia, because Pir Pagaro belonged to the native province of Bhutto. He was powerful person in Sindh due to the large numbers of his *mureeds* (followers) and militant organization. Many observers agreed to it. Craing Baxter rightly wrote about the selection of Mohammad Khan Junejo as the Prime Minister of the country, because he was Sindhi and it was his merit for the selection. After the MRD movement of 1983, Zia was afraid of uprising any movement from Sindh. Therefore, he tried to compensate the Sindhis in the government structure. Junejo was a minor political figure, but had a major qualification that he was from Sindh (Burki & Craig Baxter, 1991; Zaidi, 1992; Waseem, 1994; Ziring, 1997).

The first session of newly elected National Assembly held on 23rd March 1985. President Zia addressed to the session. He emphasized on the members of the Assembly that they would not link themselves to any political party. In his address he officially nominated Junejo as Prime Minister. After the selection of the Prime Minister the process of the formation of the government completed. After getting the vote of confidence from the National Assembly, Mohammad Khan Junejo announced, "Democracy and Martial Law could not exist together" (Burki, 1999, p. 63). This announcement and after the resolution from National Assembly and three provincial assemblies for lifting the Martial Law was alarming for General Zia. He became conscious from the representatives of the peoples. It was also the reason

that even after lifting the Martial Law on 30th December 1985 he did not vacate the post of Chief of Army Staff.

General Zia succeeded to constitutionalize his action in the name of 8th Amendment in 1973 Constitution. According to this amendment President became powerful than the Prime Minister. He had in power to appoint the Prime Minister and also to dissolve the National Assembly without the consent of the Prime Minster. The power to appoint of the Judges of Supreme Court also the chiefs of the three armed forces went into the hands of the President.

After the dissolution of National Assembly it was the discretion of the President to form the caretaker government. The number of the senate members rise from sixty-three to eighty seven. The seats were reserved for the women in the National Assembly. Any amendment in the constitution was to be passed by two third majority of the National Assembly and Senate. Governors appoint Chief Ministers from the members of the respective assembly and they must get the vote of confidence with in sixty days. Separate electorate system for the minorities was became the part of the constitution according to the eighth amendment.

After 8th amendment, the President became powerful person of the State and no one has right to ask the question from him. He was not responsible to the Assembly. "Every body is at his (The President's) mercy and he is at the mercy of providence alone" (Ali, S., 1985). At this occasion he gave the statement that my ministers are answerable to me and I am answerable to God only. Benazir (1988c, p. 274) wrote about the 8th amendment as "His amendments reconfirmed his Presidency for five years and not only gave him the sweeping power to personally appoint his own Prime Minister, the chiefs of the armed forces and the four provincial Governors, but also to dismiss the national and Provincial assemblies at will."

From the selection of Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister, Zia showed that he was not against the Sindhis. Mohammad Khan Junejo affiliated with Pir Pagaro

but he was not active against Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. “Prime Minister Junejo doesn’t have a committed anti Bhutto identity in the public at large, nor has he done any thing in the past to win the MRD’s censure” (Waseem, 1987, p. 78).

Zia dishearten form Junejo in his first meeting and declared before him 'He has decided to appoint you as a Prime Minister of the country,' in the reply Junejo did not say the words of thanks to Zia, which was expected by him. Zia was more conscious when Junejo asked him “When would be Martial Law lifted?” So from that day line of the differences was appeared.

Junejo worked as messenger or middleman between the parliament and the military regime from 1985 to 1988. “Junejo government continues to face the largest conglomerations of political parties, which may decide at some future moment to launch a campaign against the whole process of transition” (Waseem, 1987, p.91). After the successful visit of USA, Junejo had been assured for the support by American government. He took actions not acceptable to the military junta. Prime Minister in his first major move after returning from a highly successful tour of the United States in July 1986 removed the two star Generals and placed a senior Police Officer of his choice as the head of the Intelligence Bureau (Hussain, M., 1991).

The selection of the Prime Minister by President and selection of the Chief Ministers by the respective Governors was according to RCO. The chief ministers of the three provinces i.e. Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan were selected from the respective assemblies, but the Chief Minister of Sindh was selected from the government employees. According to Jahan Dad Khan that there was more than one names i.e. Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi son of Pir Pagaro, Shafqat Ali Shah Jamote, Mir Aijaz Ali Talpur and Ghous Ali Shah for the Chief Ministership. Except Ghous Ali Shah others were the members of the Sindh Assembly. Finally the name of Ghous Ali Shah was finalized as the Chief Minister. Pir Pagaro wanted his son for it but he was not cleared from the agencies due to some reasons, than he was agreed for Ghous Ali Shah (Khan, J. D., 1999).

He was elected from Ghotki, District Sukkur. The seat was vacated by the brother of Sardar Ghulam Mohammad Khan Mahar. Ghous Ali Shah was elected unopposed on 14th May 1986. Although other six persons also were interested to contest the elections, but government did not allow them to file the nomination papers. Mir Atta Ullah Khan Bulo, Dr. Mumtaz Ahmed Bulo, Rustam Khan Leghari, Pir Nadir shah Jillani Noor Mohammad Khan Ghori and Aziz Ullah Khan Leghari were interested to file the nomination papers on the PS 3 Ghotki. Even two persons entered in the Returning Officer's office for this purpose but the police arrested them and they were released when time was over. (Ahmed, G.,1993) The selection of Ghous Ali Shah was basically the choice of President General Zia-ul-Haq. Anees Jillani wrote about it, "It is said that Ghous Ali supported the President in the late seventies when few Sindhis openly sided with the military regime" (Jillani, 1991, p. 75).

The appointment of the Chief Minister of the province was highly criticized by the democratic people of the province as well a by the people of the country. No doubt it was not illegal according to the constitution of 1973, but not right politically when the Chief Ministers of the other provinces were appointed from the elected members of the Assemblies. The selection of Ghous Ali Shah also showed mistrust of Zia regime on the elected representatives. Zia did not trust on the elected members of the assembly though they were elected according to his implemented laws.

There was no political ground of Ghous Ali Shah nor his political party, so he was fully dependent on Pir Pagaro. Therefore he paid a high price for it. Jahan Dad Khan wrote about it as "He had to pay a heavy price to the Pir in the form of housing plots, land, agencies and prized posting for certain officials on the Pir's recommendations"(1999, p. 260).

After the end of Martial Law new Governors were appointed on 1st January 1986. All the Governors were civilian but in Sindh the same military Governor was continued. All three Governors except Sindh belonged to their respective provinces. So the questions raised among the people of Sindh that why the military Governor was not changed in Sindh? Why he was non-Sindhi? So this action of the government created the hatred feelings towards the army and Zia regime. K. M. Arif (1996, p. 243) wrote, "Regionalist Sindhis protested that province had received step-motherly treatment." Not the regionalist Sindhi but the federal party PPP and other political parties were condemning those behaviors towards the Sindh. The nationalist and regionalist organizations raised this issue among the masses and used it politically. It went against the interest of the federalist politics and thinking.

The policies of Ghous Ali Shah were not favorable for the integrity of the country, because he encouraged MQM in Sindh, which was purely ethnic organization. Shafqat Mahmood (1998) wrote about Sayed Ghous Ali Shah in his column, Syed Ghous Ali Shah is accused of deliberately allowing ethnicity to emerge as a fault line in Sindh politics.

The policies of Ghous Ali Shah were not even opposed by the Governor of the Province. K .M. Arif (2002, p.221) narrated that "The Sindh Governor, Lt: General Jahan Dad Khan did not oppose the triple edged strategy adopted by the Chief Minister, disciplining Afghani, (Abdul Sattar) diminishing the influence of JI and encouraging the MQM." Both, the selection of Chief Minister and the continuation of army Governor raised many questions in the mind of the people of the Province.

Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo was seriously working for lifting the Martial Law. He thought that Martial Law and democracy could not run together so he was in struggle to settle down all the problems smoothly. Professor Ghafoor Ahmad (1993, p. 199) writes that Prime Minster Mohammad Khan addressed the session of the Senate on 6th July 1985 that "Under Martial Law civilian government would not work properly and I would not become partner in the prolonged Martial

Law ". These words of Mohammad Khan showed that he wanted the Martial Law to be lifted as soon as possible. In this regard Junejo moved to stabilize close relations with the political parties including Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party.

The politics of the province divided into many lines due to long Martial Law period. There were federal as well as nationalist parties existed in the province. The religious as well as ethnic parties came into the politics of the province. The law and order situation was in the worst conditions. The dacoit's activities were at high scale. None dared to travel after the sunset on the roads of the province. Even people were kidnapped from the towns during the daylight (Sahito, 2001). The ethnic riots were continued in the cities of Sindh specially in the capital of the province. Hundreds died in the ethnic violence between the Muhajirs, Punjabis, Pashtoons and Sindhis.

Waseem rightly said as under:

> "The expansion of ethnic politics and degeneration of urban community in Sindh were perhaps the most significant political developments under the Junejo government. Sindh as a whole presented a scene of rising inter-ethnic rivalries due to immigration of Punjabis and Pashtoons and their domination over jobs and business. As a by-product of Afghan war, Kalashnikove culture and drug mafia introduced in Karachi, which spread the use of violation in pursuit of ethnic goals to an unprecedented level." (Waseem, 1994. p. 411)

Though it was the result of Martial Law regime but Zia told, "It was the result of the civilian government.

Ghous Ali Shah directly and indirectly supported to the political line of MQM. For example MQM was against the settlement of the Punjabis and Pashtoons in Sindh. The

same thinking was of Ghous Ali Shah. On 2nd May 1987 he said in Sukkur, "the migration of the people of the other provinces to Sindh would be banned" (Ahmed, G., 1993, p. 317). Ghous Ali Shah openly supported to MQM on 8th November he said that "MQM is the result of injustice in economics and PPI is the creation of Drug Mafia" (Ahmed, G., 1993, p. 344). It was clear favour and encouragement of a party and demoralization of the others by the Chief Executive of the province. It was the result of the support of Sindh Government that MQM wins the majority seats of the local bodies in Karachi and Hyderabad.

The police and other law enforcing agencies supported to the PPI because the majority of the police official and other law enforcing agencies belonged to Punjabis and Pashtoons. So in that phenomenon the law and order situation of the province could not be improved. The politics of the province was divided along the ethnic lines, which in turn damaged the unity and integrity of the country.

Benazir Bhutto wrote about the law and order situation of Sindh as:

> "In the parts of interior Sindh people no longer traveled after dark, because the roads were taken over by gangs of bandits armed with automatic weapons and rocket launchers. Large landowners and industrialists all over the Pakistan began to maintain private armies to protect themselves and some times to launch attacks on their competitors. She further wrote on the same page of her autobiography that "Not even the mosques where the villagers took refuge were spared." (Bhutto, B., 1988a, p. 309)

Government machinery totally failed to control the activities of the dacoits in the province. Dacoits attacked on the central jail Sukkur on 24th March 1986, and 37 criminals and dacoits were escaped from the jail. At least 27 from them were sentenced to death by the military courts. The free availability of the weapons in the secret markets and the Afghan camps were also the main cause of the violence

and lawlessness in the province. It was the phenomenon that even the Kalashinkove were available on the rent in the cities on hours.

Due to law and order situation and ethnic violence, Ghous Ali Shah was asked by the federal government that he should submit his resignation. Finally he submitted his resignation on 6th April 1988, and Akhtar Ali G. Qazi became new Chief Minister of Sindh on 11th April 1988. After it, Ghous Ali Shah issued the statement that due to fights for the rights of the province he was asked for the resignation. He further said that he opposed the construction of Kala Bagh Dam, and demanded justice for Sindh on the distribution of water resources. He was against the colonization of the people of the northern areas in Sindh province. He also launched the operation against the drug mafia in Suharab Goth.

As a whole the three years period of Ghous Ali Shah remained as worst period for the Province. The law and order situation was not good. Ethnic riots remained continue in his time. Hundreds were killed and thousand injured in riots in the urban areas of the Province. The rural areas completely were under the control of the dacoits. The dacoits kidnapped the peoples in the daylight; ethno-nationalist politics grew in his tenure. The federal politics was reduced and poorly supported in the province.

MRD Movement of 1986

Though the MRD of 1983 was crushed by Zia regime. But it was its impact that Zia became ready to give share to the civilians. In this regard general elections held on 25th February 1985 on non-party basis. In the result of those elections, elected government came into being on 23rd March 1985. MRD did not accept the Junejo government as democratic government and launched the movement against Zia and his nominated government of Junejo in 1986.

The semi-democratic government of Junejo took the action against the leader of MRD, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi in September 1985 by ousting him from the Punjab.

The Government imposed ban on his entry in the Punjab. The leaders of the MRD were not allowed to hold the public meeting in Lahore on 23rd September 1985.

MRD leaders faced new challenges after the elected government, because a large number of the politicians joined or supported government. On the other side MRD was not as organized as it was in 1983 and differences also appeared between the leadership. MRD was divided on the issue of the registration of political parties, provincial autonomy and on the making of the new constitution. Asghar Khan, the leader of Tahreek Istiqlal favored the registration while other leaders opposed it. Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Ghous Bakhsh Bezinjo and Rasool Bakhsh Palejo demanded for a new Constitution.

After the lifting of the Martial Law, Benazir Bhutto felt secure and decided to return. She came back to Pakistan on 10th April 1986 and selected Lahore for landing in Pakistan. The nationalist elements of Sindh criticized Bhutto for this decision and said that she ignored the people of Sindh who struggled for the restoration of democracy in 1983. A large number of her supporters reached Lahore airport and welcomed her. It was an unprecedented welcome in the known history of Lahore. Hundreds of thousands of her supporter were gathered in her rally in the city of Lahore. She crossed the 9 miles in 9 and half hours. She addressed a crowd at various parts of the city. She also visited the other cities and towns of the Punjab and was received by large crowds. As a result she became more confident and was said "She could take over the Governor House and the government buildings in Lahore that day, if she wanted (Khan, H., 2001).

Benazir Bhutto reached Karachi on 3rd May 1986; a big number of the peoples welcomed her on the airport. A big banner was inscribed with a slogan 'Benazir Bhutto is the Guarantor of the Integrity of the Federation' (Sheikh, M. A., 2000).

In the end of political visit, Benazir announced that 5th July would be celebrated as a Black-Day through out the country. PPP leader N.D Khan addressed in the public

meeting and said if the government would not ready to hold the fresh elections in the end of the year they would launch the protest movement against the government. The same view was issued by Benazir on 7th July "We do not recognize the elections of 1985; if government would not prepare for fresh elections we shall launch a movement for the elections on party basis in this year" (Ahmed, G., 1993, p. 249).

The new strategy of the PPP was demand for the new elections on party basis and restoration of the Constitution of 1973 in its original shape. Mohammad Waseem (1994, p.409) described all the position as:

> "The real dilemma for the PPP leadership was how to force the regime to hold the midterm elections under the 1973 Constitution. In the aftermath of her volcanic tour of Pakistan in April 1986, Benazir called for autumn elections in the same year. In pursuit of her demand for election, she enlisted the support of other MRD parties and called for the agitation from 20th September 1986. However they stumbled into an early confrontation with government on 14th August on the issue of holding a public meeting at Lahore".

After the big gatherings and welcome rallies, Benazir decided to start the agitation against the government. She announced that if government would not hold the elections in September they would launch the movement on 20th September 1986. But movement was started before it on 14th August 1986, when government did not allow PPP for the public rally at Minar-e-Pakistan, Lahore. The tussle started between the workers of the PPP and law enforcing agencies. The day of independent changed into a violent day all over the country. Karachi and Lahore were the centers of the clash between the police and the workers of the MRD. At least three people died and more than fifty were injured (Ahmed, G., 1993).

Benazir was arrested on 15th August. Her arrest was followed by demonstration and protest rallies all over the Province. The clashes and riots between the police and the workers of PPP continued in the cities. People targeted the government property, specially railway stations, police stations and banks. In Karachi a police station was fired in the Chakiwara area of Layari, strong hold area of PPP. On the same day the angered mob attacked on jail at Thatta in which at least 48 prisoners were escaped (Ahmed, G., 1993). Police firing on the processions caused many people killed and injured (Aali, 1988). The clash between the law enforcing agencies and the workers of the MRD were in epoch, both attacked on each other. On 17th and 18th August at least nine people were killed including two police constables.

A big procession was arranged at Khesana Mori near Hyderabad. At least two demonstrators Gul Mohammad and Hakim Ali Wassan were died on spot and many were injured in the police firing. After that mob went to police station to register the FIR against the culprits but police denied to register the case and arrested the villagers. After that police attacked on the village and misbehaved with women and arrested them. On the same day a youth Naeem Khatri died when police opened the fire on procession in Badin (Aali, 1993).

It was a new strategy of the law enforcing agencies that if some persons of any village were involved in an anti-government action, the whole village would be punished. Police and law-enforcing agencies attacked the village of Thaheem in District Sanghar. Many people were injured including an eight years old baby Noor. Police arrested all the male residents of the village. On 23rd August police repeated the same action in the village Birhmani near Dadu. Police fired on the villagers and at least 5 people including 80 years old Chhutto Birhmani and 10 years young boy were killed.

The police action on the villages of Taeeb Thaheem, Ahmed Khan Birhmani, Khesana Moori, and Sadiq Machhi identified the role of Zia regime and quasi-civilian government towards the democratic people. They attacked and treated the

villagers as an army of enemy. The situation in Sindh was like a guerrilla war. Even the leadership of MRD was surprised. Many leaders of MRD openly said that there were no relations of the movement with MRD. JUI leader Moulana Fazal Rehman openly said that "it was the show of PPP "(Ahmed, G., 1993, p. 258). The militant war was started in Sindh. The demonstrators attacked public property and the police stations. At least 50 people were killed in the movement (Jillani, 1991). More than 10,000 workers of the MRD were arrested in one day on 13th August 1986 (Jillani, 1991).

MRD movement of 1986 was more violent than the movement of 1983. The people of the Sindh were more involved in the movement as compare to the other provinces of the country. So the Sindhis were deeply felt isolated and hopeless from the people of other areas.

Army used the crucial measures to oppress this movement of the Sindhi people, as compare to use in the Punjab. There was no violence in the Punjab except the Lahore incident on 14th August 1986 in which 3 people were died. After that military avoided the use of bullet and tear gas on the procession in the cities of the Punjab. Correspondingly the attitude of the peoples was also different in both the provinces. Anees Jillani described it as under:

> "The differences in the style and intensity of the agitation in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh are striking. In Punjab some major PPP leaders have escaped arrest too far, while this is not the case in Sindh. In Punjab, protests are confined to urban areas while in Sindh, unlike the 1983 agitation, it is intense both in rural and urban regions; in Punjab students and working class are not as active as in Sindh: in Punjab middle business men, shopkeepers and commission agents are opposed to the agitators while in Sindh they are generally cooperating with them; in Punjab, the commitment of the protestors is not as

> deep as in Sindh and consequently Punjabis are more apprehensive of arrests the police generally than the Sindhis". (Jillani, 1991, p. 58)

When the movement turned into violence the leadership of PPP decided to stop the movement. This time Benazir herself led the movement and she was disheartened from people of Punjab as she was expecting much from them. As a result she issued the statement on 8th October 1987 that "we would not want to clash and blood violent, therefore, we withdrawn from the dead line for the fresh elections" (Ahmed, G., 1993, p. 263).

Pakistan Peoples Party led democratic movement and played leading role in the MRD movement. Hundreds of its workers were died and injured and thousands were sent to jails and flogging by the military junta. Therefore, people of Sindh were not happy with the new strategy of Benazir. This change in the policy towards the military regime raised many questions in the minds of the people of the country in general and the people of Sindh in particular. She followed the policy of wait and watch (Hussain, M., 1991). Poor participation of the people of Punjab in the movement of democracy raised nationalism in Sindh.

As compare to 1983 movement of MRD, the people of Sindh participated poorly in the movement of 1986. It was due to ethnic and sectarian division and share of power which the *Waderas* have taken from the army. In this movement the *Waderas* of Sindh did not take interest as they took in 1983. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi did not participate in the movement while in 1983 he played a leading role. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, uncle of Benazir Bhutto, also opposed the MRD movement, and demanded for a new constitution on the basis of the confederation. Even many other close relatives of Benazir Bhutto also left PPP and joined the army regime. At least 30 members of Parliament during Z. A. Bhutto government from Sindh joined Zia *junta.*

There was poor participation of the urban middle class in the movement; however, it was more as compare to 1983. This time the people of the Karachi and Hyderabad said *Khuda Hafiz* to Islamic fundamentalist parties such as Jamaat-e-Islami and JUP. Now they supported to newly born ethno nationalist organization Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM). The leader of the MQM Altaf Hussain appealed to the Muhajirs that they would support neither MRD nor government (Ahmed, Z., 1987). This type of appeal went in the interest of the government and the government used it against the democratic forces.

During the MRD movement there was a very crucial situation of the province. None was secure in the rural area of the province. The dacoits attacked on the villages and kidnapped persons for the ransom. Even the government officials denied traveling by road. Anees Jillani covered entire situation and said:

> "Prime Minister when traveling in Sindh prefers to go by air than by road. Payment of ransom for the kidnapped victims by government bodies, high officials, feudal lords, and common man has become a routine affair there. Attacks on the army personnel and cantonments have given the whole situation a new dramatic turn. The traditional image of dacoits is shattered by these attacks on the army because there are no financial incentives involved. A simple explanation of these attacks could be that there is some sort of insurgency." (Jillani, 1991, p. 43)

In such a situation there was no insurgency against the state. It was however against the military government. The hatred feelings and sense of deprivation among the people of the Sindh against the military rule was there. So, they fully participated in the anti military movement. No doubt some attacks on military personnel in Sindh happened. It was done by the dacoits because they showed that they are in position to attack on military and also sent the message to the youth political workers that they would select the way of militancy for their rights. Some

political workers also met dacoits and they tried to convince them that they participate in the movement but they did not respond and said that 'politician are not sincere with the people' (Interview with Hussain Bakhsh Narejo).

It was the pressure of the MRD movement that Junejo had been trying to give the jobs to the people of Sindh, specially Sindhi speaking who played a vital role during the MRD movement in 1983, and also in struggle to restoration of real democracy and of 1973 Constitution in its actual position. "Junejo wanted to reduce the nationalist thinking in the people of Sindh through the jobs for the unemployed youth, they active in the nationalist politics' of the province" (Zaidi, 1992, p. 346).

The MRD movement of 1986 left many impacts on the politics of country, specially in Sindh. After it the popular party of Sindh PPP withdrew from its anti-imperialist role. Benazir Bhutto openly condemned those workers who chanted the slogans against the America. After it Benazir and other leadership of PPP said *Khuda Hafiz* to the resistant move and struggle and selected the way of compromising.

The role of the *Waderas* and feudals proved that they were not sincere to the democracy nor with the people. They only were trying to take share in the power structure. When Zia regime agreed to give them share in power structure they made line to join the government.

The leftist and nationalist politics was increased during those days. *Awami Tahreek* of Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, *Watan Dost Inqulabi Party*, and some little groups such as *Sindh Dost Inqulabi Party* had successfully introduced themselves into the masses. When the leftist nationalists grew in the nationalist politics of Sindh, military junta felt it against their interests and tried to disperse them or use them according to their interests.

The urban middle class of Sindh supported to MQM, which selected the anti Punjabi line and established close relations to *Jeay Sindh Tahreek*. So, military junta

felt threat to their interest in Sindh and tried to create ethnic and racial tensions and disturbed the unity of the people.

If the people of urban and rural Sindh had united themselves and moved against the government it would have been very difficult for the government to suppress the movement. So before unity the government had succeeded to create the atmosphere in which the riots were started in the city of Karachi. The riots were started first between the Muhajirs and Pashtoons and than Muhajirs and Punjabis. The sentiments of the people were diverted into ethnic riots. The Sindhi nationalist leader Qadir Magsi said, "It was the trailer, actually government wanted to prepare and organize the Muhajirs and Punjabis against the Sindhis. It was proved true in 1987 when MQM occupied the local bodies of Karachi and Hyderabad and started the quarrels with Sindhis" (Interview with Qadir Magsi).

So it was the successful strategy of Zia regime to divide the political parties on the ethnic basis. In this way he had successful to prevent the anti-army movement. Even the PPP student's wing Sindh People's Students' Federation (SPSF) also got involved in to ethno riots.

Dissolution of Government and Assemblies

General Zia was greedy of power so he was against the popular government. He was against the parliamentary and federal form of government. Therefore he wanted to implement the presidential and unitary form of government. But he could not do it due to the pressure of the masses. When Junejo tried to restore the status of the parliamentary government, Zia dissolved the Assemblies and dismiss the Junejo government. Shahid Javed Burki (1999, p. 65) quoted the words of Zia:

> "It was mistake on my part to have accepted the advice of some of my colleagues that a parliamentary system of some kind is the only political system that would work in Pakistan. I should have gone for a presidential form of government. After all, it is working in

other countries. I am also not so sure whether a federation based on a four provinces is suitable for Pakistan. We should perhaps divide the country into twenty or so administrative units but have a unitary form of government at the center."

It was clear from the above statement of General Zia that he was not in the favour of Parliamentary Government and nor support to Federal system of state. The dissolution of the assemblies and dismissal of the government was the result of the differences between the hand picked civilian Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and the Army President General Zia. Though the Junejo was his own choice and selection, he did not want to work as a puppet Prime Minister and was much interested in the ceremonial splendour of his appointment, as he was in the public manifestation of the exercise of power. He tried to show that 'he is a powerful and independent in his rule. It is shown from the statement of Mohammad Ali Durrani, which was quoted by K. M. Arif (1996, p. 240) in these lines:

"In October 1986, Brigadier Mohammad Ali Durrani, Military Secretary to the President, was posted back to the army. When he made his farewell call on the Prime Minister Junejo, he surprised him by saying 'I am trying to run the country in accordance with the constitution. If the President did not like this constitution, he could have promulgated one similar to that of Sri Lanka."

The seed of the differences grew even before taking the oath by Mohammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister. When General Zia called Junejo and congratulated him on winning the elections of National Assembly seat and also declared that he selected him as next Prime Minister of the country. Zia expected that when he would declare the name of Junejo before him he would say thanks for it. But Junejo did not say words of thanks to Zia. After that he was conscious and was not happy on his selection. General K. M. Arif (1996, p. 235) narrated:

> "The President met Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo in his office in the President's House at 8 pm on the same evening. The COS was also present. Warmly greeting Mr. Junejo, Zia congratulated him on his election to the National Assembly and said 'I have decided to nominate you as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The disclosure caused no surprise to Mr. Junejo. The Pir Pagaro and the MNAs had already spilled the beans to him. Without the shadow of emotion appearing on his face, Junejo heard general Zia in an unconcerned manner. Without expressing a word of thanks, he said abruptly 'Mr. President, when do you plan to lift the Martial Law? Shocked at the lack of elementary courtesy shown to him, General Zia kept his cool and said casually: Martial Law is now in your support. It will help you to settle down in your high appointment. I will lift it whenever you are in control of the situation. The relationship between the President and his nominated Prime Minister started on an icy note".

It was the first meeting of Junejo and President but it left not good impression on President. The question about the lifting of Martial Law by Junejo in his first meeting with Zia created many questions in the mind of the President. Then in the session of the senate on 6th July 1985, Junejo addressed to senate and said that "In the presence of the Martial Law civilian government could not work properly, and we would not the party to prolong the Martial Law" (Ahmed, G., 1993 P- 199).

Though the Martial Law was lifted on 30th December 1985, even then the President was powerful than the Prime Minister due to eighth amendment. Mohammad Khan Junejo as a civilian elected Prime Minister wanted to hold authority on the government departments but it could not bear by the authoritarian President Zia. After it he watched the activities of Junejo very keenly.

'The Zia Junejo honeymoon was shot lived. General Zia soon found power slipping from his grasp. Mr. Junejo found himself politically hamstrung by the label of being the hand picked nominee of an autocratic ruler" (Arif, 1996, p. 237).

"The civil and military relations were not always smooth under Junejo. One retired general chose to response to the Prime Minister's remarks in his second budget speech in which he said "we will put Generals in Suzuki" (Waseem, 1994, p. 414; Hussain, M., 1991, p. 188). Prime Minister wanted to have full grip on government. Therefore, he took the measures in the civil as well as in the military. General Zia could not bear his interference in the military affairs. Junejo's attempt to exert some control over military discipline and appointments was even more difficult for Zia to swallow.

During those days the foreign office of the government was very important because of Afghan crises and American aid. President wanted to control on the foreign office and foreign policy. Prime Minister as head of the government was trying to control all over the government folios. So in that seesaw Prime Minister replace foreign Minister Sahabzada Yakub Khan. President felt excluded from foreign policy matters because Yakub Khan was known as a man of President. So on this issue the difference between the President and Prime Minister became sharp. After this President issue the statement to the Washington Post, "he effectively took charge of foreign policy, particularly the Afghan issue and became its principal spokesman, if not its architect" (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 199).

Just after lifting the Martial Law in 1985, relations between the President and Prime Minister turned into mistrust on each issue. Both tried to undermine each other. So the clash of personality started between the staff of the President and Prime Minster. Mushahid Hussain Sayed (1991, p. 245) described this situation as: "After the end of Martial Law in December 1985, battle over protocol and personnel started in earnest between the Prime Minister and President.

The replacement of Information Secretary Lieutenant-General Mujeeb-Rahman, by Junejo grew more differences between them. At that time federal secretariat was in trouble. There were two authorities at a time. The employees of the secretariat were so confused, when two instructions reached to their table in different shapes and authorities. Due to that confusion they could not work in proper ways. K. M. Arif (1996, p. 241) narrated it as "Many federal secretaries complained that at a time they receive divergent orders directly from the President and the Prime Minister, which create problems for them."

It was also noted by Zia that Benazir criticized only on him not to Junejo. 'Round Table Conference' on Afghan crises was convened by Junejo in 1987. This conference increased the differences between both of them. In this conference all the parties including PPP were invited. Benazir Bhutto agreed to attend the conference on the wording that 'Zia would not participate in the conference'. Prime Minister accepted it and Zia was not invited. It was big shock for Zia. Shahid Javed Burki (1999, p. 64) narrated it as:

> "The first major conflict between the two centered on the question of Pakistan's Afghan policy. Zia and the Inter Services Intelligence favored a military solution. They believed that only a military victory over Kabul would put power in the hands of the Mujahideen leaders supported by Pakistan. Junejo was in favour of a negotiated settlement, arguing that the soviet willingness to withdraw from Afghanistan and had presented Pakistan with an opportunity that would be imprudent to ignore."

The differences became sharp on Round Table Conference, which was held to solve the Afghan crises. Mohammad Waseem (1994, p. 414) described it in these lines:

> "It is in this perspective that the growing tension between the President and the Prime Minister can be under stood. Ever since the latter's initiative in holding the Round Table Conference with all

political parties largely by passing the President and the signing of the 'Geneva Accord, the President felt increasingly insecure about his future."

So the contradiction increased day by day between the Army General and the civilian Prime Minister.

During that cold tussle an American delegate came to audit the weapons, which were sent by American government for the Afghani Jehadi Organizations. Before audit an incident took place at Ojheri Camp on 10th April 1988. "In which thousands of missiles and projectiles flew all around in a radius of 10 miles, affecting the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad and causing deaths and serious injury of hundreds of people" (Waseem, 1994, pp. 414-15).

In the result one hundred people were killed and about 1100 were injured. The people of Rawalpindi and Islamabad were in trouble in the explosion of the Ojheri Camp. In this incident 7000 tons of arms and explosive were destroyed (Arif, 1996). Two days later two-member Enquiry Commission was formulated. Lieutenant-General Imran Ullah Khan was the head of the Commission. It was to investigate the causes leading to the incident of the fire in the ammunition depot; to point out the security lapses and fix the responsibility. It was also duty of the Commission to suggest the measures to prevent such type of accidents in the future. Commission worked together with some military experts and technical persons. Finally it submitted their reports to government on 22nd April 1988. The report of the Commission was not disclosed. A five member's ministerial committee under the Chairman of the Defense Minister Mohammad Aslam Khattk was also formulated to examine the report of the Commission. Qazi Abdul Majid Abid, Mir Ibrahim Baloch, Malik Naseem Ahmed Aheer and Rana Naeem Mahmood were the members of the Committee. "Some members of the ministerial committee wanted strict action against all those responsible for dereliction of duty including the policy

makers. These including Akhtar Abdul Rehman who headed the ISI Directorate till March 1987, and his successor Major General Hamid Gul. (Arif, 1996)

General Akhtar Abdul-Rehman opposed any high-level enquiry and emphasis on the departmental investigation. Zia's Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Sayed Refaqat said that General Akhtar opposed any high level enquiry (Arif, 1996). General Zia also not happy on the ministerial committee to examine the Imranullah report and further investigation. The President was not happy either and he wished to file the Imran Report (Arif, 1996). So after the Imran Report Junejo held Akhtar responsible to establish the ammunition depot in the heavily populated area. So, the difference between President and Prime Minister further increased on the issue of the investigation of the Ojheri Camp incident. Mohammad Khan Junejo said that the heavy responsibility of the accident goes to the Akhtar Abdul Rahaman, because he established the depot of the weapons and kept it long time in the populated areas between the two cities. It was disclosed by the Junejo that General Hamid Gul accepted the responsibility for the accident and had volunteered to be retired or removed him from service. Mohammad Khan Junejo wanted to punish the persons who were responsible for the accident. In the light of the reports Prime Minister hold the responsibility on General Akhtar Abdul Rehman. K. M. Arif (1996, p.390) wrote, "General Zia wanted to protect Akhtar and Hamid Gul. The stage was set for a showdown between the President and the Prime Minister."

Mohammad Khan Junejo did not like Akhtar and "talked to General Zia about replacing Akhtar" (Arif, 1996, p. 244). The enquiry report of Ojheri gave the chance to Junejo to take the action against Akhtar. General Akhtar Abdul Rehman Director General of Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) was nominated as a main accused of the accident (Rabbani, 1999). He was very close to General Zia. Zia felt the report a threat to him, and decided to dismiss the Junejo government.

Safdar Mahmood (2000, p. 168) noted the differences of President and Prime Minister Junejo in these words "Their differences were fostered by policy conflict on such issue as the Geneva Accord on Afghanistan and Ojheri camp blast." The dispute became serious position between the Prime Minister and President. When it was decided by Junejo that Federal Public Accounts Committee of National Assembly would also keep check on the military officials. It was not tolerated by the President as a Chief of Army Staff and military officials. The contradiction was arisen between the President and Prime Minister. Mohammad Waseem quoted it as under:

> "The very principle of accountability of the civil and military bureaucracies to the public responsibility was suspected in the eyes of the President. For example in April in 1988 the Federal Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly under the Chairmanship of Sirdarzada Muhammad Ali Shah had submitted its report to the Prime Minister. It recommended a debate in the parliament over the issue as well as its publicity in the press. The President found it all very distasteful. He grew increasingly intolerant of what he considered the system of bringing state functionaries into disrepute. Therefore, he decided to scrape not only the Junejo Government but also the whole parliamentary framework."(Waseem, 1994, p. 416)

Zia openly expressed his views against the Junejo and showed his disgust against him. "In a private dinner at Army House on May 23rd 1988, just six days before the knocked out Junejo and the National Assembly, General Zia remarked to his dinner guests "Have you noticed how arrogant Junejo has become. He even walks and behaves like Bhutto" (Hussain, M., 1991, p. 267). These remarks of the President showed his anger on Junejo. It showed the hatred thinking of Zia towards the Sindhis, because both were Sindhi.

Eventually the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies were dissolved on 29th May 1988. During those days, Prime Minister Junejo was on a visit of China.

Before the return of Prime Minister, General Zia dissolved the National Assembly and dismissed the Junejo government. "While dismissing the Junejo government, the President announced that it had failed to keep law and order and implement Islam in the country. Later he also gave corruption and economic decline as reasons for his action against Junejo" (Waseem, 1994, p. 415).

After dismissal of Junejo government Zia addressed to the nation on 30th May 1988 and stated it as "The Prime Minister was compelled to succumb to unwholesome political pressure, which led to rampant corruption, nepotism and ill administration, finally leading to a complete breakdown of morality and law and order in the country"(Dawn, Karachi 31 May 1988). Mohammad Khan Junejo did not challenge the dissolution of the Assemblies in the court nor went to the people. The politicians were divided on dissolution of the assemblies. Some supported and some criticized the decision. Benazir Bhutto and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi supported the decision of General Zia and demanded for the fresh elections in due time on party basis. Tufail Ahmed of Jamaat-e-Islami, who was very close to General Zia said that it was time when the rate of the daily usage things was up high and government, lost its control on the administration. He specially indicates it in the Nationalist Conference known as 'Sann Conference', which was held in Sann District Dadu on 20th May 1988.

No doubt, there was no any procession or a demonstration was launched against the decision, but some fears became in the minds of Sindhis due to the dissolution of assemblies and dismiss of the federal and provincial governments. The people of Sindh felt that there was no place in the power structure for the Sindhis. They thought that their first elected Prime Minister was hanged and the second was dismissed and sent back to Sindh. Zia dismissed the Junejo government after the dissolution of the assemblies he selected the eight ministers in new caretaker government from the Junejo cabinet. He also appointed Nawaz Sharif as caretaker Chief Minister of Punjab and General Fazal Haq as Chief Minister of NWFP. In Sindh the situation was entirely changed. He did not appoint caretaker Chief

Minister of the province, and the only Sindh province was without the Chief Minister. Zia appointed General (Retired) Rahim Uddin as a Governor of the Sindh Province. He was non-Sindhi. The inferiority complex increased among the people of Sindh and hatred thought grew up in the province. These questions raised in the minds of the people that while the Chief Ministers were appointed in rest of the provinces, why not in Sindh?

The feudal lords and *Waderas* once again were thrown out from the power structure. They tried to gain the confidence of the army Junta to facilitate themselves in the new set up. A new race was brought up between them to change the political loyalties. This action of the General also went in the interest of the separatists and secessionists. They propagated that there was no place for the Sindh in the power structure. If any Sindhi is elected or selected he is totally dependent on the will of the army. While in the army there is no share of the Sindhis. Therefore, Zia selected Junejo and dismissed him.

The discriminative attitude also continued even after the general elections. All the Chief Ministers of the three provinces were selected from respective Assemblies. But in Sindh a non-elected member was selected as Chief Minister of the Province. After lifting Martial Law the civilian Governors were appointed in all the three provinces but in Sindh the military Governor was not replaced. The same story was also repeated when the assemblies were dissolved. The caretaker Chief Ministers were nominated in three provinces but Sindh was under the rule of Governor. So due to that and other injustice the nationalist sentiments flourished in the Province.

Chapter-6

Conclusion and Suggestions

In conclusion of the study it is proved from the research that politics of Sindh was under the control of the feudal lords. And it was divided into federal and nationalist or provincial politics. But this phenomenon was not the product of Pakistan. The federalist and nationalist politics existed in the province even before the Pakistan.

Hur movement against the British rulers was the purely Sindhi nationalist movement under the religious leadership of Pir Pagaro. The separatist movement of Sindh from Mumbai was also the nationalist movement of Sindh. This was led by the Sindhi Muslim feudal class against the dominancy of the Hindu trader class of Bombay. No doubt, a few persons of Hindu community also participated in the movement. The existence of the provincial parties after the separation also proved the regionalism and provincialism in Sindh. The elections result of the 1937 elections showed the complete dominancy of the nationalist or provincial parties in Sindh. All India Muslim League could not find even a single candidate in Sindh in these elections.

Sindhi politicians supported the Pakistan Movement, on the basis of promise of autonomy of Sindh. It was guaranteed and assured in the Pakistan Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League at Lahore on 23 March 1940. Sindhi Muslims, the majority population of Sindh, felt that the rights of Sindh would be secure in the Muslim majority state. It was the main reason that people of Sindh supported the Muslim League for the creation of Pakistan. Sindh Assembly passed a resolution in the support of Pakistan in 1943.

At the time of partition, Sindh decided to accede to Pakistan alongwith other provinces on the basis of a true federation with a real provincial autonomy of the provinces and keeping their identity in tact. It was an implied contract among all the components comprising Pakistan at that time. Problems started when Sindhis

felt that they are being deceived and non-Sindhis in the provinces are over-dominating the indigenous population in number as well as economic sources. Federalization of Karachi was strongly opposed by the government and all the Sindhi parties. Then unification of West Pakistan aggravated the situation as it totally finished the status of Sindh as a separate entity. It was open violation of the federal system as promised before the independent of country on 23rd March 1940 at Lahore. It was also against the 'Objectives Resolution' of 1949, in which it was decided that constitution of Pakistan would be made on the principles of the federation.

Unification of West Pakistan was an effort of the Punjabi politicians and the army. It was interpreted as an attempt to undo the statistical majority of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and suppress the voice of smaller provinces like Sindh, NWFP, and Balochistan. It ultimately proved fatal for the unity of the country. Separation of East Pakistan in form of Bangladesh in 1971 created unrest in the other provinces as well. However, with coming Mr. Z.A. Bhutto into power, the nationalist or anti-federalist feelings were pacified in Sindh, because Bhutto tried to compensate Sindh in different ways. His period was the best one for Sindh in terms of development of infra-structure, recognition of Sindhi as official language, provision of services etc.

In July 1977 removal of Mr. Bhutto from power by the Army Chief General Zia ul Haq and then his hanging was a great shock for Sindhi people. It provided a fresh fuel to the fire of nationalistic feelings among the masses. The sentence of death to Bhutto by the Punjab High Court in the murder case of a Punjabi made the case doubtful. Later, the decision of the Supreme Court in which all Punjabi judges supported the sentence of death while all the non-Punjabi judges opposed, further strengthened the feelings against the Punjab and the army. The divided judgment on the basis of the Punjabis and non-Punjabis also increased the nationalist thinking in the people of Sindh. Sindhi Nationalist propagated it on high level and used it against the federal politics. This incident turned the nationalist movement entirely into an anti-federation movement.

General Zia's primary objective and priority was to prolong his autocratic rule. He did it even at the cost of national integrity. The policies of the army rulers were anti Bhutto and they deal that all the Sindhi were the supporter of Bhutto. So Many Sindhi were terminated and suspended from the services. Military government preferred Punjabis to the Sindhis. Martial law government believed in a strong center. Pakistan factually became a unitary State in the time of General Zia. All principles of the federation were violated. Provincial governments were ruled according to the instructions of the central government. There was a role of one man who was Chief Martial Law Administrator. All the provincial heads belonged to army and they did according to the directions of the Martial Law Administrators. Military took over all the departments and run according to their instructions. There was no representation of Sindhis in the high rank of the army. There was no participation of Sindhis in the decision making institutions. Therefore, they were ignored and a sense of deprivation was enhanced among them.

A poor participation of Punjab in MRD (movement for the restoration of democracy) also contributed in strengthening the nationalist feelings in Sindh. Whole Sindh was involved. First time the feudal lords and *Waderas* were also participating in the movement. In the history of Sindh *Waderas* were mostly with rulers. It was the pressure of the public that they were with the peoples. MRD movement deepened the nationalist thinking among the people of Sindh because the Punjab did not move in the movement as Sindh. Although PPP was stronger in Punjab as compare to Sindh. The participation of Sindhi Nationalist organization Awami Tahreek and other nationalist groups changed it into revolutionary movement.

General Zia was basically against the PPP so in the enmity of PPP, He supported regional, and anti-federalist and anti state forces. As a result these forces became effective in the political process. For example he supported MQM in the urban area of Sindh. Through this strategy he, for the time being, made Jamat-e-Islami and PPP

ineffective. But in the long run, it cast negative impacts in the national politics. Similarly he supported Sindhi nationalists, just in the enmity of Bhutto. This policy, though served the temporary interests of General Zia, proved harmful for the national integrity.

Even the policies of General Zia, badly affected the federalist forces in Sindh and the other provinces. Tribal and cast system was encouraged by the Zia regime. Magsi force, Kalhora force were the examples. All those steps were taken by the military to low down the federal politics. The elections of 1985 were held on non-party based. It practically supported the feudal system in which candidates got the support of the voters on the basis of the biradary, tribal, regional, and religious basis. In the rural areas feudal lords and *Waderas* won these elections. After these elections Zia appointed Mohammad Khan Junejo as a Prime Minister of the country. The merit of the selections of Junejo was a Sindhi and recommendation of Pir Pagaro. Through the Junejo government Zia gave the share of powers to Sindhi Feudal. It was assessed by Zia that in the movement of 1983, *Waderas* fully participated. By nominating Junejo he wanted to get the support of the *Waderas,* so that hey would not participate in anti Zia movement. Zia was succeeded in his strategy, when in 1986 MRD launched the movement for the restoration of real democracy and restoration of constitution of 1973, the *Waderas* of Sindh did not participate as they did in the movement of 1983.

When Zia dismissed the Junejo government on 29 May 1988, the same nationalist feeling increased in the people of Sindh and they thought that there was no place for Sindhis in the structure of the power. All the power was in the hands of the army Generals and there was no Sindhi General in Pak army. Even after the dismissal of Junejo's government, it was only Sindh where care taker government was not formed by Zia. He continued the Governor Rule over there. This anomaly was again felt badly by the People of Sindh. In the overall conclusion the nationalist and provincial political feelings were increased during the period covered by this

study. But due to lack of organization of the nationalists and their policies towards the MRD movement people did not join and supported to those parties.

Pakistan Peoples Party adopted, comparatively a better policy in the interest of the federation. It had a nationalist posture in Sindh and got the support of the people. PPP opposed the construction of Kala Bagh dam and Pano Aquil Cantonment. So the strategy of PPP increased its support among the masses in Sindh which was clear from the result of the 1988 elections. In these elections Sindhi Nationalists' alliance 'Sindh National Alliance' was bitterly defeated. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, A. Hamid Jatoi and other supporters of the G. M. Sayed could not win. And the big supporter of Zia regime Pir Pagaro also was badly defeated.

As a whole it can safely be said that all internal policies of General Zia, for Sindh in particular and all over the country in general, were over dominated by his Bhutto enmity. In this regard he even did not care the long term interests of the Federation of Pakistan. An atmosphere of non-confidence among the smaller provinces, including Sindh, flourished. The three known pillars of a federation, which are constitution, independent judiciary, and national political parties, were constantly being damaged during the period under study. Resultantly it was an ideal period for the anti-federalists. They were very happy with General Zia. They openly were appreciating him that he was doing their job.

Suggestions:

- Persons in power must keep in mind that it is only a real federal and parliamentary system which can save the country and keep it in tact. The contract among the federal components of Pakistan reached at the time of its creation must be upheld.
- Maximum provincial autonomy should be given to the federating units according to Lahore Resolution of 1940 and the Objective Resolution of 1949 (which has been part of all the constitutions of Pakistan).

- Effective national political parties in the country must be encouraged and allowed to work freely and independently. Any attempt to damage them would mean damage the federation.
- It must be accepted that Pakistan is a multi lingual and multi cultural country. Recognition and acceptance of this very fact will lead to the realization of a strong federation.
- It is hard fact that the policy of centralization can never be in the interest of the Federation.
- The complaints and fear of Sindh and other smaller provinces about the domination of Punjab should be removed.
- 'Real' Democracy is the real strength of the country. Dictatorship, even muffled in democratic cover is highly dangerous for national integration.
- Grievances of the smaller provinces must be addressed properly. This is the only way to restore the mutual confidence of the Provinces.
- Confidence of the people on the electoral system must be established. Deep rooted doubts about the sanctity of the Election Commission of Pakistan are very harmful for national integrity. Periodic elections should be made a regular feature of the country.

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- Dr Abdul Hayee Baluch President National Party Balochistan.
- Dr Arbab Khuhawar Secretary General Watan Dost Inqulabi Party and Deputy General Secretary Jeay Sindh Quoi Mahaz.
- Dr Mubshar Hasan Leader PPP (Shahed Bhutto) Punjab.
- Dr. Qadir Magsi Chairman Sindh Tarki Pasand Party.
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