

DR. G. M. MEHKRI

ON SINDH ARTICLES

**Edited & Compiled
BY**

MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM JOYO

Gul Hayat Institute



**CULTURE DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF SINDH**

ON SINDH

(Published and Unpublished Articles & Papers)

Dr. G. M. Mehkri

Edited & Compiled
by
Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo

Gul Hayat Institute



**Culture Department,
Government of Sindh**

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CONTENTS

PUBLISHER NOTE	05
TO SINDH	07
INTRODUCTION	09
FOREWORD	11

Part – I

Essays and Articles Published in Sindh Quarterly

1. Culture that is Sindh	15
2. Conscious Creation of Sindh Culture – A Task for Sindhi Youth and warning to the Sindhi Intellectuals	19
3. The power of Awakened Sindh	27
4. On Sindh: Some Random Thoughts – I & II	41
5. The Roses of Sindh	61
6. Spiritual Contamination	77
7. The Pakistan Resolution – A Country of Sovereign and Independent States	83
8. Linguistic and Cultural Strangulation	87
9. Sindh and Attaturk	99
10. On Reading: "How Green is My Village"	105
11. Damage Irretrievable	117
12. G. M. Syed	125

Part – II

Un-Published Essays and Articles

13. Tapping Country's Resources	131
14. A Positive Role of Muhajirs in Sindh	137
15. Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai	163
16. Rays of Renaissance	167
17. Children's Education	169
18. Bhagat Singh	177
19. From the Ruins of Sindh	179
20. Quest for Renaissance in Sindh	249
21. Sanity – At Least Now	259

Part – III

Letters and Appendixes

23. Letters published in Sindh Quarterly	265
24. Appendixes	301
i. Sindh through the ages, (A brief historical survey from Pre-historic times to 1847, by Dr. Sahib Khan Channo.	
ii. Prolegomenon by Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah.	
iii. (Sindh and Sindhi Nation by Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo.	

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Publisher's Note

In line with its responsibility to promote literature and culture of Sindh, Culture Department has been pursuing the printing of books by various Sindhi, Urdu and English scholars and authors. Accordingly, in last four years, the department has successfully published different books on history, language, prose and poetry. During this period the department has surpassed the milestones, it achieved in four decades. We have published 142 books (2008-12) as compared to 135 books printed since 1967 to 2007.

This book, to particularly remark is "ON SINDH" is a series of previously published and still unpublished research articles by Late G. M. Mehkri, a scholar of high esteem, who had devoted his life to the research and scholarly writings about The Indus Valley. These published articles have been adopted from *The Sindh Quarterly*, while unpublished articles have been compiled by Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, a well known writer and intellectual.

Culture Department will continue its endeavours to serve readers and never shy away from its responsibilities to present literary works to the public. In future, the department intends to compile and proliferate the works of various distinguished authors, such as Mr. Mehkri, so that readers and researchers of the existing and coming generations can take advantage from them.

Needless to reiterate that without full support of the present government, the preservation and proliferation of literature, culture and heritage of Sindh, would have been a dream. I would like to acknowledge and appreciate the patronage and support of Ms. Sassui Palijo, Minister of Culture Sindh, in making this dream a reality.

We are highly grateful to Mr. Muhammed Ibrahim Joyo for his role in the compilation of articles by Mr. Mehkri and to Mr. Siraj ul Haq Memon for writing the preface of the book.

We are open to your constructive criticism for further correction of the format as well as the design of the book.

Abdul Aziz Uqaili
Secretary to Government of Sindh
Culture Department

May, 2012
Karachi, Sindh.

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TO SINDH

O Our Ragmati, Our Bhagmati, Our Rasmati SINDHU
Thou, Our Mother Glorious
O Sindhu of our fathers, of our mothers
of our sisters and brothers ours
of our children: Salutations
Our Ragmati, Our Bhagmati, Our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

O Sindh our pride, our joy, our honour
Our hearth, our home, our deepest thought
Our Ragmati, our Bhagmati, our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

Our bowl of milk
Our morsel of rice
Our sweet water
Our dancing peacocks
Our fish, our fowl
Are from you, O Sindh
Our Ragmati, our Bhagmati, our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

We harken to thy CALL
O mother Sindhu, Thou: our Identity
Our Cow of Plenty
Our Kamadhenu, our Ajrak
Our Earth, our Heaven
Our Every thing to us
Our Ragmati, our Bhagmati, our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

To thee, to thy Greatness, to thy Glory
Salutations, Salutations, Salutations.

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INTRODUCTION

"On Sindh" is a compendium of Articles and Essays of Dr. G. M. Mehkri, printed in "Sindh Quarterly" (1973–97), managed, edited and published by Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, President (1985–97) of Servants of Sindh Society. The book carries three appendixes as a Fore-ground to its Substance, being the essays on the subject: "Sindh through the Ages" by Dr. Sahib Khan Channa, and "An Introduction of Servants of Sindh Society" and "Sindh and Sindhi Nation" respectively by the Editor and the Assistant Editor of "Sindh Quarterly". The book contains a brief but a highly thoughtful foreword by Sirajul Haque Memon, my kind and generous friend for which I am thankful to him.

Dr. Mehkri paid Sindh a short visit before the Partition and returned to India and much later arrived here as a Banglore emigrant, and stayed for good. He traded no imprint of "Muhajir" or "Urduist". He, one among many, a common among common people, put forth no claim for property left behind. He made bold to affirm that "he lived in Sindh, breathed in Sindh, Sindh was his homeland and he was a Sindhi. Pakistan had yet to establish itself and deserve to be called the homeland." When Dr. Mehkri breathed his last (September, 1995) he had no home of his own. Initially he took employment under Government but soon gave it up. He was a highly educated person with "Doctorate" in fields more than one. He was an accomplished writer and an able teacher and made his modest living at his terms. When he expired, Servants of Sindh Society paid him a glowing tribute in the following words:

"Dr. G. M. Mahkri was an outstanding writer in English and contributed a great deal to the Social and Cultured uplift of society in Sindh. He was a great lover of Sindh and a sincere friend of Sindhi people. By producing an erudite sociological study of Sindh's History entitled 'Sorrows of Sindh' (1987), a work of great insight and vision, he discharged what Sindh owed him as his chosen homeland, and laid the Sindhi people under his debt of gratitude. His selected essays in English earlier translated and published in Sindhi under the title of "Mehkri

Ja Mazmoon'a" (1985), won for him a lasting book in Sindhi Literature. He regularly wrote, till the end for Sindhi Quarterly, an English Journal from the date it began to publish in 1973, and was read and deeply cherished by its readers. The Servants of Sindh Society and Sindhi people at large pray for his soul to rest in eternal peace. May God grant consolation to the family of the bereaved and his wide circle of admirers?"

When I translated his popular short essays, printed regularly for a long time in an English Daily in Karachi, and published the same under the title of "Mehkri – ja – Mazmoon'a", he was immensely pleased and wrote me a letter of thanks, addressing me as "My Dear Joyoj Jee". And from that point of time, correspondence between two of us started and flourished till the end. His letters I saved with me as an invaluable treasure. I have compiled these letters and propose publishing them in the shape of a book. In fact it will be the fourth publication adumbrating the ideas of Dr. G. M. Mehkri for the specific attention of the people (natives and immigrants) of Sindh to see reason and give up internal quarrels for particular gain and proceed forming a compact Sindhi Nation for general good of society in Sindh, in order to survive in Pakistan. Truly, indeed, therein lies also the survival of Pakistan, if at all any body intends saving it and putting it on the path as a modern, federalists, enlightened, progressive part of the human world.

**Hyderabad, Sindh
May 31, 2012.**

Mohammad Ibrahim Joyo

Gul Hayat Institute

FOREWORD

When my Friend and Mentor Ibrahim Joyo commanded me to write a Foreword to the Collections of Essays and Articles of Dr. G.M. Mehkri, the obvious question surged through my mind: Who? Me? But since a duty was cast on me by the inveterate son of Sindh (Ibrahim Joyo) I could not refuse. The reason for my reluctance was the heights and altitudes of Dr. Mehkri's thought and vision, which were unsurmountable; and second, my being mere a mundane pen-pusher I could not traverse the depth of the thoughts and visions of a great scholar, historian and a brilliant essayist like Dr. Mehkri.

I met Dr. Mehkri at the residence of Saeen Ghulam Mustafa Shah in a meeting of Servants of Sindh Society, which meeting were, normally held there followed by luscious lunches or dinners and sumptuous and delicious sweet dishes. Shah Sahib introduced Dr. Mehkri as a Philosopher par excellence. He hailed from South India and migrated to Pakistan. In no time, Dr. Mehkri was so engrossed in Sindh and Sindhi Culture that even the native scholars of Sindhi could not surpass him. His deep study of English Language and the Western Culture were his tools to judge the potentials of the Sindhi people. With the aid of his vast knowledge of all the great philosophers and sages of Europe, he analyzed the thought processes and dreams of the Sindhi people and specially the Sindhi Youth so that they could emancipate Sindh from age-old taboos and ignorance.

His essays and articles were regularly published in Sindh Quarterly edited and published by Saeen Ghulam Mustafa Shah. The present collection consists of not only the essays and articles published in Sindh Quarterly but also his unpublished essays and articles besides a few letters. Each article shows his immense knowledge and depth of his feelings for his new home - Sindh and the potentials of the Sindhi people, specially the youth of Sindh. His greatness lies in his unbiased articulation to bring out the best of Sindhi Culture and to awaken the Sindhi people out of the stupor produced by the opiates of various kinds including the abject surrender to Peers, Mirs and Vaderas of Sindh. It is extremely difficult to choose the

best article in this anthology but I should think that the best article is the one entitled as "From The Ruins of Sindh" and its sequel entitled as "Quest For Renaissance in Sindh" and of course his letters to the Editor, "Sindh Quarterly" Karachi on the issue of Language and finally his clarion call to the Sindhi people to establish an Institution under the title of Sindh Institution of Intellect and Culture.

In the end all I can say is that scholars and philosophers like Dr. Mehkri are a rare breed and I can wish that more of such great men rise and keep on guiding. We Sindhis who, at the moment, particularly those given to Centralist Unitary politics, seem to be no better than the people put into trance, and do not react to the looming dangers to Sindhi's national survival and indeed keep on crawling like sleep-workers



SIRAJUL HAQUE

Karachi, dated: 31-05-2012

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Part - I

**Essays and Articles Published
in Sindh Quarterly**

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Culture that is Sindh

Culture is a vast subject. The culture of a country may present different aspects to different students. Generally, the word culture signifies the mode of living of a people, their social values and their aesthetic sensibility. Taken in this meaning, the land of Sindh has a distinct culture of its own. The spirit of Sindh and its people have refused to merge their individuality in the dominant cultures of Indo-Pak Subcontinent. It took from other cultures what was vital to adorn its own colourful edifice. Among the cultural manifestations of Sindh we find many significant remnants of the Indian, Persian, Arabian and Balochi cultures.

But for the geographical factors, the Sindhi culture would have been greater still. The vast desert with a river that constantly changed its course, and other factors as the shifting of the capital from place to place; the smallness of the peasant-proprietor class; the absence of the 'national' merchants class, have mitigated against the more mature manifestation of the cultural individuality of Sindh. Where should one look for the peculiarity of Sindhi culture? In the language and the attitude of the people of Sindh we find the answer to this question.

Speaking about the Sindhi language, Sorley says, "A language is usually a key to a people...". "The Sindhi language is a beautiful instrument of precision admirably adapted to the civilization for which it was intended — a peace-loving agricultural and pastoral culture elaborated by an industrious and non-martial people". Can we not put it the other way and say that a peace-loving, industrious and not-martial people evolved a language beautiful and precise enough to be an instrument of the expression of their civilization and culture? Mathew Arnold speaks of culture as sweetness and light, and Clive Bell thinks that civilization consists essentially in tolerance and in freedom of the mind. "Sweetness and light", "tolerance and freedom of the mind" seem to have been for centuries the undercurrents of the personality of the Sindhi people. People and doctrines flying

from fanatical persecution found Sindh a haven of refuge. The more one comes to know the *Sindhis*, the more one is led to think that it is not by chance that Sufism, a deep, silent and civilized protest against religious fanaticism, found such a congenial soil in Sindh. Had Sufism not taken birth in the neighbouring country, perhaps it would have been born in Sindh itself. Since times immemorial, the *Sindhis* have been tolerant and peace-loving people. Among the ruins of Mohenjodaro we find hardly any weapon of war. This city, half as old as time, shows not a trace of any defence wall around it.

The foreign admirers of Shah Latif are apt to overlook the tolerant attitude of the *Sindhis* amidst whom this genius was born, lived and worked. He imbibed the legends of a culture ingrained and dominant in Sindh and made them the vehicle of expression of his genius and message. His people instead of persecuting him for choosing such themes, continued to adore him. This shows the nature of the Sindhi people, the shrub of which Shah Abdul Latif is the most glorious flower. And Sindhi language, the "beautiful instrument of precision" is itself a blend, not of any bazaar gibberish, but of two of the classical languages—chaste, austere Sanskrit and virile, living Arabic. There are not many modern languages, which are the product of two classical languages. There is not a third language as a result of the fusion of Latin and Greek, Latin and Arabic, or Greek and Arabic. It appears as if nature, for this unique linguistic experiment required a people who were civilized enough to respect its noble ancestry; and the *Sindhis* were chosen for the mission. The nobility of Sindhi Language and culture is the gentleness of the strong. It is not meekness. Since ages thousands of scholars and people from far-off countries came to Sindh but eventually they all became *Sindhis*, and adopted the language of the land, and with their contributions, enriched its culture. In the midst of many vicissitudes, the receptivity of the Sindhi mind considerably added to the spirit and feeling of cultural security among the *Sindhis*. He needed not feel that while his language can be spoken, "there is no script for it", nor that his language is confined to cities and towns as the medium of expression for the "refined circle only". Like the poems of Nazrul Islam and Tagore in Bengal, rich and poor, the learned and the illiterate alike enjoy the *Risalo* of Shah and the works of

Sachal and Sámi in Sindh. They all drink deep at these sublime springs of indigenous inspiration. About two centuries ago Shah Latif strewed the seeds of his genius on the fertile soil of Sindh. Because of the political upheavals, and the passing of the Government of the country into foreign hands, these seeds remained dormant. But time has now come for them to germinate.

In matters other than language the spirit of Sindhi culture needs but a stimulus to burst forth. There are several folk dances in Sindh. They are the self-expression of the happy and virile nature of the village folks. Sometimes the steps are quite intricate and their perfect execution needs considerable practice. People dance to the accompaniment of music of pipes, drums, "*Ektar*" and *sarangi*. With proper patronage these folk dances can develop into a school of dancing

The contribution of Sindh in the field of music is well known to every music-lover and even to a common man. Apart from the Sindhi "*Kafis*" there are many "*Rags*" and "*Surs*" evolved in Sindh that were adopted by the Indian classical music. The musical instruments are generally the string ones, some of which came here from Arabia. "*Ektar*" in its native simplicity is the most popular Sindhi instrument. To its accompaniment the wandering minstrels and the village folk sing the "*Kafis*" of Shah Latif. The Sindhi music differs from the Pakistani Music in this respect that the Arabic influence renders it more melodious and softly guttural.

The Sindhi ancient monuments found at Thatta, Hyderabad, Sukkur, etc., are the finest examples of the Sindhi architecture. They are a curious blend of massiveness and delicacy. Their massiveness is an important factor, which distinguishes them from their contemporary Mughal architecture. The intricate and geometrical designs of the colourful glazed tiles inside the domes and on the walls of those massive structures impart them a character peculiar to Sindh. Language, music, art and architecture are not the only things that make culture in anthropological sense. It is also evident in the mode of living, customs, tradition and behaviour of the people. In this respect Sindh has many colourful and enchanting aspects. The traditional and the varied ceremonial ways and greetings, the rich

and the heavy ornaments of the Sindhi Women and their colourful, loose and graceful garments are exquisite expressions of the culture that is Sindh.

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Conscious Creation of Sindhi Culture — A Task for Sindhi Youth and Warning to the Sindhi Intellectual

The vision of what “Sindh Might Be” in years to come will remain a vision only, unless repeatedly verifiable facts are accepted as facts and steps are taken like the steps taken by a handful of Sindhi intellectuals and leaders at a time when Karachi was separated from the rest of Sindh, “on the advice of seven *Sindhis*” (the *Sapt-Rishis*) when it was declared from the Floor of the National Assembly itself that the *Sindhis* were no more than mere Camel-Cart Drivers.

The response of the *Sindhis* was not effervescent or emotional but cultural and intellectual. In the same manner as the great Gokhlay started the Servants of India Society in Poona, to serve the cause of India politically, socially, culturally and, above all, intellectually. So also, though on a very humble scale and with a much-limited objective (due to circumstances) Sindhi efforts were revitalized at that time and intellectual giants like Dr. Daudpota, G. M. Sayed, Jethmal Parsram and others showed quietly and without any noise, that it was not they who were the Lilliputians

At a time when the very name of Sindh was attempted to be obliterated and when even the postmen would not deliver letters if the word “Sindh” was included in the address, the *Sindhis* made the name “Sindh” their very hallmark without making any noise. Considering the time when they did so, it was not only not a mean achievement but adequate response to an unhappy and unfortunate challenge.

It was not a theoretical response, but a very practical one. It was not temporarily emotional; but permanently intellectual. It did not consist of soap bubbles and toy-balloons but was built upon the Rock of Ages -- the INTELLECT OF MAN.

Since then many creative writers especially the short story writers have done a great deal to project the cultural image of Sindh. This was the "Renaissance of Sindh" though of course in a very limited way. But it must be bluntly told that unless there is an adequate Middle Class in Sindh, the Sindhi culture cannot be well served in the Sindhi way.

The absence of adequate Middle Class has been nothing other than the FATAL FLAW in the Sindhi Muslim Society and unless it is consciously removed the Sindhi Society will remain understandably handicapped.

In any free Society, the absence of a strong and stout Middle Class is like a body having legs and head but no trunk and vertebral column in between. Formerly Sindhi Hindu community functioned as the trunk and vertebral column.

Again the "Unconscious" has to be made "Conscious" and along with the students of History and the poets and the short story writers, the thought and work of the Sindhi students of ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY have to work out the plan of an adequate Sindhi Middle Class power, for without a Middle Class power, no society can in the free world even STAND, because the trunk will be missing in it and mere LEGS and HEAD are not enough.

The HISTORY OF ENGLAND (which is being specifically taught in India, even after "Independence" just because it fully illustrates in a capsule form, the process of the evolution of a stable political democracy) shows how TINY LITTLE ENGLAND became GREAT BRITAIN on the wings of the power of the MIDDLE CLASS and MIDDLE CLASS only.

The never ending mutual wars and conflicts between the powerful barons, with the hated more "Commoners" as serfs and helots, culminated eventually in that WAR OF ROSES which exhausted the treasuries of the Barons while their artilleries remained intact.

On coming to the English throne Henry the Seventh took away the right of the Barons to have their own artilleries, and they learnt to their cost that artilleries without full treasuries were no good. Then Henry launched upon the project of

strengthening CONSCIOUSLY THE LINGERING Middle Classes and the trading classes of England. After him, this much-married Henry the Eighth did not at all confine his attention to his ever-renovated nuptial bed; but to do every thing possible to CONSCIOUSLY build up the power of the middle classes of England

He even broke away the spiritualities of England from the rest of Europe so that England may have a free hand in its economic development and staged the famous "FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD" as its symbolic gesture. His daughter, Queen Elizabeth the First went ahead beyond her truly illustrious father even. While she never slept alone in her virgin bed, she never had any companion on her throne, and many a completely bewildered drone was unceremoniously sent to the dock and the Block for not having had the intelligence to know that with Her Majesty there was the clearest demarcation between the functions of the bed and the functions of the throne.

And the function of the throne was, on the sagacious recommendation of her otherwise old decrepit advisors to get hold of Gibraltar, Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Singapore and Hong Kong and set the very corner stones of the expanding British Empire built upon TRADE AND COMMERCE to such an extent that later Napoleon had reasons to moan against "England that nation of SHOPKEEPERS" who eventually sent him to St. Helena to cool his imperial heels.

It is not only the poets, the mystics, the short story writers, but essentially, shop-keepers, the Middle Class, who are the Vertebral Column, the back bone of societies any where and every where in the Free World, as can most easily and repeatedly be verified

The almost total absence of the Middle Classes in Iran made that the most astute of the astute publican Winston Churchill sum up during the Second World War the conditions and position of that country in just four words "PROSPEROUS TEHRAN-PAUPER IRAN".

He could as well have said the same thing about Sindh also, but at that time Sindh did have a powerful Middle Class,

which it does not seem to have now from amidst Cultural Sindh. And unless and until Cultural Sindh becomes completely CONSCIOUS OF THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF CONSCIOUSLY building up a middle class structure of its own, it will remain a society without a torso of its own. A look back upon the real culture of Sindh, of which the *Sindhis* can most justifiably be proud, the Sindh of Mohenjodaro, can show us that the whole culture was built upon TRADE and COMMERCE and not upon "Ektaras" and "DOHILS". The ancient *Sindhis* were known to be such merchants and travelers that even the mythical best sailor of the Thousand and One Night was called *Sindhbad* the sailor.

We know practically little about the actual political, social and cultural life of a great deal of Sindh in the period between the vanishing of Mohenjodaro and the invasion of Sindh by Alexander whose historians have written in detail of the land of plenty and prosperity, (even after Mohenjodaro and Harrapa were no more any trade centers).

Unfortunately for Sindh, it was not as militant as it was prosperous and productive; its very prosperity itself made it the victim of those who destroyed MOHENJODARO.

The history of Sindh presents the sad spectacle of a once prosperous maritime adventurous mercantile community having relapsed into a state of pre-mercantile pattern of political existence, the essentially feudal pattern from which formerly all other societies were evolved. The hasty admirers of the Glory that was Greece seem to easily forget that if a galaxy of geniuses like the ancient Sophist philosophers and its dancers and its musicians and its writers and the sculptors and the builders of Pantheon and the Acropolis and many such other wonders in stone and thought, and if Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Euripides, Sophocles and Aristophanes and a thousand other geniuses flowered in Athens and Greece, these flowers blossomed upon the TREE of the Maritime and mercantile Greek society and not as a rootless bouquet. If these astonishing geniuses were the very cream, the commercial and maritime society of Greece was the very MILK, as no churning of mere water will produce any butter or cream.

So no student of CULTURE can confine his idea of culture only to the Fine Arts and language and learning and "thought". He has to take account of every activity of any group and society. In the study of advanced culture, commerce and industry, as producers of wealth without which wealth, higher arts do not get the sustenance to thrive, top the list. So the thought about WHAT SINDH MIGHT BE, WHAT ARE THE POTENTIALITIES OF SINDH OF TOMORROW has to be thought (or better) a series of systems of thought, which have to be a steady conscious, continual and unrelenting function of groups of independent *Sindhis*, old and new, and this thought should pervade their every field of activity without exception. India, for instance, as in America and in England, there is an institute of strategic studies. Similarly there are so many other independent study grounds, one of the most famous being the SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, of life devoted scholars and thinkers and whose only mission in life is the study of "WHAT INDIA MIGHT BE". We are blissfully ignorant of the existence of such great groups and bodies. We are a society of less swerve and intellectual nerve.

Much was expected of our INSTITUTE OF SINDHOLOGY but it has proved to be digging a mountain to get a mole from it so far. Mere collection of the same music from nearly the same musicians and mere collection of a few curiosities and antics is not the same as the active conscious study of all aspects of Sindhi culture

The stagnation is bound to be the result when such Institutes form only a part and parcel of bigger institutions like universities where Vice-Chancellor-ships are essentially political jobs, held at the mercy of non-academic power that has these jobs at its mercy and where the Vice-Chancellor's main function is to work like a *Thanedar* and where University life is the battle ground of non-academic forces. Therefore it is that organizations like the Servants of India Society are wholly and solely, voluntary, independent, academically oriented bodies.

Just think of the independent life of the Universities like that of Oxford and Cambridge and look at the various ROYAL SOCIETIES like the Royal Society of Science and the Royal Society of Arts etc. Non-political forces manage all these world fa-

mous institutions, which work for the glory of England. The formation of thinking groups as to what Sindh Might Be depends wholly and solely upon the love, passion, devotion of the *Sindhis* for that Sindh in which they and their descendents are to live, move and have their being. Nor need such groups be big and grand. In every town and village of Sindh there already are at least two persons who are devoted to the thought of Sindh of the past, the Sindh of the present and the Sindh of the future. They might not all of them be equally well informed. That is not the point at all. It is enough that they have love of Sindh in their hearts. This should not have been the work of more than a well paid Professor of the University of Sindh

As the one and only duty that most of them now attend to is to collect their pay without fail, the most of them are doing less than nothing and, HONOURABLE EXCEPTIONS APART, as most of them care two hoots what happens to the root of the tree from which like heartless fruit worms many of them go on parasiting upon their Universities, Institutes and Boards. To expect from such the steady, consistent, informed, academic thought about "what Sindh Might Be" is also much moonshine

In the more regenerate parts of the world, the one thing most of the professors of most of the Universities and Homes of learning lament about is the lack of time — "Art is long and time is fleeting". It seems to be entirely the other way about over here, with most of our professors. Otherwise, the enforced idleness caused due to the disturbances in the Universities should have been a god-sent chance to our professors to get busy with research.

It was being true to the salt to serve Sindh and the world of learning, when so much of time was available to them. But in the absence of any sense of shame, one can travel light. So it is no use hoping for light to come from such quarters, which have become the abodes of darkness, infested with heartless parasites, and a parasite cannot afford to have heart. The future of Sindh depends upon its servants like the Engineer M.H. Panhwar. Panhwar in himself alone is more than ten institutes of Sindhology, as it is functioning today, put together, as can be repeatedly verified. And in Sindh, in the past, there have been such true servants of the Sindh like Deewan G. Umair, Deewan

Watanmal Lalwani and Mirza Qalich Beg.

The various private Libraries in Sindh are clearly indicative of the existence of so many servants of Sindh who worked as the Servants of Sindh, long, long and long before there was any Servants of India Society. It is such servants of Sindh who are the need of the day. And they do not stand in need of any hollow buildings like some institutes with empty halls and idle hands in them.

The intimate life of Shah Abdul Latif provides guidance to any lover of Sindh. When Sindh was in politically chaotic conditions, the outstanding sage of Sindh retired to *Bhit* and from there he began to dream of the Sindh of his DREAM. From the various and different parts of Sindh, he chose the Heroes and Heroines of Sindh. *Sohni Mehaar* comes from one part of Sindh, *Sassui* and *Punhoo* from the other part and so on. And by using these different threads of gold as the warp and woof, this weaver of culture made the carpet that is the Sindh culture of today, a culture in which he consciously planted the seed of thought that not only Sindh but also the rest of mankind may be blessed and one's motherland is the place by serving which one can experience his very "*Mairaj*" of Cosmic Consciousness. To the obviously limited knowledge of the present writer, no other Muslim Poet, no other all over this subcontinent came any where near Shah in exalting the greatness of one's Motherland while also invoking blessings upon the rest of the world. Most of the elder new *Sindhis* who came to Sindh after 1947 are dead and gone and some are dying

It is the duty of at least a few of those who are born in Sindh after 1947, to regard Sindh as their motherland and be more true to Sindh than their parents were to their Motherland. Whatever they might have gained, they lost face; the "*AABRU*" of "the few drops of respect upon the face" ('*Aab*' means water and '*Ru*' means the face), and could in the bargain manage only a futile subservience of their lofty motherland to the others.

It is on them that Mazher Yousuf has written his poem "The Faceless Crowd: It does not at all mean that Sindh did not have its own share of traitors. Sometimes they have been in abundance.

The history of the conquest of Sindh gives the names.

ages, features and particulars of all the traitors of Sindh and even post-partition History of Sindh contains the details of the activities of those who were Judas to the Christ Sindh. But even if two persons in every part of Sindh were to devote, at least some time to think about the Future of Sindh, like Christ, Sindh also will say, "If any two think about me, I will be the third there".

So, "it is better to light a candle than curse the darkness" for "see how far the little candle throws its beams".

"So shines a good name in the naughty world"

And as the poet Asghar Govundvi says:

"Jahan do botallain rakhdeen, waheen maikhana hota hai".

Or otherwise, as a Persian Poet says:

"Yak naalai mastana ze jae na shuneedeem

"Veeran shawad aan sheher ke maikhana na daarad".

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Gul Hayat Institute

The power of Awakened Sindh

When an engineer bores a tunnel through a hill, he does not dash his head against the rocks in order to break the rocks. He knows all too well that even if his head gets dashed to bits, nothing will happen to the rocks.

So he does not dash his head on them; but uses that head against them in the most cool and calculated manner imaginable.

So does the surgeon also. When he suspects a tumour in his patient's head, he does not, in fury, put a bullet through the tumour; but he uses all his skill, gathered over generations of human experience in the science of surgery, to most carefully open the skull and to most gently remove the tumour.

All this is all too patent.

All this is known as Rational Procedure

When Aristotle said that man is a Rational Animal, he said just this: that it is a characteristic of man not to dash his head against the rock in order to bore it; and it is a characteristic of man not to put a bullet into a tumor to remove it; but to use his head and hands and heart as coolly, as expertly, as knowledgeably as possible for him to overcome difficulties facing him.

His cool intellectuality hides behind it a store of emotion, which is almost totally invisible to the uninitiated.

Just think of a raging epidemic.

People are dying around like flies.

Others are moaning and groaning; and crying to all the gods, all the bygone ancestral spirits to come to their aid.

But the epidemic goes on raging, totally unmindful of all these incantations, prayers, beseechings and invocations.

Then comes in the scientist; call him a bacteriologist, microbiologist, or what you will.

Most coolly, most calmly, he takes specimen of blood, urine, faeces, etc., from the bodies of the dead, and retires to his laboratory.

To the uninitiated he is a heartless beast, as he does not take part in crying, moaning, groaning, beseeching, incantations and invocations; but is seen to be simply pouring over his microscope and dabbling with his test tubes, as if nothing is the matter around. Indeed he does look heartless, to the uninitiated.

But the initiated knows what silent emotion is raging in his heart.

He has staked all the wealth of his knowledge, experience, to conquer the raging epidemic

And as it has happened often and often and often all over again, this cool, calm, heartless looking and unemotionally behaving man has come out with a remedy that just had wiped out the epidemic that all the moaning, groanings, prayers, incantations, animal sacrifices, even human sacrifices had most totally failed to achieve.

He has the supreme emotional satisfaction of having "wiped out" the epidemic, even round the whole world, with his discovery against the killing germs.

That is MAN at his BEST.

Not an IRRATIONAL animal, but a RATIONAL animal as Aristotle defined him.

To the extent that MAN has used his such rationality to that extent he has succeeded, so much so that he has stamped his foot upon the moon that the primitives have worshipped as a Goddess since ages, and now feel offended and insulted and ferocious that moon-goddess of theirs has now come under the heels of man, trampled and treaded upon.

So also in all possible walks of life, to the extent that man has used his emotion only to sustain his intellect and his ration-

ality to solve his problems, and to the extent he has used his intellect to the utmost of its refinement in search of the quality of achievement, he has succeeded, as the electronic watches upon our wrists bear testimony. Where is the sundial used by our grandfathers to try to reckon time, and where are these micro electronic watches that tell the time to the tunes of music even? All this is amongst the marvels of silent intensive use of rationality and intellectuality now, and what it may further become, say in a hundred years or two, can as yet hardly be imagined.

But the instrument of achievement is just the same; about two pounds of gray matter in the human skull, being utilized silently, rationally, intellectually.

In dealing with human matters also the same instrument has been used by the thinking few, to the utmost, while the mere masses have used not their intellect and rationality, but their emotions, generally, and unknowingly in the service of those thinking few.

The independence of this Subcontinent, for instance, was not the achievement of any mere emotional outburst

Such a mere emotional outburst was tried in 1857, and it failed so very miserably that the pitch of history was queered for nearly a hundred years.

There was no deep, cool, organized, planned, prepared, thinking behind that rising, rightly called the SEPOY mutiny, as it first started with the unthinking SEPOYS of MEERUT who were brainless to begin with

So it collapsed, bringing untold ruin in its wake.

After that came the long period of deep silent thought nearly all over the country, with thinkers, politicians, statesmen, and educationists like Annie Bessant, Gandhiji, and others, all taking to study and thought.

But then in the first decade of this century, again the deeply emotional educated youngsters like Savarkar, Arubindo Ghosh, also formed a terrorist organization known, after the mutiny as the Ghaddar Party, which took to violence as the means of get-

ting the British out of India by force.

They were secretly supported by Germany, not at all because in any way Imperial Germany was in love with the aspirations of the *Ghaddar* Party to free India, but all because Imperial Germany had its own axe to grind against its rival, Imperial England, which was to result soon in the 1914-1918 showdown known as the first World War.

Not fully aware of this imperialist game, the *Ghaddar* Party though composed of intellectual youths, started its terrorist activities in India; on wholly an emotional basis of tying down and to shoot down a few English men in India.

Of course the Party had one and only one obsession "HOW TO MAKE INDIA FREE".

Gokhlay, Tilak, Ranade, and all other great Indian leaders also had that selfsame aim: "HOW TO MAKE INDIA FREE". But they did not act emotionally; they did not dash their heads against the rock to break the rock. Like doctors and engineers, they THOUGHT OUT how.

The British had not much difficulty in putting down the *Ghaddar* Party.

Spy students were infiltrated into colleges and universities and they became one with the terrorist students; became even presidents and secretaries of organizations; and to prove their *bonafides* to the genuine terrorist students, these spy-students even led some raids and shooting attempts; and went to the jails along with the genuine terrorist students.

Very soon the terrorist students came to know the leaks and the effect of the spy-web; but things then came to such a pass, that it became impossible whom to believe and whom not to believe, because even the nearest and dearest friend could be a carefully planted spy who has been a comrade for years together, only to spy.

Then it was that most of the terrorist party students simply but genuinely gave up terrorism as the means of getting the British out of India.

But they neither gave up their mission, nor their organiza-

tion.

They only changed the mode of their thinking, and so of their action, as it was simply no match for the British SYSTEM, and it was not the killing of a few Englishmen that could change the SYSTEM.

And, in the words of Robert M. Pirsig, "To speak of a government, certain Government and establishment institutions, as the 'system' are to speak correctly, since these organizations are founded upon the same structural relationship as (say) a motor cycle. They are sustained by structural relationships even when they have lost all other meaning or purpose... But to tear down a factory or to revolt against a government or to avoid the repairs of a motorcycle, because it is a system, to avoid the effects rather than the causes, and so long as the attack is upon the effects only, no change is possible. The true system, the real system, is our present construction of systematic thought itself, and if a factory is torn down but the rationality (pattern of thought) that produced it (the factory) is left standing, then that rationality will produce another factory. If a revolution destroys a systematic government, but the systematic patterns of thought that produced that government are left in tact, then those patterns will repeat themselves in the succeeding government. There is so much talk about the system, and so little understanding.

So, most of the ex-terrorists took to no TALK, no Plan, no shooting down of a few Englishmen, no conspiracies, but to SILENT THINKING. Small groups of two and upwards would meet for an hour or even half an hour a week, especially in Bengal, where the terrorist activities had been rife, and would not speak even one single word or syllable but would simply sit. As all knew the one and only thought in their minds was HOW TO MAKE INDIA FREE. That was the one and the only common formula known to one and known to all.

So, Buddha-like they sat in silence together, and simply departed after the fixed time of such thinking was over, most regularly, most punctually, every week, weeks on, months on and years on.

And not even a single syllable was ever uttered; not even a

single glance exchanged. any and all spies in the groups were completely demoralized, as they had nothing whatsoever to report, try it as they will, as any and all discussions and talks, gestures and glances were debarred *ab initio*. So these thinking groups of like-minded people developed a strange, impregnable, atmosphere of THOUGHT, SILENT THOUGHT.

After 1915, when the real political struggle for the freedom of the Subcontinent began, the discipline and self-restraint of such self-trained people proved so very valuable. that by 1919, many of those who still had pinned their faith on violence came forward to confess their failure and to join the ranks of non-violent freedom fighters; and by 1923 practically all the educated terrorists gave up and the terrorist organization practically died (except later by Bhagat Singh and Dhillon). One of the top ranking *Ghaddar* party members Mr. Savarkar became a top ranking communist and another, Mr. Arubindo *Ghosh*, who had taken sanctuary in Pandicharry, (a French conclave) became a profound mystic of international fame, having totally eschewed the very thought of violence. Sindh also perhaps can greatly benefit by such Silent Group Thinking.

Brilliant and educated *Sindhis* know all too well who the BIGGEST POSSIBLE enemy of Sindh happens to be. That enemy is IGNORANCE. This is not a trite saying. By repeating this over and over again, it cannot get worn out, thereby. It cannot become less true thereby. Indeed, the more one comes to know the depth of this IGNORANCE the more frightening it becomes.

It is not a mere 'ignorance, poverty and disease' cliché. Mention of two, just two out of many kinds of ignorance makes clear really what intensity and depths of ignorance there is, how very near the most primitive level many of us are, although there have been so many amazingly learned men also in our society.

Both types illustrated and mentioned here are in the relationship of the common man, with the moneylender and the purchaser of cotton, seen by the present writer in the pre-independence days in Sindh, in 1942 to be precise.

The small-scale cotton grower, as seen by the present

writer, would bring his camel-loads of cotton to the purchaser in Tando Adam.

There the cotton would be weighed before, right before him, in the following manner:

"One maund"

"Two maunds"

"Three maunds"

"Four maunds"

"Three maunds" (!)

"Four maunds" (!)

"Five maunds"

"Six maunds"

"Seven maunds"

"Six maunds" (!)

"Seven maunds" (!)

And so on.

After every two steps, there was an open flagrant count-back, and the poor grower of cotton was none the wiser for it, although the foul count back was being done right in his own presence.

To the present writer, here was a clear case of the primitive "One, Two, Three Infinity".

So let us say that instead of a hundred maunds that the cotton if honestly weighed would have weighed, it would come to some, say, say, sixty three fraudulently weight maunds of cotton; fraudulently weighted no doubt, but right before the eyes of the man himself, all awake but all a bundle of ignorance, IGNORANCE.

And that did not stop there.

The amount due to the fraudulently weighed sixty-three maunds of cotton would be placed before him right there and

then.

And then would begin the talk of the debt that the cotton grower already owed to the purchaser!

Verbatim: -

"You borrowed, for your child's naming ceremony, so much on such and such a date so much; and so much is the interest on it; and here it is deducted.

"I agree".

"And then, on such and such a date on the occasion of your daughter's engagement you borrowed so much didn't you?"

"Yes *Sain* I did"

"See, this much on interest is being deducted from your amount"

"Agreed, *Sain*"

And so on.

With the result that even out of the paltry sum due to the IGNORANT grower for the falsely weighed cotton, he would be further denuded of money And he was none the wiser for it.

The other instance of the type of exploitation based wholly upon the IGNORANCE of the common man in Sindh, as seen by the present writer, was based upon "Not from my money deposited with you, but from your own money", and is still harder to be believed, had it not been for the tragic fact of such happenings in plenty. Illustrated, verbatim:

"*Sain*, I need a hundred rupees as loan"

"I have the 350 rupees deposited by you with me for safe keeping"

"Yes *Sain*, I have"

"Do you want me to give you the hundred rupees you need, from THAT sum that you have deposited with me for safe keeping?"

"Oh no *Sain*, Oh no *Sain*. That money I have deposited with

you for safekeeping is not to be touched, for it is for the purpose of my daughter's marriage. I cannot touch it."

"Then you want me to give you the hundred rupees you now want from MY money, don't you?"

"Yes *Sain*, from YOUR money. Not from mine:

"Here it is, on this much of interest"

"Agreed *Sain*, Agreed, AGREED. So very kind and generous of you. I know my money is safe with you *Sain*"

To put it briefly, it has been such a state of ignorance that has been causing silence so that "the worm may not turn"; the attention of these sufferers has systematically been diverted towards the graves of the *Saints* for help, succor and relief in misery. Harassed, bedeviled by poverty and misery, these people are seen clinging to the grills of the tombs of the *Saints* and (of course after paying to the *mujawar*) piteously moaning, exactly as a baby clinging to the nipple of its dead mother for milk

And, as they simply cannot be expected to know anything about statistics, probability and chance factor, if they somehow get any pittance even of anything like any relief, they naturally think that it was because of their prayers to the *Saints*; and if they do not get any relief, they are made to think that they had not prayed earnestly enough

Further, although it is often and often repeated, that there is no such thing like priesthood in their religion, the actual fact is quite the reverse

Whole families and clans, claiming descent from the Founder of their Religion, have for centuries so established their power and prestige upon the mind of the people that the people are more than convinced that without the help of these de-facto priests, it is absolutely impossible to obtain salvation. So hundreds of thousands are under the thumbs of these priests whose existence finds no justification in their religion

Many of these priests are also powerful feudal lords and have the selfsame class interests with other feudal lords against the masses, with the result that no matter what the winds of political change, these two interests are too firmly

rooted to allow any social change to take place. This is not peculiar to Sindh by any means. But here it is intense. And formidable.

And while all this has gone on, the Muslims in Sindh were not entirely without their leaders.

Hassan Ali Effendi was the one rolled into one with Justice Amir Ali.

He was responsible for the Sindh Madressah, which had some great teachers and principals who did inspire a good many Sindhi Muslims and did yeoman service to the Sindhi Muslim community. But, as a large number of the students of this Madressah became Government servants, not many of them can be said to be carriers of the mission of Hassan Ali Effendi to any remarkable extent. Of course giants of learning like Dr. Daudpota, who were both students as well as teachers here were there but were few and far between. Yet, the name of Hassan Ali Effendi is there as one who wanted to conquer just this primordial IGNORANCE that has bedeviled the Sindhi Muslims since long.

And another great man, Mirza Qalich Beg was so great that giants like John Stuart Mill would have been proud to be his companions. Very briefly speaking he could be said to have brought the River Thames to join the River Sindhu. So cosmopolitan a genius like Mirza Qalich Beg requires someone at least somewhat like him to be his adequate biographer. He proved to the whole world that the learning and profundity for which the land of Sindh was famous in the heydays of Thatta is certainly not extinct in the Sindhi Muslim. He removed from the minds of others the doubt that the Sindhi Muslims could be as well learned in modern knowledge as any one else.

Single handed and single minded he can be said to have put an end to any feeling of inferiority in the minds of the Sindhi Muslims. without, at the same time, in any way rousing any hostile feeling in the minds of others. Indeed some of his greatest admirers were his Sindhi Hindu friends, and the English.

But at the literally grass-root level, it was Hyder Bux Jatoti who fought for basic human rights and freedom of the most

down trodden. To de-hypnotize the masses and to remove their ignorance about their human hood was his basic mission in life.

Of course the plight of the Sindhi Muslim did stir the hearts of both Allah Bux as well as G.M. Sayed. But in other respects they were poles apart. Allah Bux was like Badruddin Tayabji of Bombay in the spirit, anxious that the Sindhi Muslims should have a political education with a "sea-view" in it.

And G.M. Sayed was for the "sea-view" as also for the immediacy in it. Now perhaps he may be feeling that there was no bright "view" at all left for his way of thinking of those days.

Great scholars like Dr. Daudpota, I. I. Kazi, and Pir Husamuddin Rashdi, by their very eminence have directly or indirectly done what they could to remove IGNORANCE as far as it could be removed in the thick gloom of solidified feudalism that has weighed it seems to existence up know no ending.

Mr. Mazher Yousuf, in his book of poems, "Rain Drops" masterfully epitomizes the situation in the following lines.

".... Unhappy Valley, Sindh, abode of peace; loving *Haris*
with tyrant *Mirs* and crafty *Pirs*,

Who pretend love but spread hate, and

Exploit man in every garb.

Like tinsel gods on earth, where they smile in

Secret over wasted lands and polluted minds

Emasculated limbs, exhausted souls.

The *Haris* pray and seek through this holy lot

Najat, Nirvan, Mukti and above all peace;

In vicious circles they get caught.

My heart aches and drowsy numbness creeps over me

When I think of thee, my unhappy valley."

The socio-political effect of this all is now very dimly being seen. There is practically no middle class in Sindh.

With the result that the inevitable gap between the affluent and the poor is not being filled by the Sindhis themselves. Their mercantile life is nowhere in their own hands

Not only Nature, but economic activity also abhors vacuum, and winds, gales and tornadoes from all sides rush in to fill any such vacuum in any and all fields, leaving high and dry those who do not perceive the presence of such vacuums, and are under the influence of any and every form of opiates.

It has been said that not till Sir Charles Napier thrust the nibble of his pistol in the bosom of the last ruler of Sindh shouting "SURRENDER", the Ruler did not know that he was no more the Ruler, but a total prisoner of Napier. And he who by proclamation called himself "the Conqueror of Sindh" and had his imperious demand carried and that every Sindhi noble should most completely prostrate himself in the full public view in front of Napier himself who was sitting, all alone upon a throne as the victor

This is perhaps the greatest humiliation that the Indians suffered in the hands of the British, and all because there was here little social resistance. Napier's commands in his first proclamation were openly directed only towards the MUSLIMS of Sindh that they should behave properly, and the Muslims were in majority, but divided between the rich and the poor with no middle class that should command respect. The few nobles could be humiliated, therefore, with immunity.

That same pattern continued, even after Napier. The few *Zamindars* with little in common between themselves and the *Haris* could offer only willing surrender to any powerful demand from outside, while, say in a place like England, it was the existence of the powerful middle class which built up the Empire itself.

After partition, the Hindu Middle Class in Sindh left it all in a body leaving no other Sindhi Middle Class to take its place. Those who came from outside knew nothing about Sindh, its deep local history and tradition, its language, its literature, its deep fundamental thought or its echoes in general.

In the main they have been living in cities and towns only

as on island surrounded by the unknown Sindhi ocean of its own culture, unlike the previous Hindu middle class who had the community of culture and language and traditions with the rest of the *Sindhis*.

Many Hindu Sindhi scholars have done so much for the Sindhi language and literature, all because of their love for Sindh and Sindhi literature, local traditions and customs.

Those from outside have come with their own already well-established languages, traditions and thought, which have an unbroken continuity with the culture and thought, and traditions outside Sindh also.

This is neither the fault on the part of the outsider nor of the *Sindhis*, but one of the results of the peculiar socio-political situations. The great mass of the outsider did not find any other place safer for them than Sindh itself, because it was only in Sindh that there was almost a complete social vacuum when the Hindu middle classes over here left in mass, leaving only the non-commercially oriented poorest as well as the landlord classes who had no tradition of commerce to fill the vacuum.

Again all this amounts to one single word, "IGNORANCE".

Unthinkingly, the upper classes in Sindh had tried to do all they could to keep the masses in ignorance, not caring to see what would be the political, social and economic consequences of it.

Some of them sent their own children to Aligarh in the main while the great Sindh Madressah in Karachi, founded by the far seeing, Hassan Ali had to depend almost wholly upon financial help from the Government, and not much from the richest land-owners.

Sociologically speaking, the Sindhi Muslim boys of the rich upper classes who studied in Aligarh (U.P.) in the cultural ethos of Mir, Ghalib and other cultural luminaries of U.P in the main; while the majority of the rich and poor Hindu boys and girls who studied in Sindh itself studied in the cultural ethos of Shah Latif, *Sachal* and *Saami*. And while Ghalib and Mir and other such great cultural luminaries of U.P in the main were known over here amongst the educated Muslims of Sindh, Shah Latif and

Sachal were all too little even heard of in Aligarh, although in and for Sindh they are such mighty cultural, social and spiritual personalities.

Meanwhile, hundreds of educational institutions here were mainly supported by the Hindu community, in which many of the Muslim students also had to seek admission if they had to get better education than in their own schools.

Meanwhile, silent Sindh, the hundreds of thousands of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water have continued to suffer the consequences of IGNORANCE imposed upon them no matter from what side, and no matter with what motives.

It does not take any genius to say that if this continues, Sindh Will Be Lost To The *Sindhis*, for IGNORANCE in the MASSES is DARKNESS and none can run the Olympics in the DARK.

All have to carry, and carry aloft, the greatly symbolic Olympic Torch alit and ablaze.

Sindh, merely silent Sindh, can become forever silent. Sindh, in the grip of Ignorance, can ever remain silent and dead. Sindh Thoughtful, with new middle class awakened intelligence, awakened to the realization that the chain is only as strong as its weakest link. That Sindh can again be the Sindh of Jam Nizamuddin — on a much wider scale.

Sindh—Awakened, is Sindh; Sindh asleep, is Sand for the *Sindhis*.

Gul Hayat Institute

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On Sindh: Some Random Thoughts

I

A Salute to the thinkers in Sindh, be they among the politicians, scholars or educationists.

"Beware" exults Thomas Carlyle. "BEWARE" A THINKER HAS COME AMONG YE!"

It is indeed a matter of lasting exultation that there should be individuals in a society who can be regarded as THINKERS. They are always a class by themselves. Of course ordinarily speaking, every human being is a thinker. Without the power of thinking, we should have long perished. That apart, a THINKER is a specialist in thinking for THINKINGS' OWN SAKE.

"Why do you pay such a huge salary to the fellow over there that sits and does nothing but thinking", said some busy body to Henry Ford. "If you also can think like him, I will give a like salary to you also". That was how one of the most practical of men, Henry Ford, recognized the almost imponderable value of the THINKER as such. Only the most brilliant among the practical people know the need and value of the THINKER.

"Voltaire", simpered the fair ladies of the decadent French Court, "Voltaire, give us your wit. Keep your wisdom". Because Voltaire was also witty, they wanted him to play the buffoon. They would have none of his profound thoughts; they could have been of the greatest value to France. But what did one of the most practical political geniuses of all times, Napoleon Bonaparte say of Voltaire? "No, Voltaire: No REVOLUTION", said Bonaparte. "NO, VOLTAIRE, NO REVOLUTION". And what a Revolution was the product of the THOUGHT of that witty ugly looking man, whom the Beauties of the French Court wanted only to make them laugh and not think. And that other ugly man, that self-styled "Gad-fly", that Socrates, his thoughts, recorded by Plato, they too could never be simpered at, nor killed by poisoning them. "What is the use of your killing me?"

Socrates asked his enemies, "For, I am an immortal." As his system of thought, he lives in the minds of philosophers through ages. And what did Buddha do but think? So did Christ. And Confucius. And can you think of modern Europe without Kant, Espinoza, Nietzsche, Marx, Schopenhauer, Bergson, Hume, Russell and others. And how about America minus Jefferson, Emerson, Lincoln, Dewy, William James and Mark Twain. Who else but a THINKER like Jefferson could have said, "If this be treason, let us make most of it". Who else but a thinker could have declared, "You can fool some people for all the time and all people for some time but not all the people for all time." And "A nation half slave and half free cannot stand" Of course such few THINKERS are the MOUNTAIN PEAKS. But there are HILLS also in the world, indeed without the hills; there are no mountains at all.

Every society has its HILLS, its own THINKERS, and heroes. As Thomas Gray in his "Elegy in a country Churchyard" says,

"Even a small village, some village:

"In Hampden some one with dauntless breast

"The little tyrant of his field withstood;

"Some mute inglorious Milton there may rest,

"Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood;

"Full many a gem of the purest ray serene,

"The dark unformed caves of ocean bear;

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,

"To waste its sweetness on the desert air."

Some of THINKERS of Sindh, some of the flowers of Sindh, did not want to "waste their sweetness on the desert air" and seem to have gone out in self-exile; they may not be active politicians. Not escapists either. When Marx left Germany for England he was not escaping. When Lenin left Russia, he was not escaping. When Zola left France for London, he was not

escaping either. "They left their dearest MOTHERLANDS because they were most concerned about their MOTHERLANDS. They did not hate or detest their Motherlands. They loved, adored and worshipped their Motherlands. Temporarily they left places, from where, in the atmosphere of freedom, they could think of the salvation of their Motherlands. To them, their Motherlands were their very God."

Profound anthropologists say that basically, to the innermost being of man, his territory is his Diet, *Watan*, *Maturbhoomi*, *Bhoon-Devi*, Fatherland, Motherland and "*Janam Bhumi*". It is his territory, his mother tongue, his language, his culture, all the products of His LAND, his Terra Firma. Without it, he is a universal orphan.

So the Sindhi THINKERS, have gone abroad to be in the atmosphere in which they can coolly, calmly, collectively, and above all objectively be able to evaluate those reliable, verifiable facts and figures, concerning the life in the Sindh, responsible for what has happened to Sindh since the CENTURIES which has now culminated into things as they now happen to be.

That was just what Gokhlay; the great founder of the Servants of India Society did in 1911. Earlier in 1900, a great Parsi thinker had said, in effect, that it was impossible for the fifty thousand British Soldiers who were then having millions of Indians under control, to control as many donkeys! "Why so"? Thought Gokhlay. "Why so thought Gokhlay?" What social political and other factors are responsible for this 'so many' humans being, "so very effectively" being controlled by 'so few', and that, "from such a great distance as seven thousand miles across the ocean." Gokhlay did not jump to the ready made hasty conclusion of the impatient politician. Being essentially a THINKER he adopted the rational (as opposed to the effervescent, emotional), Medical, Pathological, and Socialistic and MANY sided (as opposed to simplistic and monomaniacal) method of attack upon the problem of the strange-looking phenomenon of subjugation of the people of a mighty Subcontinent by the people of a small island across the seas.

So, while the politicians of the Subcontinent were busy like the cleaning machinery of a work-shop, Gokhlay's Servants of India Society, deep in Poona, was busy "far from the madness of the crowds:" like the silent dynamo, busy producing those facts and figures, streams and currents of thought which sustained and provided "food, clothing and shelter and ammunition" to the thought and speeches of the mere politician! For, it is the THINKER who provides the needed rational energy to the doer.

Not for nothing it was that an English administrator in India once declared Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan to be none other than the greatest REBEL, against the British rule in India and not the Indian "Mutineers" of the 1857 uprising. He explained by saying: "while the Mutineers blew up against the British without any of the vastly needed preparations and so they got blown out in the ensuing struggle." Sir Sayed was busy teaching the Indians to acquire those very intellectual and moral weapons like organized modern knowledge, as Sciences and the organized modern nationalism and patriotism by means of which the British were ruling over a great portion of the world, "Do you think we will be able to hold India if the Indians listen to and act upon his teaching? That is why I consider him to be the biggest rebel against our rule in India". "If all Indians stand up and spit at once, the British Isles will be drowned," declared Sir Feroz Shah Mehta. He also wrote the classic "Poverty and the British Rule in India"

But it was left to Gokhlay to form a body of THINKERS that is, historians, economists, political scientists (as different from active politicians) and students of Indian culture as such, to take a most concerted and sustained stock of the whole situation that eventually resulted in the subjugation of India, so that the objective knowledge so gained could prove helpful in turning the fate of the Subcontinent into its destiny. So much; so much and so much depends upon objectives, "impersonal taking stock" of things as they are.

Such "taking stock" of things as they are in Sindh, any Sindhi thinker both in and out of Sindh will find, for instance in the speeches and writings of the ladies of Sindhiani *Tahreek* account of the extent to which the woman in Sindh stands crip-

pled and weakened and incapacitated from making Sindhi society strong enough to withstand the challenges of times. "If the chain is only as strong as its weakest link", these speeches and writings show the terrible extent to which the chain of the Sindhi society is weak, decrepit and rusty. And what the ladies of Sindhiani *Tahreek* gave and said so very courageously may be only the peak of the iceberg. And if and when woman is more emancipated, bold and free, obviously the weaker goes to the wall and loses control on its own terrain. And then there is modern history to take account of. So very stiff was the resistance that the soldiers *Sindhis* put up against the British that one Britisher has written, "our shoulders were tired of slaughtering". The defeated did not run out but had to be massacred man by man as they stood the ground. This is the report of the victor about the vanquished soldier warriors on the battlefield. But what and how about those rulers for whose sake the soldiers and warriors so very heroically laid down their tragic lives. These in the most obedience to a command from Napier and in view of the thousands of onlookers in broad day light came forward, one by one, and prostrated before him, their very bellies touching the ground to get back their lands and *Jageers* and MOST ESPECIALLY (to the contempt and amazement of the British) the return not of power but of their '*Shikargahas*' or hunting lodges.

And the very second command issued by Napier was the prohibition of the free and easy killing of women in Sindh. "For every single woman killed, I will kill 200 men", said Napier, and for quite a time this practice was stopped proving thereby that if there ever was a saviour and patron saint of woman in Sindh, it was Sir Charles Napier who earlier had saluted the corpse of the brave heroes of Miani. *Sheeddi* whose grave is honoured by the British till as late as 1947 was recently dynamited near the Hyderabad Fort, along with the graves of two English men who were buried beside him at their express last request to Napier

The Sindhi Thinkers will no doubt take all this into account in evaluating the factors that have contributed to the State of Sindhi Society. Then for the Sindhi Thinkers, to think about the Sindhi Society after 1947, without also thinking of the impact of

the Muhajir inundation of Sindh is to think of playing Hamlet without the prince of Denmark.

It is within the records of living memory that the brunt of this inundation fell heaviest upon Sindh. Not only the Wagha border soon closed upon them but also trainloads of them were refused landing at the Peshawar station and under police-escort they were thrust into Sindh. While Hindu Refugees from Pakistan areas to India were welcome over there by the State itself; and while they were according to plan, distributed all over that vast land so that there was no such balance upsetting concentration of the refugees anywhere there; the opposite of it happened over here.

And the ethnic composition of the Muslim Refugees into Sindh was extremely heterogeneous. If one happened to come from U.P where they were 14-per cent of the total population, his very next neighbor has hailed from Travancore where they were less than 3 per cent. One of the very few things common to them happened to be their language being Urdu of many kinds like the Deccani and the Purbi and the Urdu of the cities of Dehi and Lucknow and Meerut. The other thing common to all of them was naturally their utter ignorance of Sindhi Culture and language. The one major contribution that the refugees most especially from U.P have made to the thought and culture of especially the cities of Sindh is the terrific and terrible Sunni-Shia conflict.

Perhaps Sindh has never witnessed such a phenomenon before. If the Sunni and Shia processions are not guarded by the Sindh police in the way they are protected, one simply shudders to think of what could happen. Foreigners who take innumerable photographs of those processions and compare them to armies of invasion, being with difficulty kept within restraint by the heroic endeavours of the police and the army on the alert. Their other contribution was the Urdu-Bengali and the Urdu-Sindhi controversy. The wonder of wonders is that those very leaders who fanned the flame of the Urdu-Sindhi controversy in Sindh are today being enriched beyond wildest dreams, while a few amongst the many who died, had to rest content with 5 little graves around which costly shops have sprung up in an ironical stance.

It had all too well been known to the refugees from India that people from East Punjab apart (who alone were naturally all too welcome to the people of the West Punjab) the rest of the refugees found accommodation, food, clothing and shelter mostly in Sindh, Sindh and Sindh. One of the very first things that the Sindhi Chief Minister Pir Illahi Bux did was to start two big colonies in Karachi. And the refugees from India occupied town, markets, lands, gardens etc. etc. etc. But yet much to the utter bewilderment and despair of not only the Sindhi, but also to that of the refugees in other parts of Sindh, the refugees tried to make a common cause within the name of Muhajir-Punjabi-Pathan *Mahaz* to cut away Karachi upto and including Hyderabad altogether from Sindh itself. In this terrific suicidal ingratitude they entirely forgot that even if ever the Muhajir Punjabi-Pathan Mahaz were to succeed, the Punjabis and Pathans would never be the people who would hand over 'Karachi *Suba*' to the tender mercies of the rootless Muhajirs on a silver platter. Why need they? And what for? But to them it would perhaps have been enough if 'Mother Sindh' also had been vivisected. True, not all were yet ready for it. But none condemned it. But in the minds of the *Sindhis* it was indelibly established that there could be no known limit to political perfidy.

And while as expected, nothing has happened to the Punjabi and Pathan members to the open conspiracy against the unity of Sindh, the thoughtless, rootless, bootless Muhajirs stand marooned high and dry; bewildered that with the passing of each day, they were becoming (as also in India according to Choudhry, the author of the Book "The land of Circo") the last of the minorities. They know that every body has disowned them. It was even reported that after the failure of the Punjabi-Pathan-Muhajir Mahaz itself, some of their erstwhile colleagues' who found no more use of their services, told them, that as they had first betrayed their own motherland and as later they were equally ready to vivisect that very Sindh who had given them shelter and every thing, who ever was insane enough to put trust into them

Truly, truly the Muhajirs also like as Cardinal Woolsey said, in the words of Shakespeare, to his aid "O Cromwell, Cromwell, had I but served my God (motherland) with half the zeal I

served my king (the Muslim league Leadership) he would not in my old age have left me naked to my enemies." And the most amazing thing is that while the Muhajirs had no tradition at all of their love for their Motherland, in Sindh they found themselves among *Sindhis* who all but near worship Sindh. Their greatest poet, Shah Abdul Latif experienced his very "*mairaj*" or ascent to heaven, through the seven cities in Sindh reaching the final state of universal Illumination of his Cosmic Consciousness in Malir (Mother Sindh). No other Muslim poet anywhere in the whole of this Subcontinent has come within millions of miles in his expression of love for his land of birth. And the Muhajirs were perhaps inspired by Iqbal's out and out condemnation of that very patriotism in honour of which earlier, he himself had written "*Saray Jahan say achha*" and *Nia Shivala* and "*Bachoon ka geet*".

They have, like many migrants from Europe to America, accepted the challenges of change. Practically there is no field of activity in which they have not been participants. Their progress here can be regarded as phenomenal. Those intellectual, social and cultural factors, which had proved themselves to be inhibitions and hindrance at their Motherlands, especially their feeling of inferiority not being present here, they are sure and confident about themselves. Their courage and the number of their casualties in the two wars with India have established their claims to patriotism. They are not afraid of competition in any intellectual field. These and many such things are objective verifiable facts. Most of them being in business and commercial cities and towns and surrounded with modern interests and modern forms of recreation, they also, even as born Americans in New York and Chicago and English men in London, do not in general have much time on their hands to get steeped into the culture of the land. Even *Sindhis* permanently living in Karachi are not perhaps that much saturated in Sindhi culture as the *Sindhis* living in the cities and towns and villages in the interior of Sindh. Indeed a Londoner is regarded as "farmer" twenty miles from the municipal limits of London. And this holds good round the world. Again, it is also verifiable. (In all such discussions, perhaps it is a good idea that which cannot be verified either through facts and figures or at least through what the sociologists call 'participant observation' had better be left out.)

Looked at that way, the Muhajirs in Sindh, being mostly in cities and towns, are more newspaper, radio and T.V fed culturally than their parents in India were. Indeed, the three main social processes -- Contact, Conflict, and Assimilation -- have proved themselves over here also; and willy-nilly, a climate of understanding based upon the inexorability of the fast developing circumstances forces both the Sindhi and the Muhajirs to reconsider their earlier attitudes. All the same, both have to be *Sindhis*.

Sindhis are *Sindhis* already. But unless Muhajirs in Sindh also become *Sindhis*, what else can they be? The doors of Punjab are not closed upon the Punjabis in Sindhi. The doors of the Pathan lands are not barred upon the Pathans in Sindh. The doors of Balochistan are not closed for the Balochis in Sindh. While India is so much anxious about the Indians who migrated from India to Africa, America, etc. even more than a century ago, the doors of India are barred against such of those Muslims of India who left India for Pakistan only after the 3rd of June 1947.

From 1940 onwards, and upto 11th August 1947, the Muslims of India were repeatedly being assured from the Muslim league's platform that "Pakistan is the homeland of the Muslims of India" The Muslim League gathered its strength on the basis of this slogan, as those Muslims who are living as even two per cent of the population in India, voted for Pakistan, almost to the last man, inspite of being told by some great Muslim leaders to think twice. Most immediately after the achievement of Pakistan those very pair of lips which had earlier repeatedly assured them, and who did all that they did because of the trust they had for those words, that 'Pakistan is the homeland of the Muslims of India', admonished them to remain where they happened to be as "No country tolerates traitors".

Akbar is known in history as the Great Mughal. Shivaji (who in the south, like Lajpat in the North, stood against Aurangzeb) is called the Grand Rebel. The verdict of history as regards the early assurances and the later sudden repudiation of the same will in no case be less than interesting and instructive and also terrific and terrible warning to all mankind.

The Sindhi thinkers anywhere have to appreciate the fact that, much earlier, their own leader Mr. Sayed also at one stage had expressly invited the Indian Muslims to come to Sindh. And when the earliest batches of Muslims from India did come, it was the *Sindhis* who received them at the railway stations and allotted the Bihar colony lands to them in Karachi.

Also it has been only the *Sindhis* who have been most hospitable and generous to the largest number of Muhajirs. Plus after his release from detentions the very first public pronouncement, with folded hands pointed towards some self styled Muhajirs leaders in Hyderabad, it was Mr. G M Sayed who most earnestly extended invitation to them to make one cause with the *Sindhis* in Sindh. The rank pretenders to the leadership of the Muhajirs OPENLY spurned this opportunity to unity and oneness. The very root of all this tragedy consists in the assurances held out that Pakistan was the homeland of the Muslims of India. It has also in even minimum honesty and uprightness of character and human dignity, been stated that Pakistan, was the homeland of Punjabis, *Sindhis* Balochis and Pathans too. In fact, with Bengal as a willing part of Pakistan, the Indian Mussalmans would not have been a matter of special burden, worry and concern to the *Sindhis*.

Such of the Sindhi thinkers as have gone abroad, can from there in an atmosphere of peace and mutual trust-worthiness look at the Muhajir's plight with dispassion.

As said earlier, the Muhajirs come from a Muslim Diaspora in India which was 14 per cent at its highest in U.P.; also most of them were in concentration only in some few cities and towns like Delhi and U.P. In the city Agra itself, they were a small minority. In cities themselves they were almost sharply divided between Sunnis and Shias with regular annual Shia and Sunni riots, which had made their processions an unending problem. And amongst the Sunnis themselves, there were the sharp ideological clefts like the Brelvis, the Devbandis etc. etc. And there were strong social boundaries between the Ashrafs of the elites and the Ajlafs of menials. Amongst the Ajlafs there were the workers, the artisans (Karhandars) the *Biradaries* or brotherhoods of the *Dhobeas* (washer-men), *Jalahas* (weavers)

Hajjams (barbers), *Lohars* (iron mongers), *Qassabs* (butchers) etc. etc. between and among which "*biradaries*" there was little inter-marital relationship, as the groups were very highly endogamous themselves. But one and all of these groups suffered from the verifiable fact, that vis-à-vis the Hindus, these were getting from poor to poorer state all because while the Hindu socio-economic pattern was based upon the Hindu joint family, based upon agriculture and so centripetalism of inherited property; the Muslim socio-economic pattern except of the few *Khojas*, *Bohris* and *Memons*) were based upon the pastoral, centrifugal pattern.

So in the Hindu joint family system there were factors, which contributed towards the capital formation needed for trade and industry, whereas in the Muslim pattern the opposite was the case, as ancestral property is splintered into uneconomic fragments within three generation at the utmost. Further, while borrowing and lending of money on interest is common amongst Hindus, the Muslims in general borrowed money on interest but would not lend money on interest due to religious scruples. And to lend money without interest was totally uneconomic proposition. The net result of all this has been that with the Hindus and Muslims living side by side, under the same uniform law of the land it is just inevitable for the Muslim to become increasingly poor and the Hindu to become increasingly prosperous. Not a single Muslim thinker or reformer ever thought that it was this difference in the two economic patterns that was the main cause of Hindu Muslim animosity and unless the Muslims brought their law of inheritance, which was based not upon religion at all, but upon the Arabian pastoral conditions having nothing to do with religious faith as such, be brought in line with the economic system of the majority community, there can just be no HOPE what-so-ever for the Muslims to come up to the level of the Hindus in economics and therefore in all other lasting phases of life

So with the Hindu growing prosperous and the Muslim becoming indigent with the passing of every single generation, the antipathy inherent in the "Haves" and "have-nots" relationship eventually resulted in the minority Muslim Provinces' attributing all their sorrows to the increasingly prosperous Hindu Commu-

nity. The same thing was slowly but very surely developing even in the Muslim majority areas now known as Pakistan, between 1911 and 1941. The small Hindu minority in these areas had become, it is reported, owner of a very large part of the once Muslim property; and it is estimated that if Pakistan had not come into existence, and the Hindus had not migrated en-mass to India, by now, that is 1984, wholly because of the two very different and opposite systems of inheritance working side by side and because of the Muslim, willingness to borrow but not lend on interest basis, a great deal of the Muslim property would have gone into the hands of the Hindus. It is claimed that at the time of the partition of India already a great chunk of the property of the Muslims had been mortgaged to the Hindus and the Muslims were steeped in debt even in the area where they happened to be in majority and that on the migration of the Hindus en-mass to India a very great burden of debt all of a sudden fell down from the shoulder of the Muslims there.

So we see that this and not RELIGION as CREED of faith was at the bottom of reason why the Muslims in the minority areas and those in the majority areas made common cause. The Muslims in the minority areas saw only the END RESULT: that is they were becoming paupers. But they did not bother to see the 'WHY OF IT' at all. And when they were tempted with slogan "Pakistan will be homeland of the Muslims of India" they were completely swept away at such a terrific momentum that the very repudiation of that very self-same slogan, from the very author of it himself, after the work was done, could not stop many of them from very un-invitedly pouring into Sindh specially.

It has also to be placed on record that while practically very few, if at all, of their leaders suffered and skulked away to Pakistan, 'just in time' to enrich themselves with the Hindu evacuee property beyond their wildest dreams, many of those who had put their trust in them were happily allowed to perish in the communal strip behind. And the Hindus especially in Sindh were impelled to India to get settled over there as a matter of admirable history. The suffering of the greatest majority of the Indian Muslims who migrated from India (many are even to this date living in *Jhuggies* and under sub-human conditions) and

the opulence of their leaders who, further grinding their own axes, brought rifts between the *Sindhis* and the poor devils by causing things like the language riots and things too sordid to be forgotten or forgiven. Acknowledged traitors to the cause of their followers are, even in death, honoured with big roads having been named after them. The lands and wealth they amassed was colossal. If only the Sindhi Thinkers, here or abroad, ever care to see and understand the plight and the blight of the rank and file followers both in India as well as here, of the slogan – “Pakistan is the homeland of the Muslims of India, of the minority provinces”, the Muslims, these Sindhi Thinkers, will have better appreciation of the Muhajir problem. Had the Muslims living in the minority Provinces been very clearly told in time that the struggle for Pakistan as the Homeland of Muslims of India, was only for those Muslims who were living in their majority areas and as such the Indian Muslims should have no hopes about the majority areas ever becoming their home lands, things would have been more honest. They should not at all have been asked to vote on such questions. Of course, to keep the record right, they had been told, “Let us do a bit of sacrificing a few crores for the sake of more crores”: but they could have been more plainly told that they will have to suffer and remain where they were, in the cause of Pakistan.

Maulana Azad (whose death Bertrand Russell himself is said to have lamented as the greatest death after the death of Pythagoras and Nietzsche) himself had most clearly warned the Indian Muslims to remain loyal to the land of their birth. But they had been so very thoroughly blinded and tempted by the ignorance and incitement of the facts, and their frustrations vis-à-vis the Hindus were perhaps so great, that they even to this day do not see the truth or justice of it all.

II

The Sindhi Hindus who migrated to India were in the happy position to stand stoutly on guard on their Sindhi Language. It is facing no overt or covert threat; has a powerful independent Press and Publications which are vigorously serving cause of their beloved Sindhi language in an atmosphere of freedom.

liberty and the most absolute freedom of thought and expression, conditions optimum for the efflorescence of language, thought and the very spirit of man. Therefore, it is to be expected that it is from such position alone that the Sindhi language will sustain Sindhi Spirit any where and every where, all because the language is one of the dearest possession of man, as it is always with him, and in him.

The Sindhi thinkers abroad may also be having the chance of observing the power and need of the English Language. It did not attempt to undermine, rather it stimulated Sindhi as it did all the other languages in India. The English language was never regarded as any covert or overt threat to Sindhi. Otherwise great men of Sindh like Hassan Ali Effendi and Dr. U.M Daudpota and Mirza Qalich Beg would not have been in its favour. Indeed Mirza Qalich Beg brought the river Thames to the river Indus through his translation of some of the very best of English literature into Sindhi. If all his translations are published, Sindhi will be immeasurably the gainer; and it ought to be the bounded duty of the Sindhi Adabi Board to confine and concentrate all its attention to publish only the Sindhi LITERARY works, leaving the translation and publication of Sindhi religious books to a Sindhi Religious Board as these are the days of intense specialization. The Sindhi THINKERS any where and everywhere have the inalienable right to think about the future of their Sindh as ardently as others have the world over, about their own lands: man being not only a rational animal but also a territorial animal. Any one on his own terrain is a lion; and on another's terrain, a lamb. All those who have lost their territories too well know this. They may be having every thing, but "Aabroo" or a "FACE". But even more severe becomes that tragedy if any one becomes a lamb on his own territory.

No: not for nothing at all did the great Ghalib say

"Aabroo kia khak uos gul ki jo gulshan mein nahin

"Hai gerayban mage pyrahan jo daman mein nehin"

But things can become infinitely more humiliating and pitiable when the Red Indians in America, the Bushmen in Australia, and the Maoris in New Zealand, the Negroes in African become what they have become. There the lions have become sacrificial lambs in their own territories. Indeed wholly because the writing of modern history is wholly in the hands of the European colonizers, who have become the "legitimate NATIONALS" of the continents they have occupied by the methods all too well known, the full details of all that has really happened are not as well known as they would have been if like the American Negro author of *ROOTS*, thousands of authors were to spring up amongst the Red Indians, New Zealanders and also here in the subcontinent, to vocalize what has happened to them in the name of religions, civilization and culture

President Wilson's theory of Self-Determination was not at all extended to include the right of the Red Indians, the Bushmen of Australia, the Maoris of New Zealand and the Negroes of South Africa. Indeed nationalism has come to mean nothing but the vociferous claims of the dis-heritors of the lands of others to consolidate power not only on those lands but also on the very lives of the real proto-owners of those lands. "I want land... not people" is the eternal cry of one and all the invaders, conquerors, and colonists ever since human history began and the political and military history of the entire world is the record of the proceedings based upon this demand. And where the weaker have not been exterminated, not out of any mercy or charity, but to get cheap and free labour as slaves, helots, harlots, servants, beggars, their minds have been paralyzed through subtle doctrines of pseudo-metaphysics and mysticisms. One of the more crude and, therefore, visible laughable outright was the doctrine of "The white Man's Burden", as if the whole Universe has most painstakingly chosen the white Man to carry the burden of "civilizing" the non-whites by divesting them of their religions even, so that the converts may function as willing dogs of the whites, as was expressly stated as a political necessity in India specially after the events of 1857. It has been the function of all imperial religions without exception and so also has been the function of all languages used for imperial purposes no matter under what simpering guise. "Salvation in

the next world at the cost of religious, cultural and linguistic slavery in this world" has been the principle at the bargaining counter. Judicial use of dread and persuasion has paralyzed, hypnotized, baffled and completely inhibited the thoughts of millions of the surviving vanquished and spiritual themes of the bards and the poets of the conquerors is typified not only in the stanzas of Rig Veda but also in the words of Kipling when he demands: -

"God of our fathers known of old,

"Lord of our far-flung line "Be with us yet...

"Lest we forget, lest we forget."

In between also the whole history of aggrandizement may it be through force or fear or both just the same. After force has destroyed the physical power of the victims, missionaries are sent to appease and salvage the soul of the survivors, as was seen in the invasion of ship-loads of missionaries after the fall of Japan, as a typical example of a superior since thousands of years. Everywhere the conquest of man and his lands and his wealth is the objective of the stronger man. The *Mohanas*, the many wild and wandering tribes in Sindh, are the truest sons of the soil, dispossessed perhaps since the time Mohenjodaro was destroyed. They are the very bedrock of Sindhi humanity. If the adage "the chain is only as strong as its weakest link" has any grain of truth in it. To make Sindh strong, they and all those who, being THE very FOUNDATION STONES of Sindh society have to be as much caretakers of the foundation of any building any where, as mere common sense would dictate, before it is too late. As a dispossessed, disinherited, person cannot know what things like loyalty and patriotism can ever mean anything, the words, "Obtaining spies and *mukhbers* against the Mobs and Rajas is no problem to the Company at all", written by an English Colonel in the 18th century are enough to justify his dis-loyalty and his rebellion.

Similarly, the dispossessed jungle-driven, 'low-caste' HUMAN beings, contemptuously known as 'BANJARAS' or the forest folk, who, in return of till then unheard of CASH, kept the British supplied with cattle, grains, mules and other needed supplies during their full one hundred long period of part by part

conquest of this subcontinent. After all what good Indian society had but done to the *Banjaras*, that they should have remained 'loyal' to it? The first time most of them saw 'cash' perhaps from the English hands. Even there, between the Englishmen and the poor *Banjaras* the Indian society kept people who as middlemen and moneylenders mercilessly exploited them.

But, even the pittance the *Banjaras* got from the British was something new and wonderful to them when compared with the forced work they were compelled to do mostly, under the Nawabs and Rajas. Therefore the *Banjaras* and others, like them all over the land were only all too eager to deal with the British. That only goes to show that in dark conditions there can be nothing like one-way traffic even in nationalism and patriotism; also, unless one man is benefited for his services by another man, he will serve that third man from whom he got the greater benefit.

Therefore permanently exploiting groups cannot at all bank upon the one-sided loyalty and patriotism of the permanently exploited groups even when under the persuasion of rewards in the world to come, once their eyes are opened by modernism to the nature of the trick played upon them. As Oliver Wendell Holmes remarked, "The human mind once stretched because of new idea, will not return to its previous damnations. And in Sindh also contact with the British, contact with new ideas, wherever and whenever made, produced such thinkers like Dr. Gurbuxani, Dr. Daudpota, Mirza Qalich Beg and crowds of other thinkers, authors, modern scholars and writers and journalists who became entirely different from those who were intellectuals under conditions previous to the British contact. They were a new crop altogether, but yet did not become 'Anglo-Sindhis', but remained *Sindhis*, root and branch, working mainly for the individuality of Sindh. As far back as 1925 Dr. Pistonji Dubash, the champion of the newly coined Esperanto language in Sindh, published a pamphlet demanding a University of Sindh. As five years earlier Dr. Marshall and other archaeologists had made Sindh famous all over the world with the discovery of the ruins of Mohenjodaro, the joy and pride of the *Sindhis*, as belonging to one of the most developed nations of the world, knew no bounds, and they resented Sindh being

tagged with Bombay even for administrative purpose. Mr. Jamshed Nussarwanji Mehta and a number of his friends like Shahani emerged as a new species of civic and social leaders who succeeded in making Sindh is well known all over the Subcontinent as moderate politicians fully capable of understanding and working modern democracy. And Karachi emerged as the cleanest city in India and Hyderabad as the city, which produced the largest number of I.C.S. Officers next only to Allahabad

So, Sindh attracted the envious and admiring attention as being the seat at one and the same time of the most ancient culture as well as of the latest progress. And the business and trading classes of Sindh like their ancestors who built Mohenjodaro and Harrapa culture on the basis of trade and commerce even overseas, did the same thing again and brought wealth to Sindh by being amongst the cleverest business men round the world with branches of their concerns in China, Java, Sumatra and beyond. They made Shikarpur one of the richest cities of the Subcontinent being moneylenders to the millionaire businessman of Bombay itself. "One day Karachi will be the queen of the East", prophesied Sir Charles Napier, the emancipator of the womenfolk of Sindh by his proclamation. And the *Sindhis* began to contribute to the realization of that dream chiefly by developing their civic consciousness through the exemplary (then) Municipal Corporation, most especially under the mayoralship of the most practical follower of Ethics, Jamshed Nussarwanji Mehta. Karachi as a model city had certain amenities that were truly worthy of imitation by others. Although the Karachi Gymkhana was exclusive to the British, acres of land were given to build the Muslim Gymkhana, Hindu Gymkhana, Parsee Gymkhana, Y.M.C.A and one for the Goans. It was also proposed to have a Riveria in Karachi between the causeways leading down the Love lane, and *Teen Hatti*, by bunding the Lyari River at the cause way. Therefore the rulers of Lasbela, Khairpur etc. had built their mansions on the Lawrence Road. The people like Mr. Gazder and Allah Bux Baloch, Mr. Hatim A Alavi, Mr. Musti Khan and other important *Sindhis* also had built their bungalows near the would be Riveria, near the vast Agha Khan Gymkhana behind the Gandhi Garden where the first Brit-

ish Regiment in Karachi had first been stationed. But the necessity of building houses at the Artillery Maiden and New Town and Jamshed Quarters came up and the Riveria idea did not taken shape. Sir Jehangir Kothari built not only centrally situated Jehangir Park, but also, a unique hall, all over the sub-continent, and Jehangir Kothari Parade, a vast, and modern, beautiful structure on the seashore at Clifton. So between the first and the second Great Wars, Sindh with the Sukkur Barrage on one side and the rise up of Karachi on the other, with vast desert-lands very rapidly becoming the granary of Sindh and beyond; with wealthy towns like Shikarpur, with intellectual centre like Hyderabad, was emerging as a star-province, a shining example of peaceful development of modern culture in a living ancient land. And right on the very spot, where in 1929, the resolution for the Independence of India was passed, is now situated the tomb of the Founder of Pakistan. The uprooted and also self-uprooted, most of the Muhajirs in Sindh stand amazed at their lot. "Where are you going", Azad asked them. "Where are you going? You are not going to Pakistan. You are going to Punjab, to Sindh, to N.W.F.P. to Balochistan, to east Bengal. These are not empty spaces. There are people living there. They have their own culture, their own ways of life. In twenty-five years from now nationalism develops in these communities, where will you go and what will you be your status and position". That realistic question is now demanding expression. Coming from the four corners of India, those who are in huge pockets of their own like those in Karachi and Hyderabad and Sukkur and Sujawal are the owners of a bewildering psyche. Their political behaviour though resembles the behaviour of a number of mice in a cage, poking their noses from one futility to another. Happy among them are those who have a sense of contentment and have resigned themselves to their good fate.

As a large number of Muhajirs who came first are dead and gone and the rest are with their children and their grand children who are almost without any awareness of their political past and are almost completely unaware even of the facts of political wilderness of their dead ones. And while during the Ayub Martial Law, Yahya's Martial Law and the present Marshal Law the youths of Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and

N.W.F.P. had had the chance to think about their provinces and their political destinies in their own ways. The children of the Muhajirs are almost complete political orphans, looking at the purposeful and hopeful Sindhi, Punjabi, Balochi and Pakhtoon youth with the same wistful eyes of the political paupers looking at the heirs to political future.

In the future scheme of things they see themselves nowhere and in the council of the various heirs to political future they find themselves nowhere in the history, traditions, cultures and the ways of lives that condition politics. Whereas the Hindus who migrated from Pakistan to area in India are to be found thick in the politics of India as part and parcel of society over there with none to ask them who are you and why are you here and so they do not at all find themselves rootless and statusless and voiceless. Those who have come over here do not have enough in their voice even to be heard as regards the re-opening of the Khokhrapar Railway route to India; as of course, those who came from East Punjab were and are very naturally and very understandably, all because of the commonness of language, culture and ethnic uniformity and got promptly absorbed in west Punjab and by no means can they be considered as rootless. Indeed they, more than many others, are now the ones who ask the other refugees from the other parts of India the question "who are you and why here, may we know?"

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Gul Hayat Institute

The Roses of Sindh

"I sometimes think," said the great Omer Khayam, "I sometimes think that never grows the rose so red as in the place where some buried Caesar bled."

With all due respect to Khayam, one must say that he was thinking only about Caesar and not about those Roman Legionaries who shed their own and others' blood to make Julius leave the generic name 'Caesar' behind, for all the Roman Emperors to make it their own.

Where would Caesar have been, but for these Legionaries of 'common' soldiers?

Is the common man that much of a common man that his blood, for a common cause, does not give colour and fragrance to a rose?

Is a common man a common man at all?

Is he not a homo sapiens?

The highest of creation, is he not?

What the great Shakespeare makes Shylock say about the Jews.

"Hath not a Jew eyes; hath not a Jew hands, organ, dimensions, sense, affections, and passions? If you prick us do we not bleed, if you tickle us do we not laugh, if you poison us, do we not die, and if you wrong us shall we not revenge?" Does it not apply to each and every human being, man, woman and child!

"Common Man"!!

Are not the anthropologists delighted to find out the skull and bones of man, any man, not an uncommon man, not one of the any "chosen" but a common man of the prehistoric days?

Are they not on intense search after the "missing link", a common man, and certainly not any Nawab or Mir or Pir? Do not psychologists, when they speak of the uniqueness of the mental powers of man, speak about the mental powers of the common man, not any particular man, with any 'Royal' blood in him?

Are not the anatomists astonished that on even the most meticulous examination of the brains of Einstein and also that of any 'common man' who died an obscure death in any charitable hospital or dying house, they did not find any significant difference between the two brains?

Did not Christ, when he declared "YE ARE GODS" and "Sabbath was made for man, not man for Sabbath" refer to any and every man?

And when the Old Testament said "MAN IS THE MEASURE OF ALL THINGS" did it make any difference between man and man? So, why the blood of any Caesar alone and not the blood of man is such dye as the rose red?

With all his intellectual greatness, Napoleon regarded his Soldier as nothing but "fodder for the guns" while the soldier so adored him that they most willingly sacrificed their lives to please him. At the time of their final closing, the eyes must have been opened on St. Helena that he himself was dying as a 'common man', at his worst. While he was engaged in a fierce battle, his wife Maria Louisa sent him a picture (mind you, only a picture) of their one-year-old son.

On seeing the mere picture of his, Napoleon burst into tears saying "Take him away, take him away. He should not see the battle scene, in so tender an age".

Think of the enormity of this callousness. Others' sons, lovers, fathers, brothers in the very prime of their manhood, were all getting cut to pieces around Napoleon to fulfill his ambition. Their lives and their real bodies were all as nothing but "fodder for the guns" to Napoleon. But HIS consumptive brat's PICTURE, it should not see the gory battlefield!!

This is how people, in position of power, have treated their own fellowmen as if these fellowmen of theirs were no human beings at all, when compared with the selfish leaders and pictures even of their brats. This has been the story of MAN in Sindh also.

Mohammad Hussain Panhwar quotes an English Administration of Sindh a hundred years ago.

According to him, six Muslims died in a communal fight in a town of Sindh. To appease the Muslims, the British Administration invited their leaders to a meeting. There these leaders talked only about their interests, for hours, and departed satisfied. The horrified Administrator noted down in writing that "all through the meeting not even one single Muslim talked about the six dead in the fight; and what measure the Government should take to help their families of widows and orphans. The Unpardonable CRIME of these six was that they were "common men"

This gross and almost 'instinctive' ignoring of the common man, the Sindhi *Manush* by the *Sindhis* themselves, their unconcern and disregard for his and her sacrifices for Sindh; this utter unconcern of the *Mirs*, the *Pirs*, the *Vaderas* towards their own flesh of flesh, blood of blood, the Sindhi *Manush*; this their utter aloofness! This inspite of the fact that Shah Abdul Latif and Sachal gave Sindh a literature and thought that were not 'class literature' and 'class thought' but their literature and that thought which owe their immense power and popularity just because they could create the echoes of understanding in and from the very hearts and souls of the 'common man' of Sindh, whom these saints regarded as the essential link of the chain of Sindhi humanity

Had these saints thought otherwise, would they also have sent paeans of praise and bizarre outlandish panegyrics in honour of decadent monarchs and kings, praying that "their lives may extend to one thousand years with each one of those years having not less than fifty thousands days" (a horrible thing and sight to imagine even!).

But all these humanistic thoughts of all these saints, their picking out the common women of Sindh as the heroines of their sublime songs, evoked nothing more than a lip service which brought about no social change whatsoever!

The oppression of women in Sindh was so terrible that the very second proclamation of the great Napier came as a heavenly blessing from a long, long and long awaited saviour. He is perhaps their only patron saint. The inhumanity that the rule of the upper classes created in Sindh was so intense that when Napier ordered, in the open *darbar* these oppressors to perform actual '*SIJDA*' to him to retain their lands, they (the bully being the coward) did so in the presence of the on-looking multitude, only to retain their lands and their feudal power over their own people, the *Haris*.

And it was this very same Napier who saluted the dead body of *Sheeddi*, a Sindhi *Manush*, who had so bravely laid down his life in the defence of Sindh. (And two British officers, mortally wounded in the *Miani* Battle, successfully begged of Napier that they might be buried on either side of the great Sindhi *Manush*. And recently all the three graves were dynamited sky high, near the Hyderabad fort, with no Sindhi to mourn for them).

This terrific gap between the upper and the lower parts of the Sindhi Society, because of the near total absence of the vertebral column, i.e. the strong Sindhi Middle Class, is responsible for many a Sindhi Rose to "Blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air" of a self-crippled Sindhi Society.

That is not all. It and it alone has ever led Sindh to be a dominated society. It is because of this, that, in the Toynbeeian phraseology, in Sindh there is what he calls "the chasm in the soul" and "loss of command" over destiny and environment.

It is like having head and feet, but no supporting backbone of strong middle class, or a relative classlessness in society. Quite the opposite was the case in Bangladesh

It was a common and daily sight, for one and all to see leaders like Fazal Haq and Bhashani sitting on broken "Khats"

actually sharing '*dal-bhat*' or rice and millet with the most common of the Bengalis; and not for show.

Even seventy years back, Fazal Haq, the then one of the most eminent lawyers, was seen pulling out currency notes from his pockets, to disperse them among the crowds of poor students who surrounded them; as their very PITA or Father. The students who shared '*dal-bhat*' with him, even after 1947, in his own house, are today amongst his greatest mourners.

And he has not been alone in this. Even to this day the officers of the Superior services of Bangladesh are generally one with even their poorest relatives and friends and village folks, to such an extent that the whole of the Bangladesh society is unbelievably homogeneous.

Of course attempts were made in and after 1958 to create among them stand-offish groups to thus bring about fissures in that society, and ever-hate-able renegade who leaving his trusting followers in lurch behind, had escaped on the very day he had taken in public the oath of loyalty to his own country, had gone, as in position of authority to the then East Pakistan. And there ever true to his Machiavellian genius, he tried his level best to bring about fissions in the then East Pakistan society: and to create the "*Ashraf* versus *Ajlaf*" class consciousness amongst the Bengalis so to split the then East Pakistan into three mutually conflicting areas!

Eventually his political perfidy proved abortive. But when a non-Sindhi Sindh Hater thought fit to abolish the very political identity of Sindh itself. It was (a son of Sindh himself) a powerful Sindhi in position, all too brief a position of power, who willingly performed the duties of the executioner. This is so very indelibly writ so large and clear on the pages of Sindh's history itself, for all the coming generations of the *Sindhis* to read and to feel ever and ever abysmally ashamed of his political felony, contrasting his and his Machiavellian colleagues Macbethian-butchery of Sindh with the patriotism of the great Sindhi *Manush*, *Sheeddi* whose dead body invoked in the mind of Napier that spark of hero worship which the dead body of *Teepu* Sultan sparked in the mind of Willington. (It is to be said

to the eternal greatness of the English who are proverbial patriots themselves that while in India, if they have spontaneously admired patriotism over here, it is the patriotism of *Teepu Sultan of Mysore*, *Rani Tara Bai of Jhansi* and *Sheeddi of Sindh*).

Being the spiritual dependents of the heroic patriot Queen Bodecia, who in defence of England against the invading Romans, was cut to pieces while shouting, "Romans, pitiless and proud, regions Caesar never knew, my posterity shall sway; where his Eagles never flew. none more invincible than they... Empire on us bestowed: Shame and ruin wait for you". These Englishmen knew greatness when they saw it. be it in *Teepu Sultan* or *Rani Tara Bai* or in *Hoshoo Sheeddi*. It takes greatness to recognize greatness, and it is the cowardly selfish imperialists who regard their opposing heroes and patriots as enemies and subversives.

This was clearly seen in the struggle for the freedom of this Subcontinent. While British statesmen of the caliber of George Lancebury ever since 1920 itself had formed what may be called 'the Indian lobby' in the British Parliament, to make the British Government and Public realize that this Subcontinent should have its due share of freedom in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the petty British official of the Anglo Indian police Sergeants and the beer and beef contractor Khan Bahadur in India it was who was deadly against any such political progress; and it was he who was pitiless in his manhandling of the 'political agitators', "the seditionists" as they called the patriots. Over here also, for far lesser reasons, Fazal Haq himself had moved the Lahore Resolution and Suharwardy who had done so much towards the creation of this country were on the floor of the House called 'traitors' and 'dogs' but then perhaps to their own amusement, or even mild astonishment, it was they, the very 'dogs' who were so ardently licked into appeasement, and were given Governorship and Prime-Minister-ship respectively. Such things happen all because 'the bully is the coward'. And when the wind is taken out of his sails, his soap bubble bursts

In Sindh, all because of the near absent strong middle class, the harsh gap between the rich and the poor is telling

Amongst the rich or the 'haves' are groups who may openly be gloating over the fact that they are so very strategically placed, no matter what the form of any government, their hold upon the destiny of the roses of Sindh, will ever be unshaken even over so slightly.

They may care two hoots for the 'common humanity' the real Roses of Sindh, the men and the women, who have so long been drugged into a somnambulistic stupor by being administered interpretations of the writings of the Sufis and saints as potent soporifics. (To the Sindhi Hindus these very writings of saints proved to be stimulants and NOT hypnogenics). These myopia "strategically placed" gloating groups fail to see that they are celebrating their triumph only upon their own down trodden people; and that they themselves may cringe like whipped puppies in the presence of the representatives of any society which has a strong middle class as its powerful backbone

This was, to repeat, well exemplified in the manner in which the landed "nobility" of Sindh performed "*Sijda*" before Napier, a representative of the Middle ruling Class of England (because by his time, the English Lords had long lost their power and the common man in England ruled England and the Empire from the House of Commons and Napier was one of his paid soldiers employed to build an Empire by defeating despots. That is the Common Man, the rose of England). Very symbolically the Lords in England eventually over-exhausting of the 'Wars of Roses' that they fought amongst themselves, one faction plucking up a white rose as their emblem and the other plucking up a red rose as theirs!! Another pitiable historical example of the utter self-humiliation to which one who has no respect for the humanness and personality of his own people can stop was seen when a member of the Sindhi ruling classes, straight stretched himself into wet dirt, to enable an English Officer to step upon him to keep his own shoes clean: Can self-abasement do worse than this? And all this self-degradation only to remain in Power over the Roses of Sindh: In any society with a strong middle class, the cat will look at the king without batting eye. This much is pretty certain: in any non-Marxian country, any society without a strong middle class of its own is

a Mouse and ever within easy reach of any proximate group of Tom Cats which have a strong indigenous middle class.

And that is not all. In any society where there is no strong middle class, the effort of the upper classes always is to see that a strong middle-class does not at all come into being. If there is any effort on the part of the Roses to rise from amongst the Poor class as intellectuals, the Upper Class does not in the least hesitate to offer the heads of the Roses on the altar of its own self-preservation.

This was clearly seen in the history of the real origins of the Crusades

The under laying motives of the Crusades were not at all the recovery of the sepulcher of Christ from the Muslims. For after the new route to India and after the discovery of America, the sepulcher of Christ was fully allowed to remain in the hands of Muslims upto 1918!!

Where did then the frenzy to recover that holy place go?

The real reasons (of course, hidden from the hundreds of thousands from Europe, who perished on the hot sands of Palestine) were:

1. The desire to snatch the market of spices and silk from the hands of the Arabs, and to restore direct trade contact between India and the West.
2. To decrease the mounting pressure of the youths of the poor classes (which were proving themselves to be the threat to the European order of chivalry and knighthood and landlordism) by sending these surplus threatening youths, including pitiable children, the roses (in the notorious children's Crusade) to crusade to decrease the "blood pressure" of Europe through such "bleeding the patient to death, to cure the disease "

The other method of the Power Group of the upper classes to prevent the development of the strong middle-classes is to

cripple the power of the woman as completely as is possible in the name of religion, culture and "morality".

In his book "THE SCIENCE OF POWER", Benjamin Kidd has extensively dealt with the power of woman. "It is not the fighting male of the race: It is in woman that we have the future of power in civilization". In articles then again speaking about "WOMAN THE PSYCHIC CENTRE," he says "The emotion of the ideal is an inseparable and the most essential part of that capacity in the human mind which senses Power. Woman from her history in the past in subjection of force has doubtless from an early period possessed this capacity in a high degree... When the male has the need of the emotion of the ideal to carry him beyond the thick of his present difficulties, or beyond the outlook of his environment, or in these higher regions of leadership which require sacrifices prolonged beyond all interest of the present, he instinctively turns, not to another male of his kind, but to woman for support and instinctive understanding".

And once her sacrifices produce the needed effect of making man dominant over the other men... "The culminating effect in the past of the attitude of civilization to woman even amongst the most advanced people has been to inculcate the doctrine that the only duty which woman owes to the world is that which she owes through those to whom she is related through the sexual bond. Her deeper and more characteristic nature has been prevented...from being released into any other channel than that of her husband and her family...It is one of the most pregnant facts in the upward progress of the race that the emotion of the idea in relation to power has had its chief and deepest expression in the mind of the woman. Even with all the disabilities under which her sex has laboured, woman's mind in the past has been the principle source of the creative idealism of the world. When all other channels have been closed to her, woman has carried the creative capacity of the emotion of the ideal into the practical world of affairs mainly through her influence on the mind of the young... Woman as a sex will reveal the same power of devotion of ideals, and to causes, as she does to persons. Her relationship to the future through the long eras of her evolution in the past has permanently endowed woman's mind with the capacity of self sacrifice and renuncia-

tion, persisting through every variety of opposition and of suffering even to death, which is the product of the high emotions and which in woman is without any superior in the whole realm of mind

Instinctively sensing such power and potentiality of the mind of the woman, we see, in the sociology of Sindh, how the physically dominant male has kept the woman crippled, with the result that as compared with a nearby society in which the woman is more free to bring up her children, the Sindhi male himself finds that his power is nowhere when compared with the power of a people whose women are more free

The Sindhi women in the truly great *Sindhiani Tahreek*, in the many epoch-making speeches, have clearly brought out the handicaps, with which the woman in Sindh is suffering. But this exposure itself is nothing but the peak of the ice-berg with which much can come to light in the future speeches and writings of the Sindhi women-folk

These speeches and writings tear to smithereens the nauseatingly tall claims of high hypocrisy that women enjoy here rights and privileges, unknown even to the western women!!!

One of the factors that have contributed to the startling awakening in the women of Sindh has been the travel to the foreign lands by some of their present leaders.

From outside Sindh they have been able to see things in proper perspective. This awakening in the Sindhi women is the spread of the *Sindhiani Tahreek* by its very nature does not confine to the women only. It cannot. Youths and maidens, boys and girls, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters of the women of the *Sindhiani Tahreek* are already being very deeply affected. With the passing of the days, hours, minutes and even seconds they are THINKING. "Beware!", says Thomas Carlyle, "Beware! A thinker has come among Ye".

Here it is now no more that being "a thinker" but "thinkers" "thinkers" in their hundreds. They are thinking as they perhaps never had thought before. And now they will never stop THINKING which is a problem solving activity and process. No more

soporifics but thought. As Robert G Ingersoll said. "When slaves begin to *think*, slavery begins to die", the slavery to the Past, to illusions and delusions. They have seen and seen through, for instance, the so-called land reform, which has left thousands upon thousands of acres of the most fertile lands intact in the old hands as before. They have seen the betrayal of the mission of Hyder Bux Jatoti. They have seen the extent to which Universities have been insulated and deprived of their prestige and power; how those who were not worthy enough to even come near, let alone be worthy of touching their feet have been ordering about the Vice Chancellors and Professors like janitors. Indeed just what is it that the youths of Sindh have not seen of the degradation of man by man? Is there anything still left in the arsenal of indignity unused? They are fast coming out of the hypnosis of that brand of mysticism which for centuries has been the very bane to the intellect of man, woman and child. They have begun so deeply, ever so very deeply, hate, detest, abominate one and all of those factors which have socially, physically, mentally and emotionally, over the very centuries, contributed to the crippling of the intellect of the Sindh: *Manush*, the rose of Sindh, to rob him of his human hood itself by making him believe that his very salvation depends not upon the principal resources of his own psyche, but upon the "spiritual crumbs" from the tables of the 'masters' of his soul itself, condescendingly flung at him as towards any street dog in return for eternal gratitude expressed in the shape of unending spiritual and social slavery and fathomless gratitude and feelings of utter self-humiliation and self-subjugation.

The Sindhi youth, the Roses of Sindh, have called off the bluff. And there is fundamental gain. Now their proclamation to one and all who are sitting "without you, and if you oppose, in spite of you, come what may". Of course they can be most deftly sidetracked, by some of their own elders, who pretending to lead and guide them can be busy taking them up the garden path. This is an ancient technique, to decoy and to betray while pretending to resonate with empathy. This is the same story of the lamb, the shepherd and the butcher.

The lamb will remain a 'sheep' if it mistakes the care and the embrace that the shepherd bestows upon it; for nowhere in

the whole history has any shepherd ever loved any lamb for its own sake. When the lamb is fattened enough into a sheep, no shepherd ever has regretted handing it over of course for price, to the butcher, his self-interest. So whenever and wherever, no matter in what disguise, there happen to be a "philanthropic" shepherd, the lamb has to look out for the not far off awaiting butcher. So, the Roses, the youths of Sindh have to see that their leadership remains not strictly with themselves in their own hands. When after the massacre of the innocent people of Delhi the desperately degenerate Mohammad Shah Rangilla (totally unmindful of the spill of the blood of his own subjects) offered the mass-murderer, Nadir Shah, an elephant ride (as if nothing at all had happened). Nadir Shah, sitting in the howdah of the elephant asked for the rein of the elephant, to control it like a horse.

"There are no reins for the elephant, your Majesty." It is not you but it is the Mahayet who controls the elephant with the 'ankus' he was told.

"Then I get out immediately. If the reins of the animal I ride are not in my own hands, then NEVER WILL I RIDE IT." This awakened Roses of Sindh have to remember. Strongly self-interested parties, deeply disturbed with the threatening power of the awakened Roses of Sindh, will not at all hesitate to offer "self-less" leadership on the "Heads I win, tails you lose" secret and also "sacred" formula of yours. Such betrayers have all the money, all the time and all the leisure needed to coolly, calmly, unemotionally and heartlessly a plan and attempt to carry out the most selfish strategy of exploiting the power and enthusiasm of the idealistically motivated youth.

For, the new Trojan Horse of destroying many a progressive movement is not to oppose it at all, but to jump upon its hand-wagon, rob away the real leadership of its power, to print to smother it. only to smother it by gentle but firm asphyxia. This is homoeopathic villainy, specially practiced by the old guards upon the pulsating and trusting youth. Then "out you go" said the old rascal. And Benjamin Franklin, in his autobiography says, "I learnt the lesson of my life... never again to grind the axes of others".

So, when vested interests volunteer to offer advice, guidance and leadership to resurgent youth movement, well, it is good to remember Benjamin Franklin's advice that "Beware. There is a catch over here", without illusions or delusions. They have been thoroughly de-hypnotized and are now busy calling off the bluff, which over centuries and in the most intricate and subtle ways has paralyzed them.

Comparing the abject conditions of the women of Sindh with the luck and destiny of the women abroad, these foreign returned Sindhi women, in their speeches and writings are busy awakening the rest of the women to the realities of the processes and techniques of their victimization.

So also are those other Roses of Sindh, the Poets, Writers and Thinkers. To an aged man like the present writer, they very strongly remind him of the crop of writers, poets and thinkers of the Romantic Political thought of this Subcontinent from 1922 onwards... the same inspirations and the same aspirations and the same simple and adamant refusal to get hypnotized. Such of these members of the power group who do not want to see the rise of a middle class in Sindh, may perhaps feel all too willingly ready for any total liquidation of these few thinkers, writers and poets by anybody. And to that purpose they may come to terms with any one from anywhere, on the one and only condition that their own status may be maintained. Where there is no vision, the people perish including the traitors often. That was what exactly the 'Princely Order' tried to do in India after 1857.

"We will rule India through the princes", said a British Imperialist and that they did. The Indian princes, the Highnesses and the exactly Highnesses tried to act as break walls to the rising tide of modern consciousness amongst their subjects. All that they asked in return was the survival of their own impotent princely order.

Even when, in 1946, when Lord Mountbatten declared that on the departure of the British, "Sovereignty will return to the people" some of the myopic members of the out and out, outdated "Chamber of Princes" entertained mad hopes that they will immediately, even with resort to force, regain the territories their unhallowed ancestors had surrendered to the British!!

These myopics refused to see that "one cannot cross the same river twice", as much water will have flowed down the Sindh in the meanwhile. The long, long suffering Roses the His Exhausted Highnesses had remained totally unimpressed when they were branded as agitators, subversionists, terrorists and the like. They reminded that these were exactly those same words that the British had used against the American Colonists who were fighting for their freedom from the British yoke. And they also remembered that when the British had placed price on the heads of all the leaders of the American Revolution who had signed the Declaration of Independence for "Treason", one of the Roses of America, Thomas Jefferson declared: "IF THIS BE TREASON, LET US MAKE THE MOST OF IT." Indeed Sindh can have a very real GULISTAN OF ITS OWN, unique in the world, in the shape of an exclusive Rose Garden in a place like the Company *Bagh* at Hyderabad.

In this ROSE GARDEN, or GULISTAN-E-SINDH, instead of their being GRAVES of the dead there can be the living plants of the most fragrant roses, in separate marked plots, each named after the totally un-controversial personalities of Sindh, like Jam Nizamuddin, Shah Inayat, Shah Latif, Sachal, *Saami*, Dr. Gurbuxani, Dr. Daudpota, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Mr. Jamshed Nussarwanji Mehta, and all the great musicians, artists, thinkers, heroes and heroines totally irrespective of any thing like religion or creed — persons whose life and work have contributed to the fragrance of the culture of Sindh. This Gulistan can be hedged off from the rest of the area, by thick bushes of Night Queen, Jasmine, and all such intensely fragrant plants, so that any one who enters this enclosure, he is over powered with the thought and the fragrance of Sindhi culture.

Indeed each town and village of Sindh can have a small Gulistan-e-Sindh of its own in which there can be plots of fragrant flowers, maintained by school children for the heroes and heroines and such other great celebrities. School children can also be encouraged to have even in their modest homes perennially looked after flower pots with plants sacred to the memory of the Sindhi heroes and great personalities in all walks of life. So in our undying sweep, the fragrance of Sindh may become a

source of sustenance to all the human roses of Sindh like a characteristically religious movement.

Ladies of the great *Sindhiani Tahreek* can make such a gesture of loyalty to Sindh a success in every home. For, along with, and yet, also distinguished from other observations like Shah Abdul Latif's Day and Sachal's Day, like Delhi with its great PHOOL WALON KE SRYE, Sindh can especially with the social and inspired help from its *Sindhiani Tahreek* with its immense promise of an undying resurgence of Sindh have a separate day marked out, like a festivity to be celebrated in every house, with song and music, devoted to the thought of Sindh as Sindh from the days of Mohenjodaro itself, as Sindh Province day. Coming to think of it, just what it is that the *Sindhis* can not culturally and intellectually achieve if only they become conscious of the fact that their ancient culture, the culture of Mohenjodaro has made Sindh famous round the world and of which they can far more justifiably be proud than of anything?

America is so busy building up its tradition that school children are taught about "Johnny Apple seed" a mythical personality responsible for the apple-garden of America. Why should the Sindhi children forget to have *Sohni Mehar Day*, *Sasui Puri-hoo Day* and all such days of the festivities of Sindh? Indeed, before the 8th century, A.D., Sindh, like the rest of the Subcontinent, had not less than one hundred feasts and festivities every year, fifteen of them being the major ones. The study of the *Chach Nama* shows how very prosperous Sindh had been, as only the prosperous could have afforded a hundred feasts and festivities (almost one in every three days of the year). After reading the *Chach Nama*, how very truly can every Sindhi say 'Reality Really; how green was My Valley of Sindh'? But as HOPE eternally in every human breast again Sindh can, by bringing back, the joys and festivities of Sindh, can again say "How Green is now my Valley of Sindh. AGAIN!!! The annual observance, on a scale commensurate with its culture of the SINDH SAMAJ DAY and even in the foreign lands the thought that the *Sindhis* are remembering the days of Mohenjodaro, will add to the glory of Sindh. If America, with hardly three hundred

years of its history, can think of the mythical Johnny Apple seed, think of the pride and privilege of the real Sindh of the Mohenjodaro days Are not the present day Egyptians intensely proud of the ancient glory of the pyramids and the dynasties of the Pharos and are not the present day Egyptian Women proud of calling them selves "THE DAUGHTERS OF THE NILE?" What need all the modern *Sindhis* then to reclaim ancient Sindhi heritage when the world is proud of Mohenjodaro, why not the *Sindhis* for the flowers of Sindh.



Gul Hayat Institute

Spiritual Contamination

In the V1th installment on Aboriginal tribes, in your Sindh Quarterly Volume XV 1987 No. 1, on page 37 Professor Mrs. Mustafa Shah pointed out a difference between an un-educated Bheel and one who is slightly polished.

Both according to her and according to one of my short-term course teachers, Rev Verier Elvin, the anthropologist who did Yeomen service to the cause of the *Bheels*, "In the eyes of the Bheel the speaking of an untruth is one of the most despicable crime. Whatever happened, the Bheel always gives a most correct description, even if it is detrimental to him. Even in the case of homicide he has puzzled the courts of law and justice. The uneducated Bheel will always confess without restraint, and his strong urge to speak the truth is by no means diminished by the knowledge that punishment may be hard... "The slightly polished Bheel behaves differently "... He hides and conceals the truth with the express aim of sparing himself from the punishment. So the aboriginal himself condemns any sort of education, firmly believing that the ability to read and write undermines tradition and custom; and it is not astonishing that he eyes with disfavour the influence exercised by the towns..."

Verier Elvin, who had married a Bheel girl and had a son whom he named "ARJUN" was of the view that in view of loss of the highest of human ethics because of such contamination, the *Bheels* should very carefully be protected from getting "civilized". This sad story in many places is the same. "Civilization" has so polluted many of the finest of the human race that Sadhu T.L Vaswani of Sindh defines "Civilization" as "Syphlisation".

According to some very eminent Anthropologists, the now fast vanishing American Red Indian was the very acme of human ethical development.

He not only did not tell lies, but like the Huxleys in Gulliver's Travels, (last Voyage) he could not even comprehend what a LIE was.

And when, eventually, and after very great difficulty in explaining what a LIE was, Gulliver finally told the Huyunhumes that "a lie is to tell a thing that is not". The Huyunhumes told him that, in that case, the human race itself must be the most contemptible vermin which nature has allowed crawling upon the earth!!! For, it was most unreasonable, illogical and outrageous and against the evidence of all the senses, and perception and knowledge "to tell a thing that is not". But the American Indians and many, many other specimen of humanity who did not know what it was to tell a lie, were wiped out of existence or at least got bereft of their freedom and power, by those who were the alchemists, who knew the art of manufacturing falsehood out of truth. This was not the "Philosopher's Stone" but it was, is and will ever be the "Civilized Man's Stone" with which he stones out the peoples whose only fault has been that they simply cannot see why they should "tell that which is not". Even to this very day, even in the few Reservation Lands of the poor, gloriously honest, most true to their promises, every inch the Whites are cheating out nobly proud Red Indians.

The Australian Aborigines also simply do not know What a LIE is. Anthropologists who have been investigating the strange TELEPATHIC and Clairvoyant Powers of the Australian Aborigines, say that they: 1. Do not have a developed language. 2. Do not know what a lie or falsehood means. 3. They "Go into Silence" (meditation) and get knowledge of coming events, which knowledge is baffling to the Anthropologists, with its clarity, correctness of predictability.

So it looks as if we are paying a very heavy price for our "Civilization" based upon Untruth. Our SOULS seem polluted in depth. Many of us do not know what "Truth" is. Pilate had contempt for it.

Perhaps the one and the only place where untruth has no place and where truth alone if sought, sought out, respected, is the SCIENTIFIC Laboratory. But the Truth there discovered, is also used to destroy the discoverer of truth himself. Man Therefore, not for nothing was Will Durant compelled to observe that "Science saves in retail and kills in wholesale", as at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Perhaps all humanity would have been worthy of this glorious Earth if all of us were the

"uneducated *Bheels* and Red Indians". And as both Rev Elvin and Professor Mrs. Mustafa Shah so clearly point out, most of the "knowledge" that we, the CIVILIZED ONES insist on imparting to the clear sighted, clear minded, clear headed specimen of transparent humanity, is the knowledge that is of no real use to them. Therefore, to repeat, Elvin was openly against imparting it. How these finest flowers of humanity would blossom into resplendent efflorescence would be a sight only for the trans-Olympian gods to see and to follow in all humanity. When our genuine mystic, the poet, the artist, the musician, the dramatist, the dancer, the sculptor, the architect, the Scientist and the mathematician, even momentarily "touch the hem of eternity" in a fleeting state of cosmic consciousness, their state of mind may perhaps be as exalted, as the mind of the people who do not know what a lie is.

The great Epic, Mahabharata, ends with the saddest story of the degradation of the Superman, Yudhishtor, who, before he told the one and the only single falsehood in his life, was walking two inches above the ground. He lost his supermanship after telling that lie, and "began to walk like all other mere mortals" by losing that power to walk above the earth."

To my way of thinking, perhaps all the so-called uneducated *Bheels* and the Red Indians and the *Chakmas* of Chit-tagong and the Eskimos of the North are the uncontaminated Yudhishtors. Their souls were not destroyed by the Educated and Educating Krishnas. But, very sadly speaking, although they know the "truth", it has not made them "free". Instead, they are being wiped out. Has Truth no survival value in civilization?

But, as Professor Mrs. Mustafa Shah herself also points out, the honest uneducated Bheel is the victim of the moneylender from the Civilized World, and is reduced to extreme penury. And another menace is the *Bhagat*, the eternal representative of the Priest, the Lama, the Mullah, the *Prohit*, and the Shaman. These two cobras, the *Bhagat* and the money Lender have ruined the World of honesty, truth, beauty and goodness.

Amongst the great Australian aboriginals, both these menaces were absent, till the European missionaries began to "Save their souls". I think that the moneylender is still absent there. The history of the religions being imposed upon the re-

sistance-less savages is the history written in human blood. And yet these religions, born in different times and in different climes, are recklessly injected into these purest of the pure, simple, honest, truthful people who have done the religionists no known wrong.

If this be not Needless Cruelty To Man, what else is it? It is, to my way of thinking, "Brain Pollution" and "Brain Washing" at its worst. Not for nothing at all was it that the great rationalist Ingersoll described these religions as the stories of the "Absurd, the Impossible and the Infamous"

All of us are always complaining that our entire cultures are degenerating. Spangler's "Decline of the West", Toynbee's "Study of History", and another thinker (whose name I have temporarily forgotten) his studies in "Further Studies In The Decaying Culture", all point to the prevailing confusion and chaos. And yet, we have the stone heartedness to impose the products of our decaying cultures upon the honest savages who do not know what a lie is or knowing it, hate it, detest it and abhor it.

In our own cultures also, we preach to our children not to tell lies. And when they naturally tell the truth, we punish them for saying so. Think of the incomputable hypocrisy of it all. In the best aquariums of the world, we see the awful difference between the deep-sea fish and the fish that live near the surface of the water. While the fish living near the surface of the water are so elegant looking and streamlined, the deep-sea fish look like monsters, as they have to live under terrific water-pressure. To me this always suggests that we, who boast of belonging to cultures, are living under the awful pressures of centuries of tradition, are in fact those deep, DEEP SEA FISH. Think just about the situation as it has developed: Some 200 years back, the state of the civilization of a nation was judged from the amount of soap that was used by that nation per capita. The more the soap is used, the more civilized that nation used it (for industrialization) the more that nation was supposed to be advanced. Later came up is the use of Electricity as the gauge of a country's progress. And today, it has so come to 'country': the more the Psychiatric cases in a country, the more that country is 'civilized'. According to repeated report fully 50% of patients in the American and English hospitals are mental

cases!!! If 50 percent of all the dogs in Karachi go mad, then, Karachi is a wonderful City!!?? And this is the CULTURE we impose upon the uneducated Bheel!!! What a cultural contribution! Isn't it!

It seems to me to be the cultural Calibans whose one ambition as Caliban says in Shakespeare's *Tempest*: "To rape Prospero's daughter Miranda, so that the whole Island may be full of calibans". None should remain uncontaminated with Calibanism, is it? While many of the uneducated aborigines like the *Bheels* are the exact opposite of Caliban. They are Ariels, each. Nothing do they detest more than Falsehood and lies.

Then Professor Mrs. Mustafa Shah has pointed out how Alcohol is ruining them; and yet she points out how their simple and outdoor life keeps them healthy. It is not alcohol as the purchase of Alcohol that is financially ruining them and making them the victims of the moneylender.

According to many cultural anthropologists, perhaps the very first thing that man discovered was the making of alcohol. For thousands upon thousands of years man has made and used alcohol and has not become extinct thereby. Alcohol became more dangerous when man began to distil it. Otherwise in Wine and in Beer it has never been without its merits, which were well known to not only the primitives, but also to the very acme of humanity, people like Homer and Socrates termed it "Veno Viritas" means Bringer OF the Truth. Had the Primitives been allowed to make their own homemade wines, the only sufferers then would have been the money Lenders and the *Bhagats*.

Be just, be just and be just. For justice sake place all the evils accrued by the use of alcohol in pan of the scale of justice, and in the other pan place the evils perpetrated by one single politician or fanatic. And then, see for yourself which scale takes us down to hell! As Prof Mrs. Mustafa Shah Points out, alcohol is the only source of recreation, gaiety and joy to these *Bheels* who do not know or use falsehood and lies; and it has not ruined them, except financially. What would these people be, if, while retaining their veracity, they lose their Childlike simplicity and develop their intellectuality? Would they not be a race of geniuses? For as, Carlyle observes, "VERACITY IS

GENIUS ITSELF". And many, many and many geniuses have. like Khayam Pahelvi cried out for WINE. WINE, and WINE.

To me it appears that some cultures may, as a sort of a negative fetish, nurture some "pet" hate. Alcohol seems to be our needless "pet hate". Far more dangerous is tobacco, say the scientists. They say that even by inhaling the smoke from another person's cigarette is dangerous. But it does not seem to bother us at all! Opium, *bhang*, Ganga Chandoo, and now, far, far more dangerous drugs like Heroin which threaten to destroy humanity itself with their lightening-like spread do not rouse us militantly up against them. But what we seem to be against. is WINE. Why? Is it because "VINO VIRITAS"? WINE BRINGS OUT THE TRUTH. Therefore, as it brings out the truth, it is ipso facto against brain pollution. And is perhaps therefore that we are against it?

It is to the glory of Turkey that it has abolished prohibition. And yet no one dare say that the Turks are a nation of drunkards. On every packet of cigarettes in America there is to be the Surgeon General's warning that cigarettes are a danger to health. Not so on every bottle of alcohol drinks. Why? All because tobacco is far more dangerous than alcohol. Of course, there is the nasty problem of Alcoholism. But is not greater than the problem of fanaticism. An Alcoholic can, at worst, destroy himself and his family. But even one single fanatic can destroy whole communities, peoples and nations. Think of Savaranola with his blazing Fanaticism, he had made Italy itself into an insane nation. One has to choose between ALCOHOL and Fanaticism. Thank heavens that the *Bheels* take alcohol and are not FANATICS. But the "*BHAGAT*" and the moneylender from "Civilization" are the parasites on these poor, innocent, simple, honest-to-goodness, Flowers from Heaven itself. The "CIVILISED" maggots and cultural cannibals are criminally exploiting them.

The late lady Professor Ghulam Mustafa Shah has brought to the notice of the readers of Sindh Quarterly, the plight of these victims of the perfidy of the parasites, against the *Bheels*. That is her parting service to them, and us. Her's is also a cry against all forms of Spiritual Contamination.

The Pakistan Resolution—A Country of Sovereign and Independent State

The March 23 1940 Muslim League Resolution, now known as the Pakistan Resolution, was drafted perhaps by one who either did not know even the elements of the terminology of Constitutional Law, or, was, on the other hand, an astute master of it. A study of that Resolution makes one feel that perhaps there is no mid way to this "either / or" thinking. For, if he meant the future Pakistan to be one single 'country' how come, in the Resolution, the very specific mentions of "Sovereign" and "Independent" states?

What does "Sovereignty" mean? What does "Independence" mean?

Which great political thinker, philosopher and statesman has not eventually come to the same conclusion that "Sovereignty" and "Independence" mean and include the absolute right of any sovereign and independent state to go to war, to conclude truce or peace; to defend territory it calls its own by all means open to it?

If this is accepted, where did, in the Lahore Resolution, the various future states of Pakistan, on either side of India, stand, as parts of Pakistan? Has every "Sovereign and Independent" state in Pakistan the right to exercise its Sovereignty and Independence in accordance with the requirements of its Sovereignty and "Independence"? If not, what does the Resolution mean?

Could it ever be that so important a Resolution, on the basis of which the whole struggle for "the homeland of the Muslims of India" was to be launched, was drafted, considered, moved, seconded and overwhelmingly passed, all in any breezy manner? Without any consideration whatsoever to the future consequences and corollaries ensuing from the body of the text. If and when the objective of the Resolution materialized on the political plane? And this when every single word, Comma, full stop, can mean so much!

And it actually has. This Resolution, when placed in the hands of any foreign legal expert, to avoid any accusation of local partisanship or subjectivity, can easily mean that it envisaged not one nation, but many, each independent and sovereign willing to come together only as members of Commonwealth. For it satisfies requirements not of any one nation with independent and sovereign states constituting its members, and not even a Confederation, let alone a Federation. It is only in any Commonwealth that its members can be both Independent and sovereign, and also form part of any loose aggregate of them all. And the situation in these areas is that perhaps only a Commonwealth and not any Federation or Confederation will succeed or an arrangement like the Confederation will succeed or arrangements like the European Economic Community. This will enable the sovereign independent states to come together as the Commonwealth of Pakistan.

So, the identity of Pakistan, as the identity of Europe, will remain in tact. The wealth of Sindh will remain wholly in the hands of Sindh; the wealth of Punjab will remain wholly in the hands of Punjab. And so on. The charges of "exploitation" of one state by the other will not be there then. Simply because there will be no chance for it. With their finance also entirely in their own hands, the members of the Pakistan Commonwealth will, each one progress wholly according to its own genius.

Think, for an instance, of the annual wealth of Sindh, with its own airport and seaport and its vast system of agricultural irrigation remaining wholly in the hands of Sindh, independent and sovereign to spend it as it sees fit! Will it not burst out like all the modern European states like Italy and a Germany?

Indeed, two hundred years back, when Sindh was a feudal state, so indeed were the so many modern states of Europe. "Modernization" is indeed a very recent phenomenon, the direct result of Industrial Revolution. Any country that was free enough, independent enough and sovereign enough to pick it up became "Modern"; Japan being the most typical instance of an oriental country, deep, deep, and deep in 2000 years of unbroken feudalism which rested on the most pronounced form of Emperor Worship, becoming an industrial power on its own, as to have defeated Mighty Russia in 1904, just after half a cen-

tury of industrialization wholly borrowed from Europe. Puny Japan could do this because it was sovereign and independent enough to do this.

If America had clamped a subsidiary system on Japan, as England did upon the princes of India, would Japan have had the ability in her hands to make the very power of 2000 years of Emperor Worship itself, the means of the quickest of industrialism through unquestioning obedience to, just one single of the Emperors' decrees that Japan should industrialize?

Sovereignty within a Commonwealth bestows all those blessings of mutual co-operation along with the feeling of great oneness, which is being enjoyed by the British Commonwealth of Nations. Not only the power, but also the ever-increasing wealth of industrialized and modern states forming the Commonwealth remains in their own hands. Think of Europe under Napoleon's empire, and think of the modern Europe, in spite of the Second World War. In spite of every disaster, they are sovereign and independent and would not like to change their place with any Russian state. One of the many important effects of the British attempt to recreate the Mughal unity of India under the British flag was the effective block to that dynamic political thought of the various independent and sovereign nations that had re-emerged as the result of the decline of the Mughal Empire

Many of these nations had their own territories, their own languages, their own cultures and above all their own histories of incessant warfare against each other on the basis of these distinctions and differences.

The shapeless pattern of the breakup of the Mughal Empire itself, shows that, while in the territories of Nizam and in the short-lived Marhatta Empire many distinct nationalities were huddled together, but yet there was the distinct emergence of Sindh, of Punjab, of Bengal, of Karnataka and Tamilnad, and such other areas, each true to its own language, culture, history and feeling of distinctness between itself and its neighbours.

This distinctness was so very clear that the British made use of it against one country after another; as there was no love lost between them. Bengal, for instance, was conquered with

the help of the Madras Army; U.P. was conquered with the help of the Bengal Army; the 'Mutiny' was put down with the help of the Punjab Army and the Hyderabad Army; Sindh was conquered with the help of the Bombay Army and so on.

Under the intense effect of Pax Britannica and because of the communion of interest that prevailed between the British mercantile interests and the mercantile interests of the various nations or nationalities in the Subcontinent, the various local military and administrative classes having been defeated and subjugated, the various nations and nationalities, which were so militarily active, just a few, even one or two generations before, even lost their ambitions of freedom, sovereignty, independence and even perhaps the pride that history gives.

But yet their characteristics and individualities could not be wiped out, nor could their languages be, indeed these got a spur as never before, thanks to printing process.

But yet, when the British left this Subcontinent, they not only left behind a better system of progress and advance and administration than any other colonial power, but they also left behind, even in the two divided portions of the subcontinent, a distaste for any further subdivision.

That was how the Liaquat-Nehru pact came into existence; both India and Pakistan agreeing to no more encourage any fissiparous tendencies in each other. India and Pakistan were to be held on the two poles of the same axis, the Delhi Karachi axis. But the different pulls of history and culture, proving them to be too strong for Pakistan, the Two Nations i.e., India and Pakistan became Three Nations, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh by 1972.

In India, the cry of Dravidistan, Independent Assam, Nagaland, and now the cry of Sikhistan and the repeated public burning of the Indian Constitution can hardly be said to be trivial matters, although the Indian Constitution is so well framed as to give every constituent state in it equal claim to the Center's attention.

But what is to be done to the reawakened forces of the different and conflicting histories, cultures and to the memories of the pleasure of economic sovereignty?

Linguistic and Cultural Strangulation

One of the most astonishing things about mankind as a species is that man has no specific language of his own, at all.

The human child picks up and makes his own, any language or any number of languages amidst which he finds himself. Children amidst multi-lingual localities pick up one and all the various languages commonly being spoken in those localities, without any effort whatsoever.

And quite unlike parrots and other mimicking birds, these children are able to think and speak in the language or languages, which they pick up.

As children grow up, this felicity to pick up languages with such ease seems to get rapidly diminished

Because of the spatial separation of human groups from one another due to natural barriers like mountains and rivers, and because of even plain distances which make the easy mingling of groups difficult, countless, different languages and dialects have sprung up since remote times and in different climes. And due to many historical reasons many of these languages have, through the invention of the scripts, developed into vast storehouses of recorded and spoken human experience in one and all branches of sciences and arts and thoughts

But one and all languages have not so developed. Some languages have so developed that like great shade trees they have over shadowed many languages and dialects to such an extent that many of these overpowered languages or dialects have died out altogether. And many such over-powered languages and dialects have so far managed to exist and are living a threatened existence. because of the ever increasing powers of the already advanced languages, which are now equipped with the modern methods of enforcing themselves like printing, radio, and the television. And such surviving dialects are spoken not only in small groups, but also in groups consisting of millions of human beings.

Greirson, in his monumental work, "THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA" points out that in this Subcontinent there are more than 600 languages and dialects. Of them about fourteen are highly developed with literature and abstract thought contained in them. Many of the rest of the dialects, though spoken by millions, have no scripts of their own, and are therefore only spoken and not written. And these are not in separate and distinct territories, but are there, as vast undergrowths.

The economic, political and sociological implications of this fact are just stunning. The speakers of about fourteen developed languages are the masters of the destinies of the millions of otherwise rational, intelligent equal human beings, whose only fault being that they were not born in one of the fourteen groups speaking and writing developed languages, and, so have been left so far behind, that it is now increasingly difficult to overcome the ever increasing handicap. (Some Christian missionaries in India have tried to give alphabets to some of these dialects, so that the people using these dialects may become literate and develop their dialects to the status of languages, in the course of time). Because of the fact that so many millions of preliterate using their own dialects are living a subdued literary and cultural existence, over the centuries, under the overpowering shadows of the 14 developed languages, these preliterate are living the life of great subordination, if not servitude amounting to helotism in some areas.

According to the most psychologists, intelligence is an in-born thing and is distributed amongst the human masses, irrespective of race and colour, unequally in each group. According to the Normal Frequency Curve, in every large group of human beings, there is, so to speak, a spectrum of the distribution of intelligence, there being a few idiots in each group, there being a large group with average intelligence, and there are to be found a few persons of superior and very superior intelligence at the other end of the spectrum. That way, statistically speaking the many psychologists think that there is at least one person with very superior intelligence in every 10,000 persons. And it is the active working of the intelligence of these superior and very superior humans that contributes so much to the chance and advance of the whole group; provided this superior mental ability gets the many kinds of chances to exert itself.

The superior intelligence found in the one-in-the-ten-thousand, of the millions of users of the dialects, which lack alphabets, and therefore are not literary languages, remains abortive, infracted, humbled, and overpowered with the feeling of inferiority.

Some times it bursts out inspite of all these handicaps, in the shape of great folk poets, great mystics. But yet, *in toto*, the normal and superior intelligence of millions upon millions of the users of the dialects only, greatly suffers, and the cultural, economic and political consequences of this vast stagnation are almost beyond computation. Amongst the users of the 14 developed languages also, progress is by no means uniform. In each of these 14 languages, literacy is by no means universal. And cultural stratification on the basis of illiteracy, low literacy, average literacy and high literacy militates against the otherwise great benefits that ought to accrue to members of groups having one of these 14 developed languages.

The "Bazaar Hindustani" is not the same as the "Urdu-e-Moalla of Ghalib". The great literacy genius Nazir Akberabadi is never placed on par with Ghalib, all because of his crime of attempting to make the Bazaar Hindustani of the masses, have its numerical rightful place as the understandable language of the masses. But, thanks wholly to the titanic genius of poets like the great Shah Abdul Latif of Sindh and Rabindranath Tagore and Nazarul Islam of Bengal, the language of the masses is also the language of the classes and in Punjab, thanks to the genius, not of Iqbal, but of Waris Shah, the very dialect of the masses is also the spoken language of the classes. This is not at all the case with Urdu, and now Hindi, and many others of the 14 developed languages of the subcontinent. The "high Kanareese" of the All India Radio, Karnataka branch, is not at all the simple and easy Kanareese of the millions of ordinary folks of Karnataka. One has to be a high literate to understand the Radio Kanareese, so also is the case with many other languages. A minority of literary pundits simply refuses to understand that any language or style that cannot at all be well understood by the masses simply defeats the very purpose and function of the language itself almost *in toto*.

But all because the reins of literary power are wholly in the

hands of these literary pundits and 'adeebis', millions of ordinary folks, using their own dialects, languages pragmatically, with "the useful is the good" as the formula, remain hypnotized and almost psychologically decerebrated victims of literary, 'Punditism', and 'adeebism' with high sounding verbosity passing as literature which bakes no bread, but eats up the bread produced, by the toiling masses who are steeped in the feeling of literary and cultural inferiority before these literary parasites. And not content with all this, there is, after the independence of the subcontinent from the British rule in 1947, a craze in its purest form in the two separated countries, India and Pakistan; there must necessarily be a National Language in each to secure its integrity. The champions of this school of thought, in both countries, find it extremely convenient to forget that while Spanish is the language spoken all over South America, including Mexico, this has not at all prevented the existence of so many distinct nations in South America. And the coexistence of three languages as national languages in Switzerland has not at all militated against the existence of Switzerland as a most prosperous nation. England and the U.S have English common to both; but that did not at all prevent the Americans from firing the shot that was heard more round the world than the voice of Shakespeare or Milton.

Any student of books like "Language and Nationality" by Pillsbury, and "Language" by Otto Jazzperson, and articles on the subject, in any all standard encyclopedias, will not fail to notice the objective fact that for the unification of a nation what is needed more than any one language (important though language is, no doubt) but the FEELING OF BELONGING TO THE NATION. When the American Colonists, straight from Mother England itself, for any and many reasons, lost the FEELING OF belonging to England, the commonness of the English Language between them and England did not at all prevent them to tear them apart from England. This is but one of the many examples of the Feeling of BELONGINGNESS or NOT BELONGINGNESS. THE SENTIMENT OF NATIONALISM OR ITS ABSENCE alone overrides the other considerations like language and religion.

The whole of South America is also Catholic by faith; but yet this has not prevented the various catholic nations with the Spanish language from mutual acrimony and warfare. On the other hand, the FEELING of remaining in one Commonwealth has not prevented diverse independent and sovereign nations from forming the British Commonwealth with the British Sovereign as its most eagerly agreed upon HEAD. Notwithstanding all such realities, both India and Pakistan decided to have a national language each of their own. And, for various 'reasons' they chose two languages, Hindi for the whole of India and Urdu for the whole of (then East and West) Pakistan. Both these states forgot many realities under the spell of the euphoria of independence. They forgot, for instance, that in this vast Subcontinent there are at least 14 languages, some of them even older than Sanskrit itself, each with store of both ancient as well as recent and ever increasing literature and thought. And both Hindi as well as Urdu has their seats in the ex-imperial province of U P itself. So, both East Pakistan, and the South Indian Dravidian states, at once reacted against what they termed Urdu and Hindi, as nothing but Imperial languages, imposed over the head and shoulders of their mighty languages and cultures. South India even threatened secession altogether from the Indian Union, and Jawaharlal Nehru, the very flower of U P culture, had the statesmanship and foresight to personally rush to the various South Indian States, to give them the Government assurance, that Hindi will not be 'imposed' against the will of, and at the cost of, the sentiments of the South Indians.

In Pakistan, the impotent insistence on Urdu to be made the one and only language of all Pakistan, eventually resulted in the clean and clear splitting of the ship of state on the 'Inch cape rock' of language controversy, thereby giving an entirely new meaning and an entirely new significance to the Two-Nations Theory, Bangladesh being that other nation. "The one lesson we learn from history is that we learn no lesson from history," said Karl Marx. This adamant insistence of make Urdu THE national language of what remains of Pakistan, shows how very correct Marx may prove himself to be. Urdu, with its own and most unique dynamism, and in its simple form, one of the most easily understandable language, of the whole of this subcontinent, except for the most extreme South, and with its

simplest possible grammar so much admired by Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India, is relentlessly being dragged in as the subject of that controversy, which it never was, before its roughshod imposition upon the rest of the languages of what remains of Pakistan. In this process of fitting it to the Bed of Procreties, Urdu, as Hindi in India, is being made a language which is neither flesh, nor fowl, nor good red herring, this grotesque version of the once sweet language of Mir is being made to function as a monster, employed through the press. Radio and T.V as a strangulating monster, and as such the victim of the wrath of its till-very-recent friends.

Recent history itself is witness, that thanks to the influence of Aligarh, University, both in Sindh as well as in the then East Bengal, Urdu had become the language of the Elites. Although there were very few people from U.P in Sindh before 1947, one of the big Urdu libraries existed in Karachi, from which library hall, people went out to hoist the flag of Pakistan in 1946, on its front door. It was all because, both in Bengal as well as in Sindh, Urdu was not then regarded at all a threat to the local great languages and cultures. Now it has been clean washed out in Bangladesh, while in the hapless though unrelentingly sullen Sindh, it is being regarded as the rope of linguistic strangulation. Truly can Urdu lament, "God help me from my friends: I will take care of my enemies myself".

It has been this felt threat to Sindhi that is obviously the just reason for the resentment of the Sindhi people. If a Sindhi does not mount guard towards the preservation of the Sindhi language, and that too, in his own Sindh, who else should and who else can? Neither the Sindhi, nor his language had, have, or care to have, any designs upon any other language or culture. All that they have ever sought so far is that they may be left at peace in their own terrain. The British rule gave them that sense of security. All the British officers working permanently in Sindh were obliged to pass their examination of proficiency in Sindhi. Otherwise their very promotions were stopped! And some of them did common service to the Sindhi language. And all because the majority of *Sindhis* happened to be Muslims, whose ancestors had done so much literary work in Sindhi language in Arabic script, the British chose and framed Arabic script for Sindhi in preference to the Devnagri Script, which was

favoured by the minority community of businessmen! So, although the British had toppled down the Muslim rule in Sindh for their imperial purpose, but just because they preserved and promoted the language and culture of the masses, people like Mirza Qalich Beg brought into the Sindhu River, the water of the Thames by translating the very best of English literature into the Sindhi language. And with the works of Lambrick and Sorley, the outside world came to know about the literary and cultural individuality, identity and greatness of Sindh

Therefore, the Sindhi did not see any threat at all to the Sindhi Language in the administrative use of the English language in Sindh, although hardly more than 3 percent of the *Sindhis* could understand it, as was the case all over the Sub-continent.

Indeed, the English language, far from being regarded as any threat, proved to be a stimulant or, THE stimulant in literary and cultural matters all over the vast land. It is only when a people feel their language or culture are threatened, that insurmountable difficulties being to appear, more especially when they feel that the threat is subtle, undermining and surreptitious. It was the feeling amongst the Indian soldiers that the new cartridges were purposely greased with the lard of the pig and cow, to de-Islamise and de-Hinduise them, that sparked off the Indian Mutiny of 1857. In matters of their language and their culture, the *Sindhis* began to feel that never before. In all history, their language was both openly and also surreptitiously being engulfed, as with slogans like "Urdu and Urdu alone shall be the language of Sindh." Those of us, champion of Urdu, altogether and all too soon forgot the terrific resentments, which we harboured, when we felt that Hindi was to be the threat against Urdu. Our concern with our Urdu, should have told us that the *Sindhis* also have the right and duty, to have similar concern with Sindhi, an integrated language which is centuries older than Urdu, and as Bengali to the Bengalis. If the only 14 percent Muslim population in U.P clings to Urdu, and if 9 percent Muslim population of Hyderabad Deccan, not only clings to Urdu, but also to make it the state language once, and to have a big University dedicated to Urdu, and if the six percent Muslims of Mysore to this day cling to Urdu, (up to Ph.D. in Karna-

taka University) and, all the while, the Urdu is not being undermined through the Radio and the T.V. but on the other hand is being granted large sums of money for its upkeep, then Sindhi should live and flourish without any kind of threat. Disregard of this goes wholly against the very grain of these elements of human justice

Indeed, looking back in modern Indian history, we see the role of the language in politics and so in life in total. According to Garcon De Tassy, in his book "History of Urdu", the Urdu Hindi conflict began in 1835, when in U P of about 14 percent Muslim population. Urdu was given the place over the thus far Persian language by the British. Then, one Naveen Chand. appealed to the British authorities, that not Urdu, but Hindi should be given that position. Since then the Champions of Urdu and the Champions of Hindi became antagonist. Again, from the pages of Hayat-e-Javeed, the biography of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, by his closest friend Altaf Hussain Hali, we see the role of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan in the matter. Sir Sayed Ahmed was bringing out a journal called Science Gazette both in English as well as in Urdu. In one editorial board meeting, one of the Hindu friends of Sir Sayed suggested that the Science Gazette should "ALSO" be brought out in Hindi (the language of the seventy six percent population of U.P)

According to Hali, Sir Sayed just flared up at the idea, and declared to the effect, that this was such a move, which made any prospect of Hindu Muslim Unity impossible. One can justly wonder where was the question of any Hindu Muslim Unity at all, when all that one learned member of the editorial board did was to suggest not that Urdu, the language of just 14 percent, be eliminated but the Hindi, the language of the rest 76 percent, should also be added in the magazine intended to be wholly scientific and for the benefit of the masses! Perhaps it is such absence of far-sightedness that has resulted in the phenomenon known as "Urdu Imperialism", which has done far more harm to the champions of Urdu, than can be computed even with the help of the most powerful computers.

For generations upon generations to come, the whole history and lives of the unthinking champions of the Urdu Imperialism have been completely queered at the pitch. And on the

other hand, English, the language of one of the most imperialistic of the people ever, is gaining, and also gaining friends round the world. If today a large number of Indian and Pakistani literates are having jobs in the Middle East, it is not at all because of their Hindi or their Urdu, but all because they have become good at English, and far better than the harder working Japanese and Chinese and other far Eastern people. And here is another danger awaiting our over-seas job market... that while India is helping English to continue to thrive, our cold-shouldering of English over here will very soon get us shunted out, leaving the field justly open to the Indians as their near monopoly. Therefore, and also for many and many another reason, the *Sindhis* should see the danger signal in the removal of English and should give it that same pride of place that Mirza Qalich Beg had given to it. Already the SINDHI SOCIETY IN GENERAL suffered an irremediable loss, in its having been torn up in two, not linguistic but economic, parts. The Hindu part of it was commercial, mercantile, and as much seafaring as internally dominant economically. The Muslim part of it was, and is, predominantly feudal, land-locked, in the extreme as if the vast sea board did not belong to Sindh at all, as if they were not the descendants, so to speak, of *Sindhbad* the Sailor. When the Hindu section of the Sindhi society left, there was no Muslim part of the Sindhi society to occupy that vast commercial and mercantile vacuum. And all because the Hindu section of the Sindhi society, had, since a long time, been predominantly commercial and mercantile. When the Sindhi Hindus left their dearest hearths and homes, they have made good wherever they have gone, and in these matters they do not at all suffer from any sense of deprivation. And wherever they have gone, they have carried the quintessence of Sindhi culture and thought with them, as dearly as the dispersed Jews continue to nourish and cherish the Jewish culture all over their world these 2,500 years. Indeed, sociologically speaking, if ever that evil day were to come when Sindhi Culture were lost to Sindh in Sindh, it may well be these emigrants from Sindh who may keep it alive outside Sindh and the World over. To avert such a day is, to say the least, more than a Herculean job and not the work of any one or even a few. But that it could be done was demonstrated by Gokhlay and his great Servants of India soci-

ety, and Bhandarkar Institute at Poona, India. That society is built upon the one monolithic rock of the profoundest scholarship in Political Science and Economics in one and all of its branches and Sociology and Anthropology in the varied forms and history and literature pertaining to history. Succeeding generations of scholars have literally sacrificed their financial futures and willingly courted 'abject poverty' exactly like monks in a sincere Buddhist monastery, in the cause of the greatness of India. The detailed history of the Servants of India Society and of Bhandarkar Institute reads as if it is unreal unless as a dedicated religious cult! The inter-disciplinary approach to the economic, social, political and sociological problems facing India has helped this Society and this Institute to serve the country to survive. Sindh needs such a series of studies in depth, all because some of the problems of Sindh are very peculiar to Sindh itself. For instance, as already mentioned, while the Sindhi Hindu society was exemplarily so very advanced in trade, commerce and in Banking that it continues to flourish even when it went out of Sindh in a body; while its place in Sindh could not simply be taken over by the local Muslim Sindhi society. And while the most completely land-locked Punjabi society be it East Punjab or West, be it Hindu, Muslim or Sikh is, in a military sense, master of the Army, Navy and the Air Force, the whole of the Sindhi Muslim society is practically no where in these fields, although Sindh is one of the provinces of Pakistan having such a long coast. And the dearth of Sindhi labour in Sindh has made Sindh the focus of labour from all over Pakistan even in agricultural matters, let alone the vast field of industrial labour. With the Sindhi capital not in the field; with the Sindhi labour not in the field, with the Sindhi practically no where in the defence forces, and all this right in Sindh itself, and even the agricultural land in Sindh itself being increasingly worked by agricultural labour from outside Sindh, and the labour at both the Karachi airport as well as the water port being almost wholly from outside Sindh, unlike any, and practically anywhere else, as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, the socio economic causes for such a development have to be academically studied with pathetic thoroughness for the suggestion of any practical and rational remedial measures. Without such a vigorous renaissance of Sindhi thought and culture, one can wonder how

long the Sindhi language and society can withstand the strain of the demands of necessity. For, after all is said and done, man is above all, a utilitarian animal also. As such, he is, as an anthropologist puts it, a tool using animal, his tools being both material as the stone axe and the surgeon's scalpel, as well as his crudest to subtlet thoughts and languages. And the broad history of mankind shows how tools are made used and discarded when they do not eventually suit the inexorable demands of necessity. The aeroplane of but yesterday becomes the museum piece of today. So also many religions, philosophies and languages become lifeless monuments of the past. Many languages that did not serve the need have ceased to exist, as other more useful languages have taken their place. Why, even up to 1832, Persian was the court language nearly all over the greater part of India. But with the change over to English, so very "beautiful" a language like the Persian of Hafiz and Sa'adi became so "useless" for the utilitarian purposes of bread earning in even a small way that "*Padhen Farsi... bay-chain tail*" (study Persian and sell oil) became the proverb in those very places where Persian had ruled supreme for many centuries. And today, in many Pakistani homes, where children had education in high class English medium schools for two generations, whole families speak English only, reserving the Urdu and other languages for communication only with the dhobi and the *chammar* and the like. And the children so brought up know not only Ghalib and Latif, but also Shakespeare and Milton! The attitude has been, wholly and understandably wholly, utilitarian. So we see that not only the Sindhi language, but also Urdu itself, to survive, have to justify their keep.

The survival of the fittest and the struggle for existence do not at all stop with biology. Whole civilizations, cultures and languages have disappeared when they have failed to comply with the demand of TIME, the inexorable and the pitiless. One of the things that one has to guard against is the Trojan Horse Strategy. During the Trojan Wars of ancient Greece, the besieging army found that the besieged were too well defended to be taken by direct assault. So the besieging army built a huge hollow wooden horse. In the wooden horse they hid some of their best soldiers. Then the besieging army left the horse un-

der the walls of Troy Fort, and lifted the siege and went away. The besieged Trojans were delighted that the besiegers had given up the siege, and gone away, and in the bargain they had also left behind a wooden horse as perhaps a mark of their frustration and disappointment. So, to celebrate the victory, they dragged the wooden horse through the gates of their city, right into the fort.

So, what could not be attained by open opposition to a language, can be obtained through the Trojan horse strategy. In the grandiose names of this and that sentiment, the language can be undermined in such a way that to protest against such undermining may be scandalized as treason to the major causes. Other languages can be so surreptitiously imposed upon the victim language that the speakers of the victim language may themselves come to feel that there is no use their adhering to the victim language as that may not at all benefit them materially in the long run. So, man being essentially a pragmatic animal, seeing on which side his bread is buttered, will drag the Trojan horse within the citadel, give up his language and adopt the imposed language, and so lose his culture and within a generation or two. By imposing the Latin script on the Turkish language, with one single stroke, the present day Turks were made to out-away from one and all the books of the past 8 centuries of Turkish language written in the Arabic script!!!

Similarly, it is estimated that, at the present rate of the progress of the Devnagri script in India, all within a period of a decade, half of those who use the Arabic script, will give it up in preference to the Devnagri script. This because they will find no utility of adherence to the Persio-Arabic script in matter of getting bread and butter, while, by adopting the Devnagri script, they will not be in the loss!!! That simple!!! When so much for the mere change of script, how about the official imposition of a language over the other, all in the name of this and that?

Sindh and Attaturk

Do the Sindhi youths and maidens yearn to better the lot of their dearest spot on earth, their SINDH? Are they seeking inspiration for the needed dynamism? Do they really want to go far beyond mere slogans and shouts? Do they want to cut away the cocoon of darkness in which minds have been imprisoned for centuries? In short, do they want to know how great they themselves really are when freed from the spell of the *Mirs*, the *Pirs*, the Makhdoods and all those who have made the sons and daughters of Sindh to growl in the mud and to kiss the very shoes and dust of their feet – it is so-called "spiritual" maggots who have the effrontery to promise "salvation" as the price of the most abject of slavery? Let them, then, at the very earliest opportunity make the pilgrimage of pilgrimages to Modern Turkey, the creation of Kamal Attaturk whom President Kennedy of America considered to be none other than "the Greatest Man of the Twentieth century".

Then, with one single stroke, the spell and the curse of curses of many centuries will burst away like a soap bubble. Then our visiting boys and girls will take heart, as perhaps nothing else in this world will so help them to. They will go to Turkey as mice. They will return from Turkey as lions. They will learn there, that for centuries on end, Turkey also suffered in very much the same way as Sindh has. Only, the magnitude was much the vaster and deeper and greater. Despotism, Feudalism had so joined hands to suck the last drop of blood from the poor Turk, whose interests they shamelessly sold to the outside powers, that Turkey was laughingly, openly, and pitilessly called "The sick Man of Europe".

The degradation of the Woman was so thorough and so complete, that to give us an idea of what that horror was, Kamal Attaturk has kept on show, in Istanbul, a vast and empty "Harem", while he demolished all other such despicable monuments to human infamy. In this vacant Harem, the disgusted

visitor will see seven hundred small, dark, petty cubicles, a few square feet each, in which hen-coops, the most unfortunate daughters of Turkey were kept as slaves. Once a fairy-like girl was forcedly put in this Bastille of Bastilles, only her corpse could be taken out, to be thrown away into the Bosphorus. They were fed like chicken, dressed like rag-dolls; and they were ferociously guarded over by an army of castrated youths turned into eunuchs. Till the 14 of August 1947, the same was the scene in the palaces of many of the Nawabs. The Rajas and the Sardars in this subcontinent also. When His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Deccan became His Exhausted Lowness, more than a thousands such slave-girls and *Kaneezes*, were suddenly reported to have been set free from the 'royal' cages, to fend for themselves in the cruel world. (The story of the women, in harems of the *Mirs* of Sindh, on Napier's victory, is said to be no better. And this drew inspiration, originally and ultimately, from the harems of the Sultans of Turkey).

In the name of religion, the enslavement of the woman was more than complete and almost sealed.

When the oppressors Arabs and Greeks and Armenians and others tried to protest, they were met with savage repression. Whole towns and cities were razed to the ground. The Royal Court was a busy hive of conspiracies. The Young Turks Revolution also did not bring any real halt to the ever-increasing decay.

So, when after the utter defeat of the Central Powers in the First Great War, Turkey was faced with practical political annihilation: out of the utter prevailing darkness, out-shot the personality of the great Attaturk, THE FATHER OF THE TURKS.

Most luckily for him, there were those great Turkish patriots, who, like him, banded together to give him that utter selfless support, without which no man can all by himself do much. Sharing the common inspiration with him to save Turkey, and determined to be guided by his inspiration, they staked their all, to save their dearest possession, the TURKISH FATHERLAND. And immediately after cleaning their land of all foreigners, the great Attaturk did not stop at that: did not revert to the pre-War confusion and chaos. Knowing that the Khilafat was the cancer

that had eaten into the very vitals of Turkish strength for centuries together, he threw this decaying and petrified corpse off the shoulders of Turkey. Knowing that nobody rides a tiger and no one spares the donkey, Attaturk decided to unload Turkey of all those burdens, which had prevented it from remaining the Tiger.

So, off went the foreign Arabic language. Turkey was given a new script, the European Latin script. Eunuchs were whipped out of the Herms; the victim women of the Harems were brought to light, and the Turkish girls were most enthusiastically encouraged to learn European Music and European Dance. At the same time conversion to Christianity was most vehemently discouraged.

The Mullahs, in their turn, got a hiding and beating they would not forget for generations to come. All their machinations, that were responsible for the corrosion of the very thinking of the Turks, were unmasked. They were forbidden to have the hypocritical beards. *Purdah* was so thoroughly abolished, that a date was fixed, after which anyone wears a beard, or any woman in *Burqa*, was declared an outlaw, who could be shot down outright on sight, by any one. Do you think that Attaturk by himself would have been able to do this? As a single man, he was, like all of us, a single man, weighing a few pounds, only a few feet tall.

No. He achieved all that because of his Nation's most willing support. The Turks had become sick of the degeneration that had come upon them, for centuries; they had suffered humiliation after humiliation. All because they were seeking a Liberator, when that Liberator arrived, and gave the call, they lurched forward under his leadership to FREEDOM.

As degenerate people, willing to remain slaves and dogs of the *Mirs*, the *Pirs*, the Mullahs, the Maulanas would have killed him; and because they did not kill him, the British wanted to kill him, through an assassin named Mustafa Sagheer, who was trained in KARACHI, SINDH, to shoot down Attaturk

It was the habit of Attaturk to encourage the drinking of wine by the Turks. For this sitting in the park, in full view of the

admiring Turkish Public, he would enjoy his glass of wine. One evening, suddenly his pet dog that was with him fell dead with a bullet fired from a silent gun. Before the assassin could fire the other bullet from amidst the crowd, he was overpowered and brought before Attaturk. "You know you could not kill me," said Attaturk with the greatest composure. "You know you could not. But I will! Now, tell me who you are and what all this is about"

Candidly Mustafa Sagheer told who he was; how he was trained by the British to be an assassin; and the final lessons were imparted to him in Karachi. So, the next morning, Mustafa Sagheer enjoyed the exquisite pleasure of taking the long due dive into fathomless eternity with the ready help of an energetic Turkish firing squad

We in Sindh have been very meticulously kept away from the knowledge of the awesome greatness of Attaturk. So much so that when a Delegation of students of the University was to visit Turkey, then, the reigning *Thanedar*, the vice-chancellor, A.B.A. Haleem, is reported to have made our students take an oath, that on their return from Turkey, never will they divulge to others, the glories of human life and independence they were to see in Turkey; not to speak about its social and cultural reforms; about the emancipation of women; the modernization of man; the beatific efflorescence of the spirit of youth!! Even though the impenetrable pall of gloom and the suffocating and soul-paralyzing gas was most suddenly removed there in Turkey by Attaturk, thereby restoring radiant hope to humanity, the humanity, which was being steadily dehumanized over there before him. Even today, most of the *Sindhis* simply do not know that the knowledge of the achievement of Attaturk, can emancipate Sindh from the clutches of the *Mirs*, the *Pirs* and *Sayeds*, the MIGHTY MAGGOTS, who for centuries have fattened themselves by living in the most lordly manner on the fat of the land, in the name of their Divine Right to do so.

Same was the case in Turkey. That is the reason why most, especially the ladies of the *Sindhiani Tahreek* owe themselves the pilgrimage of pilgrimages, a visit to Turkey. There they will know, first hand, how the parasites and maggots have cheated them outright over here. The Turkish ladies will show

them how their Grand Mothers were freed from the curse of the vilest form of Slavery; how the great Attaturk and his friends and companions, like Khalida Adeeb Khanum blasted out the innumerable harem walls; how the power of the Mullah was shown the door; and what they owe to Attaturk. As a foreign observer wrote, the most inconsolable section of Turkish humanity was the women of Turkey, watching the funeral procession of Attaturk. No wonder, to each one of them, he was their spiritual liberator from the slavery of centuries and of dehumanization

As did the Turks, the *Sindhis* also will outright overcome that FEAR OF FREEDOM that has crippled them for centuries, and make them THINK. And when SLAVES BEGIN TO THINK, SLAVERY BEGINS TO DIE; and, even so, will the *Sindhis* wake up when they see how the TURKS came out of the HYPNOSIS. But one wonders why such of the *Sindhis* who visited Turkey have remained mum on their return: why they did not try to enlighten the rest of the *Sindhis* with what they saw in Turkey

May be because those who visited Turkey belonged to a well-to-do class over here, which were anxious that the man in the street should remain a man in the street, and should not yearn for social change. Perhaps it was not at all in their interest, that there should be that liberation of the common man and woman of Sindh, which was the blessing of Attaturk in Turkey. It has been actually seen that the *Vadera* youths, who had their education in England, were not at all conspicuous in having liberal views in Sindh. Instead, most of them prove themselves to be at least as anxious to retain the status quo as their fathers.

Therefore it is, that such of those who would go to Turkey, should above all be progressive middle class *Sindhis*, as it is naturally only they who can enlighten the rest of the *Sindhis*, with the knowledge of the liberation that the Attaturk brought about, through his astounding reforms.

This is practically so about ladies, as can readily be seen, in the *Sindhiani Tahreek*. What has happened is that some of the richer and more powerful ladies seem to have captured the

seats of power and seem to have robbed it of its dynamism? The poorer and the middle class ladies seem to get browbeaten and become supine and have to toe the line. This seems to be an adroit form of sabotage of movements and organizations. This can perhaps be called the strategy of the Trojan horse; to seep into the organization or movement, which is feared, so that it has to be reduced to zero. Aspiring Sindh has to stand guard against this reckless, heartless, most shortsighted "Trojan Horseism".

Otherwise, aspiring Sindh cannot even hope to get free from the clutches of further self-perpetuating Neo-Vaderism, which can become more menacing than the relatively more primitive fetters and burdens upon the hope of aspiring Sindh.

But who could happen to be those "Aspiring Sindhis"? Surely not the *Mirs*; certainly not the *Pirs*; and neither the *Vaderas*, all of whom, between themselves, have Sindh in their clutches, and are against any social or cultural change that threatens to dethrone them. The aspiring Sindhi is now even the tied downtrodden *Hari*. And not even the millions of victims of *Pirism* who have systematically, been deeply hypnotized into believing, that the abject slavery of the *Pirs*, is the one and only means of their redemption from unknown and uncommitted sins.

The aspiring Sindhi consists of those educated *Sindhis*, who have been through the game, and have discovered that the feet of all the statues are of clay, and that all the *Pirism*, is based upon nothing other than well organised fraud and hoax, and has stood in the way of the progress of Sindh in all possible ways. At least in some ways, these aspiring *Sindhis* are like the YOUNG TURKS of 1920s. They seem to be so, at least in THOUGHT.

As the disillusioned Young persons had begun to see how TURKEY was at one time sinking under the ever-increasing weight of debris, so also the aspiring *SINDHIS*, see and hope for Sindh to wake up for the change!

On reading : “How Green is My Village”

What a wondrous and glorious piece of writing! What an article, so original and intimate, unmatched in thought, content and description. What a writing of personal reminiscences deepest sentiments, soul-stirring phraseology and passion. A new chapter of English writing. This is the trend and spirit we should introduce in Pakistan. If *Muhajirs* have to live and love Sindh this is what they should learn and inculcate and emulate and feel. This article is the real root and strain of literature and intellect. Can any Urdu writing match it?

Sindh is experiencing Renaissance after many years. Europe took full fourteen centuries to do that. How great ANCIENT SINDH was, many may never know. The Military Scouts that Alexander dispatched to bring news about the interior returned to inform him that they saw ruins of many 'ancient' cities. Even now around the Zhob valley (between Sindh and Balochistan) are said to be traces of the ruins of scores of cities crying out for archeological exploration. Indeed the admirers and lovers of the valuable and the beautiful in nature are fascinated with the Zhob Valley. And because of the nature of the soil in Sindh, the river Sindhu has so very often changed its course (as Panhwar's scores of maps show) that hundreds of cities on its banks have been obliterated. And further in the march of the relentless sand dunes many cities and towns are lost and buried under them.

With the very slightest change in the course of the River at Thatta, because of which between the walls of Thatta and the present course of the river, such a terrible marsh developed that this glorious city of just three centuries back became such a malarial hell that it is now in ruins. The Malarial Mosquito has done more harm to Thatta than even the sack of it by the Portuguese. It is the greatest enemy of Sindh. As elsewhere in the world, it has entered and "water logged" mankind here also. So, by seeing the wondrous Fort of Ranikot, and the ruins of Mo-

henjodaro and Aamri, one can only guess what the Great Sindh of the past must have been. There is no doubt that it was rich beyond our present day belief. The mummies of the Egypt of 3,000 B C. were wrapped in the cotton made in Sindh is now a fact.

The people of Mohenjodaro played chess! Their children played with movable toys like bullock-carts. They had scribes who wrote. They had girls who danced. They had civil engineers whose work remains astonishment to us today. They had a public granary and swimming baths and drainage and paved straight streets. And space between houses and what not? Sindh, under even the Arabs, seems to have been prosperous, as hundreds of thousands of bricks found in Mansura, which was razed to the ground by Mehmud of Ghazni, shows. So, the more we try to get even vaguely acquainted with the past of Sindh, the more we come to know that Sindh was wealthy both materially and culturally. All the Arab Geographers made a clean distinction between SINDH, HIND and SARANDEEP (Ceylon) (SARANDEEP is the Arab way of saying SREE RAMANS SWEEPA)

In the trade between Sindh and the rest of the world Sindh accepted gold as the only 'currency' as Palini, the Romans historian moaned so aloud! All the present day Egyptians are so mighty proud of their Ancient Egypt that they boast that they are the children of the Pharos. And Egyptian Girls call themselves the daughters of the Nile (Their Women's Organization is so named). So also the present day Iranians are very understandably proud of their ancient land and its heroes like Sohrab, Rustam, Jamshid, Kaikhusru and one and all the defender of Iran, ancient or modern, Rabbani Agro, during his visit to Iran was very proudly shown by the Iranians not only the majestic Tehran and astonishing Isphahan, but also a small patch of beautiful land known as Rukunabad, on seeing which, the very first thought that struck in the mind of Rabbani, was that in Sindh there were thousands of such beauty-spots and hundred times more beautiful, more enchanting and more entrancing, of which the *Sindhis* ought to be as many times proud. And they are not even aware of these countless blessings. It is here that Sayed Ghuilam Mustafa Shah's article "HOW GREEN IS MY

VILLAGE" comes in as an oasis in the desert of indifference and unawareness and almost bovine neglect. Amongst the other things that distinguish MAN from Animals is the love of beauty. You don't hear of any monkey, chimpanzee, and gorilla or even of an orangutang enjoying sunrise or sunset, or the beauty of a rainbow or the shape of a rose or the grandeur of a mountain, do they? Even the most primitive human tribes adorn themselves with coloured feathers, paints and stones. So man is not only a Rational Animal, but also a beauty-loving animal. And the more advanced the man, the more he loves the beauty of his surroundings. A grove of trees without a palace in it is conceivable; but a palace without trees, plants, and garden is more of a morgue than a human residence. And the *Sindhis* were so very fond of gardens, that it is said, that before the destruction of Thatta it was so full of gardens that one English traveler was delighted with their finest of pomegranates, roses and Jasmine that grew in the city itself. Along with Sindh, the whole of the subcontinent was devoted to the civilization of gardens so much so that the whole province of now Bihar was called Vihar, a garden, and Bengal was Vangala joyous garden. That delightful writer, Oliver Goldsmith, begins his exquisite novel "The Vicar of Wakefield" with words to that effect, and said that the man who made the effort to grow two blades of corn where only one grew before had done greater good to humanity than all others! And long since, the MAN in Sindh not only did that, but much more also. He developed the most aromatic rice in the world, (the Basmati) the flavour of which can make diabetics shatter the medical restrictions on them not to eat rice. It developed the cotton textile. Indeed to the rest of the outside world, it was Sindh, and Sindh only, that was known as the whole of India. It was the Chinese Pilgrim Fa Fain, who by penetrating deep into the interior of India upto Patna made the interior of India known to the outside world. Otherwise Hind was Sindh and Sindh was Hind! Even to the Romans! That was and has been the importance of Sindh, the most paradoxical. Happy Valley turned into an Unhappy Valley.

But that was also the matter with Europe for full Fourteen Hundred years. Think of it! The Dark Ages prevailed over Europe, not for a day or two; but for full fourteen Hundred

Years, thanks to the theologians, who like astounding maggots crawled in and upon the body of the whole of the dead Athenian Civilization whose most distinct glory was the very birth and development was nothing other than the most Absolute Freedom of thought; the Refinement of Human Thought; of beauty of human thought, and that elegance of Human Thought, which, according to Bertrand Russell, remains unparalleled to this day! When the SUN of REASON sank in for full Fourteen Hundred years at an unbroken stretch, with not a star to guide the humble seeker after tangible, verifiable, demonstrable Truth till the birth of Galileo! And Sindh is fondly awaiting its own Galileo! And well may people like Mirza Qalich Beg and Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah be his heralds as was Galileo's Morning stars they heralded the Sun and its Dawn. All because every great revolution has ever been an intellectual Revolution "No Voltaire" declared Napoleon, "no Revolution". The SEEDS OF THOUGHT that Voltaire sowed in the Mind of France took so many years to germinate; but germinate they did. So also the SEEDS OF INTELLECT the Mirza Qalich Beg and Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah have sown in the MIND OF SINDH will germinate. They have to. The soil is fertile. The Waters of Sindh keep them alive. The soil of Sindh nourishes them. THE SUN OF SINDH shines upon them. The Thoughts and Blessings of Latif, Sachal and Saami go with them. The life and death of all the past defenders of Sindh gave them courage and fortitude. Both Shah Inayat as well as Hoshoo Sheeddi is with them. And the hope of Sir Charles Napier that Karachi (and thereby SINDH) will one day be the "Queen of the East" is with them. And so also is the courage of Allah Bux Soomro and Hyder Bux Jatoti, the scholarship of Gidwani, who wrote the most scholarly biography of the Shah of Sindh. Latif of *Bhit*. And then there is, no, there are, well sowed seeds of thought, the ever and ever indelible influence, of G.M. Sayed, influence that may grow stronger with the passage of time. In spite of his many self -confessed political blunders of the very first magnitude, and because, perhaps of his honest confessions, today 'He is Sindh'. But, alas, Mr. G.M. Sayed is wholly politics!

Not so restricted and confined is Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, the author of the article "How Green is My Village". He is many sided, as behooves a widely traveled educationist with

plenty of 'vim, vigour and vitality' even for such an elderly person. From whatever he saw in England as a student, and from every single tour or travel he had in foreign lands, he seems, to have returned with the burning desire to help promote the coming Renaissance of Sindh. On seeing the commercial greatness of Carthage, *Apes Cornelius*, *Apes Cornelius Socipyo*, returned with the burning desire to burn out Carthage, the rival of Rome, to cinders and ashes; and for twenty years "Delends Es Carthgo Astheve. 'Carthage must be destroyed' was the every breath of his life, till he did it. Contrawise, Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah seems to have returned from every one of his visits to foreign countries, with the burning desire to make his Sindh as great as it once was and as great as other peoples today are, like the Italians, the Germans, the French, the British. He sees what Sindh is and what Sindh already has which many other modern people simply do NOT have, like his imperious Sindhu.

His thoughts on his Sindh, as penned down in his "How Green Is My Village", rise up to the very heights of adoration, love and reverence, and seem to share the very majesty of the river itself because of his oneness with its majesty. It is not he writing. It is Sindhu, with him as its instrument, asking the *Sindhis* to "SEE YOUR MOTHER'S FACE. I AM YOUR MOTHER." TAKE PRIDE IN BEING MY CHILDREN. GLORY IN MY GREATNESS. YOU CAN BE ME IF YOU BE MINE".

Not for nothing did Ancient Wisdom Worship Rivers as the very rivers of life. Not for nothing did ANCIENT wisdom adore the land as Motherland. Not for nothing did so very secular a philosopher like Confucius teach that even the goods of the Verandah of one's home had to be adored and respected. He was not a crude ignorant idolater in the crude sense of the term. With the deepest insight, he saw that the hills, the rivers, the trees, the land, all are the supporters of human life and so, worthy of the clearest gratitude

Geniuses, having an intelligence quotient of 200 and more, like Einstein, are not all of a sudden product of modern age only. Ancient ages also did have people of such mental caliber. When they asked that land, rivers, and trees, and mountains, and flowers, and fruits should be adored, it was not mere ani-

mism I think. Today we see that those who do not adore the land of their birth, those who are not enchanted with the beauty of their rivers and streams and woods and dales, those who did not kid their motherland, those who neglected it, spoilt it, tried to ruin it, having been born there, have not remained grateful to it, or having adopted another place, have no LOVE lost for it, or refuse to identify themselves with it, stand condemned as rootless, self made orphans who having murdered their mother clamour for consideration on grounds that they are now orphans! Lost souls they. It is a terrific tragedy, this being unwanted. Most probably that was why the ancient sages, geniuses of those days, created so many feasts and celebrations and wrote so many hymns in praise of the land of one's birth. And let all of us look at the greatness and glory of all those who have loved and adored and beautified and developed their lands with their works and with their thoughts. Poet Iqbal's poems "SARAY JAHAN SAY ACHA HINDUSTAN HAMARA", HINDUSTANI BACHOON KA GEET" and the unexpurgated edition of "NAYA SHWALA" have made him respected and venerated to such an extent that it is reported that Jawaharlal Nehru proposed "*Saray Jahan Say Achha Hindustan Hamara*" as the National Anthem of India on its independence. And, Shah Abdul Latif's expression of his devotion to his Motherland, Sindh, may justly be estimated as perhaps the very, best IMAGINABLE by us.

This is no exaggeration. A verifiable statement this is. For in the totality of Muslim Thought the concept of *Mairaj* or Ascent to Heaven is the concept wholly reserved for the Founder of Islam. None else has ever claimed it after him. Only he was accepted to have gone and returned for communion with his Creator passing through seven heavens. Shah Abdul Latif is perhaps the only person who also claimed to have performed such a journey. And so very transcendental is his love for his Motherland that he claimed his SEVEN HEAVENS to be none other than named Seven 'Towns' in SINDH itself and no where else. It is in his SEVENTH CITY, MALIR (in the interior of Sindh that he claimed to have experienced the attainment of *Mairaj*. Can patriotism, love for Motherland, go any further? Unthinkable. Most worthy of being pondered over many times, and many times over. It is such a Sindh, of such Shah, so blessed

by him, in so very sublime a manner that is now seeking a Renaissance, against all possible odds. It may even look as if against all impossible odds too. For such is the situation in which it finds itself. It is overwhelmingly against it. But, so far as we know, a Renaissance is Renaissance. If it is Renaissance, it is unquenchable. It lights the candle of hope in every heart, as happened during the Renaissance of Europe, (the only Renaissance we know so much about). But, looking deep, perhaps even the European Renaissance did not have so many hurdles in its way as has the Sindhi yearning for Renaissance! But then, Europe itself did not have a Shah Latif of its own, with his own *Mairaj*, nor did it then have a Sachal, some of whose poems, Rationalistic enough to make every literate Sindhi into a, Rousseau, who cried out "Man is born free, but everywhere he is found in chains", or a Marx, who picked up this cry with his "Unite you workers of the world; you have nothing to lose but your chains" or an Ingersoll who trumpeted, "when slaves begin to think, slavery begins to die" or a Gandhi, who when asked why he sought Liberty, definitely replied "I want liberty to sin!" Sindh has the unique advantage of such tutelage and such hindsight. And the most inspiring title of the American Novel "HOW GREEN WAS MY VALLEY" has stimulated Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah to write the Article "HOW GREEN IS MY VILLAGE".

This is SYMBOLIC, this emphasis on the PRESENT as the prelude to the Future "HOW GREEN MY SINDH CAN BE". He sees its vast potential against the backdrop of his observations during his extensive travels. As his article looks to me to be Symbolic of nothing less than Renaissance itself, I think that embraces within its meaning and significance, not only the Agricultural, but also the Cultural, Intellectual, Commercial, Industrial and Aesthetic itself... nothing short of THE GREENING OF SINDH. A Shelleyian challenge "O SINDH, IF WINTER COMES, CAN SPRING BE FAR BEHIND".

And its painful history tells us; Sindh has had its winter, which extended over centuries. In between the lines, the *Chach Nama* tells us how rich and prosperous it was. Riches and prosperity are the products of peace and not of Chaos. Buddhism had given Sindh that Peace, because it is said that there

were more than seven hundred Buddhist stupas in Sindh, showing thereby its influence. (Indeed the Nagarparkar area is reported to be littered with the ruins crying for Archeological investigation. And then absolutely ignored by the present-day *Sindhis*, there are said to be certain areas in the interior of Sindh so very enchanting in their "mysterious" beauty, as to just hypnotize the onlooker, containing traces of towns and cities not now known. Amongst the moderns, the only people who are said to see them are said to be rarely visiting senior officers like Commissioners. And they can be said to be uninterested in such matters, which would make A Ruskin the worshipper of Sindh, who, the real character of man, may write books like "The Stones of Venice", "Seven lamps of Architecture", and "Sesame and Lilies of Sindh").

One of the characteristics of Buddhism has been, that its monks took very great care to see, that they built their monasteries and Stupas in the most beautiful and most peaceful spots anywhere. So how Green Sindh already must have been that to the Buddhists nearly the whole of Sindh was a SANCTUARY!! The Truth of Buddhism efflorescence in the Beauty of Sindh could naturally make any Keats sing, "Truth is Beauty and Beauty is Truth" This is all we know and we wish to know.

Today the whole world is full of praise and astonishment for Japan. And what is most characteristic of Japan? It is not the BEAUTY OF JAPAN, which provided such sanctuary to the TRUTH of ZEN BUDDHISM? O! So very much of the real history of Sindh is lost. All right! Lost is lost. But the Beauty of Sindh is not lost. Its fascination is not lost. Its potentiality to recreate its astounding past is not lost, its creativity is not lost. When, some 23 years back, some cities of Greece were razed to the ground by an earthquake, the surviving citizens, before starting the work of reconstruction, performed their National Dance on the Ruins: showing thereby, that the Glory that was Greece, continued to be the Glory that is Greece. So also, not only the spiritual, commercial, cultural importance that SINDH has, continues to be with it, but also its military importance for the whole of the Subcontinent.

For, not till Sindh was taken over by acknowledged foul play by the British Strategists, did they feel themselves militarily

secure in the whole of the subcontinent. They did not mind sinning against Sindh. Remember "PACCAVI"! What they discovered over here was that this land was a land of administrative opportunity, besides Defence. Truly great Administrators, like Frere, Bolton, found a clean slate here to give expression to their humanism; and if gratitude is a mark of noble mind, *Sindhis* should show it in the same way and manner, as the great Qalich Beg did. He did not humiliate himself before the British, although he was one of their employees. The greatness in him made him see the greatness inherent in British thought and literature. So, instead of cutting one's own nose to spite one's own face, Mirza Qalich Beg wanted that Sindh should drive the utmost benefit from the very best of British thought, literature and practicality. To the majesty of the Sindhu which Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah sees, Mirza Qalich beg added, much earlier, the glory of the Thames. Blessed alike both by Shakespeare as well as by Shah Latif. Mirza Qalich Beg served Sindh as the truest Son of Sindh. Should not the Sindh University be named after him? It is for people like Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah to think. When Mirza Qalich Beg saw no danger but a stimulant to Sindh from the English Language, why need modern *Sindhi* feel hesitant? "How Green Is My Village" is worth being repeatedly read and deeply pondered over, over, and over again, because of its symbolism which is based upon 'idyllic reality'

This has to be done by the lovers of Sindh gifted with calm, clear, and above all, with imaginative mind. Not for nothing it has been said, "Where there is no imagination, the people perish". Worse still! Unimaginative people have always become slaves of the more imaginative people. The whole of the recorded human history is witness to this relentless phenomenon. Tell me! What was it that the Red Indians did not possess except the power of imagination to organize themselves to retain their freedom and liberty?

Both in the study of Macro Sociology as well as Micro Sociology, even in the members of the self-same single family, we just can't help seeing the role that imagination, which is just another name for intellect, plays in the success and failure of individuals and groups. Super intellectuals like Einstein uphold

and adore fine Arts just because they stimulate Imagination. Therefore it was that "Imagination Rules The World" declared Napoleon, who himself eventually failed, just because his imagination did prove itself quite unequal to the Imagination of Pitt the Younger of England

Recent history is witness to the fact that Hitler failed because, amongst other things his imagination did not prove itself equal to the Imagination of Churchill. In all trade, commerce, industry and life in general, the role of Imagination plays precisely that very same part which physical vision plays in biological life, individually as well as collectively. Seen in the light of Imagination, if just one village in Sindh, (Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah's village) could be made so green, because of the Imagination and effort of just one person, what cannot the whole of Sindh be, if his imagination gets infectious! Perhaps it will greatly repay studying "HOW GREEN IS MY VILLAGE" not only by the readers of the Sindh Quarterly, but also, and more so, by economists, sociologists, psychologists and popularisers of scientific knowledge, "as a case under study"; and by poets, writers, dramatists and short story writers, all "for the sake of Sindh". Of these, the study of village economy is overwhelmingly important. That no family, or village or empire can ever remain 'green' is all too obvious, but yet all too easily overlooked. And then we wonder why and how things go away in spite of all, all and all our idealism.

In spite of scores of foreign invasions and countless internal turmoil, this Subcontinent remained one of the richest in the world, just because its village-life remained organically unmoled. Akbar's land Reforms, in spite of heavy taxation, did not hurt the village economy and the economic and social power of the great Panchayat system. That way 'every village was green'. Cornwallis's Land Reforms, on the other hand, all unwittingly destroyed every thing that the Indian self-contained Village stood for, over the millenniums. Indeed it can justly be said that, again all unwittingly of course, and perhaps with the best of good intentions, Cornwallis proved himself in effect to be 'infinitely' a greater curse than a hundred of Timurs and Chinggisides put together. Cornwallis's Reforms led to the uprooting of the Indian life itself, and within decades, cities thrived

at the pauperization of the countless villages. Eventually the British rulers themselves stood bewildered and puzzled at what happened

Even to this day, inspite of independence of both India and Pakistan, and inspite of the very best of our intentions, the dis-organization of the village and its economy persists unabated. The disease seems to have transcended the stage of irreversibility. The power of the CITY over the village economy, plus the recklessness of our population, the impossibility of large-scale migration overseas, have led to the internal migration of the kind that the once less populated places like Sindh, are now experiencing. The Lloyd Barrage, which began as a blessing to Sindh, should now prove itself to continue to remain the blessing, not only to Sindh, but also to the *Sindhis* themselves, first and foremost. Perhaps this, and only this, and nothing else but this, can help the modern and effective *Sindhis* to recreate a cosmos out of the centuries old chaos. When, during a battle against the Germans, Napoleon: was asked how many moves the Enemy had made against him "Two moves only" said Napoleon, when asked why he thought so, Napoleon said that because the general opposing him had such a limited mind, for two moves only. There could have been "Ten moves against me, if General X had been in command and 21 moves if General Y had been in command" he said

How well this illustrates the colossal difference in the quality of the minds, the situation remaining the same!! So also, all the other factors in the situation in Sindh remaining the same and constant, it will be nothing but the quality of the minds in the Sindhi leadership that may help decide the future of *Sindhis* in their own Sindh, as it d'd in the past several centuries

Formerly, in my student days I was wondering why victorious Generals were decorated, although it was the soldiers who fought, killed and were killed!!! To my boyish mind, then it looked so unjust, callous, squalid and beastly. The above stated observation of Napoleon corrected my gross immaturity. Now I have begun to have a glimpse at the importance of the quality of leadership. The population seems to me to be the most essential and valuable "CLAY". It is just indispensable.

True. But it is the "POTTER" the LEADER, that gives it shape, utility and beauty. or, ugliness and futility; all depended upon his nature, nurture and ability and imagination

With this as clue, when we study the history of Sindh and its present conditions, we see this as the resultant of the interaction between or among other things like climate, the population and the leadership it had and has, in every field, not only in politics

In 1918, all was lost to Turkey, including Turkey itself. Like the sacrificial goat, it was to be sacrificed to celebrate the victory of the Allies in the Great World War-1. All was lost to the Turks except the Attaturk. Having his leadership the Turks needed little else to roar out of the slaughterhouse, not as bleating sheep but as lions, which upturned the 'Treaty Tables' of Versailles. No; not for nothing did John F. Kennedy, the President of America, claim Attaturk to be the greatest man of the 20th century. No wonder, that to the modern Turk, all that ever matters is his Turkish Leadership. What else? He is the greatest Sculptor of Turkey, its greatest builder, planner, dramatist, painter, architect, physician, all because he was and is its greatest SOUL, SPIRIT, THOUGHT, MIND. His biography could be an inspiration of inspirations to the modern SINDHI MEN and SINDHI WOMEN... as perhaps nothing else would give them the new meaning to Shah Latif's and Sachal's and Shah Inayat's life works and Hoshoo Sheeddi's martyrdom.

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Damage Irretrievable

The neglect of the indigenous educational systems of this subcontinent by the British is perhaps one of the greatest irretrievable damages ever

Let us see how.

True, true it is that the British DID give nothing less than the most needed political respite and peace to a subcontinent which had been suffering from one hundred years of anarchy, confusion and despair of millions of helpless and hapless men, women and children.

True also, that the British ushered in the concept of human rights and individualism, freedom of the thought and action away from the clutches of the regimentations of caste, sub-caste and sub-sub-castes and the tyrannies of *biradaries* and local crushing despotisms, the details of which are seen in the sorrows reflected in folk-songs and folk-tales.

In short, true it is that while the British enslaved the nation, they freed the individuals.

And when they left, they left behind them what the French, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Italians and the rest of the Europeans could not have even imagined to have developed and created.

Briefly speaking, the British did not leave ruins behind, but a mighty subcontinent governed by means of steel-framed administration and by rational modes of political and legal thought.

But they destroyed the vast village *Panchayat* institution, which had enabled the millions of our villages to exist as untouched self-sufficient units amidst the violent births, existence and death of mushroom principedoms, kingdoms, and empires; and so the British, unwittingly, reduced the villagers to become beggars in the cities of commission agents and money lenders.

merchants and, later, the aspiring manufacturers and industrialists.

This subcontinent has not yet recovered from the silent consequences of this noiseless destruction, which was perhaps unavoidable and inevitable in the well meaning reforms of Cornwallis and their ancillaries and corollaries, and the sub-systems of administration that were spun out of them

It was against this vast waste and destruction of village power that Gandhiji rallied when he characterized the otherwise calming and quietening peace brought about by the British rulers as the "peace of the graveyard".

The other destruction was perhaps the avoidable destruction of the Educational System and the paralysis of the vast power of learning and knowledge that was inherent in the treasures of not less than fifteen mighty languages of the subcontinent.

With the introduction of English as the most favoured language of instruction, for the purposes of administration as well as, so far as the common man's interest was, earning bread and butter. The servants, the scholars, the students of these mighty languages became, like the mighty Mughal Empire which almost overnight became the insignificant 'Kingdom of Delhi' almost overnight, insignificant and inconspicuous creatures: their knowledge and learning being of no avail to themselves even, with the saddest economic and cultural results.

(One of the very few, but very precious results all the same, of the retention of the otherwise out-dated and parasitical princely states for 90 years after the "Mutiny" was the patronage that some of the princes of these states continued to give the pre-British knowledge and learning and music, dance, and religions of the subcontinent. Otherwise perhaps they would have suffered a worse fate due to neglect and want of active patronage, which only a government can afford to give on long lasting bases.)

As but one single instance of "HOW GREEN WAS MY VALLEY" intellectually and culturally before the advent of the British system of education can be seen from many writings

and speeches and editorials of the various annual Reports of the Mohammedan Educational Conference; from the classical book. "History of Mohammedan Education in India" by Dr Daudpota, and by the astonishingly incisive, accurate, objective observation of General Sliman.

Speaking about the Muslims of India only, he says, in effect, that in the whole world there may be only a very few nations like the Muslims in India with whom there is such a high degree of education, and mastery, that even one among them whose income is rupees twenty per month provides such education to his boys, as is the education of the prime minister of England. These (children) get their education through Arabic and Persian in the same ways as our children get their education through Latin and Greek; that is, they learn Grammar, logic and Rhetorics. After a course of study extending over a period of seven years, the young man gets the turban (*Dastaar-e-Fazilat*) on his head and his standard of education is such that of a graduate from Oxford. He, without any hesitation can discuss about the work of Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Galen, Hippocrates and Ibn-e-Sena. Even one from amongst the best of us Europeans, the highest educated from the best of the families also feels himself, from the educational point of view, low rated and worthless when compared with these educated Muslims, especially when it comes to discussing considered opinions on both the usual matters of the day as well as on intellectual matters. Any educated Muslim is also familiar with the astronomy of the Greeks and the knowledge of the logic of Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates, which has reached him through Ibn-e-Sena. (Such an educated Muslim) can discuss with and through competence on Philosophy, Ethics, Art and literature and he is also aware of those researches and developments which are of these days.

To corroborate the above, there is the Report of the Education Commission of the East India Company, which says that the Muslim students of the Urdu Medium Delhi College (destroyed during the Mutiny) were, boy-to-boy, superior in the knowledge of Science to the boy of the same standard in England

Similarly, and on an all India scale, not only Sanskrit learning, but also learning in all the various local languages, spoken and written by millions of people and with huge amount of written (on palm leaves) literature went out of commission as administrative languages. and for long, lost their importance in matters of high administration.

The silent cultural suffering of the people, because of this change, is beyond our computation now.

But the loss to vast high national interest has been much greater still. In fact it becomes incomprehensible and unimaginable.

We can have a fleeting glimpse of it only by wondering if Japan and Germany would have so very soon arisen out of their ashes from the defeat to the second Great War, if they did not have their own national languages, Japanese and German, in full commission, and if Japan and Germany had foreign languages as their administrative and educational language instead of Japanese and German.

Or think for awhile, what would have been the condition of the various peoples of Europe, in matters of science, arts and industry, if they had continued to remain under the domination of Latin. Indeed, what actually was their condition when Latin reigned supreme? Where, where would there have been the galaxies of great men and women, in every walk of life, that are there now, in these various peoples that are now there, thanks indeed to their own languages becoming their own administrative and educational languages? The condition over here is even more pitiable. Although Sanskrit did dominate all over the subcontinent once, it too, could not stop the birth and development of many languages which, though greatly influenced by it in so many ways including the phonology of their own alphabets, none the less had developed their own literatures and even had their classics. The Ramayana, for instance, in the Telugu language of South India, is said to be no less grand than Valmiki's Ramayana.

Had not the British or any foreign power come to this land to impose its own language over the rest of the languages, and had the Printing press, which the Portuguese brought over

here, come independently of any foreigner, would not, as in Europe, the history of this subcontinent, especially in matters of intellectual scientific and consequently industrial matters, have been quite different than it is now?

And now, due a multiplicity of factors, too complicated and lengthy to be discussed over here, English has assumed such a position of importance over here, that it cannot at all be profitably sub-planted by any indigenous language just for the sake and fancy of such sub-plantation.

Its greatest virtue, however, seems to be its pragmatism. Unlike many other European languages, it is not that grammar-ridden. Somehow, even after the English have left, their language remains the most effective language of administrative understanding and utility. So much so that we can ignore it at our own peril, although more than 97 percent of us do not understand it.

Nonetheless, the damage done to the various local languages of theirs not having become the official languages from even one of the countries of the subcontinent is colossal and irremediable.

To only vaguely estimate this great damage perhaps it may not be altogether idle to speculate what would have been the shape of things, in matters of the languages and cultures of this subcontinent if the British or any European power had not at all come on the scene after the disappearance of the Mughals.

At least the major 14 or 15 languages would have become the independent languages of modern science and technology as it happened in Europe.

The vast economic interests created out of such an industrial development would have in its turn given, as in Europe, rise to intense local nationalism, eventually giving rise to at least 14 different nations out of the already clearly existing nationalities like the Maharashtrians, the Gujrateres, the Bengalis, the Karnatakies, the Tamils, the Telugus, the Aryans, the *Sindhis* and the like.

Many of these nationalities had their own sea-boards, again like Europe, and would have developed into maritime powers.

as Maharashtrians, by eventually defeating the Portuguese and taking over their fort of Bessin as they attempted to do; and as Mysore also, under Teepu Sultan, by conquering the Maldives Islands, from Mangalore as the naval base, as he attempted to do.

This industrial Revolution, which Teepu Sultan, alone amongst all the Indians, tried to usher in India would have caught up over here as well as any where, or even more, all because since ages it was India that was the master of iron technology in the ancient world and had colossal resources of Iron and coal, before which the iron and coal resources of England, the mother of Industrial Revolution, look very small indeed

And all because the modern sciences were very young then, in the fourteen major Indian Languages too, they would have developed and kept pace in the same way as they developed in the various languages of Europe

In short, the whole of this subcontinent would have been, industrially, scientifically and culturally and commercially, like the whole of the continent of Europe itself.

Of course the various developments mentioned would not have been on the same pattern in this subcontinent as in Europe. Even in Europe itself, in spite of the Industrial Revolution progress has not all been uniform. Spain and Portugal, for instance had a different rate of development than Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries

And even in the Scandinavian countries themselves, the kind of development is different from that of say Norway and Finland

So, left to itself, un-interfered by the European foreign power like England, this subcontinent's various countries with their own different and distinct languages, literature, history, sociology and geography would not have developed uniformly if the industrial Revolution had reached its shores. There are just too many actors militating against any homogenous industrial and scientific developments based upon the intellectual march of the different languages in their own zones of birth and devel-

Not the least among them is the existence of millions upon millions of human beings, spread all over the subcontinent, who speak languages, which so far have no script of their own. According to Grierson, in his monumental "Linguistic Survey Of India", there are more than 600 such languages and dialects without scripts.

Such a stunning socio-linguistic situation can hardly be conducive to the rapid spread and development of the most unique phenomenon that modern industrialization happens to be.

Further is there also the strange fact that in this subcontinent from historic times the sea-conscious coastal areas have been in every way dominated upon by the land-locked areas, whereas in Europe the sea was never far from any country (Except Russia, obviously) and the land locked Russia's repeated attempt to dominate over the rest of the sea-board Europe have always come to naught.

In Europe it is the sea-engulfed ancient Athens and Italy that imposed their cultural and other influence on the inland of Europe, giving a part of their religion and culture to inland locked Russia itself.

To repeat, quite the opposite has been the role of the power of the sea and the power of the land over the destinies of the people of the subcontinent. The vast Indo-Gangetic plain, mostly a colossal land-locked area, it has dominated over the south, which is, in comparison, nearer the sea.

Indeed, Brahmanical Hinduism of the North is strongest in the Dravidian extreme South where at Cape Comorin both the Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal actually mingle together, as just one.

And the mythological story of the destruction of the political power of Lanka by the Aryan Prince Ram of the North is carried home to Ceylon itself by the coastal South Indian Tamils themselves as descendants of the collaborators of the northern Aryan Prince Ram.

This is indicative of the power of the land-locked North over the destinies of the coastal areas.

Under such conditions, if Industrialism had reached this subcontinent independently of the British fathers of the Industrial Revolution, even then that Industrialization would not have been any monolithic development, but the resultant of the computation of the variation of so many factors.

The same was the situation in the Colonizing Europe itself which eventually had to fight two world-Wars before giving up its empires and colonies to settle down to sensibility with two super powers on either of its sides as the evidence of a totally new world order altogether.

How many wars the various parts of the independently industrialized, linguistically different, and historically antagonistic peoples here would have fought amongst them it is hard to guess?

But, if both the immediate history of the subcontinent after the almost sudden breakdown of the Mughal Empire as a result of Nadir Shah's invasion, as well as if the earlier history of the subcontinent, since the recorded times of the Muariyan empire, the Gupta Empire, the Harsha Empire, the Mughal Empire is any indication, the role of modern industrial power in the hands of the various conflicting nationalities would perhaps have been the same as, in a sense, as the role that the various languages and nationalities have played under independent industrial development in Europe, or even worse.

That way, the imposition of the English language at the cost of the official importance of the Indigenous languages, as it thwarted the development of the nationalities from becoming warring industrial nations may be looked upon, perhaps, as an undiluted blessing to the lives of the countless common men

G. M. Sayed

Mr. G.M. Sayed's speech presented in this pamphlet "A Plea for Sanity in National Policy" is indeed a plea of national sanity.

"Those whom the gods kill" say an ancient Greek Proverb "Those whom the gods kill; they first make them mad" Mr. G.M. Sayed's plea is a warning against that madness that is increasingly threatening us. This madness is taking various forms.

One of those forms is the most complete disregard of Mr. Jinnah's absolutely unmistakable plea for secularism in Pakistan, a plea which ended with the ringing words "...in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense, as citizens of the State".

Another form this madness is taking is to say that Mr. Jinnah did not at all use these words in the connection in which it is being understood; and to assert that it would be nothing other than blasphemy to attribute secular meaning to his words.

Yet another form of insanity is to rush in where angels necessarily fear to tread the realm of the intellect. Words like 'nationality', 'nation' and 'Nationalism' are the subject of the most impersonal, objective study by these specialist historians, sociologists, political philosophers, jurists and political scientists who have devoted their lives to the study of these concepts.

Glimpses of their thoughts upon these concepts are to be had from, to begin with, the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences; while whole bibliographies are there to guide the thoughtful.

But who, except G.M. Sayed, wants to be thoughtful about such concepts

Here it looks as if the lesser the thought bestowed on such matters, the more loud the pronouncements, which have be-

come the laughing stock of intellectual world. And these pronouncements have not remained mere pronouncements; but bid fair to claim revolutionary sanctity protected by the 'Hukkam', 'thou shall not think'.

In this pamphlet not only has G.M. Sayed fully quoted those words of Mr. Jinnah which many others wince at and wish that he had not spoken them at all and desire that they should be obliterated from the memory of the rest of us; but also G.M. Sayed has quoted Maulana Obeidullah Sindhi who exposed the illusory concepts of the Muslims of this Subcontinent which illusory concepts have left the present day Indian Muslims high and dry, "the least of the minorities" although they are the biggest numerical minority in India.

But of all, in this pamphlet Mr. G.M. Sayed has pleaded before the well-wishers of Pakistan, for those considerations on the basis of which alone, not only according to G.M. Sayed, but according to the best of political thought in the world, the foundations of an enduring and self-sustaining structure of Pakistan as a nation can be well and truly laid

Those considerations are the recognition of the facts, not fiction, of regional nationalities on the basis of linguistic homelands, and all the economic and cultural consequences that flow from that recognition

Nationalities are not all the same as Nations. A nation can, and often does contain, any number of nationalities without any adverse consequences to the strength, integrity and solidarity of the Nation containing them

Soviet Russia is a stunning example of the truth of this statement. One of the very first thing that the Soviet State did on formation was to not merely recognize the existence of the various nationalities comprising it as distinct and different nationalities but also to have taken every possible step to encourage these nationalities, through special institutes of intellect and culture to come into their very own to constitute strong and sturdy bricks contributing their strength to the over-all Soviet Russian Nationhood.

So, instead of being amorphous lumps of secretly dissatisfied and disgruntled mass, the Soviet State presented a steel-wall of defence comprising willing nationalities. Most of these had for the first time in their long histories, that measure of cultural stature which, without the encouragement from the State, would not have been anything except a distorted dream for an eventual vengeful materialization at the gory expense of an oppressive authority finally weakened, reminding the student of history of the march of Attila the Hun to a Rome in which he did not allow a single statue to stand intact on its pedestal when he left it a colossal ruin.

So G.M. Sayed wants us to be free from the fear of adverse consequences of the recognition of existence of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious nationalities in Pakistan.

When he made this speech way back in 1968, his voice was most completely ignored, and the therefore Pakistan became a political wilderness with indelibly frightful consequences.

If "Reality is that which we can ignore at our own peril" we will be again ignoring the realities, which G.M. Sayed has been pointing out with unerring insight and finger.

That Mr. G.M. Sayed is standing from nothing other than justice and fair play to all the different provinces of Pakistan; that he is perhaps the stoutest champion for the very existence of Pakistan; and that he proposes the sanest measures to that end, is patent from his "A Plea For Sanity In National Policy"

Even those of us who are transcendental specialists in deliberately misunderstanding and misinterpreting, will have to exert their talents to the breaking point to find fault in what he has said.

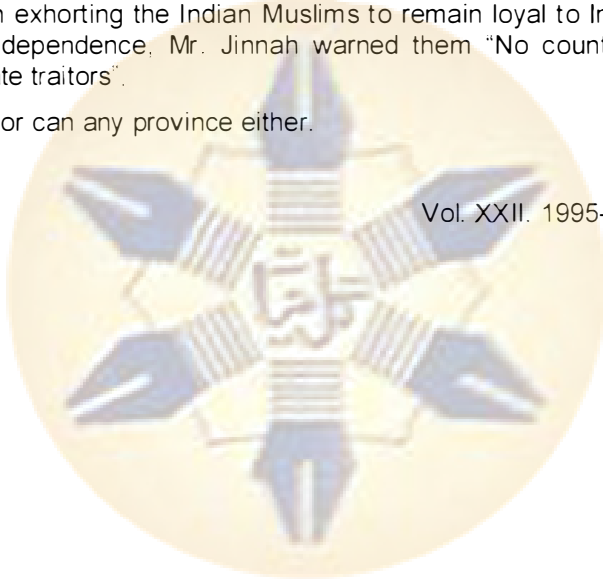
Some such specialists are to be found particularly in the camp of us "Al-Muhajereen". We love to misunderstand G.M. Sayed. Like the Bourbons after the French Revolution, we "have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing" from the colossal follies of our specialization in negative thinking in the past.

At least now we should not behave like that proverbial cow in the story, which mistrusted its well-wisher and walked away with its butcher

In my opinion there is no better well-wisher of us "Al-Muhajereen" than G.M. Sayed. All that G.M. Sayed is asking of us "Al-Muhajereen" is that at least now we must take a lesson from our history and regard ourselves as truly *Sindhis* in Sindh.

In exhorting the Indian Muslims to remain loyal to India after Independence, Mr. Jinnah warned them "No country can tolerate traitors".

Nor can any province either.



Gul Hayat Institute



Gul Hayat Institute



Gul Hayat Institute

Tapping Country's Resources

Mr. Ghulam Farooque, speaking on 'Development Through Self-reliance' on the occasion of Third Chapter meeting of the Karachi Chapter of the Society for International Development, has pointed out that the country has sufficient untapped resources, which go a long way in meeting the country's needs.

As example he has pointed out towards the water resources in the Northern Areas as inexhaustible sources of electric energy and the vast mineral resources lying untapped in Balochistan.

So far, so good.

Area wise speaking, Japan, a much smaller country than Pakistan does not have any mineral resources at all.

What natural resources (apart from its hydro-electric potential) did Japan have to become one of the biggest 'Have' powers when we with all our vast resources continue to be amongst the Have-Nots?

Do our economists and industrialists ever stop to think about such matters?

Did not America have, since eternity almost all the vast material resources it now has?

And yet, how was it that it remained what it ever was till the Europeans took it over and turned it into what it today is?

So, why obsessively talk only about the material resources all the while almost completely ignoring the only resources which made Japan one that does not have even a grain of iron become one of the biggest iron and steel industry country in the world?

Look where you like, the more you look, the more you see that it is not at all so much the existence of natural resources that matters as the utility of the human potential.

Not for nothing were both Socrates and Christ at one with each other when they both said: "Seek ye first the things of the spirit; and the rest will be added unto you."

What are those "things of the spirit" that they were so particular about our having first?

The more we try to understand this advice, the less mystical, hazy, cloudy or misty does it appear; and the more non-mystical, and crystal clear and very much down to earth, solid, and above all, verifiably demonstrable and reliably predictable, in the affairs of this wonderful world of ours. This can never be over-emphasized.

For, is not the science of mathematics a thing of the spirit? All the positive sciences, all philosophy; all branches of positive and normative knowledge, well, they are not concrete; these are neither solids, liquids nor gasses.

All these are the products of human thought, the achievements of the human spirit; they are the kingdoms of heaven within.

Indeed it is astonishing that many of us who talk about the existence of material resources forget that before the modern white man went to America, America was full with those natural resources which the Red Indian had not at all used in the manner in which the white man used them. And even the early white man did not use the vast hydraulic power of the Niagara falls till, thanks to the discoveries of the scientists like Franklin, Volta Ampere, Galvin etc, inventors like Edison and Nicola Tesla who invented the machine to use that hydraulic power to produce hydro-electric power.

And due to the absence of adequate knowledge in agricultural and sylvatic matters then, the same White man in America so ruined the soil and emptied the forests as to have created vast "Dust Bowls" till such time when scientific study of agriculture and forestry taught him rational management of the soil and the forest.

And just now also, due to the want of enough knowledge of the consequences of heedless pollution of the air and water, through the vast output of Industrial waste in the water and in the air, the most industrial nations themselves are chiefly, if not wholly responsible for endangering the existence of life itself in the world.

And again, only Science has calculated the intensity of pollution and only it is science that has given out the rather belated

warning which is now very slowly being heeded.

It all goes to show that mere human spirit to bring the heaven on earth is not at all enough.

Knowledge, and limitless knowledge, in all its branches, and not only in physics, chemistry and mathematics, is needed to tap any country's resources.

All because the role of physics, chemistry and mathematics looms large in our eyes as the cause of the industrialization of Europe and America, many of our people and even educationists are laying emphasis only on these subjects in our thoughts.

They may forget that if these few subjects alone were indeed sufficient, Europe and America would not have been idiotic enough to spend large sums of money on the study of other sciences and humanities and fine arts and even crafts.

The scientific achievements of America are before our eyes, but even some of our educationists and makers of the policies of Education seem to be frankly ignorant of the fact that the one subject that attracts the largest number of the students of scientific and industrialized America is Music! There is practically no science college in America that does not have at least one theatre for dramatic arts, at least one orchestra of music.

Similarly in the most profoundly scientific Germany, Music is most profoundly cultivated.

It is said that had not Einstein been a so great physicist, perhaps he would have been as great a musician, for he was a superb violinist and took immense delight in teaching the appreciation of music to others.

All this our educationists in their crass ignorance of the bearings of arts on sciences forget in their frantic search after the mirage of scientific advance in the country.

They do not stop to think even for a moment why it is that all the western educationists like the philosopher John Dewy lay such a stress upon the cultivation of fine arts by students of sciences.

They may forget that what counts the most, especially in the higher reaches of the sciences, is the life giving oxygen of imagination; as the greatest leaps that fill the gaps of ignorance are the leaps of imagination and intuition, and fine arts are that

air and that oxygen to the data-filled scientists.

One is appalled to read the reports of the recommendations of our science committees and conferences for the advancement of science.

There is so much of the talk about curricula, but not a single word about the development of the pre-requisites of science.

As the very history of science shows, modern science did not burst upon Europe out of the sheer blue.

It came upon the wings of music, painting, sculpture, architecture, dance, drama, philosophy and secular thoughts and other sciences like political science and economics.

The Sociology of Knowledge is a vast subject and is as interesting as it is vast, and yet the very term "Sociology of Knowledge" is new to many of our policymakers in education. "Alas these be thy gods!"

It shows the intricate inter-relationship between all aspects of knowledge and the profound bearing of any one to the other and to the rest.

And yet, the very term "Sociology of Knowledge" is not known to quite a few of the policy makers in education.

It is like a surgeon not knowing anatomy and physiology getting busy with complicated surgery.

The consequences are even more serious than that. An ignorant surgeon may kill a few, and soon his ignorance becomes public and he is very urgently requested to man a butcher's shop.

But the damage that our educational experts, ignorant of the studies like the Sociology of Knowledge do, ruins the chances of our properly tapping the resources of the country -- the resources that are in the skulls of our students.

Japan has no material resources, except perhaps its vast waterpower

But its artistic and cultural resources are almost untold.

Is it any wonder then that at the very roots of its present scientific and industrial pre-eminence, flow the springs of nectar of fine arts, fine sensibilities, fine susceptibilities and fine perception, which are all of the most immense value in the devel-

opment of sciences and technology?

Some of our "Educationalists" should perhaps be made to feel somewhat hurt by being frankly branded as behaving like profound hoaxes who do not know the value of arts to science and the value of science to art; or knowing, they are not honest enough to be honest about it all.

Had some of them not been such hoaxes, sure mountains of the deliberations of so many educational conferences, the chalking out the policy after policy on education; the publication of report after report on education, all these mountains would not have produced the mouse that the result of all this has been.

Discontent amongst the graduates would not have been that keen; purposelessness of education not so patent to so many; our University degrees would not have been so disregarded by the foreign universities, if our educational policies had been based upon the sociology of Knowledge.

They just can't tap country's material resources who take their degrees without having had their imagination developed.

And apart from the wholly aesthetic function of arts it is their ability to fire the imagination that makes them even pragmatically a matter of serious concept, if our trained minds have to tap the material resources of the country.

As can be verified and verified repeatedly to one's heart's content, a merely well trained but unimaginative mind can bring out any one better than laboratory assistants and Operation Theater attending staff.

In the well trained scientists, engineers and lawyers and doctors all, all equally well trained in their respective fields, it is the more imaginative that out-shines the rest.

And in countries determined to tap the natural resources of the land, every thing is done to make the whole ethos recreative and imaginative.

It is in such a stimulating ethos that creative individuals in the different walks of life get the stimulation to their constructivity and creativity.

Denied such an atmosphere, even creative individuals wilt be set aside and fade out in the country and remain a shadow of what Arnold J. Toynbee points out as "the creative minority".

Just as such a great trouble has to be taken before the rose tree makes a present of the fragrant blossom to the eagerly awaiting garden air, so also a society has to provide the needed conditions for the creative and constructive minds to tap the country's resources.

To expect even highly trained, but unimaginative minds, to develop the resources of a country is all that much of moonshine.

Look at what our Councils of Scientific and Industrial Research are doing.

And look what our over well equipped Institute of Chemical Technology is turning out.

With far, far less facilities, many laboratories in other countries are turning out tons upon tons of research.

The microscope with which Fleming discovered the medical qualities of penicillin was a microscope, as can be seen with him in the photograph, more than a hundred years old.

But the imagination of Fleming was not lost in the conspiracies and counter conspiracies; he did not have to declare his affiliation to this party or that party in the medical college. The sordidness of parochialism and chauvinism did not destroy his ability or creativity or preparedness to catch the secrets of nature by their tail and bring them to serve the cause of human health.

All because although he might or might not have been interested in any fine art, the society around him had spent vast sums of money to keep the atmosphere surcharged with re-creative imagination.

To deny the free play of imagination and to hold a social ethos morose, listless and humdrum, and then to expect that the country's resources can be tapped somehow, is to think any way other than the rational way. And that is not all. Things just do not stop at that. As man's mind cannot remain idle if his mind is denied the healthy stimulants to creativity that the arts provide, then, as can be seen from history, intense hatreds. Intense xenophobia becomes not only epidemic but also deeply endemic soaking and deep-dying. The creative minds devastatingly tap the inexhaustible resources of destructivity inherent in all frustrated souls.

[Daily News, Karachi, December 9, 1979]

A Positive Role of Muhajirs in Sindh

All the Muhajirs who came to Sindh did not at all come from any one particular locality.

If one hailed from Himachal Pradesh, his very immediate neighbour, as can and should be verified, hailed from Travancore! If one was from Agra, the other was from Madras. And they differed in social and family affairs according to the climates they came from.

For instance, no U.Pean can relish the tamarind-loaded curry made in the home of say a Madrasi. And so also the languages they spoke, and speak even now.

The proto-Urdu, so melodious to the ears of a Mysorean Muhajir, sounds like anything but Urdu to the North Indian Muhajir. The poetry of the really great poet, Dehkhani, who hailed from Hyderabad Deccan, died out, unrecorded, in Karachi, because of its 'quaintness' to the ears of the people here.

The more detailed a study of the origin of the Muhajir from distant places in India, the more the cultural, linguistic and even economic differences between them can easily be discerned.

The Muhajirs from Bombay are almost a distinct lot by themselves. And amongst them the Gujratee speaking Muhajirs like Bohris, Memons and Khojas are clearly distinct from the Marhatti-Gujrattee-Urdu polyglot speaking people.

And then again, the Muhajir Moplas, coming from the West coast of India and Lababins from the East coast of India can easily be distinguished as such, one as Malyali and the others Tamils.

Of course, the largest number of the Muhajirs came from U. P. But they do not wholly represent all others who, though relatively fewer in numbers, are none-the-less distinct entities by themselves.

None-the-less, it may correctly be said that most of these were over-awed by Urdu, even though in their homes they spoke their own mother tongues.

Even amongst the mainly Urdu speaking groups from U. P., further analysis shows that the language of the mostly illiterate Muhajirs from villages was different from the language of the people of the cities like Lucknow, Delhi, Meerut, Badayoon, Balandshaher, etc.

In these cities, Urdu was the language of not only the Muslims but also of the Ksyasths, whose Urdu sounds the raciest in elegance and fluency, relatively free from the over ornate Lucknavi Urdu.

So we see that every Muhajir is not from U. P. only and the U.Peans are not at all the only Muhajirs.

Therefore, the stereotype Muhajir, a monolith from India, does not at all exist in Pakistan.

But one of the things, more or less, common to many Muhajirs from diverse parts of India, at least to most of them, seems to be the relative absence of Peer-worship common in the Punjab but more so in Sindh.

Not that it was not there. It was and it is.

But the Muhajirs, no matter from where, did have with them, their own "Sayeds" and "Pirs", and their own "Maulanas" or "Lords"!!!

Further, nearly anyone could easily become a Maulana by the simple expediency of putting up with the inconvenience of allowing his beard to grow wild enough to command respect. (For instance, even Karachi itself, a few of the elderly Fourth Class servants, getting fed up with being addressed as *chaprasis* applied the wisdom contained in the formula 'necessity is the mother of invention', and started growing beard and putting on the 'Maulana' type caps.

The result was that even their officers had to address them as 'Maulanas' (Lords), more especially so if the 'Maulana' (Lord) also carried a rosary with him for discrete display, and smeared '*surma*' in his eyes).

So the Muhajirs who had had their own supply of these often easily made 'lords' did not need the multiplicity of the Sayeds who abound in Sindh.

They did not debase themselves before the Sindhi Sayed in the way the Sindhi Sayeds had, over the centuries, indoctrinated the innocent and believing Sindhi *Manush* to debase themselves before them.

So, in a sense, the Muhajirs were, at least, to some little extent, more "Pir-free" than the Sindhis.

Also, the Muhajirs, chiefly from U. P., came with battalions of Devbandi, Bareilvi, Ahl-e-Hadith, and militant theologians, mutually at verbal wars with each other and also ever ready to fly at each other's throats in the absence of police intervention.

In India, all because the Muslims themselves were in such minority, the scope for these hair-splitters was limited.

Here they had so many field-days that the really unfortunate Iskander Mirza was wiped out by Ayoub Khan before Iskander Mirza could, as he once said, he would, send back these scholars in a 'silver boat'.

But as a result of the relentless cacophony of these tireless hair-splitters, the Sindhi *Manush* even could see that the Muhajir had a lighter burden on his head than he, the Sindhi *Manush* had of the Sayeds, the 'Jilanees', etc, etc.

And the number of free-thinkers, who, left to themselves, would not stand the very sight of the theologians, was and is far larger with them than in even amongst many educated Sindhis.

This is not to say that there were not liberated minds amongst the Sindhis. There were. But their very small number was a deterrent to their desire to proclaim themselves as against the Pirs and Sayeds.

No less an iconoclast like the "Sayed" Ghulam Mustafa "Shah" himself has been far more outspoken against the 'Sayeds' and the 'Pirs' than many and many a Muhajir liberal.

But let us remember that this is mainly due to his having been an Aligarh Graduate plus a Khaksar.

Any way, the freethinkers, the rationalists and the votaries of Attaturk amongst the Muhajirs can be said to have done, in spite of the mighty hurdles facing them, a positive service to Sindh.

Who, amongst the educated Sindhis of today would like to continue to carry upon his shoulders the burden of the *Vaderas*, the *Mirs*, the *Pirs*, the *Maulanas*, (Lords of lords), the burden which for centuries on end, has crushed the wonderful potentialities of the Sindhi *Manush*?

Carl Marx declared "Unite you workers of the world; you have nothing to lose but chains".

So also the potential emancipator that Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah is, if only he cares to come out of the cocoon, can unite the intellectuals and disillusioned youths of Sindh, both Muhajirs and the Sindhis for the most needed, long long-delayed, attack on Bastille of *Vaderaism*, *Pirism*, and *Maulanaism*.

The fatal mistake, which Hyder Bux Jatoi, Allah Bux Soomro and now Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah have done, is one and the same; unlike Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan and unlike Mahatma Gandhi, all the three seem to lack the power to surround themselves with their superiors in some other ways.

We know, for instance, that Maulana Hali was superior to Sir Sayed in poetry, Shibly was a greater historian, Mohsin-ul-Mulk was a greater organizer, and so on.

And yet all these great men accepted him as their leader, voluntarily.

So also, was the case with Mahatma Gandhi. Nehru was a great scholar of international affairs than Gandhi could ever be. So was Patel as organizer. And Patabhi Sitaramiah was a greater authority on Indian States. And who could beat Raj Gopal Aacharya in political shrewdness, and so on.

And yet all of them surrounded Gandhi. That was his organizing ability. And while speaking about the Muslim League leadership, Beverly Nichols, in his marvelously racy book *Ver-*

dict On India had the insight to say: "There is not even an eighth man to Jinnah".

So, see what the ninth raters did after Mr. Jinnah was no more.

The very first thing that one of the most prominent amongst them is said to have done was to heave a big sigh of relief that Mr. Jinnah died, eventually.

In today's world the greatest greatness in a leader is that he leaves behind followers, who are greater than him.

It is not only the aim but also the ambition of every great American professor to see that his pupils overtake him in thought and discovery.

Henry Ford, Thomas Edison, Rockefeller and hundreds of others like them have left donations for the very specific purpose of searching out geniuses amongst the scholars for ever more intensive opportunities for them to inflorescence their gifts.

That's how in his own humble way, in obviously such limited environment Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah can create a college, around him of youths who can constitute an endeavoring structure, from amongst both the Muhajirs and Sindhis, of those who can work for a Pir-free, Mir-free, *Vadera*-free, Mullah-free, Maulana (lord)-free Sindh, like the Turkey of Kamal Attaturk whose very name brings a spark of hope in the eyes of the youths and a glint of horror in the eyes of the Mullahs of all types, who were fumigated out in Turkey by the great Grey wolf.

In this noblest mission of self-liberation both the Sindhis and the Muhajir youths can have a common objective, a common goal.

Who would not like to be FREE?

Who would not like to call off the bluff of ages?

Who would not like to challenge the maggots of the centuries?

Who would not like to call a spade a spade?

Why need any Muhajir grudge the quota system to the Sindhi youth?

On the other hand he should welcome it with open arms, all because an employed Sindhi gets out of the traps and nets of the *Vaderas*.

It can be verifiably ascertained that No *Vadera*, No Mir, No Pir, No *Makhdoom*, No Mullah, No Priest of any denomination anywhere, No Devbandi, No Bareilvi, No Sayed, ever wants his victims to escape from his ever so deeply well-laid nets, traps and clutches.

And it is understandable. As may be verified through investigation that for the last 42 years, no youth movement in the universities was ever allowed to assert the primary rights of youths as youths and not as political agents to politicians and powers that be from outside the universities. Even to this day, youths in the Karachi University have no idea what the rights and pleasures of youths are in universities and colleges.

Some years back the American Consulate in Karachi issued an illustrated brochure showing how the students enjoy their student lives over there, and what the freedom and glory of the college and university youth mean, as youth is the one and only golden age of any individual, and if that is not enjoyed what else is there to be enjoyed. Similarly the calmness, quietness, freedom, dignity of student life in Oxford, Cambridge and in Sorbonne University in Paris and in many and all universities in Germany are known, no matter how very sketchily.

What crime of crimes have our youths committed since these 42 years that not even an iota of freedom and joy is their share, that Vice Chancellors take it upon themselves as their duty that unity is no part of the students' life?

Imagine a Vice Chancellor, who has taught no less a subject than HISTORY itself in American Universities as an exchange Professor, openly boasting over here, "Yes: I am a *Thanedar*".

Just what is this conspiracy against the youths? Is it any wonder then that for the last 42 years no university over here has thrown up youth leaders of any calibre being fit and worthy to become a great leader, a great statesman, a great man of culture and stature?

Have not any less than full forty-two batches of potentially great brains been "pigmyfied" and "Liliputiaized"?

Recently one staunch nationalist Sindhi gentleman had the insight and candour to tell Mr. Mazher Yousuf that he admired the M. Q. M. Movement for one single reason that in all these 42 years, the M. Q. M. is the one and the only youth movement that has shot up inspite of all possible odds, and has held on as a secular institution which has clubbed down all the previous youth exploiting movements, organizations and institutions.

M. Q. M's politics apart, it may definitely be said that indeed it is playing a positive role of the Muhajirs in Sindh.

The 'ideological maggots' were openly challenged by the M. Q. M. to show what good they had ever done to the youths all these 42 years, except to exploit them to their heart's content like vultures, feeding fat on a dead youth body that was in Karachi.

It is their politics of the 5th nationality that are keeping the M. Q. M pitched against the Sindhi youths. Otherwise, as that gentleman told Mr. Mazher Yousuf, the Sindhi youths are no less tired, no less exploited (since ages) no less piteously bled, debilitated and enervated, and no less anxious for freedom and emancipation than are the Muhajir youths.

And Mr. Mazher Yousuf sagely remarks, "PEAKS SPEAK TO PEAKS". The goal of both the Muhajirs and Sindhis is essentially the same, freedom from exploitation

The greatest possible freedom that one can enjoy is the most absolute freedom of thought. Given that, man has invented means of getting his bread and butter. Only 2 percent of the Americans today are feeding the greater part of the world including also Russia, of all.

Indeed all American power today is its WHEAT-POWER essentially. All because of the most absolute freedom of thought that the Americans enjoy. In the enjoyment of the most absolute freedom of thought, England still leads America as can be seen from the fact that even to this day, while America leads in invention, England leads in Discovery.

So, when the great poet Iqbal declared, "Freedom of thought is the invention of the Devil" he perhaps paid a very bright compliment to that greatest of the great inventors, an observation which escaped even the notice of Milton, the first admirer of the Devil.

Think what would still have been our fate without the Devil's invention; we would still be either upon the free branches in summer and in the caves in the winter. Colour television was out of question altogether, let alone any return trip to the moon. And as freedom of thought is possible only in a secular atmosphere, the services of the M. Q. M can constitute a positive contribution to Sindh.

And, looking more intently, we see that the Jeay Sindh movement of the Sindhi youths is even older than the M. Q. M and it is avowedly secular.

So both M. Q. M. as well as Jeay Sindh are, intellectually speaking, forward and progressive and are rooted in the same soil, and have the same basic problems, the economic difficulties of the Muhajirs and the Sindhis. Both of them do not find it easy at all to get jobs or to open business outside Sindh; and even in Sindh they often face the wall. The markets in Sindh itself are not at all in their hands. They are out of high finance circles and initiative in Banking. Before the mass emigration of the Sindhi Hindus, things were in the reverse; the Sindhi speaking man was the master of the situation in his Sindh, although the Sindhi Muslim was nothing other than an unredeemable debtor to the Hindu. for no fault of the Hindu at all.

Now, in every way, slowly but surely, both the Sindhi Muslim as well as the Muhajir, is seeing the halter of economic strangulation is slowly tightening itself.

In terms of higher economics the Sindhi speaking Sindhi is today not the master of his house while the Muhajir is even further away from the seat of real economic power.

That way, both the Muhajirs as well as the Sindhis are increasingly becoming 'people of the boat'.

And it is nothing but an irony of circumstances that instead of pooling their thoughts together, each tends pulling the other in way, thanks mostly to some of the unacceptable demands of the Muhajirs.

Further, after all is said and done, as realists one must acknowledge the unpalatable facts of ethnicity that having come in such large number, though from diverse places in India, the Muhajirs present the spectacle of a foreign body in Sindhi organism.

But yet, without their having so very assertively come in, the most highly organized business and intellectual class of the Hindus would not have migrated to India; the Sindhi Muslims would not have become free from unredeemable debts and both would not have become masters of billions of rupees worth evacuee property as the existing official records show.

Before 1947, as the official records of K. M. C. are allegedly said to show, the Sindhi Muslims were not allowed to use the *Bunder Road Maidan* except for Ramzan and Bakra Eid gatherings. In the waste vastness of world-notorious Lyari quarters the owners of *jhuggies* in the midst of abominable filth and squalor, the *patta* or licence to remain only on limited renewable basis.

Again, as again it may be verified, but for the influx of the Muhajirs, the local Muslims, the small number of the Bohris, Memons and Khojas apart, would not have taken to trade on their own as such trade and business and shop keeping was altogether non-attractive to the general run of the Sindhi Muslims.

How many Sindhi Muslim-owned shops were there before 1948 and how many now also can easily be verified from the registers of record.

And a similar objective, repeatedly verifiable study from the registers of records will reveal the extent to which the Sindhi Muslims have taken to education, side by side with the Muhajir; how many schools and colleges and how many students before and after 1948!

Nothing but objectivity and verifiability from authentic official records to be the criterion of evaluation!

And for instance, the negative contribution of the Muhajirs to Sindh cannot be overlooked either

Sindh had hardly known the intensity, the ferocity, and the destructiveness of the perennial Shia-Sunni conflicts, which are now all too familiar.

And never can the Sindhis forget the Muhajirs' attempt to wipe out Sindhi language and culture from Sindh itself

And now the 5th nationality theory of the MQM is nothing other than the Two-Nation Theory, which partitioned India, and often is considered self-complacently by some Muhajir 'intellectuals' to be the 'destiny' of Sindh

To have come to Sindh as refugees, and to have lived here well all these 40 years and now to even think of cutting that very land of refuge and succour into two can be the very height of ingratitude, which no Sindhi can ever relish

Any such attempt even in thinking can wipe clean out all the undeniable positive contributions made by the Muhajirs to Sindh.

Sindhi nationalism, with its roots deep in the soil of Sindh is no more in any somnolent state, but is wide, wider and widest-awake. Any one who forgets this will do so to his own cost.

Today the saddest eyes of the aged ones are seeing that very same sight of the ruin and destruction of the Muslims hailing from Muslim minority provinces in India that commenced in 1911.

In that year Italy invaded Libya (then known as Treblus or Tripoli over here)

It was not England but Italy that did so.

This invasion was a part of the long, long history of the relationship of Rome with Africa since three thousand years.

The Muslims were not bothered about this invasion of Christian Italy on Muslim Libya

The Muslims of Arabia did not worry either.

Nor did the Muslims of Iran.

Let alone the Muslims of Indonesia or Malaya

It was the most self-chosen people, the Muslims of India who felt the sting of the invasion of Italy on Tripoli; that Tripoli of whose existence perhaps most of them were not even aware!! Tripoli could as well have existed on the Moon itself till then, or even beyond.

To the utter astonishment of the world, the Muslims of India started an almost sudden agitation aimed at Italy, but triggered against England who was no part or parcel to Italy's action.

England was bewildered.

The eruption was all of a sudden, so sudden. And in this blow up, the Muslims of the minority provinces of India were the leaders. U.Peans being the foremost.

To the U.Peans, this was the first chance to attempt to re-assert themselves after their disastrous failure in 1857.

They entirely wiped out the advice of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan to reconcile themselves (as Ram Mohan Roy did earlier) to the untold benefits of the British Rule which had established itself after full two centuries of chaos and anarchy all over the land

They forgot how Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan cold shouldered Jamaluddin Afghani, who was sent over here by the tottering Ottoman Umpire to egg them on to again rise against the British who were then egging the Arabs and the Greeks and the Bulgarians and the Slovaks to break free from the Ottoman Rule.

"The Sir" said to Jamaluddin, "We have seen the Mutiny, you have not".

All this the agitators in India forgot when they even came to know that it was Italy and not England at all, that invaded Tripoli, and besides it was of no concern by any means for Devband, Nadva, Farangi Mahal, or even Badayun!

Muslims from other minority provinces in India too joined the brawl. The Nizam of Hyderabad somehow held the Hyderabad Muslims from getting out of hands perhaps because his feudal nobility did not want to risk its neck in the manner in which the feudal U. P. nobility had lost itself in 1857.

By the time the Tripoli agitation was brought in control by the then rather bewildered British Government, (who all the time were on alert due to the lessons of 1857) came 1914, with its 1st Great War in which the tottering Turks took the side of Germany against England, making England declare that after the War they will dismember both the German and Turkish Empires.

Indian Muslims had no inkling of the reason why the Arabs stood electrified by the hope of the utter destruction of the Turks, as European nationals like Greece too saw in it their own salvation, for which they had vainly struggled and died in thousands over more than a century.

Indian Muslims did not even dream that the Wahabi movement in Arabia, though looking to be a fundamentalist move, was in its essentials the Arab aspiration for liberty and freedom from Turkish imperialism. That way even in India, the sprouting of the twig of the very same imported Wahabi-ism was in essence an uninformed and desperate attempt on the part of minority Muslims, the U. P. Muslims, to regain 'Muslim Power', Mughal Empire in their midst lay shattered and its place was taken up by the British after crushing the Marhattas.

Very deftly the British managed to redirect the frenzy of the Wahabi movement in India against the Sikhs in the North, where the main Wahabi leader Shah Ismail alongwith his colleagues was eventually cut to pieces at Balakot, not by the Sikhs, but by none other than the very Muslim Punjabis whom

these Shahs had gone all the way to emancipate from the Sikhs!!!

The irony of it all was lost and remains still lost to the Muslims of the Indian minority provinces.

Any way, they did get some flying news that the Arabs had risen against the Turks as enemies and joined the British on promise of freedom from Turkey. Getting confused, they felt sorrowful and wishfully expected of the Arabs that they should desist from such an un-Islamic act. The Arabs, under Sharif of Mecca, responded with a disappointing reply to their simplistic wishfulness.

In any case the Indian Muslims, with some U. Pean mullahs leading, along with Mohammad Ali and his brother Shaukat Ali attempted to dissuade some rightly or wrongly inspired Indian Muslims from joining the British army fighting against Turkey

Meanwhile, as before when the Punjabi Muslims had joined the British against the Muslims in U. P., in 1857, they did not much heed the U. Pean appeals.

Then, with the Allies' victory in sight, the threatened disruption of the Turkish Empire became a certainty.

This triggered the Khilafat agitation amongst the Muslims in India, to save the Sultan of Turkey's spiritual and temporal influence on the Muslims.

Again under the leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali, his brother Shaukat Ali and their mother, the Muslim India was shaken from end to end. Local leadership amongst the Muslims sprang up everywhere as never before. Vast sums of money were collected by popular subscription and a good deal of that was sent to Turkey in its dire need, as later accepted by the Attaturk

Then came the formal disruption of the Turkish Empire. It disappeared, as did the German empire

The Arab revolt, which was on during the war, now became Arab independence.

By a mighty effort Kamal Attaturk saved the essential Turkish Nation from disappearance

Then with a bold effort he banished the very institution of the Muslim Khilafat itself and drove out the last of the Caliphs from Turkey.

Not the Iranians, not the Egyptians, not the Arabs at all and not the Afghans, but above all it was the Indian Muslims who felt the shock of the blow to the Caliphate.

They stopped sending money to Turkey; and as they did not know what exactly to do with the money on their hands, some of their leaders, in every province thought it best to put it into their own pockets. And then many of those very Khilafat leaders who till but yesterday had furiously fumigated against the British suddenly became Knights and Khan Bahadurs in "the order of the Star of India of the British".

And such of those who had left India for Afghanistan in protest against the British were looted and killed by their ever readily hospitable hosts on the way over there.

The Indian Muslims just reeled under the multiple disillusionment. While their political leaders were busy digesting what they had "earnt", the lay man in the street rued under the hands of the Mullahs, just not knowing what it was all about.

The Hindu-Muslim riots, all products of this desperation rent the thin and flimsy fabric of the earlier Hindu Muslim Unity to bits.

The problem of Hindu Muslim conflict was never studied sociologically and from the economic point of view.

So it grew as a disease without diagnosis.

In India, there occurred one of the profound changes brought about by the well meaning but so-to-speak-unthinking Lord Cornwallis. Also due to the development of roads and other means of communication, and also due to the nature of taxation, and due to such other turn over, started the breakdown of the rigidity of the caste system. And due to the straight link established between the individual even in the remotest

village with the center of government, and due to the impersonal course of the common law, the mighty village-punchayat system broke down over night, leaving no substitute behind.

With the result that there were no village representatives as political links between the corpus of the village and the government.

So, between the periods that elapsed between the Reforms of Cornwallis and (after the Mutiny) the establishment of elementary forms of Houses of legislature and local bodies like the Municipalities and Local Boards, with effect from 1885, millions of the Indian Villages remained deprived of decent political education even in its semblance.

And only in the cities the mostly rapidly developing mercantile classes who prospered at the expense of the villages, reducing them into unheard of penury became the representatives of one and all

So, when the Houses of Representatives, municipalities and local boards had to be formed due to the political necessity of a foreign government, it was not the elected representatives of the millions of villages that sat in these political institutions, but the Middlemen, the merchants, the city-bred ones, who had no love lost for anything other than their own self-interests

Indeed, without insightful understanding of the cause of it all, the British Government themselves could not comprehend the phenomena that their political reforms led to the abysmal impoverishment of the villages all over the country

But the die had been cast, for good or evil.

In the name of Democracy, it was Plutocracy that prevailed all through the various Reforms

What mattered was the Man Of The City

Not the Man of the Village

This was and is the opposite of what was going on in England.

There it was the Man of the Village, the Man of the Burroughs who had silently elbowed out the Lord Of the Manor in the House of Commons who from there asked the King and the House of Lords simply to put their signatures to the Laws passed by the House of Commons.

When, in 1914 or so, the House of Lords made a feeble attempt to say that after all it was the House Of Lords, there was Lloyd George, the First commoner, to have become the Prime Minister of England. He was the son of a school teacher, and he openly reminded the Lords that their very House of Lords itself would not be any more a safe refuge for their Lordships, as they would find at his hands as a Humble servant of the House of Commons. He then filled the whole of the House of Lords with peers from amongst those people of good old England who did not have even one single drop of blue blood in their veins!!!

This brought their Lordships to their senses

All this because, to repeat, Democracy in England has been from bottom upwards (most especially ever since the Farmer, Cromwell relieved Charles the First of the necessity of carrying his head itself on his royal shoulders).

The M.Q.M without attempting to go to such extremes can still render the greatest service to the active, working, non-parasitical workers in Sindh.

But, if for any reason whatsoever, the various groups in Sindh, like the student-groups the Jeay Sindh group and all those who do not at all want to see eye-to-eye with the M.Q.M. these groups can still take the cue from the political success of M.Q.M and its appeal

However much the differences between themselves, all these groups are intense LOVERS OF SINDH

That is their one common platform

Their other greatest asset is that they are INTELLECTUALS.

And all because most of these INTELLECTUAL LOVERS of their Motherland do not have the money enough to counter the financial power of the Mirs, the Pirs and the Vaderas, they may be finding themselves at bay in trying to breach the formidable fortress of feudalism.

But neither the Mirs, the Pirs and the Vaderas, nor even the intellectual lovers of their Motherland Sindh know the vast resources of power that abide in the subterranean desire of helpless living workers of Sindh to have their own say to have their own powers in their own hands by representing their trades, professions, callings without any help but the help of the power of their votes used wholly for their own needs and desires and not for the Mirs and the Pirs.

To repeat, Lloyd George was the son of a schoolmaster. He and his audience did not work for the glory and power of any Lord, but his people chose him to represent them as workers, bakers, butchers, tailors and bricklayers in the House of Parliament.

These workers saw themselves in him: "One for all and all for one." He did not betray them as Napoleon betrayed the French Revolution, to become another Bourbon to people on whose shoulders he rose to strength, to divorce his most loyal wife Josephine only to get married to a princess Maria Louvia (who so very thoroughly betrayed him that in Waterloo there is a Park built in her honour by the destroyer of Napoleon).

The mighty Maginot Lines of feudalism cannot at all be breached with any frontal attack by penniless politicians. No matter how great the idealists and lovers of Sindh may hold a hope of even scratching it.

That is what has made the Feudals entrench themselves under the guise of democracy spending millions of rupees to get themselves "elected".

The MQM has succeeded not by any direct attack on it, but by adopting Hitler's techniques of circumventing it; i.e. Political Coronary Bypass!

Money-baggism becomes powerless when the penniless

decide to vote only for equally penniless bonafride actual active workers themselves supported by the political power of a political party, which sends the penniless to sit where formerly others have to spend millions of rupees to get entrance.

The trick seems to lie in the fact that the political party does not by itself occupy the seats

In the M.Q.M the sponsored candidates have yet to remain faithful to the sponsorer.

Perhaps even greater energy can be released if the sponsorer plays the Good Samaritan.

The sponsored can then look upon the sponsorer as a man rescued from drowning looks to his rescuer: with gratitude and not any bond of slavery as the force of cohesion

On a miniature scale such an experiment was successfully tried in 1885 in Bombay after the formation of the then Bombay Municipality.

It is reported that the result was that the sponsored school Teachers, petty lawyers and the like who were said to have been sent to the Bombay Municipal corporation by the sponsoring industrialists and merchants wholly on their own accord as long as they lived.

This can easily be understandable.

The sponsorers had given them wings Leadership grew up amongst the sponsored, who were otherwise just no-bodies, obscure teachers, brief-less barristers, petty intellectuals, craftsmen and the like.

And when time came to defend the cause of the sponsorers like Scindia Steamship Company in matters like competition with the British India Steam Navigating Company, the sponsored threw in their lot for the far-sighted sponsorers in defense of national interests and against the foreign enterprise!!!

It is said that this was an illustration of "cast the bread upon the waters and it will return to thee ten folds".

This is ENLIGHTENED SELF INTEREST Deep, very deep

seated philanthropic diplomacy.

This is rearing up future friendly lobbies

It is altogether well known that the great business houses like the TATAS have sponsored thousands of scholars from all over the world without any distinction of caste, creed, race or color, without any expectations of thanks and gratitude

But what thanks and gratitude have the sponsored scholars have ever spared for the TATAS in return?

So also, when the economically crippled are sponsored by the political parties to win political power and electoral victories against the money-bags, we see, as we are seeing, the phenomena of boundless loyalty that sponsored are having for the sponsoring M.Q.M.

And signs seem to show that this is now catching in other provinces also. The political have-nots are seeing the benefits of sponsorship from self-less political parties

Long Memories have no defence against this onslaught of intellect against them. "Ring out the Old; Ring in the New"

Yes,

But who is to Ring out the old and ring in the new in Sindh? Only those who have awakened themselves; the intellectually self freed; those who read the history of Sindh in the light of what Pirs, the Mirs, the outsiders like Arghoons, the Turkhans, the Talpurs have done to Sindh, and why all this was possible. Had not the British stopped this, how many more Nadir Shahs and Ahmedshah Abadalis would not by now have ravaged Sindh over and over again?

When the needed intellectual, scientific and technological level of a potentially rich country is low, it simply invites aggression from all around. This has repeatedly been verified in the blood-written history of the world since ages. The Aryans had horses and chariots and, therefore, they over ran the whole of India and reduced the status of Dravidians to lesser than monkeys, even to this very day. And just because of this very handicap, Iraq cannot have rationed petrol... it has no needed

chemical to purify its crude oil! This is a never changing phenomenon. Sindh simply cannot be Sindh unless its intellectuals are as idealistic as Plato and Realists as Aristotle in the Educational field. If Socrates was the COIN, these two were the two sides of it. Perhaps a very specific, narrow and intense group of thinkers calling themselves "THE FUTURE OF SINDH" society may prove useful. The present motley group of a few calling themselves the SERVANTS OF SINDH has gone haywire, all of a sudden indulging itself in politics

This is the one fatal mistake that the great Servants of India Society has scrupulously guarded itself against. That's why its influence! So the scholars and scientists in Oxford and Cambridge, so also the Members of the Servants of India Society are scholars essentially; the manufacturers of the intellectual gun powder and armaments; which may be used by others, the politicians, statesmen, journalists and such people who are 'executives', 'Aamils'. During the 2nd Great War, the scientists of Cambridge conducted great and dangerous experiments; the results of which they handed over to the greatest executive Churchill to use them as he deemed it fit. It is when we do not stop where we should, that we meet disaster. As Stalin said, "Hitler failed because he did not know when and where to stop" It is not the business of the General to think himself to be a se-poy. He has much 'too much' of his highly trained mind to so easily get shot. "I have planned as best as I could; laid down the strategy as best as I can; handed all that to the best generals under my command. Now I go on a holiday for a few days", said Montgomery Well; that is Balance and Perspective

This can best be had, perhaps, if a "FUTURE OF SINDH" Society, acting on the principle of "IN THE MIDST OF THE CROWD, MAINTAIN THE SERENITY OF SOLITUDE" were to devote itself, as Sindh's "THINK TANK", eschewing itself of political ambitions, was to begin functioning. Its membership can consist of economists, historians, and students of political science (as different from politicians), statisticians, psychologists, sociologists, retired eminent judges, and those known and respected for that elusive thing of theirs called WISDOM.

Inflammatory poets can be inspirers no doubt; but as they

can carry people off their feet; better that they do inspire from quite a distance. Perhaps not for nothing it was that in the Plato's REPUBLIC, the POETS had no place!!! Tagore did not become a member of the Servants of India society. Perhaps understandingly. Nor did Gandhi, who none-the-less had the greatest respect for it.

Without a very, very cool headed THINK TANK, involuntarily invoking respect for the judiciousness of findings its pronouncements, one may wonder for how far and how long can the mere effervescence of emotionalism, solve the now almost disheartening problems of Sindh.

No, not for nothing at all it is that the one single word that the IBM Corporation tirelessly propagates in its extensive masterpiece of organization round the world is "THINK"!

But unless the ROOTS get evolved, the FRUITS cannot do much. This was demonstrated in the freedom struggle in this subcontinent. Prior to 1915, great orators, scholars, thinkers all made wonderful speeches, almost rivaling those of Burke and Sheridan.

The British were amazed and amused at the felicity that the 'natives' could do so.

But that was all!

If these speeches were in 'English' to the listeners in England, they were all 'Greek', to the Indian masses in the millions of villages over here

"One only hears what he can understand"

The masses could hardly understand what the great Indian Orators tried it to tell the people of England.

The people of the villages all over India began to UNDERSTAND when it was told to them after 1916, that they may get as much as two *annas* per day, and sometimes an *Anna* or two more even, if only they can utilize their eight-months-in-a-year enforced leisure, if only they learn to spin and weave khaddar cloth to be used to replace the imported and machine-made cloth.

In those days, to the most poverty-stricken unemployed villager, Two *Annas* per day was WEALTH indeed.

It is a long but most interesting story. But this message about the potential of the Khaddar to provide as 'much' as two *annas* per day, spread like lightning all over the subcontinent.

May be, now, in retrospect, this message was hardly more than a political 'hoax'.

But it worked

Millions of penniless villagers did the greatest thing they could do. And this was, THEY LISTENED.

Attentively.

The rest is history

So also, unless the vast masses of the men and, more especially, the women of Sindh hear something that will be of immediate and tangible benefit to them, "intellectuals" can go on beating their own breasts in vain

"I wish thou wert a grain of corn", said a hungry fow to a pearl it found in a dust heap.

Psychologists have established, by means of numberless experiments that the main function of intellect is to solve problems.

The masses of Sindh are the very base and foundation of the pyramid of Sindh Society.

The whole pressure of the Sindh society falls on their shoulders.

They are the ATLAS of SINDH

It is the function of the Intellect of Sindh that this Atlas does not further collapse but is strengthened as soon as possible.

Otherwise, Sindh may not be able, any more, to withstand the relentless onslaught of circumstances much longer. Let us be clear about it: the man lost within the crowd cannot see the crowd. For him to see the crowd, he has to come out of the crowd. Distance lends perspective to the view. And even "in the

midst of crowd" advised Emerson, "even in the midst of the crowd, maintain the serenity of solitude". Otherwise, if perspective is lost, balance is lost. And loss of balance leads to the fall.

So that he may not lose perspective and balance, the President of America repeatedly goes on holidays. "Franklin D. Roosevelt", writes an author who knew him well, "Franklin D. Roosevelt, when the Second World War was at it worst, knocked off every afternoon for what he and his staff called 'The children's Hour' ---- that pause in the day's occupation. During this time Roosevelt and his associates swapped jokes, related juicy bits of gossip, and in general, lightened the load before once again shouldering the world crisis".

So also, Churchill did not give up his afternoon nap during that war. This was no luxury. This was the technique of retaining perspective and balance, without which all, all and all would have been lost.

Similarly, in dealing with the situation in Sindh, unless there is that absolutely needed perspective and balance, unless there is the needed clarity and perspicacity, in the minds of the youths of Sindh, shortsightedness may just overwhelm.

So very peculiar is the situation of Sindh that without "INFORMATION" or the needed knowledge, or what in military terms is called "Intelligence", one may be working like blind man searching for a black cat, in a dark room at night when the cat is not there at all"

As Victor Hugo, in one of his great historical novel, makes clear, just one small bit of misinformation given to Napoleon led to his disaster at Waterloo at the very moment of his victory

For the Sindhis, to solve the problems facing them, they require all possible objective information in history, geography, economics, sociology and all other relevant subjects

"Why did India become slave of the British?" asked Tilak to himself and himself first; and then, for the answer he turned to the scholars in all relevant subjects for help and "INFORMATION" in general and in particular. That is "INTELLIGENCE" for short.

So also the most thoughtful leaders in Sindh need such help from the College and University Professors and other scholars in Sindh, for the success that can give enduring results. Not for nothing at all did the great late Zakir Hussain president of India declare "Siyasat shiddat chahti hai; Tallim muddat chahti hai"

Of course, recently a tremendous intellectual awakening has taken place in Sindh. In spite of many obstacles in their path, the youths of Sindh seem to have voted for the freedom of thought, outright. "The mind once stretched by a new idea does not return to its old dimensions," said Oliver Wendell Holms. That has begun to take place in Sindh. Increasingly, the Sindhi young men and young women are no more spellbound. The spell, being after all a spell, and nothing but a spell, has vanished. No chant can any longer enchant them. They are getting disillusioned more and more. What is hastening this process of disillusionment amongst the intellectual and middle class Sindhis is the spectacle that Sindh Legislature is providing to them after the recent elections. These Intellectual and middle class Sindhis are seeing that not at all the rich and well to do Muhajirs who have come into both the Provincial and Central Legislature, but only those who by themselves would not at all have the wherewithal to stand the expenditure of elections

So they speak, it is the poor Muhajirs and those of the intellectual classes amongst them that have gone there

The Sindhi middle classes and the intellectual classes have been clean-bowled over by the rich Sindhi moneybags that only represent themselves.

And as things stand, those amongst the Sindhi intellectuals or middle classes who simply cannot afford the election expenditure have one great advantage. They can see the House of Legislature from the outside. And that too, when the house is not in session. Coming to think of it, from the elected rich Sindhi Legislators, what more can the Sindhi intellectual and middle classes ever deserve? "If they do not have bread, let them eat cakes", they would nonchalantly say.

If the Muhajir intellectual classes are represented by their

nominees, in the Houses of Legislature without their spending the millions of rupees on election expenditure, it certainly is not at all meant that the old Sindhis should slavishly follow them. If the Muhajirs' representative intellectuals see through the windows of the House of Legislature the Sindhi intellectuals wandering about in the streets, unrepresented by their own class representatives, well, why on earth the Sindhi Moneybags within the House of Legislature be bothered about it all. It is a matter of outlook. That's all. If the Sindhi intellectual classes, because of their poverty, cannot send their representatives as such to the Houses of Legislature, then, so far as the Sindhi Money Bags are concerned, " SO WHAT!" Who wants them there any way?

All that has to be most carefully taken care of is that the Sindhi common man should not send the Sindhi intellectuals to the houses of legislature following the pattern that the Muhajirs have set. COME WHAT MAY, THERE SHOULD BE NO SINDHI SPARTACUS. AND SHOULD BE NO PUNJABI SPARTACUS. AND THERE SHOULD BE NO BALOCHI SPARTACUS. AND THERE SHOULD BE NO SPARTACUS FROM N.W.F.P.

On this point, all are agreed

And when East Pakistan threw up its Spartacus, it was thought much safer to turn East Pakistan into Bangladesh than to infect West Pakistan into SPARTACUSTAN. No wonder at all that with a great sigh of untellable relief were uttered the words "THANK GOD PAKISTAN IS SAVED", when half of it was lost!!! And it was so lost that the remaining Pakistan lost all influence in the Bay of Bengal and right up to Malaya and Indonesia!!

And in Sindh, think of the coming situation; what will happen if the intellectual Sindhi section remains unrepresented in the Sindh Legislature because it cannot sit there due to poverty; and only the uninformed money-bags who have spent money during the Elections to get elected sit there, side by side with the better informed, professionally modern, intellectual Muhajir representatives who have gone there without having spent any money and who have been sent there by a far more politi-

cally better informed community of the Muhajirs!!!

Such scenes are not at all unfamiliar to the halls and walls of the Sindh Legislature

Before 1947 the permanent Muslim majority that constituted the membership of the house was just a toy in the hands of the far more educated, informed, members of the other, minority community. Ministries were made and broken at the decision of the minority community. They were the King Makers in broad daylight. Ministries had a life span of even a few days or weeks. There are records to show that some ministries had the life span of only a few hours!!!

Such history is bound to repeat itself when mere moneybags sit along with informed representatives, brilliant writers, orators and intellectual elites of the land who have gone there on the basis of acknowledged merit, education and information

And the glaring contrast between the two groups will again begin to tell, as before.

And it can as before, ever increasingly, fill the minds of the mere moneybags with that feeling of inferiority that is just inevitable and unrelenting.

The total general effect of such a contrast will not confine itself to the four walls of the legislature. Earlier also, it did not.

In the very same milk-pot, froth will remain froth, and cream will remain cream!!

All the while the educated, brilliant, truly patriotic unrepresentative individuals from amongst the older Sindhis can be compelled to shift for themselves as best as they could, as mere clients and favor seekers, job hunters and as "race-horses" of those whose only claims to get elected to the Legislature can be anything but merit.

Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai

Scholars, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It has always been the pride and privilege of we Sindhis, to honour the memory of one of our greatest Saints of Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit.

And for me, to be able to address you on this occasion, a seminar, a collection, a gathering of scholars, thinkers, writers who have met here for the special and exclusive purpose of deliberating on the greatness of our Shah, in an atmosphere of intellect and thought, is a matter of added joy.

Coming to think it, there has never been a time since the Shah when, along with his devotees, the Shah has ever been in need of intellectual attention.

Great scholars in the past have seen in his works the rays of the purest thought serene

You all do know that German is intellectual language of Europe, par excellence, while French is the 'cultural' language of that continent and English is pragmatic and business language now. Indeed, German is the very treasure-house of the world's thought because the devotion and effort of the German savants, who have spared no pains whatsoever to enrich the German language with the very best from the thought of the whole world.

It was, I am so happy to feel, that the work of our Shah not only first published, as a treasure gathered from Sindh

In Sindh itself too, great scholars like Dr. Gurbuxani, Mirza Qalich Beg, Dr. Daudpota and people of equal eminence served the cause of Sindhi intellect and culture by giving an intellectual interpretation to the work of Shah besides evaluat-

ing its almost unparalleled literary greatness and spiritual purity.

Then, with Sorley's translation of the work of our Shah and Dr. Schimmel's further thought and contribution the scholarly world at large is now aware of the further necessity of knowing more about the greatness of Shah Latif

For, he came at a time when Sindh was in such great political turmoil that the spirit of the man over here seemed to be at its very low ebb indeed

Humanity over here needed some ray of hope if it had not to collapse. Only the students of the history of that period can tell us the sad state of affairs that then prevailed, as, without their help, it would now be indeed difficult to know what the times of trouble were that then engulfed Sindh.

It was at this critical hour that the spirit and intellect of Shah Abdul Latif came to our help. He threw the lifebuoy of LOVE and HOPE

The SHAH did not rail against the circumstances then prevailing. He did not hate. He did not condemn them. He did not curse or abuse

Instead, he taught us to drive away the darkness of the night with the light of the promised dawn. "This also will pass away", he said, whenever there was any dark cloud. "This also will pass away. But the light in you, once lit, lit forever"

So, in all his works, you see only the appeal to the power of Love; to the strength of tolerance and the might of fortitude. His heroines, the symbol of sufferings for their place of birth, do not hate or curse; but only long for the return of sanity to their oppressors and for their own return to their good and great olden days.

And that is not all; almost alone amongst the Muslim poets of this subcontinent, it is our Shah, our Shah Abdul Latif of Sindh, who sings the greatness of his native land.

He sings, and in such a key that perhaps no other poet ever has sung... his Spirit, his "ROOH", his very SOUL in its astral travel, his very Mairaj, finds its ultimate illumination while in Sindh, his native land, in Malir itself.

You, scholars, know full well that after the Holy prophet of Islam, no other Muslim has had such experience as "Mairaj".

Just as the Founder of Islam proceeds from one "falak" to another, till the SEVEN "Falaks" have been crossed, after which his great soul experiences its great illumination, so also, in the mortal realm, our Shah Abdul Latif's soul travels from one "falak" that is his one town in his beloved Sindh, to another "falak", or another town in his beloved Sindh, till at last Malir, deep in Sindh, is the place, his Seventh "Falak" where his soul experiences its ILLUMINATION.

And from there our Shah blesses not only Sindh, but also the whole wide world.

Scholars, thinkers, ladies and gentlemen; I stand amazed at this unity of his love for his Sindh and also his love for the whole world as expressed in his sublime thought.

Truly, if there are any humanitarians who combine the love of their land along with their blessings to the whole world, surely our Shah Abdul Latif of Sindh is one of them

This love he has expressed with such beauty with such delicacy, with such grace and sublimity, that no wonder at all even those who study his thoughts in translations are for ever his admirers.

I appeal to the scholars, thinkers and writers gathered over here, to dive ever deeper in the very ocean of his thought, and bring up for our admiration and joy the many more pearls of his thought because we need these riches now more than ever before.

Being a Sindhi and desiring the peace and prosperity and greatness of Sindh, I lift my voice and say "Shah Latif, our uni-

versal saint of SINDH, once again throw the lifebuoy of hope to us. We stand in need of it”



Gul Hayat Institute

Rays of Renaissance

Those who speak of the proverbial “last straw that breaks the camel’s back” must be referring only to the autonomy of the camel and not to its psychology – at least not to the psychology of the Sindhi camel any way.

For, if the “One Unit stunt of Ghulam Mohammad was intended to break the back of Sindh, it unintendedly provided the most badly needed stimulus to the Sindhi brain to start producing thought, the deadly weapon which eventually destroyed the physical enemy

When the mere mention of the word “Sindh” itself became almost a crime, when letters mentioning “Sindh” in postal addresses never reached their destinations; when the high ups’ in the administration visited Sindh only to look after the huge estates they had created out of the labour of Sindhis in harnessing the river, and when the successive President of Pakistan came here only to shoot ducks and partridges right within the so-called Sindhi game sanctuaries and when teaching of Sindhi in the schools of Sindh was discontinued compulsorily after enjoying that privilege for over 100 years, the Sindhi brain had an inward plunge to bring up the pearls of thought to the surface. Patriotic scholars like Husamuddin Rashdi, Shaikh Ayaz, Tanveer Abbassi, Ghulam Ali Alana, Niaz Humayooni, Shamshir-ul-Hyderi, Siraj-ul-Haq Ghulam Rabbani and of course, Ibrahim Joyo, who in happier days would perhaps have wasted their sweetness in the desert air of mutual wrangling, became adroit researchers, thinkers, doubters, challengers and writers.

With the result that instead of remaining as literarily the rambles they became producers of thought and inquiry

Although a handful and with only pen as the weapon of their thought; these 10 or 12 Thermopolyams held the bridge against the invasion on the right of Sindh to exist as Sindh. What Churchill said about the British Airmen against Hitler can also be said about these smelly pen soldiers in the defence of Sindh that “never before in the History of Sindh did so many Sindhis owe so much to so few”

At a time when many so-called literary organizations and “This poets Academy” and “That poets Academy” were breezily squandering the tax payers money by carefully canalizing that money

into the pockets of the so-called organizers of these associations, the Sindhi Adabi Board has produced works of lasting merit and has resurrected the abiding values of the Sindhi mind and culture by promoting Sindhi works of lasting merit in Persian, Arabic, Sindhi, Urdu and English.

One swallow might or might not make a summer but a dozen or so Sindhi intellectuals did herald the spring of the Sindhi renaissance.

For their intellectual and cultural activity has not remained confined to themselves. not at all.

They have blazed a trail that is increasingly becoming the highway of creative expression in Sindhi. In every city, town and even villages of Sindh you can count upon coming across writers and poets in whose works the note of inspiration rings true to the yearning of Sindhi spirit of renaissance.

Undeterred by restrictions placed on the issue of newspapers and journals some Sindhi intellectuals who had decided to provide fresh thought and information to their people resorted printing innocuous-looking books and pamphlets which in reality were monthly and bi-monthly periodicals. When as with the Polish language in the Poland of the middle nineteenth century, Sindhi language became a taboo, the Sindhi writers took up the challenge and determined to speak and write in Sindhi.

This re-infflorescence of culture in Sindhi is nothing other than the materialization of the dream of Shah Abdul Latif. "God is love" is the message of Shah. His whole *Risalo* is a tribute to the glory of and grandeur of Love.

His Sasui-Punhoo, Umar-Marvi, are not so much human characters as they are the expressions of the divine emotion of Love – Love – the all embracing love. Not only the love between men and women but essentially between any lover and the object of his love – like the Sindhi's love for his land – Sindh – the land which the Shah himself loved so much as to make it the very heaven within whose bounds alone he experienced the ecstasy of his spiritual journey and moment of the realization of the Divine in Man.

The love of the Shah for his Sindh is the legacy he has left to the Sindhis to cherish, to nourish and to glorify as the Shah himself did in his lifetime.

The Sindhi writer had picked up the thread where the Shah left it and today, Sindh of Shah has like the legendry phoenix arisen from its ashes has spread its wings high to catch the life-giving rays of renaissance.

Children's Education

A child's mind is fresh mind. It is so very fresh that only very rarely it is that we adults can get even a brief glimpse of its freshness within us. In fact according to child psychologists, a newly born child is a "Tabula rasa", containing no inherited knowledge. It is extremely receptive or "conditional", with almost infinite capacity to learn.

The three basic "emotions" we can discern in a child are:

Anger, when its moments are thwarted.

Fear, as seen when it hears a loud noise, or when its balance is suddenly lost, as in falling down suddenly.

Love, when it is given warmth, and is tickled and caressed.

As a young organism, it is absolutely incapable of survival by itself, and needs tremendous mother-care to live through many months, if not years, of the provision of food and shelter.

It is born in the adult world without whose consistent patronage the whole of the human family would long, long back would have become extinct altogether.

The adult world impinges itself upon the child the moment it is born. It begins to impose its actions upon the newborn baby without waiting even for a second.

And the adult world is not at all a uniform world. It is an extremely complex world of thousands of different languages, cultures, faiths, beliefs, systems and manners sometimes differing from family to family; neighbourhood to neighbourhood; locality to locality; nation to nation, and geography to geography and of course, climate to climate.

So, the child, who is born with no definite previous knowi-

edge of any specific kind, it has almost infinite capacity to learn and get conditioned or educated. Its only basic emotions are anger, fear and love. It has its later basic desires for security, response, recognition and play (or curiosity, new experience).

With education having become literary, with the invention of writing and illustrations, the problem of providing educational material for the relatively immature mind of the children assumed various forms, seeking various solutions.

To make complex social things understandable by children, there come out books, in the ancient days, like ESOPs Fables; Hittopadesa, Anwar-e-Suhaili, and the simplest written inimitable Gulistan by Sa'adi of Shiraz.

With the spread of literacy in Europe came a spate of literature for children

In England, for instance, we have books like Grimm's Fairy Tales. In modern India, amongst the Muslims there rose writers of children's literature like Ismail Mirthi, and later, the Urdu speaking children had a periodical of its own from Lahore, aptly called "PHOOL".

The great beauty of this literature for children has been that its creators took great care that while they wrote in simple language, they did not write in any condescending language. Children's intelligence was not in any way insulted. Children found themselves at home with the writings, having no feeling of inferiority that they were being talked down to. They knew that fiction was fiction and facts were facts.

That means that the child's eternal demand 'Tell me a story' was not with as much success as their demand "why does it rain". And the pre-scientific fables and fairy stories like Toddlers "Ba, Ba Black Sheep. Have You Any Wool" were not confused with the scientific wondering of "Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star. How I Wonder What You Are?" Kind of thinking.

In very recent times, an entirely new branch of children's literature has developed in the West in the shape of Comics.

These Comics, starting as their names first suggested, as mere comics have now developed into teaching Classics from literature, various sciences including elementary electronics; history; geography; in short nearly all the positive studies and sciences through the pleasant path of comics

Imagine even our own children of 10 and 12, ardent students of the "Classics" in comics being on entirely familiar terms with the basic concepts and chief characters of the whole range of dramas of Shakespeare. all through Comics!

What a power for good or evil these Comics can be is seen from the fact that especially during the 2nd Great World war, these Comics more known as cartoons, were extremely used as means of propaganda to capture the mind through a logical methods and means, which suspend judgment.

This historical method to suspend the judgment of the young, by any means, Comics, Stories, fictions, 'history' and 'geography' appeal not to REASON, but to Authority, with mean and ignoble promise of rewards for blind belief and mean and ignoble threat of punishment for honest skepticism and sincere desire for the prevalence of human reason and rationality has ever been the very bane of the education of the young for ever.

It seems to have been so very prevalent in the days of Buddha, two thousand five hundred years ago, that as a mighty revolt against this brain pollution of the innocent young, he cried out, " Do not believe only because Buddha believes; do not think just because Buddha thinks; do not say just because Buddha says so. Believe or think or say if your reason says so"

After a gap of full twenty-five centuries, the modern child psychologist makes that very same plea to one and all those in charge of the innocent, uninformed, highly conditionable young minds ... "do not brain wash them and do not pollute their brains with your prejudices of the ages; prejudices that have done you no good; have filled the world with the interminable wars of hate and misunderstanding to poison human relationships".

For instance, child psychologists in America have seen and photographed that, left to them, the White children and the Black children have grown up without colour consciousness and colour prejudice.

This means that all the colossal colour prejudice in the whole world around is the most carefully developed and inculcated brain pollution of the mind of the young.

Therefore, in America, today, those who are not for a race torn America with all the horrors that culminate into race wars, are through the various illustrations in the children's books showing the social relationship between the White and the coloured children as equal play mates and students, all with beneficial results.

And exactly opposite was the case with the Apartheid obsessed South Africa, with hundreds of years of past history of conflict, as the gift of the present generations to these generations to come who had done no wrong to the present ones to deserve this brain-washing and mind pollution with all the attendant sorrows and sufferings.

The writers of literature for children should have, if not sympathy, atleast pity, for those whose minds they are out to pollute with false-to-fact history and prejudicial propaganda.

Is it such an unpardonably cardinal crime on the part of the coming generations that they will be born to be punished with the ruin of their reason, pollution of their intellects through indoctrinate brain-washing and brain-pollution by their ancestors?

Long back, when women, children, slaves and cattle were considered to be the property of the male, the male had the legal right of life and death over them all.

With the development of a bit higher ethics and humanism, today even animals cannot be subjected to cruelty by the owners. In religions like Bahaism, the parents cannot *ipso facto* impose their religion on their children.

In countries where children psychology is most advanced, educationists have taken the warning that Robert G. Ingersoll gave about a century ago that Universities should not be placed where diamonds are dimmed, while they can be placed where pebbles may be polished

But, as education starts almost from birth; and because our whole modern civilization is based upon literacy, children's literature should begin polishing the pebbles and further brushing the diamonds from the very start.

So, it is that you see fantastically beautiful books for children, using the vocabulary most suited to children ages and developments and in styles of expression most suited to their understanding and in the stance that stimulates their curiosity and, above all, enhances their already existing creativity, for creativity is almost everything in education, as education means to educe, to carry out.

It is exactly this type of children's literature, literature which is aimed at stimulating curiosity and enhancing creativity that is the need of the hour for our children too; literature is helpful to them to meet the problems of the here and now and guide to their social, intellectual, cultural and vocational future and intellectual and esthetic world; and not any such literature which puts their eyes behind their skulls to see only any mythical past, past and past only.

It is against the nostalgia of the spent out past, past and past, that Iqbal revolted when he said:

"Aaftab-e-taza payda batin-e-geetee say huaa,

"Aasman doobay huai taroon ka mattam kab talak?

"Baghban-e-chara farma say yeh kahti hai bahaar

"Zakhm-e-gul kay wastay tadbeer-marham kab talak?

"Torr daleen fitrat-e-Insan nay zanjeeren tamam

"Doori-e-jannat pay rotee chashm-e-Adam kab talak?"

These lines have to be guidelines for the writers of literature for our children, because every normal and healthy child is positive and negative, optimistic and pessimistic, looks to the future and not to the past; and creativity, most often mis-called mischief, is his very life

You yourself can verify this from the first complaint of a mother to the doctor about her un-well child

"Doctor" she cries, "Doctor, since yesterday my child is no more mischievous at all, Doctor; he is no more mischievous.

Does not this show that the mother has rightly equated mischief with play, which child psychology also considers being the expression of health and therefore creativity and is so very valuable a thing? Indeed, it is one of the very survival traits itself.

Creativity enables the human being who has no in-built patterns of specific reaction known as instinct, to develop the survival techniques in any ever-changing environment.

The Dodo bird became the now altogether extinct Dodo bird, all because it had no survival techniques in it. Every single Dodo bird became a readymade luscious morsel to the predatory man because it could neither take to fight nor flight, the survival traits.

Should our children's literature also make them into intellectual Dodos, while the children in the advanced countries are playing with computers and making electronic devices from the age of 5 onwards?

See where we are going in the education of our children, full throttle AHEAD or full throttle reverse gear?

And the very demands of sanity are that children's literature should wholly be in Children's mother tongue and in the Children's mother tongue ONLY, even if that mother tongue may happen to be only a dialect so far.

The imposition of non-mother tongue means of literacy is

nothing but a deliberate intellectual tyranny and violence upon the helpless and hopeless child, a manifestation of heartless linguistic imperialism, in all its inhuman brutality and nakedness; the same old ancient primitive, barbaric ritual of the sacrifice of the individual human beings on the altar of those abstract idols of wood and stone. These are far more destructive and pernicious than the idols of wood and stone. They can at least be smashed and so done away with, for the good of the living individuals. The individuals were not made for the Sabbath, but for them alone was the Sabbath itself made.

And children's literature, oriented towards creativity satisfied the most basic emotion of man, the emotion of love. Man loves to create; that is why the great music, the great machine, the great cathedral, the great ship and the great rocket, the great drama, sculpture, painting and ballet.

But Creativity is the gift from the heaven itself; the heaven which Christ pointed out is within, within, and within. That Heaven within does not produce from any vacuum. It germinates that which is put in its fertile being. That putting in consists in providing such literature to the children, which stimulates their powers of observation, experiment and reason.

Just look at the details of prolonged observation as revealed not only in the works of the scientists but equally strong, in the works of the poets, painters, dramatists and novelists.

Unless Dickens had so very minutely observed, first hand the details of human behaviour, you would not have had the *Pickwick Papers*. Leonardo da Vinci's sketchbook reveals the astonishing extent of his observation of the shape of human nose, more than 5,000 outlines!

Children's books showing details of the pictures of birds, flies, plants, insects, animals and countries are stimulants to the very first essential of creativity, masterly observation, which can never be too much at all.

For, observation, conscious or unconscious, alone provides to the attentive and interested mind the data that is the very

seed of creativity.

Literature written for children should satisfy these needs.



Gul Hayat Institute

Bhagat Singh

Shaikh Ayaz has carved out one more notches for himself in the Kalaa-mandir of literary fame with his galvanizing drama on the life of a prince of revolutionaries, Bhagat Singh.

Startlingly glorious and hopeful were those days, the early thirties. The whole atmosphere of India was surcharged with romantic nationalism.

While to our elders Gandhiji was growing ever taller than the British Empire, to we youths, Bhagat Singh was the name to conjure with.

While Gandhiji was mixing religion with politics by declaring that wherever he went he carried "the atmosphere of Hinduism", there was not even the slightest trace of such anachronic thought or talk in the out and out modern and secular revolutionary Bhagat Singh.

What Budacia was to the early Britons; Hampton to the English; Robert Bruce to the Scots; Tarabai Rani of Jhansi to us earlier, and what Lawrence was to the Arabs, Bhagat Singh was to us now.... the spirit of defiance and revolt.

In that one single youth we all saw re-incarnate all those Hindus and Muslims who had died fighting the British in 1857; and all those killed later, including the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, whose blood ran in one single stream in the Jalianwala Bagh massacre.

With his stilted felt-hat, open-collar shirt, thin mustaches and devastating smile, to us youths of those days, Bhagat Singh was Ariel himself. The British Government Caliban and Gandhiji Prospero: India sweet Miranda; all eager to welcome the prince Charming, the Independence of India.

When Bhagat Singh's dynamite charge sparked off a second too soon to effectively blow up the railway carriage in which viceroy Irwin was traveling, millions of us youths felt themselves derailed.

Bhagat Singh's subsequent arrest, trial and execution made us all forget all the great and countless blessings the British rule had given us.

All that we saw through our tear-filled eyes was not Bhagat Singh hanging, but our own hopes and aspirations dangling on the gallows.

But then we also saw in our mind's eyes our dearest, dearest mother India, standing firm and unshaken beside the corps of her electrifying son Bhagat Singh and asking us all to avenge her glorious son's death by seeking that freedom for this part of the earth for which Bhagat Singh had risen to heaven

It is that now strangled and mangled emotion that Shaikh Ayaz has brought back to live by his inspired and inspiring drama... "Bhagat Singh".



Gul Hayat Institute

From the Ruins of Sindh

The attempt at the suppression of the Sindhi language, in its own terrain, Sindh, was an undisguised blessing to the upholders of the culture and identity of Sindh.

Had it not been for this blatantly open threat, and had it not been for the atrocious manner in which this threat was put into effect, perhaps there would not have been the faint awakening of Sindh that it now is.

In the-then East Pakistan also, when it was declared, in effect that Bengali in Bengal would not be the Language of the Bengalis, there was a sudden cultural explosion.

“NO”, thundered the student community over there. NO! Bengali dared not be suppressed! HOW DARE anyone DARE to attempt that? THOU SHALT NOT PRESS THE CROWN OF THE THORNS OF AN IMPOSED LANGUAGE UPON THE BROWS OF THE CULTURE OF BENGAL. THOU SHALT NOT CRUCIFY THE CULTURE OF BENGAL UPON THE CROSS OF NON-BENGALI AND ANTI-BENGALI AMBITIONS”

This suddenness of an unpredictable explosion, on the part of the then East Pakistani students, in total defence of the identity and culture of their land came as an unpleasant surprise to Khwaja Nazimuddin.

He belonged to the Urdu Speaking Kashmiri family in East Pakistan.

He could not at all gauge the depths of the feelings of love, affection, devotion of Bengalis for Bengla language, the Bengla of their Tagore, of their Nazrul, of their Chatterji; and thousands of other writers and scholars, Bengali language of the millions upon millions of the folk who, inspite of their frightful poverty and disease, sang their sweetest songs in Bengali.

So, the agitation of the Bengali students against the suppression of their dearest possession, their Bengali language, was answered with bullets.

They were sacred bullets.

Besides killing the students in their path, their chosen path, they killed FEAR from the minds of the youths.

Dr. J. B. Watson, the founder of the Behaviourist School of Psychology, which is based upon the discoveries of the Russian physiologist-psychologists, experimentally established that:

"There are two and only two Fears, NATURAL TO MAN; - And they are: -

1. Fear caused by the sudden loss of balance;
2. Fear caused by an all of a sudden NOISE".

There is no other 3rd FEAR natural to man.

Indeed, while all other animals are instinctly AFRAID of FIRE, the human child is the ONLY child that is not only not afraid of fire, but also tries to run up to it and to grasp it, as every careful mother knows and is vigilant about.

So, Watson freed all humanity from: -

The FEAR of the PIRS.

The FEAR of the MIRS,

The FEAR of the Vaderas,

The FEAR of the Maulanas,

The FEAR of the MULLAHS,

The FEAR of the Mashayekhs,

The FEAR of the Priests,

The FEAR of the Lamas.

The FEAR of the Shamans,

The FEAR of the Medicine-men.

The FEAR of the witch-Doctors,

The FEAR of the despots.

The FEAR of the Tyrants,
The FEAR of the Dictators,
The FEAR of the Impostors,
The FEAR of the beaters of the drums,
The FEAR of the trumpet-blowers,
The FEAR of the *Lathichargers*,
The FEAR of the Mustard Gas throwers,
The FEAR of the bombers of men, women and children,
The FEAR of even the rappers of women-folk of villages and towns,
The Fears of one and all types of those who, by all sorts of means and methods, enslave mankind by cowing down the human mind.

The FEAR of DEATH

Watson demonstrated that all fears, other than the natural fear caused by the sudden Loss of Balance and by Sudden Noise are not natural fears, not at all natural to man, but are the results of **CONDITIONING**, social Conditioning, cultural conditioning, political conditioning, educational conditioning, religious conditioning, and so on

So, when the sacred bullets killed the **FEAR OF DEATH** (which is not natural to man) that, while killing the Bengali-loving students in their chosen path, unwittingly killed the **FEAR OF DEATH** itself

When those sacred bullets killed the **FEAR of DEATH** itself, the Bengali student's instantaneously got **DE-CONDITIONED** of ALL the **FEARS** that had been put into them since their childhood.

Each one of them became a Julius Caesar in himself who had said, 2,000 years back, that: "Cowards die many times be-

fore their deaths. the brave taste of death but once. Of all the wonders that I have yet heard, it seems to me most strange that men should fear death, a necessary end. which will come when it will come".

So, when the Sacred Bullets killed the FEAR of DEATH, (which is not natural to man), deathless courage took possession of the hearts, minds and souls of the then East Pakistani Students to struggle for the preservation of the majesty and the domain domination of their language and their culture in their lives.

The rest is history.

This had happened because, in the then East Pakistan, there were no organized gangs of Mirs, Pirs, Vaderas, and hereditary killers of the spirit of man.

The fanatically religious Mullahs over there were also equally fanatical champions of Bengali language and Bengali culture

They behaved exactly as the Polish priests behaved, when, in the 19th Century, the Polish language came under the threat of brutal suppression.

In the words of George Pillsbury, the author of the book "LANGUAGE And NATIONALITY"; every Polish word became SACRED to every man, woman and child in Poland. All question papers in all examinations were answered only in Polish. The failure of hundreds of thousands simply did not matter.

The great Polish Musician Padroviesky devoted all his musical energies to the cause of fighting for the independence, cultural identity and the language of Poland through MUSIC.

He traveled all over Europe, collecting funds with his great Musical performances, for the Polish struggle for freedom, culture and language

When the strangulators of Poland installed their own armies and cantonments in the midst of Poland to so cow down the Poles as to make the Poles feel that they can never rise again in the face of this show of might and power, the actual feelings

in the minds of the Poles completely belied the expectations of their oppressors.

Far, far and far from being in any way cowed down, their reckless sacrifices made them free from the et cetera abhorrent and abominated foreign yoke of a cloyingly neighbour.

That aggressive neighbour again invaded Poland in the 2nd World War, with all the ferocity of a starved tiger and crushed whole populations under the tanks.

But though temporarily conquered militarily, psychologically Poland remained much and more of a spiritually unconquerable a Poland than before; and is so today before an admiring world.

So is the case with Ireland. England is paying dearly for the culture and political imperialism of Oliver Cromwell over there.

The same thing happened to the Turkish Empire. The Serbs, the Albanians, the Greeks, the Yugoslavian and the Arabs all of them rose against the Turks to regain their freedom and their cultural identity.

So the culture of a people is too deep, too wide and too high to be taken for granted, or to be lightheartedly played with, or to be designed against without precipitating altogether unexpected consequences, especially when the people concerned have become culture-conscious

That is what exactly the youths of Sindh have become – Culture conscious

And rightly so

Culture not only includes in it language, dance, music, painting, song, dress, modes of production, and in general the way of life in all its aspects, but also culture, nowadays at least, also consists of the unfailing, unflinching determination to retain its own identity

This is well demonstrated in the modern culture of Japan.

In spite of Japan being the 2nd most industrialized country in the whole world of course, the very first and foremost industrially advanced Oriental country, subject to tremendous cultural

radiations from America, but yet, you have only to step into a Japanese home, even here, in Karachi, to atonce realize that you are in a Japanese home and nowhere else. The atmosphere is Japanese. Unmistakably so. It consists in small things; it consists in big things.

Inspite of many cultural changes and inspite of many social changes, the cultural identity of the Japanese people is not lost.

So is the case with the Sindhi culture.

The Sindhi youths detest any idea of the Sindhi Culture being swamped, and swamped away, weakened, submerged or made moribund.

The spectre of what has happened and is happening to the Red Indians (who are considered by many anthropologists and sociologists to be the peak of the ethical perfection of the human race, so far) is all so glaringly before the Sindhi youth as a distinctly unpalatable foreboding.

There is a mythological story that a poor little lamb went up to *Ishwar* with a complaint.

"What is the matter with you, my dear lamb?"

"The jackals devour me."

"Then?"

"The wolves also devour me"

"And?"

"And the tigers also devour me"

"Then?"

"Men also eat me up, *Ishwar*. men also eat me up."

"My dear lamb, listen."

"What should I listen, *Ishwar*?"

"You are so inoffensive, so harmless, so very juicy that."

"That?"

"That my mouth also begins to water on seeing you, my dear lamb, my mouth also!!!"

Obviously the Sindhi Youths do not relish the unenviable situation in which the lamb found itself, in its sheepish attempt to seek and find redress!

And they do not need to.

Already they have amply demonstrated their grit and their gumption.

And that, repeatedly.

And, perhaps, quite unexpectedly, too!

Since so many years.

And unrelentingly.

This awakening of the intelligence in the youths and maidens of Sindh is perhaps the one only hope of Sindh.

In the human being, intelligence there always WAS, IS, and WILL ever be.

Without Intelligence, Human beings would have become extinct ages back.

With what else other than intelligence the puny little MAN conquers the mighty ELEPHANT, the mighty WHALE, the mighty BISON, the mighty LION and TIGER, the swift HORSE, the sturdy BULL and Buffalo?

And all this and much more, at a time when MAN was PRIMITIVE, with very, very few and very crude tools to conquer the world with.

So, INTELLIGENCE he always had.

But, the study of history shows that this Intelligence had awakened only in PARTS, not in totality

Social conditions were KILLING intelligence beyond a certain point.

For instance, HIRO the INVENTOR had invented a perfectly workable STEAM ENGINE way back two thousand five hundred years in Alexandria.

But it was not put to use by the Society around. Why so?

Well, slave-labour was cheaper to have than to make steam engines!!

Romans had invented MOVABLE TYPES to print their names on the bricks they made in a simple manner.

Why did they not print books then with these movable types? Well, well, who, should go on building printing machines, when the energies of the Roman Engineers were needed to make mighty war catapults to hurl stones and fire-balls to conquer others' lands and countries and to make them slaves and tributaries to Rome that had become a mighty parasite by then?

Think where the world would have been by now, if Hiro's Steam engine and the printing by movable types had been put to use twenty-five centuries ago!!!

So, earlier, intelligence was being put to limited use.

But today, thanks to the use of that very steam Engine and those very movable types in printing books, there is the GENERAL AWAKENING OF that same old, but ever new INTELLIGENCE which simply knows no bounds to its ever expanding empire.

Today's Sindhi youth and maiden also have become heirs to General AWAKENING OF INTELLIGENCE, general AWAKENING OF intelligence and general awakening OF INTELLIGENCE, over and over again

This general AWAKENING OF INTELLIGENCE, in the mind of the Sindhi Youth and in the mind of Sindhi Maiden consists in the exercise of the MOST ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, that is the right and the inheritance of all the youths and all the maidens all the world over since their very birth.

Like many and many other underdeveloped countries, Sindh also has remained undeveloped, industrially, all, all and all because the Sindhi Youths and the Sindhi Maidens also were not allowed, since ages, and ages, to exercise their right to their human inheritance, this exercise of the MOST ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT.

The Sindhi youths and maidens of TODAY can see all this, with their own all awakened eyes, as the aeroplane lands on the Mohenjodaro Airport.

On the one hand they see the ruins of the Mohenjodaro and on the other hand they see the landing of the most modern, wonderful, powerful air-plane.

And in between what do they see?

What else than the plying of the same old, old, old and old type bullock carts that were made and used by the same old, old, old Sindhis of the days when Mohenjodaro was a living city!

Same old models of bullock carts.

No improvement.

No change.

And the models of the airplanes that land and leave the airport of Mohenjodaro CHANGE from year to year.

Why so?

And how so?

Is it not all because of the Most Absolute FREEDOM OF THOUGHT on the part of the western man, to go on and on and on experimenting, inventing, perfecting, over and over again, never resting content upon the improvements made?

And is there any anatomical, physiological, psychological difference between the brain of the western man and the Sindhi men and women?

"NONE", say the anatomists, physiologists and the psychologists, "NONE".

Well, why then this other difference between the Hindu Sindhi and the Muslim Sindhi too?

They both speak the same language. SINDHI

They both have the same culture; SINDHI.

How come then that the Sindhi Hindu has had, since generations, his business Firms, not only in Sindh itself, but also in the Middle East, but also in China, in the Far East and in Gibraltar and then in the U. S. and in Canada, while the Sindhi Muslim none, anywhere, even in Sindh?

The Sindhi Muslim Youth asks this question of his Pir, of his Mir, of his Makhdoomzada, of his Vadera.

He has to ask them, what were they and their ancestors, the mirs and pirs and the Makhdoomzadas and Vaderas of Sindh doing, when, right in front of their own eyes, "others" were opening schools and colleges for the general education of "their" children – they say?, what were these pirs and mirs themselves doing for the "Muslim" children?

They can ask.

They were these Mirs and Pirs keeping the Sindhi Muslims in utter servitude.

They can ask why these Mirs and Pirs were making the Sindhi Muslims kiss their feet, their chappals and the sills of their very doors?

Where and in what religion are there such in junctions?

When the very Founder of their Religion himself sat shoulder to shoulder with all his followers and companions, now dared these Pirs and Makhdoomzadas kept themselves yards and yards away from the Sindhi Muslims and do so even today whom they have mentally enslaved by inculcating horrible terror and fear in them?

In short, cannot the Sindhi students well ask the Mirs, Pirs, Shahs, Vaderas, Makhdooms (Makhdoom means MASTERS, LORDS,) Makhdoomzadas and all those who have spiritually

and materially enslaved the simple, honest, believing, trusting, Sindhi population this question: -

On what religious, political, ethical, grounds have you ruled and are ruling over us all these many centuries?

And why have you so let us down, and plunged us into such misery, poverty, penury, both intellectually and materially?

Why have you left us so bereft of courage, initiative, enterprise before our own compatriots, the brilliantly prosperous, intellectual community, the sons of the same soil, the Sindhi Hindus, who wherever they happen to be, continue to be brilliant and prosperous and parallel to them we are reduced to nothing?

The Sindhi Muslim students may well ask these and many such questions, all because:

1. Whenever the Sindhi Muslim students go out of the country, they are greeted by the migrated Sindhi Hindus who show them how very well the Sindhi language and literature are being preserved and developed in places like Bombay which now has become the biggest cultural and intellectual centre of Sindhis outside Sindh,
2. The Sindhi Muslims students see there that the very Shaikh Ayaz who was summarily taken away from the Sindh University, is being studied, respected, adored by the Hindu Sindhis as the very beacon of modern Sindhi culture, aspiration and inspiration; an incarnation of the cultural Identity of SINDH.
3. There, outside Sindh, the visiting Sindhi Muslim students see with their own eyes, repeatedly, wherever they go, what the Sindhi Hindus so very narrowly, and at terrible sacrifices escaped, by retain-

ing the spiritual identity of their ancestors, by not having sacrificed it on the gory altar of the Shahs, Pirs and Sayeds and Makhdooms and Makh-doomzadas; and how, therefore, they have remained FREE to have become great merchants, businessmen, and intellectuals

The Sindhi Muslim students, visiting the Sindhi Hindu Industrial Empire at beautiful Bangalore, the Walchand Hirachand Hindustan Aircraft Factory, can see for themselves, how thousands of the Sindhi Hindu scientists and master technicians are manufacturing exportable war planes

That the Sindhi Muslim youths also have such brains is established by the most prosperous existence in Karachi of scores of the Sindhis like the eminent heart surgeon Abdul Ghafar Jatoi.

But where, o where, is the opportunity for the multitudes of them? Where is for them that chance of the needed quality of education?

What would not the common brilliant Sindhi students do for their own Sindh, given the most needed absolute freedom of thought; freedom of expression; honest information in educational books, and opportunity for creativity?

When the Sindhi Muslim students see what the Sindhi Hindus are doing for the greatness of their own Sindhi culture even when thousands of miles away from Sindh, how, the flag of Shah Latif, of Sachal, of Saami, of Shaikh Ayaz is being held aloft abroad, how their Sindhi language is one of the state languages outside Sindh; how the very name of Sindh is included in the prayers of millions; and when they see, here, in Sindh itself, how Sindh has become the battleground and a perfect 'No Man's Land' for them, and a free for all and no holds whatsoever barred, well may the agonized Muslim Youths ask: "Were we born in Sindh, in our Motherland, only to see this happening to our Motherland? What crime had we committed in having born in our Motherland? And what crime had our Motherland committed to go on almost endlessly suffering like this? Formerly also our Motherland was suffering from all those horrors in the hands of the Mughals, Arghoons, Turkhans, Mon-

gols, and also under the hands of terrible local tyrants who let Shah Inayat get killed along with many other lovers of truth and peace. Our Sachal has raised his glorious voice at the horrors he saw around. Shah Latif was so horrified that he left cities and towns and sought refuge for years in solitude. True it is that Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah soaked the sands of Sindh with the blood of countless Sindhi men and women. It is all true. And such things were happening all over the subcontinent.

"But things are different now all over in many ways Sindh had also begun to see the days of quiet progress like many other parts of this subcontinent. Among other things, our beloved Sindhi city, Karachi, had become the cleanest city in the whole of this subcontinent.

"Tell us, had our city ever become an inferno of perpetual sectarian fury as now it has? Though poor, were we not contented? Were we not sleeping soundly, in our own city of our own culture, undisturbed with the explosions of Kalashnikovs? Was not our city, Karachi, OUR CITY OF OUR SINDH?

"True, and true it may have been that the ever prosperous Hindu community had neglected our welfare, altogether! But what did our own people do? We cannot and we will not forget that in our own city of Karachi, the so-called 'eidgah' maidan, on Bunder Road was 'lent' to us only for a few hours in Ramzan festival and in the Bakra Festival. But that was the matter of law governing the use of state land.

"True, we have learnt that in one of the very worst slums, Lyari, allotment of land for putting up the most miserable jhugies on earth, was to be renewable over set periods of time.

"Yes, indeed, we are told that in the streets of Hirabad in Hyderabad the students even were not allowed to walk about nonsensically.

"But it was only like the Karachi gymkhana, the Karachi club and the Golf Club were not open to all Indians, including the Anglo Indians who prided themselves for their 'untarnished loyalty' to the British and called England 'HOME' inspite of the cruel remarks of McCauley that they were 'the walking monuments of British debauchery in India'.

"But, when the Muslim Pirs, the Muslim Mirs, themselves demanded from the Muslims prostration, kissing of feet and kissing of shoes, cringing, supplicating, excessive demonstration of humility, what respect could the whole community expect from others?"

Whose fault it was and it is that the real son of the soil, the *hari*, has been kept in abysmal deprivation of his right to his very human-hood? And this, by whom? And this since how long? And this, for what crime on his part?

And with what results, eventually?

Why is one of the greatest sayings of all times that "A CHAIN IS ONLY AS STRONG AS ITS WEAKEST LINK"?

And how many weakest links were or even are in the Sindhi Muslim society?

And all, caused by whom, if not by the ego-centered Mirs, Pirs, and the Shahs?

And one and all of them claim to be from outside Sindh, trickling down right from Arabia!

And this inspite of the fact that, as repeatedly verifiable through the disconcerting science of physical Anthropology, the very cheek bones, the hair, the eyes, the lips, the noses of these claimants to the undiluted Arab blood in them tell altogether different tale. Late Husamuddin Rashdi once declared that from his careful study of all the grandiose genealogies of the families who claimed to be outsiders from Arabia and Persia and from Bukhara, he found that more than 95 percent of the descendants had created their ancestors!

(Same, amongst the Muslims of the whole of the subcontinent, by the way. There is a saying in U. P. that 'this year I happen to be a Pathan; three years hence, I will become a Mughal in the far off village. From there soon I will emerge as Shaikh. Then of course, I will go to a city as Sayed!')

In England also, there was not even a homeopathically dilute drop of Roman Blood in many who claimed to be direct descendants of Romans.

There is a saying amongst the sociologists that everyone in the world can claim atleast one emperor in his ancestry! And the more, the merrier; yes, why not? What's the harm? All is gain! The 'ancestors' are not in a position to deny. But there CAN be some embarrassments. This is clearly seen in the claims of the 'Jilanis' in Sindh.

They are all having a hay day in Sindh, at the expense of the Original Sindhis, by claiming to be the direct descendants of the saint Abdul Qadir Jilani.

But then, when the real direct descendant of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, his name also being the same, came over here as the ambassador of Iraq and then decided to remain here, there was a tremendous flutter in the dove-cotes of 'synthetic Jilanis' all over Sindh.

Here were they, the 'Jilanis' claiming themselves to be, in spite of their unalterable physiognomies, and the thrice-distilled descendants of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, claiming Sindh in their heritage. And then comes, as a boit from Iraq, the genuine direct descendant of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, looking every millimeter, an undiluted, unpretentious, scion of the great Shaikh's family, heir to the honesty and truth of his claim.

The contrast was brightening.

All the more so, that, "**us nay in per ghass bhi nahin dala**"!! Calmly, quietly, this subtle aristocrat behaved in the same way as the genuine Englishman behaved with the Anglo Indians!!

Meanwhile the Muhajirs from India gathered around him, many of them in the most self-abnegating manner thinkable.

Many of them seem to have forgotten that there is anything like self-respect and human-hood to take care of.

Often their bodily behaviour gave rise to suspicions in the mind of any rational onlooker that perhaps it was with agonizing strain they held themselves back from outright prostrating themselves before him in perpetuity.

What terrific havoc the many of "Shahs" have done with the very souls of the people who became Muslims in East Bengal

also, can be seen from the pages of Abdul Malik's book "Bengali Musalmanoon ki jidojahad-e-Azadi 1787-1857" published by the Majlis Tarraqi-a- Adab, Lahore.

So starting from Sindh in the West to far off Bengal in the East, and in between the whole of the Indo-Gangetic plane, there is the same doleful story of the "Sayeds", "Shahs", "Pirs", "Sajjadanasheens" each one of them claiming to have come from outside, spurning to have belonged to the blood of the land, inspite of the other side of the story that their cheekbones loudly proclaim.

And, on the basis of their being "outsiders" they have bossed over the social fates of those sons of the soil who, in their innocence, in their ignorance, and considering themselves to be inferiors to these outsiders (who had come over here because in their own lands mostly they were destitute.) swailowed the bait that their salvation hereafter itself depends entirely in the hands of these outsiders.

Think of it; just think of it, is it imperative that for a person to be considered a "SAINT", must he necessarily be claiming to come atleast from Samarkund and Bukhara?

The same has been the case all over this subcontinent. ever since perhaps the Aryan invasion itself.

The local sons of the soil have been humiliated in their own lands as untouchables; and later, in the Muslim period as those inferiors to the broods of "Sayeds," "Shahs", "Makhdooms", "Sajjadanasheens", "Pirs" and, for a good measure, "Pirzadas" also.

And the same has been happening in Christianity in this subcontinent.

The children, especially, of the converted, are deftly exposed to colour picture of the perfectly Europeanized pictures of Christ and Mary and other religious personalities.

These personalities are, invariably, tall, fair, deeply blond-headed, blue-eyed, all in contrast to the short, black, dark-haired, dark-eyed people who are in the midst of starvation. almost cringing for bread. (These missionary oriented pictures

are a study in themselves, in the same way as the Aryan mythology did in India)

And in that very way, the mostly manufactured 'Shijras' of the "Shahs", "Sayeds", the "Pirs", the "Makhdooms" have done upon the psychology of the original population of land, right from Sindh right up to the farthest corners of East Bengal.

And no local man, right from Sindh to Cooch Bihar and from Kashmir to Cape Comorin has been worthy enough, pious enough, great enough, to become a saint or be considered as a saint, even by his own inferiority-soaked, growling, writhing, self-debasing countrymen!!

And if, ever, an obvious local man did become a pious man or a "Saint", his own people would not rest content until and unless they did manage to concoct an out and out fictitious genealogy to connect him with someone outside this subcontinent in the dim past.

As if, the "Saints" belong to a very different "species" altogether and cannot be hatched from whole subcontinental parents!!

So, Sindh is not at all alone to have been under the pestilential power of self-proclaimed descendants of the outsiders, whose very physiognomy, colour of the skin, the structure of the hair, all go against such claims of superiority based upon outsider-ship.

(The word "SAYED" is used in Arabia as equivalent to "Mister" and nothing more in any way. So when on his visit to Arabia, Jawaharlal Nehru was greeted not only as Sayed Jawaharlal Nehru, but also as "Paighamber-e-Islam" (good-will bearer for all) the screaming Mullahs from Karachi made a wild gallop to the Saudi Embassy demanding an explanation.

In deeply refrigerated words they were asked to mind their own business and to understand the meaning of words in Arabic, which, not being their mother tongue in any way has to be understood especially in its usage by the Arabs whose mother tongue it happened to be.

Perhaps their mortification was later on soothed with a few soothing crumbs,)

Anyway, one of the many net results of the power of many of the "Shahs", "Sayeds", "Pirs" and "Sajjadanasheens" and their "orders" and "silsillas" of the Muslims all over the subcontinent, has been the almost total absence of that intellectuality in their "Mureeds" (the root of the word Mureed is 'MURD' that means DEAD, LIFELESS) which intellectuality is the matter of Science and philosophy and could even show them the rational way of dealing with their economic problems even.

They became poorer and poorer *vis-à-vis* the Hindus because their thoughts were not free to rationally see what was wrong

Dr. Abdul Salaam, Nobel Laureate, bemoans the absence of Scientists amongst the Muslims in India.

He would perhaps not, if he takes into account the damage done to human thought by many of these "Shahs" and "Sayeds" etc

Then he would perhaps see that the very same was the condition for not less than full fourteen hundred years in Europe when Europe was under the thumb of the Christian Clergy.

Think of the full Fourteen HUNDRED years of a whole of a Continent and more having been in the DARK AGES.

And now see what has happened to that same Europe with the AWAKENING OF THE INTELLIGENCE over there!

How many philosophers! How many scientists! How many Inventors. How many Engineers and Technicians!!

And one and all of them, the descendants of the very people who were the non-creative slaves of the same Church and the Despots so very assiduously held up, on strictly reciprocal basis, by the same Church.

The same is the story everywhere.

How and where can there be science and philosophy in Muslim India where the mullahs supported the invading emperors and kings, and the invading emperors and kings supported the mullahs, who all claimed to be of foreign decent. come what may?

In the court of the Mughals among the Irani Party, the Turani party and the Hindustani party, the weakest was the Hindustani party.

And had it not been for the political astuteness of Akbar who harnessed unheard of Rajput loyalty to the Mughal Empire, the Empire would perhaps have perished far earlier than it did.

And it did when that abounding loyalty of the self-sacrificing Rajputs was shoved out.

And where can there be any Science and philosophy when the Royal courts were flooded with psychopants whose contributions to honesty and truth in openly declaring that "If at noon the King says it is night; you also shout 'see, how bright the shinning stars are!'"

Science and philosophy can hardly be expected in such a dire absence of the atmosphere of rational thought and honesty. The Mughal Emperors dreaded the power of the 'Pirs' to curse!

While all the devotion that Dara Shikoh rendered to his Pir i.e the Pir or his Pirdom did not in any way help him against his loving brother Aurangzeb.

When the Rational is overwhelmed by the mystical, what else is to be expected?

As elsewhere, in Sindh also, when the Rational was not allowed to exist, when the Rational (however little it happened to be) was overwhelmed by the mystical, with the Mir supporting the Pir and the Pir supporting the Mir, the non-Pir and the non- Mir under the crushing weight of both, where and how could any strong mercantile middle class emerge amongst the Muslims?

So, now we see what an amount of spadework the Sindhi youths have to do, before they can lay the plan and dig the foundations for the future Sindh!

Their immense idealism is by itself not enough Their immense hope also is not enough by itself.

Which of the many wheels in a wrist watch is more important and which less?

Are not all of them equally important? So also in everything in life, none is unimportant

In any rational attempt to reconstruct Sindh, not only Idealism, not only optimism, not only will but also KNOWLEDGE is equally important.

The great uprising of 1857 collapsed all because KNOWLEDGE was not there at all. Brain in the head and all without eyes in the sockets

No one dared think about the total absence of these things in His vicarless, brainless and eyeless Majesty, the GOD-KING

Then came the great Funeral Procession. Then the even more impressive burial. The magnificence of the occasion was blindingly dazzling

Those who have seen the published coloured photographs of the honours accorded to the dead. The same thing happened three days back, at the burial of the long, long dead press, the press which had been dehydrated first by Liaquat Ali Khan with the help of Altaf Hussain and Ali Mohammad Rashdi; then by a succession of embalmers and picklers and roasters, including the nascent, the new saint Mr. Altaf Gohar who was accustomed to show the soles of his shoes to editors. As reported, the proceedings of the occasion were impressive.

The still alive multimillionaire murderers of the liberty and freedom of the press were, naturally, the deeply mourning pallbearers

They unanimously raised cry "THE PRESS IS DEAD: LONG LIVE THE PRESS" went up to the heavens

Such being the case and when Mr. Joyo himself fully knows (as seen from his own article, "Struggle For A Free Press Of Workers") however can Mr. Joyo ever expect that permission will ever be granted for such a Free Press, and that too of Workers? My friends know too well that I care two hoots to flatter any one. So I am not at all caring to flatter Joyo also

I make bold to assert that no other Editor in the Country dare, Dare look eye to eye with a Cub Reporter in India. When Girilal Jain, the present Editor of the "Times Of India" was its Reporter over here, he held out a challenge to some of the biggest editors from over here to come over to India, to any press, even a small one and see with their own eyes what Freedom Of The Press meant.

That challenge has remained unanswered.

As things are, there is no hope of there being any Freedom of the Press over here within any foreseeable future.

When a direct electric current is made to pass around soft iron, the soft iron becomes a magnet.

The moment the electrical current is switched off, the soft iron loses magnetism altogether.

That is what happened to us.

Only with the British power around us, we pretended to be "DEMOCRATIC".

On its removal we immediately gave up our pretence to Democracy and have returned to the realms of oriental despotism, with no respect for the sacredness of the personality of the individual, no loyalty to the taxpayer and no political values

Things like "ETHICS" as propounded by the ancient Greeks seem entirely foreign to our concepts of 'morality'.

Therefore, after pretending to pay lip respect to democracy, we threw it out over board when once our mercenary ends were met.

The rot began with the dismissal of the elected Khan Sahib Ministry in the N. W. F.P and the Tiwana Ministry in the Punjab, which ministries were due to expire within weeks

And it knows no end. It was just like introducing a germ or two of tuberculosis in the lungs of Pakistan's politics.

Not content with this, there was the dictatorial command to the East Pakistan that they should understand that "Urdu and Urdu alone would be the national language of Pakistan".

These were not Democratic words. Hitler could not have been sterner.

Later came the desecration of the Ballot Boxes in the presence of the premier himself, and the filling up of those boxes with bogus vote slips.

Those were the sown seeds of which we are now reaping the fruits.

To any monkey, any thing is nothing more than a thing. Getting the chance, it will slash Mona Lisa into rags

Getting the chance, it will tear up even the costliest *Manu-script*. Getting the chance, it will smash the costliest watch to bits. There is nothing destructive that a monkey cannot do and will not do if it gets the chance of doing it.

Only, it will do nothing constructive.

While so many other animals, far below it in the scale of evolution, build their abodes, build nests, take care of it, guard it, defend it, the monkey does nothing of that sort.

Even the most developed monkey, the orangutang does not build a shelter of its own.

Even if it occupies any nest of any other animal, it destroys it.

[That is what we seem to have done with the institution of Democracy. In the chapter BANDER LOG, Rudyard Kipling in his symbolic creation "THE JUNGLE BOOK" seems to have spelt out what we would do with Democracy.

As that chapter can also become *The Writing On The Wall*, if its implied warnings are not heeded, in time Perhaps every single Sindhi youth, anxious for the greatness of Sindh, would profit by studying "The Jungle Book". Not only would he know who "The Old Wolf" was, and what eventually happened to Sher Khan; but also see to the Bander Log and who are the Tabaqees of SINDH, who the Baghira, CHEEL, and who the KITE; who the avenging NAG; and who the 'SINDHI' Moughli, of the RED FLOWER.

(Of course, this amazing book, presumably written for children, like Swift's "Gulliver's Travels", has a much wider import. But for the present, it seems to have to say so much about the present day SINDH. It is a TREMENDOUS MESSAGE OF HOPE, so very symbolically expressed as to look like being a story written for children, YES, FOR THE CHILDREN OF MOTHER SINDH TOO!)]

This Monkeyism, persisting in MAN, has been responsible, since ages, for the destruction of the Life, Liberty, Right to the pursuit of happiness, civilizations, cultures, cities, libraries and lives of the men, women and children round the world

Think, just think, of the destruction of the accumulated stores of human knowledge in the destruction of the great Library of Alexandria, of the hundreds of libraries of Iran, in the destruction of the great Nalinda library; the libraries of Sindh by Nadir Shah, and the books that Hitler and Mussolini burnt; of Hitler's fortunately disobeyed order for the complete destruction of Paris; of the joyously carried out orders for the atomic vaporization of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — after Japan had been defeated and lay prostrate; of the years-on-end carpet-bombing of Vietnam by the civilized Americans. Think also of the working of the great military doctrine of "We want land; not people" nearer home and the more secret, more refined and more subtle working of the very same doctrine in civilian guise still nearer home.

This was most blatantly seen, very recently, when. the legislature of a province, passed resolutions that its people had the inalienable right to 'inundate' Sindh.

And the legislature of Sindh looked what it really happens to be too weak, too impotent, to answer.

Would this have been the case, if Sindh had its own powerful, well-knit, integrated, social structure to take care of its own land?

Is it, or is it not, for the Pirs of Sindh, the Mirs of Sindh, for the Vaderas of Sindh, for the Makhdooms and also Makhdocmzadas of Sindh to answer who has been responsible for this colossal weakness and helplessness of the Sindhi Society.

in the face of the avowed declaration for the colonization of Sindh?

And where will these themselves be. in the declared 'FLOOD' to come? In Noah's Ark or what?

And in between, there is the claim of FIFTH NATIONALITY!

And that only in SINDH; and just DARED not be elsewhere!

Thanks to the 'GREATNESS' of this claim. today. and perhaps never before, there is now a direct confrontation, with the ROOTLESS Muhajirs on one side and the well rooted Sindhis, Punjabis Pathans and Balochis on the other.

And perhaps the only sufferers in any ensuing struggle may be the innocent Muhajir men, women and infants. as happened in the Orangi area recently

The same has happened in India in 1947

Study the statistics, if you care. How many of the Muslim League Leaders suffered ANY loss in India. loss of property, loss of honour of the women. loss of the lives?

And how many millions who had the mud thrown into their eyes by the Muslim League leaders; and were massacred by the avenging Hindus and Sikhs!

What the Indian Muslim League leaders have done, by abandoning those who trusted them in the most colossal betrayal known to man.

By promising that "Pakistan the homeland of the Muslims of India" they roused the very same frenzy and reckless thoughtlessness which are being now roused by the 5th Nationality sloganists

And all this is happening in Sindh and Sindh only

So. Sindh is the battleground for so many inherent contradictions to unsettle their counts!

In between, it is the Sindh politics that suffers the most. But who cares what happens to the arena?

The one 'good' (that, so far, seems to have been done, by the champions of the 5th nationality, is that the maggotty *mullahism* has become a bit confused.

And, if the 5th Nationality champions see the futility of this claim, and merge their other interests with the people of Sindh without reservation and without cheap pragmatism, Sindh may see a better day

But *Mullahism* is BIG BUSINESS.

It may not at all hesitate to make common cause with *Pirism*, *Mirism*, with *Vaderaism*, against all the progressive youthful forces of Sindh

Not for years, but for centuries these forces have existed on intrigue against the freedom, liberty, development of the common man, be he a Sindhi or any Muslim in the whole of this subcontinent.

Volumes upon hefty, hefty volumes have been written on such obscurantist subjects and in such obscurantist languages that millions upon millions of the toiling bread-earners, getting confused and bewildered at their own lack of time and patience to see through, give up.

And that is exactly what these obscurantists want.

As the bread-earner gives up, they take over, as his mentors at every step.

Both Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali and Dr. Iqbal have exposed the outrageous parasitism of these maggots

Hali's long poem, MUNAZER-I-WAAIZ O SHAYER, and his further attack on their perfidy, in his MUSSADAS are there as the indictment of the ruined people against their exploiters.

In his remarkably honest book "OUR INDIAN MUSALMANS", he has given out how they were being used, with their 'fatwas' or decrees, to keep the Muslim population down.

They left nothing in opposing Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, in his attempt to bring modern education to the Indian Muslims.

And because the ATTATURK, (Whom J. F. Kennedy, President of America claimed as the greatest man of the twentieth century) deprived these Mullahs of all the power on the basis of which they played havoc with the mind of the Turks, and understandably hated him.

And today they hate Qadafi for the same reason. Himself a staunch Muslim, he has asked the people to take over the mosques and to regard no one as a go-between betwixt MAN and God.

Also, he has deprived them of their power in matters of state altogether.

Here, in Pakistan, they are having their field day. This Field Day dawned for them after the Objective Resolution was passed, perhaps only to negate and destroy the Founder of Pakistan's speech of the 11th of August 1947.

In that speech he said:

"You are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed. That has nothing to do with the business of the state."

"We are starting with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state..."

"You will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual but in the political sense as citizens of the state."

(From Liaquat Ali Khan, down to today, this most cardinal speech of the founder of Pakistan, along with his other equally cardinal admonition to the public servants that "YOU ARE THE SERVANT CLASS NOT THE RULING CLASS" have never again be republished, and people have even forgotten that the Founder had said so).

The other objective of the 'OBJECTIVE RESOLUTION' was, as is seen in its preamble itself, to openly rob the rights of the people who had built Pakistan to hold and guard the destiny of the state they had created.

This sheer robbery was couched in the most innocuous looking words that 'Pakistan belongs to God'.

When, according to the Muslim faith, the whole universe belongs to God, how and why and in what respect this assurance was needed that Pakistan belonged to God?

(People like Shaukat Hayat Khan were the first to look through the game that As GOD does not directly rule any country, this was the means of taking away from the people their claim and their right to be the sovereigns in the country; to legislate and execute its affairs. But all to no avail.)

After the Objective Resolution was passed in the teeth of opposition, the Mullahs staked their claim seemingly on an unassailable ground. Enthusiastically agreeing that Pakistan belonged to God, they asked that as they and they alone were those who had devoted their lives to study the will of God; they and they alone should have the power to define and interpret His will, and have the last word on it.

This wholly unexpected and indeterminate demand caused such a flurry and provoked a high reaction in the dovescots, that up went the cry that "Pakistan was not meant to be a theocracy".

The Mullahs rose as one and said: "Yes, it was!"

Eventually, when the Mullahs were appeased in the way as Mullahs are always appeased; and after people like Fazal-e-Haq, the very mover of the resolution for Pakistan in 1940, and after Suharwardy of the Calcutta Riots 'FAME' were called names in the National Assembly, and after the Sindhis were openly condemned as the drivers of donkey carts and camel carts, began that confusion which seems to know no ending at all.

Painfully written books like "Pakistan: From Crises To Crises" and "The Myth Of Freedom" show that political instability has become germane to the country.

Confusion, followed by Marshal Law, Marshal Law followed by confusion, one alternating the other, has become the pattern

of political behaviour, so much so, that, by now, the regularity of the turn of events may well be predicted!!!

Those who lost during one period have time to digest what they have looted during the following period; and when that following period's loot has to be digested, the other period takes over

Fresh batches come for fresh chance of loot, and then to move aside for digestion so that the other party may come over

In ancient times, it was most difficult to retain loot. Looted wealth had to be buried; and there was no certainty that what has been buried will ever be recovered

Not so now. On the wings of electricity the loot is deposited safely in foreign banks. Secret numbers and other devices make the deposits safer than they ever were before

This has given an altogether new turn to reckless alacrity.

The ousted dictator of Philippines and his pious wife took away billions of dollars worth of loot with them

To where? To that very U. S. which had donated money to be spent on Philippines themselves?

Did the U S object to this?

Why need it?

Same game here also

Why not?

Meanwhile, the sight of this demoralizes the whole country, from end to end.

So what?

Let it get demoralized.

Who cares?

"Every one for himself and Devil take the hindmost!"

Tons upon tons of heroine fly out and the gain is deposited in foreign banks

A pinch of the same heroine is found in the pocket of some poor devil. He is clubbed, beaten, battered, and his photo appears in the papers announcing the fellow was caught 'red handed'. HURRAH!!

What all this has led to seems to be nothing, when apprehended with what it may further lead to.

And one and all of those who cannot, for any reason, join the game, become game birds!

As Nietzsche says, in "THUS SPAKE ZARATHUSTRA", "Verily, verily, I laugh at the piety of the weak, who have the lame paw"

And as this is ever on the increase, one can justifiably wonder perhaps as to when, where and how that lazy straw will suddenly be on the camel's back.

The French Revolution broke out when a noble man offered a few franks, as the adequate cost for the lives of the children his coach had crushed under its wheels

The First Great War broke out when an Austrian prince was shot down. So also were the "greased cartridges" in the Indian Mutiny

These incidents were not sole 'causes' for the break out.

They were only the tiny sparks, let off in an already well-prepared ammunition dump – the prerequisite conditions.

When the conditions are ripe, the unpredictable spark sparks. Nobody, nowhere doubts that those prerequisite conditions are hurtling towards that focus of combustion, explosion

In between all this, perhaps the worst to suffer may be SINDH.

With the virtual absence of its own middle class and labour force, with the out-dated but obdurate feudalism unsympathetic towards the intellectuals aspiring for freedom and strength; just

what is that sorrow that must not have been visiting the down trodden humanity living in Sindh?

Can we, now, imagine what Sindhi humanity has gone through?

In his brief but pathetic article, Mr. Amar Jaleel, (Sindh Quarterly, Vol: No XIV, 1986. No.1, pages 11-12) lifts the curtain of History to show what Sindh has passed through these many centuries

He says, "After the subjugation of Aror, Sindh for centuries suffered the ignominy of becoming feudatory to the powerful and ruthless neighbours and paid annual tribute to Mughals, Pathans, and Persians.

"Identical events of agony and pain followed one upon another till the death of Aurangzeb..." on this 'Bab-ul -Islam'

"The Mughal emperors had not only conquered and annexed Sindh.... but they perpetually corrupted the social and administrative structure of the country.

"They made use of.... local despots, feudal lords....

"There was no check on the local despots, feudal lords, amirs and governors who virtually crushed the poor people through illegal extortion.

(The glory and the grandeur of the great Mughal Empire was built upon such foundations, all over the subcontinent; and we are neck and neck proud of this).

"In this regard we may also mention the Arghoons and the Turkhans of Central Asia who in no way were less responsible for the plight of the people.

"They and their agents sucked the blood of the Sindhis

"Subjected them to ruthless oppression and trampled upon their souls....

"History has remained dumb on the incessant and perennial annihilation of people of Sindh..

"The Pirs were the persons who, after the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs, had taken it upon themselves to become the spiritual leaders of Muslims of Sindh".

(This spiritual tragedy of tragedies was not and is not confined to SINDH alone, but continues to be so, all over the sub-continent. G.M.M).

To continue, "NO such system (of *Pirism*) ever existed in Arabia". (The study of the development of this malaise is a subject in itself and it is a vast subject. G. M. M.)

"... the simple and innocent people of Sindh" (and all over the Subcontinental Muslims G. M. M.) were easily be-fooled by the felons.

They "soon established their authority throughout the territory of Sindh" (and all over India. G M. M.)

(The PIRS, the 'MAULANAS' or LORDS, the capturers of the mosques whom the Muhajirs from India have brought to Sindh are now playing hell with the fate of their upholders over here and are responsible for Shia-sunni riots and have become owners of Estates and fleets of cars, while they could not have to go in the *Tonga* in India. G. M. M.).

According to Amar Jaleel, the PIRS "collaborated (as they always do). But to return to Mr. Amar Jaleel, "the pirs', hypnotic influence over the minds of the people was (and, is, G. M. M.), so firm that they could never think of their own salvation from the self-styled treacherous religious loaders".

So, when Sufi Shah Inayat tried to break this spell, he was opposed by, according to Mr. Amar Jaleel, "the enemies of Sufi Shah Inayat consisted of Sayeds of Bulri, who were the religious despots, Noor Mohammed Palijo and Hammal Jatt, who were the symbols of notorious feudalism in Sindh".

"The poor and the wrecked people had become weary and tired of the ruthless rule of the Indian bureaucrats" (of the Mughal Empire).

"When the miserable people took refuge under Shah Inayat, the Sayeds of Bulri, Noor Mohammad Palijo, and Hammal made common cause with the Mughal ruler, Nawab Azam

Khan, in Thatta promptly declared the saintly Sufi a traitor, and charged him with treason, and took sanction from the Centre to crush the saint. This sanction was immediately granted, because it suited the mood of the autocrats"...

"And eventually Sufi Shah Inayat and those who sought refuge under him were massacred.

"Sufi Shah inayat attended martyrdom in January 1718.

"His struggle against the feudal lords and local despots was the first determined uprising against feudalism in the subcontinent," says Mr. Amar Jaleel

"Sufi Shah Inayat's unfortunate fall resulted in the final victory of the feudal lords who firmly established feudalism which has sustained and survived in the original tyrannical form in Sindh, till today".

Truly, Sufi Shah Inayat may be regarded as both the Sparta as well as the Abraham Lincoln of Sindh, rolled into an unsuccessful one

It is about him and such that Thomas Gray sings: -

"Some village Hampton with dauntless breast

"The little tyrant of his fields withstood

"Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest.

"Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood".

Only, in the case of Shah Inayat, it was not a matter of any "little tyrant", but the might of the Mughal Empire, and the intrigues of the Sayeds of Bulri, Noor Mohammad Paljo and Hammals' formidable combination.

And also, as Mr Amar Jaleel points out, "a demonstration of how Sindhis can destroy Sindhis, as has been going on since centuries."

Under such adverse conditions, where was there any choice for a Sindhi Muslim middle class and a Sindhi Muslim Trading class to rise?

The formidable middle class and mercantile class in England rose only as a consequence of the mutual destruction of the English Feudal Lords in the emancipating Wars of The Roses

The imported king, Henry the Seventh, took over the sovereign control of the Artillery, which could turn the castles of the Lords into heaps of ruins.

The power of the Roman priests over the souls of the English was wiped out by Henry the VIII. He instituted the Church of England. He demolished all the Roman Catholic Churches, Monasteries and Mummeries, making England free of Rome.

There were no such soul-emancipating princes in Muslim India to free the souls of the people from the clutches of the Mirs, the Shahs, or Pirs, and the Sayads, etc.

The Sufistically inclined Dara Shikoh was murdered by his most loving brother just on the ostensible charge of his being broad minded

Although it was wholly a war of succession, but Aurangzeb placed Dara Shikoh's book "Majma-ul-Behrain" before the Mullahs and asked "What is to be the punishment for a person who holds views as these"?

And what else could be the decree expected from the Mullahs, whose hold on the masses was itself in jeopardy from the writings of Dara?

So Dara was murdered "with the words of Jesus Christ" on his lips.

This understandably. Because both Christ and Dara had committed the same "crime". Attempt to free mind-paralyzed humanity from the clutches of the clergies of their times

Imagine Christ declaring that "Ye Shail know the Truth and Truth shall make you FREE"

And imagine the temerity of Dara, he declared that "Truth is to be found in all religions alike."

In the flash of the sword that descended upon Dara, Dara may have seen the light of the Ascending Christ.

Hence the greeting

In the same way, Socrates himself would have envied the supreme sublimity with which Shah Inayat met his death in the hands of his own countrymen, Sindhis.

Mr. Amar Jaleel's article "SINDH'S ERA OF MARTYRDOM AND TREACHERY" need not at all be confined to Sindh only.

Such martyrdom and such treachery are not peculiar to Sindh at all.

The treachery, by his most trusted Muslim ministers against Teepu Sultan had its roots in the amazing Land Reforms Project of Teepu Sultan.

Under Hyder and Teepu, the Muslim Ministers and Nobles, as in Hyderabad Deccan, had become huge Jagirdars. The Nizam owned all land! So the Jagirdars were his abject slaves. So we see that in Sindh, or in Mysore, the Muslim landowner would not countenance the idea that the tiller be the owner of the land.

The tiller has to be a *Hari* (the defeated or the owner only of the plough), *Helot*, and *Falaheen*!

And there came a Teepu Sultan with such devastating reforms

And here came a Sufi Shah Inayat, in defence of the exploited

How could they ever be tolerated?

Understandable

The Jagirdar, the Vadera, the Zamindar all need machinery to work their lands. Bullocks and horses, by themselves are not enough of machinery. In the then total absence of labour-saving machinery, man as slave, man as helot, man as Ghulam, man as hari, man as Shudra completed the then known 'mechanical' outfit, right from ancient times down to the invention of modern steam engine and other machines.

Machines, be they human, animal, or mental, are all labour-saving devices.

Children's arithmetical tables are labour-saving devices.

So also are the most complicated computers, they save both time and labour.

So also is slavery

But slaves need looking after.

Not so the mental slaves.

Followers, chelas, *Mureeds*, believers, are amongst the productive machinery, and labour-saving devices that manage themselves once you have enslaved their minds, made them accept your superiority and their own eternal inferiority, through force and fraud or myth and miracle, through the propitiation of what Ingersoll describes as "the abused, the impossible and the infamous".

Only you have to see that no Freedom of thought germinates amongst them.

On page 7, No 2, 1987, Volume XV, Sindh Quarterly, Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah also conceded that "It is freedom of thought which alone can create, generate, propagate, ensure and guarantee the future of nations. When thought and reflection atrophy, communities ossify"

This Voltaireian, Rousseaulian, Ingersollian view is happily negated by Hazrat Iqbal's universe-shaking discovery that "Freedom of Thought Is The Invention Of The Devil".

And all Zamindars, Vaderas, Sayeds, Pirs, Lamas, Makhdooms, and also Makhdoomzadas, Priests, mullahs, dictators, tyrants, fanatics, slave-drivers and exploiters of men and women and children and of their rights and liberties, and ruiners of their pursuits of happiness, very rightly and very understandably are resonatingly on the side of our Poet Of The East that "Freedom of Thought Is The Invention Of Devil."

And our dear, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, openly asked the Public in a huge public meeting in Jehangir Park, Karachi, "WHY NEED YOU THINK? LEAVE ALL THINKING TO US".

Writer could not have improved upon it.

All the Mullahs are bent upon inculcating it

They have marvelously succeeded in achieving it in the education of the students, right upto University level, even!

This indoctrination, this conditioning of the students of even the Universities, this mummification of the intellect of the students of even the Universities; this total falsification of history; this, this "blowing out the brains of the young with the bones of the dead" is the just and well deserved punishment being given to our children for having been born to us.

In fact it is not enough.

That is just the cry of the Mullahs, that it is not enough.

The students should be so thoroughly brain washed on the one hand and brain-polluted on the other hand. They should be model zombies.

Our Medical graduates have the enviable distinction of being the lowest but one, in the order of merit of the medical students of the world.

After all, they ARE superior to someone, aren't they?

Many 'outside agencies were disregarding our university degrees, and our graduates and postgraduates were asked to re-study, and pass examinations of those alien, hostile countries.

Fortunately, now in our own country, employers care two hoots for our degrees and ask the candidates for jobs to sit for and qualify in the tests prescribed by them to meet their requirements. If this were not improvement, if this does not register a marked progress, what else can it be?

Our double graduates who have attained these heights of scholarship by answering question papers in the English language itself, they cannot write an intelligible application, or a business letter, or an understandable essay, in English. Very unpatriotic indeed, on the part of the employer, that he does not permit his business to go into ruins by employing these "finished" products of the universities.

And this also is nothing.

More is in immediate store

Business is business

It is not based upon sentimentalism.

With the now ever-increasing use of Word processors, even in small business houses, an increasing number of our double graduates, even through the English Medium, will be wearing the soles of their shoes pretty thin.

And such of those with degrees in Urdu and Sindhi will have ample time at their disposal to go on holding Mushairas, morning, evening and night.

So very 'CULTURAL' you see.

Touching.

When the bewildered begin to howl with hunger up goes the cry. "Let us have Technical Schools".

That's the remedy!

"Technical schools".

Parrots as domestic pets, have moved up the cry

"Technical schools; technical schools, technical schools".

"How are you; Mian Mithoo?"

"Technical schools, Technical schools, Technical schools".

How the crows also seem to be thinking that there may be something in it.

But they have to join such technical school or another to pick up that technology.

The parrots have had an edge over them because they were wise enough to pick up that technology much earlier in the history of civilization

Then there was a Sadhu who planted a seedling near his cave. He prayed for rain.

It rained.

Then he prayed for sunshine.

Lo, there was the sun beaming upon the seedling

"What this seedling now needs for speedy growth is wind",
prayed the Sadhu.

There was the wind at hand

"Now for some dew".

"I am here," said the dew

By the evening that seedling committed suicide in a fit of
perfect sanity.

The same about these "technical schools". They too can't
stand any demand for Miracles made upon them

Of course, technical schools are technical schools.

They differ, though ever so slightly, from Aladdin's magic
lamp.

They cannot be had in a jiffy.

Even the most philanthropic hen takes 24 hours to oblige
us with another egg.

So also, technical schools are not mushrooms, to spring up
over night.

And mushrooms also grow only under particular conditions
and situations.

And then, there are so many kinds of technical schools,
depending upon so many variables in requirements.

So, the mere cry of "Come on; let us have technical
schools!" is like a demand one makes in a restaurant: "Come
on; let us have one more 'Chicken Tikka'!"

Therefore, many of us who so very breezily talk about sci-
ence and technology would not have been so generous in the
use of these terms if only they had understood what it all
meant.

Science is not magic.

And technology is not the technology with which Robinson Crusoe was at home.

Although science and technology remain clearly different and distinct, but yet, the reliance of one upon another is extremely heavy.

For instance, no amount of purely theoretical knowledge, the science, would ever have enabled man to do the moon-trip, if meteorology, which is Technique, had not advanced enough to develop the metal needed to cross and re-cross the atmosphere without getting burnt up.

And this technological 'miracle' would not have come about without the highest reliance placed upon the theoretical study of matter (science).

And so on, in every possible modern development.

So, like the Sadhu's seedling stifling in no time, so the cry for "Technical Schools", without scientific background, is like attempting to build a house without foundations

Soon the edifice collapses, leaving only ruins of hope behind.

So follows one quest after another and even more alluring mirage.

And why not.

In any intellectual desert mirages are to be had in plenty

In fact they constitute the fascination of the desert.

Alluring the ever-increasing army of the educated unemployed unemployables with promises of jobs, just to wean them from thinking in terms of rational cause-and-effect relationship is a silly attempt at the solution of the problem

How long can you go on and on, on and on, giving jobs to the educated unemployed?

And CAN you?

Have any of the Governments in the world, except the Communist Governments, taken upon themselves the duty to end unemployment?

With neo-feudalism in absolute political power over here, is it ever possible to keep the promise of **Roti, Kapra aur Makan**, and now, the promises of jobs honest propositions?

No wonder there is that ever-increasing unrest that results from the youths having seen through the game.

But the youths who have seen through the game in Sindh are also to be found now in considerable numbers among the Muhajir youths.

Although their claim to be any fifth nationality is wholly untenable, their declaration that they will no more be the pawns in the hands of the older thugs is a welcome sign of disillusionment.

They say that they were made fools of for 40 years.

Eighty years is much nearer the demonstrable mark.

There were two pits dug side by side in 1906

One pit was used for laying the foundation of the Muslim League

The other pit was for the grave of the political future of the Indian Muslims.

Then there was a crow sitting on a treetop, with a piece of meat in its beak.

The mathematical problem facing a very hungry fox, passing underneath, was how to enable the power of gravity to so work on that piece of meat as to enable it to come down.

So, "what a truly wonderful bird this crow is", said the fox, of course, within the hearing of the crow.

"What a wonderful bird indeed and look how very clever it looks. A Newton amongst the birds! And when a Newton, it must also be a Beethoven. Its Music must be the ninth symphony itself".

As the crow opened its beak to keep up to the expectations, the Newton's Law worked upon that piece of meat at per-second-per-second rate of acceleration.

"Clever indeed", said the fox as it devoured the meat, "Clever indeed. Very clever But not wise".

Since 1906 the Muslims in the Indian Muslim minority provinces delighted themselves in playing that CROW

Imagine being looked up to, by the Muslims in the majority Muslim areas!

Think of it: being extolled to the skies as. Ahle-Zuban with Mir, Ghalib, Zaoq, and a hundred other luminaries as being our own!!!

So, why not throw every other considerations over board?

Of what use is sanity, any way?

Why listen to reason?

Has not Iqbal condemned patriotism in most vehement terms on?

Has he not said?

"Bina hamaray hisar-e-millet ki aab o kjak-e-watan naheen hai?"

Let us totally forget that he himself has been advocating a confused form of a state or states in the areas where he himself is in majority.

What has repeatedly been promised to us by the Muslim League leader is a "homeland for the Muslims of India".

"So, on the one hand we Muhajirs are, a'la' Iqbal, against the concept of "watan"; on the other hand, and in the same breath, "for" a "homeland" in areas that are not ours at all." Let us not see this obvious contradiction at all. Let us get blind and deaf.

"Of course, Maulana Azad has asked us, 'where are we thinking of going?'"

"He has said: you are going to Bengal, to Punjab; to Sindh; to the Pathan lands where there are powerful nationalities already. You are not going to any vacant land. If and when, say some twenty-five years hence, the feelings of Nationalism sprout out in these nationalities, where would you go; what would your status then be?"

But, as these are very inconvenient questions to answer, let us not pay any attention to them.

"Let us turn our deaf ears to Azad's warnings!"

It was with such thought and with such 'philosophy' that the Muslims of the minority provinces in India acted. The Muslims of the majority provinces in India very, very, very well knew that without the assistance of the fullest cooperation of the Muslims of the minority provinces, Pakistan would be impossible.

Hence, the lure of "Pakistan, the homeland of the Muslims of INDIA" was dangled before their eyes.

It was one of the clearest cases of "'come into my parlour', said the Muslim League spider to the fly".

Again, listen. O YOU, Muhajirs, listen, again. on the 10th and 11th of April 1987, the same demand has been made by the Muslim League leaders that the Muhajirs should join Muslim League, over here.

This again on the basis of the same time-honoured slogan, **"Charrh ja beta sooli pay; Ram Bhali kareyga!"**

Once again the 'Muhajirs' will be sacrificed in the interests of the Muslim League; and there will be no epitaph on their own grave.

Again they will be pushed into the forefront of the fray, by being egged on with praise, flattery, temptation and lures and of course deeply well thought of wilder than wild promises of prominence. Already, the Muhajir Leadership, which has everything with it except the treasure of experience, and is already getting totally inebriated with the rum of power, has made the Punjabis, the Pathans, the Baloch the open enemies of all the Muhajirs.

The Sindhis are not head over heels in love with the Muhajirs either.

The Sindhis have not forgotten what the Muhajir leadership did in the past, especially in the Language Riots.

Now, again the synthetic Muslim League, for reasons well known, is as badly in need of the sacrificial goats as it was between 1940 and 3rd June 1947.

(Not impossible that, the future historian of the events of our days may place laurel crown upon the brows of the Muslim League for shattering the social unity, which prevailed amongst the Muslims right from Peshawar up to Coochbihar.)

While the Indian National Congress has remained majestically strong, enabling India to obtain universal respect for being the secular and biggest democracy in the whole world, the original Muslim League shattered itself into nothing after breaking up the unity of India.

And the Muslims themselves were broken up into the Muslims in West Pakistan, Muslims in East Pakistan, and the Muslims in India.

And while the Muslims in West Pakistan and the Muslims in East Pakistan had political power in their hands, the Muslims in India, millions upon millions of them, were deprived of all the enormous veto power they had in the Indian legislature.

They became the "least of the minorities".

And the Leaders of those who came over here came, power drunk, as "makers of Pakistan" and all that.

But while they became rich beyond avarice by looting the evacuee property, and while for a few years they did taste of some power, with the death of Liaquat Ali Khan, and even more so, with the shift of Capital from Karachi to Islamabad, they became deflated tires of a crippled car called the Muslim League.

With that rising consciousness of the various nationalities in Pakistan, about which Maulana Azad had made such an accurate prophecy, the Muhajirs are feeling themselves relentlessly cornered.

Now, that the most unemployed amongst them have formed themselves into a power group, both the upper class of Muhajirs who had not cared for them at all all these 40 years, as well as the Muslim League are ready to vulturize on them as before in India itself

Perhaps their physical safety itself depends upon their giving up all possible secret or open claims to their being the Fifth Nationality on the soil of Sindh

And also by developing a clean, clear, frank, open, undisguised political friendship with the Sindhis.

Because, in matters of the LOSS OF POWER on their own Environment, the Sindhis have something in common with the Muhajirs.

The Sindhis have practically no mercantile, shopkeeper-lower middle class and therefore the middle class as such.

What the Sindhis do have is a rising INTELLECTUAL MIDDLE CLASS.

Today there seem to be more idealists amongst the Sindhis than ever before.

In spite of the fact that these Sindhi idealist youths do not have any access to the mind-liberating books like the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Jefferson, Burke, Indersoll, and Russell, they are intellectually coming into their own.

Necessity, the urgency of the situation, being the mother of invention and thought, and although the extremely pusillanimous fat-salaried Sindhi professors of Political Science, and GENERAL PHILOSOPHY are keeping mum, many Sindhi students and youths have caught hold of the real meaning of what a real University is.

All by themselves, these self-enlightened students and youths seem to have realized what Robert M. Pirsig has said about the nature of a Real University.

"The REAL UNIVERSITY", he says, "The REAL UNIVERSITY is not a material object. It is not a group of buildings that can be defended by police... The real university has no specific

location... The real university is a state of mind... The real University is nothing less than the continuing body of reason itself."

(The Chinese awesomely demonstrated this great truth during the Japanese invasion of China, in the thirties of the twentieth century

Whole populations of the Chinese, consisting of hundreds of thousands of people – men, women and children – left their villages, towns and cities and moved inwards, in the wake of the Japanese bayonet advance.

But, wherever, whenever, these huge populations stopped to take rest, even for the night, THE UNIVERSITIES BEGAN TO FUNCTION, under the skies, in the light of the Sun, in the light of the moon and in the light of the stars.

The Chinese professors were not fat-salaried maggots. The greater the cruelties of the Japanese Imperialism, the more vigorous, intense, incisive, determined and courageous became the professors of the UNIVERSITIES ON FOOT.

No wonder at all, that, after the destruction of the power of imperial Japan, China, all from its own resources, not only developed the atom-bomb that had already destroyed Japan, but went big steps ahead and made even the Hydrogen Bomb, to the terror of the rest of the world. Nixon had to BEG to be condescendingly heard. THAT IS CHINA.

The Chinese professors were different from some of our PALMIST PROFESSORS WHO PASS OFF AS ACADEMIC PROFESSORS

That the youths and students of Sindh, almost totally unaided by some of the fat-salaried, trembling, knock-kneed professors (who seem to have no hope at all about the future of Sindh) have determined to rescue Sindh from the ruins of the past is the HOPE of SINDH

It is LIGHT and not HEAT that shows the way.

That was why; even the very last words of Goethe were "LIGHT, MORE LIGHT".

That is why the Gayatri Mantra teaches "LET MY UNDERSTANDING AWAKE".

That is why our prophet's prayer is "RABBI, ZADNI ILAMA"

THAT is WHY HE said "MARG-E-AALIM...MARG-E-AALAM".

THAT IS WHY BUDDHA SAID, "BE A LAMP UNTO YOURSELF"

THAT IS WHY CHRIST DECLARED, "KNOCK, AND IT SHALL BE OPENED. SEEK AND YE SHALL FIND: ASK AND IT SHALL BE GIVEN UNTO YOU".

THAT IS WHAT THE SCIENTISTS ARE DOING TODAY.

THAT IS WHAT THIS OUR MODERN WORLD OF HEART TRANSPLANT, OF COLOUR TELEVISION, OF MAN'S WALK ON THE SACRED MOON IS

The Sindhī youths have taken to intellect, because they have been lured for full forty years by their own elders into the deserts of futility.

The Muhajir youths also have at long last realized that their leaders also have led them up the garden path, in the coolest headed, cold-hearted manner imaginable.

Not only that.

Go after FACTS and FIGURES.

See how the students themselves have destroyed their trusting followers, both amongst the Sindhis and also amongst the Muhajirs

Think of the number of the Student leaders, both amongst the Sindhis as well as amongst the Muhajirs, since the last 40 years

See where most of these student leaders are now!

And see what has happened to the many, who have perished.

And how many are caring for all those genuine student leaders who are rotting in jails in this horrid climate, for no self-ish cause of their own.

They are dying so that we may have that freedom, that liberty, which the Father of the Nation promised in his 11th August 1947 address.

So, we see that both the Sindhi youths as well as the Muhajir youths are facing the same problems of frustration, unemployment and absence of that freedom and liberty, which provide initiative and expansion of that intellectual power, that opens the roads of opportunity, as in other developed places in the world.

Here itself, we do not see that frustration and ruin of hopes and ambitions in the youths of the Ismaili, Bohra and Memon communities

The social structures of the youths of these communities enclose the requirements needed for these outlets.

So, "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in our social systems, that we are underlings"

The quota system, which the Muhajirs now so very vehemently oppose, was the invention of the Indian Muslims themselves, way back in 1911.

It was one of their primary demands with Lord Minto.

It was granted.

It did not solve any problem.

Eventually it only added to the ever-increasing frustration of the Muslim community itself.

Think of it; as per the quota system and Reservation of seats in the government services, the Hindu candidates in the I. C. S. and P. C. S. had no chance of appointment.

While the Muslim candidate who stood 50th, 60th or even lower in the published list of the passed candidates got the appointment on nomination basis.

Now, what must be the stature of the 50th or the 60th man, who sat side by side with those first four!

No wonder, that, in his published letter to Mr Isphahani, in 1946 itself, Mr. Jinnah declared that "the Muslim officers were ... the most corrupt" in as yet undivided India itself.

When the administration of Pakistan fell into such hands, what could NOT be expected of them?

But yet, as the Sindhis, in their own Sindh, insist upon the working of the quota system, let not the Muhajir youths oppose them. Otherwise, there may be no peace between them and the Sindhis

With the Sindhis against them, with the Punjabis against them, with the Balochis against them, with the Pathans against them; and also, amongst the Muhajirs themselves the Sunnis and the Shias against each other; and amongst the Sunnis themselves the various religious sects daggers drawn against each other, with the division of mosques between them, what indeed are the Muhajirs heading for?

The present rise of the Muhajir youth under a youthful leadership seems to have very temporarily enabled these various Muhajir Mullah groups to stop only to take stock of the rather sudden change in the political weather.

But the Muhajir youths in their obvious political immaturity have yet to understand that the highly camouflaged leopard crouches low, only to study the situation and only to pounce with unerring deadly tooth and claw.

The Priest, no matter of what religion or creed, the Mullah, Lama, the Pirs, the Shaman, all have the tremendous advantage of all the time and all the leisure they require to hatch intrigues and conspiracies against those who have become their religious victims, who have to WORK for food. Generally having no worry of search for food, clothing and shelter, because their victims willingly provide them well beyond their needs, (some getting even lakhs of rupees just for one single appearance before their followers who are made to believe that their very salvation itself depends wholly upon the will of these imposters.

Their one aim in life is to perpetuate their hold upon their flocks)

(Only in Hinduism, one can clean escape from such clutches, and yet remain a Hindu. Indeed, in Banners itself, there is a whole huge temple and vast estate connected with a big Hindu sect of the *Nastiks*, or Nihilists, who claim to be confirmed atheists, nonetheless retain their status as indisputable Hindus. They cannot at all be thrown out of the pale of the Hindu society because of their radical differences).

So, these power groups will not allow their centuries old victims to escape

Think of the story of the fourteen hundred years of the Dark Ages in Europe

And think of the terrible vengeance the Church took upon even the needlessly suspected escapees, in the Holy Inquisition

Think of the Revocation of the Edicts of Nantz

Also think of the Massacre of Bartholomew.

And think of what happened in Indonesia.

Think of the massacres in Iran.

From what little is allowed to be printed in the papers here, it is becoming clear to the Americans that we are becoming another Lebanon.

Karachi may become the Centre of The Cyclone.

May that day never dawn!

As it is, in many ways we are dancing on a soap bubble.

Every sectarian procession, imported from outside, as a cultural contribution to Sindh, is fraught with terror and nothing less.

The inherent inner contradictions, which were never dreamt of before partition, are screaming wild for resolution.

Dangers external and internal are hammering at our doors.

These dangers have their own aims, ambitions and targets and goals

These dangers, by their very origin and by their very nature, are no respecters of any thing that can stand between them and their objectives.

To these self-proclaimed dangers there is no distinction between the Sindhi and the Muhajir.

They want "LAND, NOT PEOPLE".

Atleast since the Aryan Invasions it has been so here

The practical usefulness of HISTORY has been just this, to hold a mirror before us to enable us to see what has happened in the past

So that we may steer our way in the future

That is what the mirror, before the driver's seat in the automobile does. It does not block the front sight.

But it helps with the hindsight.

Of course, one of the most astute observations of the great Carl Marx is that **"there is one lesson that we learn from history. And that is that we learn no lesson from history"**.

But, ever since he made this profound observation, the world is not as indifferent to its truth as before

At least partially, however imperfectly, crudely and hesitantly, we seem to be keeping its moral before our mind

That was why the League of Nations was born after the First Great War.

It could not prevent the Second Great War.

So came the United Nations

It became helpless in the face of America's obduracy in Vietnam.

In the colossal race between the two super powers, America and Russia, America scored a diplomatic victory because of the rift between Russia and China.

But the Iranian Revolution punctured American ambitions in Asia.

Hence, is the race between both again for the possession of the Kohinoor, the polity of the whole of this subcontinent?

In this, it seems one of the most decisive roles assigned by Fate is the role of Karachi.

Not for nothing it was that the far seeing Napier thought about it as THE QUEEN OF THE EAST.

And this he said at a time when Karachi was a small town.

How about its importance today!

It is the sharpest focal point of many attentions now, both external and internal

Left to itself, its expansion seems as limitless as its importance.

But will it be left to itself?

In his Mayoralty of 12 years, Mr. Jamshed Nussarwanji Mehta had laid the Foundation of a civic consciousness unique in the whole of the subcontinent.

Two thousand five hundred years back Plato had summed up that unless philosophers were rulers and rulers were philosophers, there would be no happiness in the world.

We saw a glimpse of this truth in the Mayoralty of Jamshedji. What a phenomenon he was; a most hard headed businessman millionaire, an endless philanthropist, with his wisdom as great as his intelligence. With the simplicity of a child, with the love of a mother, he nursed Karachi into a sweet city.

But even in 1940, from outside, crude fingers, which did not know, could not know, what the sanctity of a violin is, began to drag its strings.

And ever since Jamshed Nussarwanji Mehta, the idol of Sindh, was savagely slapped on his cheek, (as he risked his life to put the oil of peace on the boiling waters of communal fury) the knell of the tranquility of Karachi has not stopped tolling.

With vengeful vigour, Irony seems to be hurtling itself to become Nemesis

Those who destroyed the harmony and peace of Karachi, themselves spend anxious days and sleepless nights during every religious procession atleast five days a year, for they fear nothing less than holocausts

Exactly as Freedom Of Thought and creativity had roots in Ancient Greece, but for full fourteen hundred years lived almost painful existence under the presence of Christianity; found relief and expansion with and after Renaissance, became robust with and after Reformation, and eventually have blossomed out in all their majesty and glory in America; so also, but in the opposite direction, over here, the communal frenzy that was nurtured in India has now blossomed itself wild in the once peaceful Sindh

Perhaps the wisest, most sober, most farsighted advice that has recently been given to the exponents of fifth Nationality recently, is to cease to function as Fifth Columnists, at a time when the situation, external and internal, is extremely delicate. Any one who throws the monkey-spanner in the works can be doing no good to anyone, including himself, and his own cause too.

(The function of the Fifth Column also was to cause dissensions, disruption, confusion, and chaos in the ranks and files of the Freedom Fighters in Spain against General Franco's dictatorship and fascism).

By throwing the monkey-spanner in the works, in the most ungrateful manner, and at a time when their love, gratitude, faithfulness, loyalty would have redeemed their ancestors and would have ingratiated them in the need of those who stood most in need of that help, that patriotism, that gratitude, that devotion and above all that sanity, those who threw that monkey-spanner, now stand under the pitiless sun of international contempt.

Those who made them pull their own chestnuts out of fire, are today, justifiably, abominating them the most, saying, pro-

claiming, shouting openly to their crest-fallen faces: "As you have proved yourselves disloyal to your own motherland, where o where is the question of your loyalty to any other land.

In his great autobiography, Benjamin Franklin mentions how he learnt a very bitter lesson in his boyhood:

While he stood watching an axe-grinder at work, that while axe-grinder very smilingly invited Franklin to come over and turn the wheel while he himself was sharpening the axe; when the axe was sharpened to his entire satisfaction, that rascal axe-grinder turned suddenly round, and drove away the over tired and hot and perspiring Franklin to bolt away as soon as he can

"Since then", says Franklin, "Since then, I learnt not to grind others' axes".

Franklin had not been warned before. So he had been trapped into the free slave-labour.

But those who threw the monkey-spanner in the works cannot have that excuse

They had been warned by the wisest of the wise against what they were so heedlessly, so heedlessly, so mindlessly doing.

There was not a single danger of which they were not made aware of and pre-warned.

But why cared they?

What else is the difference between sanity and insanity?

And who cared for sanity?

Where was the need for it?

And where is the need for it, today also?

If those in whose name the Insanity fair is held, suffer and get destroyed, so what??

Which pyromaniac has ever cared for what he does?

With him conflagration is creativity itself.

It is his achievement.

Life work.

Life.

Work.

A destructive bid for immortality

As Lajos Egri, in his book, THE ART OF DRAMATIC WRITING says: -

"During the classic time of Greece, a terrible thing happened in one of the temples. One night the statue of Zeus was mysteriously smashed and desecrated.

"A tremendous uproar arose among the inhabitants.

"They feared the vengeance of the gods

"The town criers walked the city streets commanding the criminal to appear without delay before the Elders to receive his just punishment.

"The perpetrator naturally had no desire to give himself up.

"In fact, a week later another statue of a god was destroyed.

"Now the people suspected that a mad man was on the loose.

"Guards were posted and at last their vigilance was rewarded; the culprit was caught.

"He was asked,

'Do you know what fate awaits you?'

"Yes,' he answered almost cheerfully, 'Death'

"Are you not afraid to die?'

"Yes, I am'

"Then why did you commit a crime which you knew was punishable by death?'

"The man swallowed hard and then answered ...

"I am a nobody. All my life I have been nobody. I have never done anything to distinguish myself and I knew I never would. I wanted to do something to make people notice me... and remember me'.

"After a moment's silence he added, 'only those people die who are forgotten. Death is a small price for immortality'".

If his or her death alone is a small price for his or her 'immortality' it does not matter to the rest of the world

But that has not been the case in human history.

Instead, for the sake of their 'immortality' they do not at all mind the death and destruction even of millions; maiming of millions; uprooting of millions.

And all that, without any qualm of conscience at all.

All this horror of horrors is done cheerfully.

Knowingly.

Carefully.

Deliberately.

On the "Come what may" 'principle'

Like the determined destruction of the two statues in Classic time of Greece by that 'Immortality' seeking maniac.

There can be no trace of any repentance at all in him or those like him.

No repentance because no conscience.

That way, both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth were human beings

However great the enormity of their crime, they nurtured conscience. For, immediately Macbeth plunged his dagger in his patron and friend, King Baqo's heart. Macbeth soliloquized "Me think I heard a voice cry, "Macbeth, sleep no more. Macbeth hath murdered sleep." And Lady Macbeth, who had engineered this murder, also, could never again look at her own hands without shouting. "Out, out, Bloody spots. Out I say". in agony and pain and horror.

So also, Judas, on realizing the primordial enormity of his crime that the cruelest of cruel fate had, of all the millions in the world picked him up as its instrument to betray his own Master, Christ, could stop the agony and pain and the unbearable torture of his own conscience by committing suicide.

The darkest cloud in the horrid lives of these Macbeths and Judas had atleast this thin silver lining of repentant conscience. Fate has denied even this privilege to many who have "shut the gates of mercy on mankind"

Not "after" me, but "by" me the Deluge, "because" of "me the Deluge, and "on the altar of my elemental Egotism even the Deluge is not much "to be talked about": that in short represents the myopic depth of relentless misanthropy

And all this is done by them, in the name of humanity, the irony of it all

And why, O why, Sindh, of all places, has been chosen by Fate for the exercise of her repeated caprice all through these centuries?

And what a sadistic pleasure Fate has been deriving by keeping an awakened person like G. M. Sayed alive, yet not to see the effects on Sindh of his weakling hymns of hate of nineteen forties. These, against all the Christly entreaties of Jamshed Nussarwanji Mehta! He futilely beseeched Mr Sayed to know that Hate was no Harp

Now, Mr G M. Sayed is incessantly hearing the searing echoes of the Ninth Dysphonic of which he had been the Bee-thoven in Sindh.

Now, like a drowning man clutching at a straw, he is clutching at another drowning man or atleast a drowning cause

Instead of liberating Sindh from the clutches of his Sayedism, Pirism, Mirism, etc and instead of utilizing the energies of the youths who look up to him for the mitigation of their miseries is he or is he not diverting their energies and brain-power into dead ends.

Has he ever cared to look into the brainwashing books that the poor dear Sindhi children are being forced to read?

Has he ever thought what would be the fate of a people whose young children are driven to read the umpteen subjects; most of each has no relevance to the present day reality.

With the 'knowledge' obtained from these 'books' what job or what post can a Sindhi graduate get, in this commercial, industrial, pragmatic world?

Has he ever cared to place the textbooks of the students of Sindh, especially those in the early classes, before any educational psychologist and educational psychiatrist and asked for their opinion as to the utility of these books to provide sanity, yes, sanity, to the children who are being driven to read them?

As can be verified, Sindh and the Sindhis are being destroyed, more through 'Education' than by any other means.

This modest socio-political action by Mr. G. M Sayed and most other 'leaders' simply refuse to see.

This is nothing but a termite action.

On the face of it, all looks smooth.

See; verify, from all the evidence even now available, what kind of education the Hindu boys were getting and what kind of education was the fate of the Muslim boys.

No need at all of controversy

No need of any debate.

No argumentation.

No 'difference of opinion' is called for

Only the available evidence.

Facts

What would not the Hindu boy obtain from his system of education?

And what COULD a Muslim boy ever get in this three-dimensional world from the 'ta'leem' he was having from his Maderssahs.

This was all over India.

Not only in Sindh.

In his justly famous exposure of the disastrous system of education that was given to him, even as a prince getting five thousand rupees per day as his stipend, Aurangzeb castigates his teacher, when that worthy came to ask help, for having taught him nothing useful, nothing rational, nothing honest.

If that be the kind of worthless education that the prince of the royal blood got, think, what must have been the kind of 'education' other Muslim children all over India had, when the Hindu business community children were masters of commercial arithmetic with the knowledge of such highly developed formulas which excited admiration even to this day.

No wonder that to this day even, all the accountants and *gumashtas* of even the most fanatic Muslim Zamindars are not at all the Muslims.

The only exceptions being the not far back converted Memons, *Bohris* and Ismailies, many of whom still retain traces in their Hindu names, and system of education, which includes commercial arithmetic.

If only Mr G. M. Sayed is interested in the basic development of the Sindhis, all that he has to do is to ask a few of his ardent, intelligent, self-sacrificing followers to form themselves into a group to study and report to him, through FACTS AND FIGURES, and through FACTS AND FIGURES ONLY, so that he may take action, the condition of Education in the Sindhi universities, Sindhi colleges, Sindhi High schools, Sindhi schools and Sindhi CHILDREN'S Schools

That would be the most real JEAY SINDH, LONG LIVE SINDH movement.

However can people be employed, unless they become EMPLOYABLE? USEFUL to the EMPLOYER!!!

Employers do not run charitable organizations with untold wealth to be distributed.

In the NECK TO NECK competitions, 'for want of a nail, a horseshoe was lost. For want of that horseshoe, a horse was

lost. For want of that horse a soldier was lost. For want of that soldier, a battle was lost”.

No horse race in the whole world has ever been more a neck-to-neck affair as the competition between Ford and General Motors, in America.

Millions of dollars worth of markets would be lost “for want of a nail”.

So also in Sindh business houses demand that efficient ‘nail’, the worthwhile employee.

No lubber with his university degree in his hands can be of any consideration

Therefore all these seek government Jobs, where there is no need for these ‘evils’ like efficiency, hard work.

Plus there is the ever-increasing ‘virtue’ of corruption

So, and only because they can get these ‘cushy jobs’ through political education, many otherwise totally unemployable degree holders join that agitation politics which bolsters up the boundlessly inflatable ego of the politicians

These politicians very well know that no government on earth can ever satisfy the employment needs of all the unemployable employment seekers.

The problem of unemployment is a world problem.

Ever since the establishment of the League of Nations, hundreds of studies of this question have been made and published; and freely supplied to universities in Sindh also.

Even the insects known as bookworms over here have almost an instinctive distaste to ‘go through’ these Reports.

Why talk of the professors of sociology and Economics. Many of them in all their maiden economic innocence do not even know that such Reports exist in their libraries.

There are so many causes of unemployment, even in the most developed countries.

The problems of unemployment in developed countries are not at all the same as in the developing countries.

When in 1832, the Persian language was suddenly ousted as court language and was replaced by the English language in Calcutta so many Persian scholars became jobless that "***padhein Farsi, baychain tail***" became the sad slogan of the day

Cultured families became beggars over night.

But such of those, who having heeded the warnings of the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in between 1812 and 1832 had picked up English, reaped the harvest of change from Persian to English

The petty offices were all filled to over-flowing by the Bengali *Baboos*, against whose presence Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan split his venom

What irritated Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan most was the sight of the Bengali *Baboos*, working as lower division clerks in the administrative offices of the East India Company's Government in India.

And what totally escaped the notice of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan was the sight of the commercial progress of the Vaishias, the Jains, the Marwarees, and the Gujrateres of all over India.

He also could not see that even amongst the Muslims, the Bohris, the Memons, and the Ismailies, mainly on the West coast of India, and also the small Muslim community of the Labbas in Madras were progressing, all because everyone of this group were descendants of the very recently converted Hindus who had not at all given up the tradition of trade from their ancestors. They had not at all given up the practice of the Hindu Joint Family system, which preserves and develops family's capital unbroken, generation after generation.

Truly, it is hard to find so great a social thinker among the Muslims in India, so very bereft of economic sense and the role of commerce and trade in the life of his people.

And this, inspite of the fact that repeatedly he was asked by Badaruddin Tayabji, who lived on the coast of India (Bombay);

who, so to speak, held an oceanic view of the world affairs, who belonged to business community, the Bohris; who pleaded to cease enmity towards Indian National Congress which was essentially based upon Business, trade, commerce and industrial minded people.

If they happened to be Hindus, it was all because, Muslims in the field of business were not there anywhere in India and he himself, Badaruddin Tayabji being a leading business luminary was there. not only an honourable member of the Congress, but became its president also, elected by his Hindu colleagues. By the side of it all, there was an instance of goodwill and grace. A relatively prosperous butcher community of the Muslims of Meerut who, for three lakhs of rupees, purchased back, the Jamia Masjid, the Royal Mosque of Delhi, from the Hindus who had obtained it in open auction from the British

And all. all, all that his Hindu friend asked, that too, by way of a suggestive proposition in a private meeting, was that that Sir Sayed's Science Gazette that was being published, in English, (When the knowledge of English was so little amongst the Indians) and was also being published in Urdu, when the population of the Muslims in even. U. P. was about fourteen percent.) this Science Gazette MAY also be published in HINDI, the language of the masses of the people, of the Hindus, in U. P

Maulana Hali is himself witness to the scene that followed this suggestion.

On hearing it, Sir Sayed Ahmed khan just blew himself up, like a stick of Dynamite. And he made those remarks (which Maulana Hali has quoted verbatim) and which, shorn of all its context, is being quoted here with glee. (The effect of that speech, in that Meeting may be considered to be the very nadir of the symposium scene of Socrates)

And the college he started, though it became a powerful university, failed to produce even one student of Indian Economics, which could have thrown light on the condition of the Indian Muslims in trade, commerce and industry

But yet, it did prove itself to be somewhat of a check upon that flood of fanaticism which would in all probability, have again plunged the Muslims into another holocaust of a Mutiny

His example, in matters of Education of the Muslims, was picked up in Sindh also. And here also, it was the commercially better of some of the Memons, like Hassan Ali Effendi, who even invited Maulana Hali himself, to the opening of the Sindh Madressah, which the British hastily took over and ran under the Principal-ship of an English professor at first.

Had not these Memons, like the Hindu *Banias*, taken the lead, the Sindhi Muslims would have been even more backward in modern Education

That shows that, be you a Hindu or be you a Muslim, without the help of even the pittance from the commercial classes, even the fringe of the masses would not have been able to come out of the clutches of the dualistic society.

And so long as Feudalism, Pirism, Mirism, continue to reign, and continue to be blocks in the path of the commercial and intellectual development of the Sindhi *MANUSH*, be he Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian or BHEEL, to that extent, the Sindhi society will be having its foundations on SAND and not on ROCK

And with the Hindus leaving Sindh, the Sindhi *Manush* did not become in any way the more prosperous

The Muhajirs and the upper classes took over the lands and properties left by the Hindus.

The Sindhi *Manush*, even the educated one, is wandering about, even with degrees in his hands, in search of jobs.

And worse and much worse is yet to come, if the Sindhi *Manush* does not build up his own business and commercial sense and organization

As usual and as ever, no Pir, no Mir, no Makhdoom will honour and respect the degrees and diplomas.

This is becoming an ever-increasingly intense and pitiless of an industrial world based upon unimaginable heights of science and technology.

In such a world, Bachelor degrees, Master degrees, M. Phil degrees, and Doctorates on the miracles of Sufism will fail to keep the pot bracing or brimful.

Vacancies in the needed jobs will inevitably be filled in by those who are well equipped with the NEEDED Knowledge and the NEEDED technique only.

Between, a "SOOFI" and a typist, any business house in SINDH Itself will go for the Typist.

And it will not matter from where that Typist hails.

And then, these are the days of the COMPUTER and WORD PROCESSOR.

In cities itself, those who do not know how to work with them are now openly known as COMPUTER-ILLITERATES.

And, ever and ever increasingly, depending upon the ever-increasing efficiency of the newest models of the Computers and word processors, the gap between the computer literates and the computer illiterates is becoming far increasingly wider than the ages-upon-ages wide chasm between the literates and the Illiterates.

All this is wholly and solely available for anyone to repeatedly verify, to his heart's content.

Think of the consequences of this, on the future of the Sindhi society and culture.

It is being said, that, in the race, going on relentlessly, 'between' America and Japan, to create the Super-Super-Super Computer, the whole world will belong to the winner.

In the recently published Report on the Educational system of Japan, there are powerful recommendations to tear it down, and to replace it in accordance with the inexorable needs of the present and future requirements of the most industrialized Japan.

And here we are, tugging with that Ibn Khuldoon whom even his own people have blissfully forgotten, as being an ancient and the Dead.

To remain stuck up there to is outright, deliberate cheating, fraud and humbug.

Even Thomas Dewey's Educational Philosophy in America has become outdated, long dated.

And here we are, with Iqbal's condemnation, damnation, abomination and curses and swearing at human intellect and democracy, and the extolment of anti-reason as the foundations of the education of our pitiable children, whose only known crime being that they have been born to us.

And the Sindhi children are also being sacrificed under the wheels of this Juggernaut so-to-say of Iqbalism.

In the notorious Bastille prison of Paris, only the elderly and mostly political elders, who had offended the authorities, were put in.

"Mr. Voltaire, I will show you something you had not seen before", said a Big Gun when Voltaire had offended in print.

"And what must that be?" Asked Voltaire.

"The inside of Bastille", was the reply, which was followed by action.

But it was left to our "Educational Authorities" to imprison our children in the Bastilles of Multiple Confusions.

And unless the Sindhis rescue their children from these 'know-nothing' innocents, under the direct influence of wise 'psychologists', 'psychiatrists', expert spiritualists, all there will be more confusion, more intellectual bewilderment, and therefore increasing uselessness of what has been taught

And this applies to "Muslim" education in its entirety that is in vogue all around presently.

This will inevitably lead to unemployment and unemployablement – widespread ignorance and obscurantism

Who needs needless knowledge in these days of pragmatism and utilitarianism?

Given the very well grounded ability to read, write, and calculate and to think straight, people pick up all the knowledge they require with their own choice in fields that interest them most.

It has well been established that when indoctrinated persons are suddenly exposed to reality, they tend to go amuck; not knowing what is what and what to do

Before the first Great War, the German soldiers had been taught that the British and the Scott soldiers were made of bread, butter and cashire cheese.

There was utter demoralization in the German trenches when they contacted the cold steel of the British and Scott bayonets in the battles

Therefore, and taking lesson from this, in the 2nd Great War, one and all the American soldiers, sailors and airmen were given the most honest information about the extremely suicidal psychology of the Japanese soldiers. The American Forces knew what they were facing and were, therefore not demoralized.

The British ethnologists in the service of the British forces had long done such a study in India, as studies of the old military manuals show how much they knew.

The Taluka-wise Imperial Gazetteer of India: the great Linguistic Survey of India, the Regular Ten Yearly census of India, were all there to provide the factual maps. There was very little of Ibn Khuldoon about them. But only the facts and figures most needed in the administration of the country.

The Sindhis stand far more in need of the knowledge of the Economics of Sindh, of the sociology of Sindh, of the political, cultural, social history of Sindh than about Ibn Khuldoon's span of quite few centuries ago

But they are being tugged, by the *thugs* who know they are *thugging* to remain as pseudo-professors

No one amongst them seems to have the gut and the gumption to stand up as to 'What all this non-sense is all about?

Therefore the *Thugs* prevail.

And Sindhi students stand ignorant of the matters pertaining to their own SINDH.

Similarly locusts of all types are eating Sindh away.

Therefore Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah (In Sindh Quarterly XV, 1987, No 2. page 7. Para 2) moans and groans that "This society has suffered a great deal at the hands of the scholars of fortune, writers of infame, poets of dirt, songsters of shame and lawyers who are courtiers and darbaris, teachers who are agents and mercenary instructors, and judges who have made a mockery of justice"

And all he has said is an understatement. Only the top of the iceberg. Social reality is more ghastly.

It is morally fatiguing to see what one is being compelled to see, without having the power to atleast express what one sees.

The press has been so very sweetly opiated that perhaps persecution is to be preferred to somnambulism

All the greatness that Indian Journalism achieved during the British days was due to its capacity to oppose the Government.

Can you ever think of another Zafar Ali Khan over here?

You can have any number of Altaf Hussains who helped Liaquat Ali Khan to put the Presidentship of the Muslim League into his pocket.

In the Conference of the Editors of the Commonwealth, held in Ottawa, Canada, to the horror of all the Editors, it was this Altaf Hussain who got up and proposed that liberty of the press should be curtailed.

And before he died, he had the satisfaction of seeing that thanks to his efforts and the help he received from Rashdi, the press was Dead and remained so.

Pallbearer Editors have become multimillionaires.

Even amongst some of the working journalists the privilege and often openly expressed Idea seems to be "When I am being paid handsomely for NOT WRITING, why need I write and get in to trouble".

One of the now well-known methods by which some of our Mughal Emperors were using to get rid of the undesirables in the Court was to give them a Khilleat (a durbar-dress) soaked in contact poison.

As per the protocol, the recipient was bound to put it on then and there.

Soon he would be enjoying more all at once, multiple hon-eymoons in the next world, than perhaps one could have possibly managed, while here.

That peaceful method of appeasing opposition, in a modified form, is now used to gauge the media, which has lost all possible traces of credibility.

In these conditions, one never knows what really is happening in Sindh.

What Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah saw with his own eyes in the interior of Sindh was only what he could see within brief time.

And what happened in Orangi made those who were allowed only partly to see; days and weeks later, made them forget what happened in Vietnam and in East Pakistan.

And all this is now happening in that Sindh which was peaceful before 14th April 1947, except for the Manzil Gah agitation, which was engineered to create confusion in Sindh.

It is a long story.

It is a painful story.

It had the seed of the further ruins of Sindh in it.

Of the two, who knew most about it, Mr. G. M. Sayed is one and alive

If only he were to tell all that he knows about it, O what sadness will not settle upon Sindh! Why need one be a Mephistopheles? So, here! And Sindh is seeking a result of it. And may continue to see for a long time to come.

Truly, "The Evil that men do, lives after them", as said Shakespeare.

And here, with them too!!

No more did Sindh remain Sindh after the Manzil Gah agitation.

- This is not anyone's opinion.

This is history, with dates and days in the calendar

After 1948 especially, the most farsighted Hindus went away en masse from Sindh.

All safe, from outside, they are seeing what is happening to Sindh, and the Sindhi *Manush*, who, in his own Sindh is now crying for jobs with university degrees in his hands

There, outside Sindh, they are not unemployed; are not seeking jobs; have become well settled; have expanded their businesses far and wide.

What has the Sindhi Muslim done in Sindh?

He sits informed sloppy and smug that his Sindh will be openly occupied right down to Nagarparkar, does he see, does he contemplate, see his plight!

His biggest city was snatched away from him.

What could he do?

He clung to his language

There also he has lost the game in such subtle manner that he can't even protest or complain

And the Sindhi politician behaves as if he is blissfully ignorant of the weakness in the social foundation in Sindh. On the

high roads, one sees the corpses of the cats that were so very busy fighting amongst themselves that they would not see the trucks and cars that were hurtling towards them.

But our politicians do not derive any lesson from such sights, though they see them so often.

This is destructive use of the mighty Power of concentration. A bold, informed, impartial, neutral, free press alone would have helped with balance and perspective.

Such a press being entirely out of reach, there is no one to hold mirror to the gladiators.

And all the while, the Sindhi society has mighty, mighty indeed mighty problems facing it.

Probably no other area in the whole of the subcontinent is feeling with such problems and in such dimensions.

For one thing it has lost control on its own environment.

In no other area in this subcontinent all outsiders have made that area their battleground.

Here, in Sindh, right in the very presence of the Sindhis, the Muhajirs, the Punjabis and the Pathans have developed terrific polarities.

And the Sindhis, in their own Sindh seem powerless to cry a halt to the march of events, and have become mum in their own land.

Is there any such thing like this anywhere else, in the whole world? Unless of course, the Red Indians in America.

The situation now in Sindh seems to be such that only the most efficient deployment of the finest instrument of MAN, his INTELLECT, under the service of the most exalted emotion, the Greatness Of SINDH, can be of use.

Intellect without emotion is as sterile as emotion without intellect is mere hot air.

A steam engine without water and coal in it is as useless as water and coal without the steam engine.

The Manzil Gah agitation, for instance, was carried out by those, G. M. Sayeds and Ali Mohammad Rashdis, who had anything in them except the perspective that history provides; emotion without the far reaching sight of intellect.

Their easy triumph was desperately short-lived.

They won a battle all right, but lost the whole war of Sindh.

The eventually dislodged Sindhi Hindus became even more prosperous outside their motherland and even more respectable and honoured.

And those who 'won the day' have lived to see that, in their own land, they were blatantly told that they are no more than the drivers of camel carts and donkey carts.

This has always happened in history that a people have, out of intellectual shortsightedness, pulled others' chestnuts out of fire thinking that thereby they would be rewarded in turn.

Shah Waliullah of Delhi invited Ahmed Shah Abdali to come and defeat the Marhattas.

Ahmed Shah did.

He further obliged the inviters by ploughing down Delhi's power that there nothing was left, afterwards.

The terribly defeated Marhattas became, eventually under the British tutelage, the now new Maharashtra.

How about these who invited Ahmed Shah?

Gul Hayat Institute

Quest for Renaissance in Sindh

For ages upon ages, Malaria destroyed many, many human societies.

To make a very long history very short, it was not even the terrible sack of Thatta by the Portuguese pirates that weakened Sindh.

Not even political strife. Thatta was abandoned mainly because it became a very unhealthy place to live... Malaria.

And yet, no one knew what to do with it. The hundreds of the Sufi saints, who granted all sorts of benefits to their followers and devotees, somehow withheld the blessings of the Thatta people to remain healthy in Thatta itself.

Of course, they themselves succeeded in managing to remain secure in their *Mukbaras* and mausoleums to work miracles from "underground", especially because they did not suffer from Malaria, atleast any more. All the same, Thatta vanished as a prosperous city and became a miserable town.

The rehabilitation of Thatta was not on the Agenda of our underground workers, the saints.

When saints do not bother, sinners take things over. An Infidel, a *Kafir*, and therefore a sinner and a *wajib-ul-qatal*, or atleast a *Zimmi* provided he paid his poll tax regularly, by name Louis Pasteur, had established that a large number of diseases are caused by GERMS. (And germs being germs totally lack the power of discrimination. Had they been Angels, naturally they would have known who the faithful are and who the *Kafirs*. Germs make no such distinction whatsoever. Even if a *Kafir* becomes a *Musalmaan*, or vice versa, they are not concerned).

Any way, when it was found that the germs cause many diseases, then, it was suspected that Malaria also might be so caused.

Then some *Kafirs* found it to be so.

Many other *Kafirs* made more thorough studies.

Some of them, perhaps the more unpardonable amongst them, suspected that perhaps it was the MOSQUITO whose bite carried the germs of malaria into the human blood.

Whole teams of other *Kafirs* confirmed this.

Then the mosquitoes were studied in tremendous details, as suspects. Most varieties of them were proved to be 'not guilty' of Malaria carrying.

Then one *Kafir* and his whole team came upon the caste of the Annapolis mosquitoes as the carriers of the malaria germs.

When a *Kafir*, known as Dr. Ross, studied these, he found after years of bending himself upon the Microscope that one and all the MALE members of the Annapolis caste were exemplarily good fellows.

Suspensions then fell upon the Female of the species.

There also, after lots and lots of investigations, it was eventually discovered that (perhaps unexpectedly) the VIRGINS were totally free, and like CAESAR'S WIFE, "ABOVE SUSPICION".

Then the wives of the Annapolis mosquitoes came under the Microscope. Again, years of study.

One and all of the wives who were practicing birth control were declared "Not Guilty".

Then, the pregnant amongst them were caught hold off, irrespective of their being pregnant in wedlock or out of it.

The postmortem detailed an atomical and physiological examination of these pregnant ladies (under the most powerful microscope necessarily, again to make the whole fascinating tale into a short-short- story,) revealed that it was they who carried the germs of malaria into the blood of the human beings.

And for that, these pregnant ladies, themselves, had to be already simmering from Malaria themselves. And they had to be necessarily pregnant.

Because, it was found, that only when they happened to be pregnant they, all instinctively, had a very, very special preference for human blood (and not before or after).

So, when they, in particular seasons especially, became pregnant (with or without the *Nikahnama* and the Registration fees and payment to the Qazi Sahib), they came in search of the human blood particularly after sunset and before sunrise.

And while they, without any malice whatsoever, began to suck our blood, there being always a population-explosion of the malaria germs within them, the more desperate and adventurous and hungry malaria germs within the pregnant Begum Annapolis mosquitoes, made a dash for liberty from the suffocation, and rushed through the proboscis (hydrant) of the Annapolis Begum mosquito into our blood.

There, because of the inexpensive and uncomplicated method of reproduction called mitosis, within our hollowed red cells, they multiply into millions upon millions within hours and when they burst those cells and come out in their trillions, in the tremendous fight between the new comers and the white cells, (the sons of the soil) we get sever fevers and eventual emaciation and death from malaria.

Once this was established the search began for the Motherland of the Mosquitoes.

It was found that ANY stagnant water from a spoonful to a big marsh lake was the Motherland of these, most specially a marsh. So now you see:

Soon after the Portuguese's sack of Thatta, by one of these many misfortunes of history, the River Sindhu changed its course so slightly that it shifted 3 to 4 miles from Thatta.

BETWEEN THE GREAT CITY OF THATTA AND THE RIVER THERE DEVELOPED A MIGHTY, MIGHTY AND MIGHTY M A R S H, this became a breeding ground of trillions upon trillions of the Annapolis mosquitoes, with their begums

there from the malarial germs in the water. The pregnant Begum sahibas in their very understandable eagerness to provide the best of possible nutrition to their off springs, looted, as all foreigners do, the human blood, and in that process became the unconscious links between the malarial germs and the human beings.

So, when and where the marshes were wiped out and when and where the mosquitoes were wiped out, there and there only, malaria vanished.

All this has been the work of the thorough going nefarious *Kafirs*, for whom there can never and never be any thing like salvation that much, is sure.

Now, kindly think about the coolheaded systematic thinking and work that had to be done in the PASSION to eradicate malaria.

So, for just one unit of passion, desire or will to eradicate malaria, millions of units of the coolest possible RATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, OBJECTIVE, CALCULATED THOUGHT extended over years and years were necessary.

Do you think any raw, uncontrolled, anger against malaria would have done the work? Instead "SUPREME" coolness plus most austere thought to the pitch of its rationality was most patiently applied over stretches of time.

Ramayana itself shows, how, before further conquering the land of the poor Dravidians, "HOLY" men, "*Rishis*", "*Sanyasees*" would most "innocently" go to the most strategic places, like hilltops, into the country of the Dravidians (as if there was no place whatsoever for them in their own land) and there, light the *Homa* fire, which became 'sacred' all at once when they began to 'meditate' on the 'INFINITE' there.

When the poor Dravidians tried to extinguish the fire, why THE GREAT RISHIS WERE MOLESTED; THE SACRED *HOMA* FIRE was SACRILEGED, and so, it was the very DUTY of the long, long, long ready armies of the awaiting Aryans to further occupy the land of the offending *Rakshsas*

This and such patterns of Invasions have NEVER CHANGED and never will.

As George Bernard Shaw, in his Drama, "THE MAN OF DESTINY" says, "Everything that the Englishman does, he does it out of PRINCIPLES. He serves his king on loyal principle. He cuts off his head on Republican principles; he enslaves you on Imperial principle. He robs you on business principle. Whenever he wants a market for his goods, he sends a missionary amidst the savages. The savages kill the missionary. Then the Englishman flies to arms in defence of Christianity, and takes the lands as reward from heaven"

The 2nd Caliph desired the conquest of SINDH. His spies brought the news that among other things the Sindhis were simply terrific fighters and the land had strange trees etc.

By the time of Hijaj Bin Yousuf there was much more information about Sindh; chiefly it was fabulously RICH. Can there be any greater sin of SINDH? So he eventually BORROWED 'permission' on promise of twice the payment (actual SOOD) from the then reigning Caliph to invade Sindh.

That money, and more, both in cash and in kind, he returned to the caliph after the conquest of Sindh. This we all KNOW. And yet there is that fable of the cry of the Forlorn captive Girl.

When Bin Qasim invaded Sindh to "rescue" her and to give her freedom, in his own Baghdad there were scores and scores of open broad daylight open slave markets where slave boys and girls from all over the captured countries were being sold, not by the dozens, but by the hundreds and no one has the courage here to even make mention of this

The whole of the present day Turkish nation consists of the descendants of the captured and purchased slaves from what now are Russian Turkistan, and the Greek and Armenian slaves. The OTTOMAN EMPIRE itself started as the MOST SUCCESSFUL SLAVE REVOLT against the ARAB MASTERS, who were themselves enslaved by their erstwhile slaves upto 1998, when Lawrence and Allen by partly with the help of the Punjabi Muslim Army freed them from the Turkish power

Before the conquest of Sindh by the British, they also sent spies after spies disguised as scholars and holy men to get all the information for a cool, cool, and coolheaded plan of conquest.

A study of Major Basu's classic, "The Rise Of Christian Power in India", is nothing but a study of the cool, cool, and cool-over-again strategy of the British in India. To get at a mole, they coolly obtained a mountain of information before hand

Even today, any Christian missionary here in Sindh knows much more about Sindhis than perhaps most of the Sindhis

Why I have said all this is because, I think, that the problems of SINDH demand for even their very partial solution, the cool, cool, ever-so-cool a study from its intellectuals. There can never be enough of it.

Right from its geology, hydrology, climatology, botany, zoology, human ecology, history, sociology, social psychology, economics, anthropology, religion, philosophy, organization, DESIGN, Dream, all these are as inexorably interlinked with each other as are the wheels in your wristwatch.

To study each one of these individually, with the purpose of pooling all such resources around a single ideal is the function of a UNIVERSITY and Cultural Institute

In the almost total absence of any such function at work now, there, I think that people like you at least some, can behave more as the cool, cool, cool, cool thinking generals than the hotly active soldiers.

In the army, of course, both are courtly important. Both want to win the battle, one without the other is meaningless, unthinkable. But Behaviour is different. Opposing generals are models of coolness. Opposing soldiers are models of ferocity. Thought verses thought and Action verses Action!!

A study of the Indian Mutiny, even in a very small way, shows how the people, who burst out without thoughtful leaders, burst up in utter ruins. Again, see for yourself how the emotionalism of us Muhajirs has made us not wanted in Pakistan, not wanted in India and not wanted in Bangladesh. Living willy-nilly on sufferance. ROOTLESS everywhere. Late, too late. al-

together too late. Maulana Azad asked us, "Do you know where you are going? You are not going to any mythical country called Pakistan. You are going to Sindh, To Punjab, To Frontier, and To Bengal; where already there are powerful and populous nationalities there. When 25 years hence, these nationalities will fully wake up to their political consciousness WHAT WILL BE YOUR STATUS THERE?"

Again, not minding the hoots already till then, in 1972 we wildly militated against the Sindhis on the question of language with the result that come what may, the Sindhis atleast have lost confidence in and the Punjabis never had and the Pathans never cared and the Baloch would not even talk our language. And in Bangladesh we are hated to the last soul. No matter how rich or new rich, we are nothing other than the pie-dogs of Pakistan, all because, we thought (if you can call it 'thought'), wholly and solely, emotionally altogether.

Who knows in advance the quirks of history? None. If Pakistan breaks, like the break up of a trade partnership, the Sindhi son of the soil will be there, in his own Sindh, the Punjabi in Punjab, the Baloch in Balochistan, the Pathan in his own area

But where will these "MUHAJIRS" BE? Already during all the raging political thoughts that are going on between these four, we the pie-dogs have not even thought of it!

Today Benazir Bhutto has given a condescending look with her statement, which need not at all be any binding to anyone.

The DAWN has not thought it fit to publish my letter against the cry for "Fifth Nationality".

If that claim is repeated more often, it will become our Epitaph

In that letter I had asked if those who make such demand, even KNOW, the very simple meaning of the word "NATIONALITY"

How can one coming from Delhi and other from Travancore ever belong to one separate NATIONALITY?

The only thing that is effectively common between the two is political blindness.

Happily in today's "JANG", (30th July), I saw two items, one letter by a Muhajir, wholly in favour of Sindh, saying that people from other provinces are ruining Sindh, and another someone warning us not to antagonise "the sons of the soil" as did the Muhajirs in Bangladesh and to take a bitter lesson from that experience.

This is the first time I saw the words sons of the soil, Ferzand-e-Zamin, used by a Muhajir so well.

Any way emotional explosions, unless the thoughtful strategists guide them, end in ashes.

And the effects that the ashes of the failed Mutiny of 1857 are still upon the whole of this subcontinent inspite of 'freedom's' effects like the terrible Press Laws, the Arms Act. the steel-grip of the superior services.

And what has happened especially to Pakistan, right from 14th August 1947, onwards would have been totally unbelievable before.

In India there was only 9 months of the now altogether hated Emergency. Here we know nothing else.

Now, now, to me, and perhaps only to me, it appears that we have become so brainwashed, that even a single newspaper is not using the word "TAX PAYER". And, none of the "leaders use the word "TAX PAYER". They bark out "AWAM", "AWAM", and "AWAM", which is VERY different from the POWERFUL word "TAX PAYER".

Perhaps no "LEADER" likes that word. Least of all the MULLAHS who seem destined to give us the bloodbath, which now looks practically certain to come about. You know due to old age and disease I am already crippled and bedridden,

You know I had done nothing Significant at all in life commensurate with my ability to write, speak and think. The epitaph on my grave can be "JUST A WASTE".

But, I have eventually come to the conclusion that practically in all, all and all activities in life the one and the only thing that has so far succeeded is, going to the root of the matter in

anything, OBJECTIVELY ROOT, ROOT and ROOT, the desire of the pregnant Begum Mosquito.

Of course, not all care to do it. But those who have done it have solved problems. Those who have not done it have created problems. Tell me where the West would be now, but for its THINKERS, in which word Thinkers we have to include Artists, Inventors, Discoverers and Scientists.

There was that most marvelous mental, spiritual, intellectual, cultural, amazing phenomenon in Europe, the RENAISSANCE, which is still going on, inspite of the two Great wars.

Of course, we cannot have a Renaissance made to order. Not at all! But people like YOU can make even a short study of it, even from the pages of an Encyclopedia, to your personal benefit and to the benefit of Sindh.

Speaking in a very, very crude way, if the European Renaissance can be very roughly compared with a, say, Complete Omega wristwatch, the totality of the human situation over here, all over the subcontinent, may look like a dismantled Omega wristwatch. All parts are there scattered. But not the Organization, the, what for want of better term, may be called the "M I N D", the totality of comprehension, the majestic sweep of the Imagination, the Brush of a Leonardo, the Canvas of a Bottachilli, the Chisel and hammer of Michel Angelo do not yet seem to be here. Of course, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and Nehru were Renaissance-men in their own limited ways, but they were that. Of them all, Nehru did emancipate more. In Sindh Mirza Qalich Beg, I think, in a very small way, because he left no influence behind, though great in himself. To me it appears that Bhutto had some germs of Renaissance in him but he committed suicide long before he was hanged. He could not live up to his own great statement "ASIA, MY ASIA". Completely dazzled by his own 'brilliance' he was "lost in his own ruins".

Monarchy in himself, with his brothers as kings and himself as Emperor and Caesar!! Willington, the servant of the commons finished him at Waterloo. Hitler wanted the revival of old German Aryanism. Came Churchill to prick that bubble.

In his own small way, in this small canvas of Pakistan, Bhutto attempted many anachronistic things suddenly put together. I tell you, when I saw Bhutto on the T. V. riding, in a golden horse-drawn carriage, WITH THE CHATTERPATI'S IMPERIAL UMBRELLA ON HIS HEAD WHILE ATTENDING A HORSE AND CATTLE SHOW in Lahore at the height of his power, I told my friends that the Fall is not far off. Great men should remain great men and not become great Babies, as did also Mujeeb of Bangladesh. His achievement was ASTOUNDING, but foreign journalists, meeting him, found him to be an emotional BABY, shouting, "MY army, My navy MY, my, and My. One who was his next-door neighbour at the time of his murder, told me and Mazher Yousuf, that had Mujeeb maintained dignity, he would have been worshipped today,

Similarly, hounded on all sides, Bhutto lost his NERVE, and went, on permission being granted only, to the house of Maudoodi to be told repeatedly to resign. Tell me, can humiliation be more humiliating, and that too to a person who had the dignity of the post of premiership of his country to uphold! So you see all, this is due to the want of inherent greatness, lack of the majesty of the soul and the 'boyishness' of the aspirations, I think, and I may be thoroughly wrong.

All that means, to me, that we do not as yet have a man with the M I N D; such a MAN with a M I N D may be there amongst youth in Sindh, and about such one it was that Carlyle said, "BEWARE A THINKER HAS COME AMONG YE", a thinker, a reincarnation of BRAHMA with the DANCE OF SHIVA and the strength of VISHNU.

Gul Hayat Institute

Sanity—At Least Now

There is a gem of wisdom in a Persian couplet.

*"Har che danna kunad, kunad naadaan,
Lake baad as kharabi-a-bisyaar"*

"Whatsoever the wise one does, the fool also (eventually) will; but (only) after undergoing measureless suffering".

There can still be some hope for even such a fool; quite beyond the pale of redemption is that variety of a fool who mistaking himself to be a leopard, refuses to change his spots

Time has come now for us to decide if we belong to the first or the second variety of unwise ones

If we are the ones who can still learn from our mistakes, we will at least now listen to that clarion call of the Quaid in which he declared, "Pakistan will be modern secular state".

Liaquat Ali Khan was the only anti-thesis of this thesis. He was the one who did all he could to make the people forget these words of the Quaid

Liaquat Ali Khan was the man who assiduously and deliberately shelved the issue of general elections in the country. He it was who coined that strangest of the strange thing called the 'Objectives Resolution' according to which out of this multi-multi-million galaxied universe a tiny bit of a country called Pakistan situated on a peak of dust called the earth was specifically allotted to God, Almighty perhaps much to the amusement of the otherwise understanding somewhat bored angels

Again Liaquat Ali Khan was the man who, by himself becoming also the president of the Muslim League, took the firm

step in the turning of masters – the people – into servants. By setting up an “Ulema Board”, Liaquat Ali Khan gave a shot in the arm to chronic anachronism. But by far the greatest harm Liaquat Ali Khan did was to kill democracy in the name of democracy. Ghulam Mohammad dug the grave. Iskander Mirza lowered the body into it. As befitting his profession Ayoub Khan sounded the Last Post. Yahya fired the volley. And Pakistan blew up in the bargain.

But while in historical perspective, everything takes shape and falls into patterns, and while to the student of history “nothing is new”, what still is new or at least unique is that deliberate conscious action on the part of the “Patriotic” leaders of Pakistan who set the whole nation to the futile task of reversing the course of that one dimension which can never be reversed – the dimension called “time”.

It was fantastically heroic on the part of the nation to make the attempt and super-humanly insane.

And so we stand where we stand and that too, says America, only because of her stand that we should not be allowed to collapse further. We don't have the courage to contradict this.

Like the old regimes, the new one has also made promises, which by now have become strangely familiar to our ears. Indeed some of them sound like “the twice told tale weary to the ears of a drowsy man”. There is that same promise of the restoration of democracy, of the freedom of the press; of vast social changes for the better and of putting an end to corruption; to do away with nepotism!

So on and so forth. And like its predecessors this regime also has asked for time to redeem these promises. But as time has the disconcerting habit of somehow managing to merge itself with eternity, we mere mortals would indeed be fortunate if the promises made are honoured before that great merger takes place.

Already a whole generation of Pakistan has seen nothing other than the Martial Law. This generation can chant in a befittingly doleful tone:

No time is needed to tell the truth — that is, if we are truthful. No time is needed to declare that we will remain true to the wish of the Quaid that “Pakistan will be modern secular state”.

No time is needed to declare that the freedom of expression is guaranteed to every Pakistani. No time is needed to remove all the 19th century British imposed restrictions on owning and running the press and publishing papers and books within only the limits of common law.

No time is needed for the State to declare the right of the individual to pursue happiness.

No time is needed to assure the citizen his right to profess any particular religion in particular.

No time is needed to declare the equality of rights between men and women.

No time is needed to declare any and all servants of the State to be immediate outlaws if they dare to usurp political power over the heads of the people.

No time is needed to make judiciary absolutely independent of the executive and as the guardian with power and authority over the claims of life, liberty and happiness of the citizens.

No time is needed to statutorily guarantee to the citizens of Pakistan all those rights the Swiss Constitution has categorically guaranteed.

The freedom of the individual is the law; rest is commentary.

Millions in the Pakistan are living and dying as almost the slaves of tribal chiefs, of Maliks, of Raeeses, of Vaderas, of Sardars, and other such solidified and hardened debris of oriental despotism.

As “what chain is only as strong as its weakest link”, unless the least of these virtual slaves is statutorily freed from the tyranny of these hereditary tyrants Pakistan can ever be free.

The present regime has promised autonomy to the provinces consistent with the unity and solidarity of Pakistan.

So far so good.

But an obvious fact has to be taken cognizance of, if things have not to go way of all flesh and before.

The obvious fact is that Pakistan is a multinational state and not a mere multi-provincial state.

Each one of the so-called provinces is a powerful nationality on the very verge of full nationhood as understandable under any criteria of nationhood established so far

.. It will be the willingness of these obviously distinct units to be not within one state, but within one commonwealth of Pakistan (like the commonwealth of Australia) that will provide the durable foundation, and the super structure and the crowning dome of a truly progressive Pakistan

Each one of the so-called provinces has to have the feeling of satisfaction as regards its full and equitable share in defence personnel and all other services, as it is to be its duty towards monitory contribution for their maintenance

Each one of the so-called provinces should have the right to defend, preserve and restore its original demographic and geo-ethnic complexion; its distinct culture and way of life.

No "Province" should have the feeling of being lorded over by the other.

To prevent any future possibility of the usurpation of power by the armed forces, the central armed forces should be under the vigilance of a central high-powered committee of the Parliament.

Gul Hayat Institute



Gul Hayat Institute



Gul Hayat Institute

(1)

L-1/4 Modern Colony,
Karachi-16.

Dated:

To,

The Editor "Sindh Quarterly",
Karachi.

Subject: - Language

Dear Sir,

"A LANGUAGE IS ALSO A PHILOSOPHY", declared Otto Jazzperson, one of the outstanding authorities on LANGUAGE. So also, Pillsbury, in his book "LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY" eulogizes the importance of language to a people. This book is perhaps indispensable to one and all students on the importance of language in retaining the culture, spiritual and political identity of any people; and has remained so influential that translated into the Sindhi language; it will serve as the very LIFEBOY for Sindhi Society. The political history of Sindh shows that every outsider who politically and militarily subdued original Sindh was eventually won over by the Sindhi language. The most powerful were the very next-door neighbours, the Baloch. And the Sindhi Baloch now speak Sindhi and in matters of political and cultural interest, they have made themselves one and the same along with the rest of the *Sindhis*. Although there is practically no geographical barrier between Sindh and Balochistan and therefore they, the Baloch, as political overlords of Sindh could have easily maintained their political superiority by compelling the *Sindhis* to adopt the victors' language. That shows to any student of culturology the immense vitality of the Sindhi language that it has conquered the conquerors of political Sindh.

Most of this seems to me to be due to the fact that so many known and quite unknown *Sindhis* so dearly loved their language that they contributed to it by their big and small author-

ship in it. They did not rest content with its being a spoken language only. They wrote. They wrote. And they wrote. So much so that when the great British administrators had to choose between Persio-Arabic script and any other script, perhaps the very bulk of the Persio-Arabically written manuscripts also weighed in favour of the adoption of the Persio-Arabically written Sindhi.

And from then on, the very number of the great and small Sindhi poems, published and as yet unpublished, is indicative of the sheer vitality of the Sindhi language.

But the palm was taken when Mirza Qalich Beg, all alone, all too busy with his many other works, did accomplish the Herculean job of translating nearly the whole of the quintessence of English literature into Sindhi. Perhaps no other person in the whole of this Subcontinent has even attempted to do so; let alone triumphantly accomplished it. Perhaps the very stupendousness of this accomplishment even prevents others from attempting it.

Perhaps they were so over-awed, that they thought that whatever they would do would look Lilliputian in comparison with the work and accomplishment of this Brobdingnagian.

Such a cultural and intellectual paralysis does take place in the history of human thought. For instance it is now revealed that the scientists who followed Newton already knew the phenomenon on which Einstein based his theory of Relativity. But so stupendous was the prestige of the very name of Newton that the other scientists just dared not think of challenging Newton. The greatness of Einstein, it is said, consists in his not succumbing to this Newtonian hypnosis, but to cut and come out of the Newtonian cocoon. By daring as Newton himself dared, Einstein only strengthened the intellectual tradition of Newton. Similarly, by doing as Mirza Qalich Beg did, the *Sindhis* could only have fulfilled his mission and swelled the torrent he had brought all the way from the Thames to the Sindhu and he would only have felt proud that 'his tribe has increased' instead of his having been left high and dry. But thanks to the recent renaissance in Sindhi, the poor, neglected, but out and out idealists of Sindh are nourishing Sindhi thought. For various rea-

sons their work is not able to get into print. But, instead of getting any way discouraged, they can most easily overcome the hurdle of the difficulties of printing and publication by resorting to the most ancient mouth to ear tradition by means of the cassette recording.

Sociologists stand astonished at the potentialities of the Cassette recording. Although itself one of the thousands of the products of the highest form of the written words, cassette recording is, in one gigantically clean, clear and tremendous leap, bridged the gulf between the so called learned few and the so called many non-literates. No, thanks indeed to the facility of cassette tape recording, the patriotic professors from the colleges and universities can most understandably teach and reach even the smallest of groups in all out of the way villages and huts

But, with all its power and with all its virtues, literacy, or the art and technique of Writing and Reading did one of the biggest damages to the psyche of man; and that inadvertently altogether. It created two classes, the 'literate' and the 'illiterate'

As the art of reading and writing is difficult to be achieved, those few who did pick it up became the masters of the fate of those who would not or could not or did not. This, to say the very least, has completely submerged the power of the inborn intellect of the vast majority of the people who are illiterate. In nature intelligence cannot be equated with literacy and lack of intelligence cannot be equated with illiteracy. As can be verified, one can be intelligent and yet illiterate or intelligent and literate as well as one can be foolish and literate or foolish and illiterate. Over the ages, the intelligent literates have been placed under un-natural handicap the magnitude of which is perhaps quite beyond computation.

The history of literacy shows that it was invented first for the sole purpose of recording business details for business transactions. It can perhaps be taken for granted that if there was any other means of recording and reproducing business transactions available, the alphabets, meaningless in themselves as such, would not have been in the present form. The pictographic alphabets of the Chinese language make this clear

that their alphabets were the skeleton representation of things. Therefore, even that present day Chinese language is free from grammar. Their alphabets stand for things. That is why there are thousands upon thousands of picture-alphabets in Chinese. It is this tremendous, colossal, unnatural, anti-cultural and altogether inhuman and brutal gap between the literate and the illiterate that the voice recording machines, starting from the old gramophones to the now pocket tape recorders has bridged.

The great thoughts of an illiterate wise man of the village, with perhaps a far higher percentage of I.Q. can now be preserved in all its correctness on a tape recorder. It may fairly be surmised that, if somehow, the tape recorder had been invented earlier than writing and reading, perhaps writing and reading as we know these now would not at all have been invented altogether and so the actually soul-killings and inferiority v/s superiority feelings between the literate and the illiterate as we know now would not have existed there at all. So, whole cultures and civilizations would have fashioned on lines quite different from their structures today. In Sindh, with the extensive use of the tape recorder, the now enormous gap between the literate and the illiterate can be wiped out so far as the recording and reproducing of knowledge itself is concerned. And with the re-prevalence of essential intellectual equality between man and man, the feelings of false superiority and false inferiority getting removed, even literacy as such can be more widely got spread than now. The millenniums-old unnatural distinction between individual and individual dropping off, human equality will re-prevail.

This was exactly the way in pre-printing days. ages old culture was being transmitted over the centuries; but the process was slow as there were no tape recorders in those days. How exactly the great Shah Latif sang, we do not know; but thanks to the cassette, for ages to come the *Sindhis* can hear how his spiritual daughter, daughter Abida Perveen renders her songs in her melodious voice. So also. in the intellectual field, even the so-called illiterate Sindhi villager can hear the heartbeat of Sindhi culture, through an aspiration along with knowledge of scientific and philosophic development. and this. repeatedly. over and over again. How Mirza Qalich Beg would have over-

whelmingly welcomed this most modern method of bridging the gap between so called scholarship and so called ignorance can well be imagined. Now the *Sindhis*, great and small, rich and the poor, city dwellers as well as the lone villagers and all become students of Sindhi culture, language and Sindhi identity and aspirations. "In the beginning was the word," says the Bible. It does not say, "In the beginning was the print". With the cassette tape recorder "In the beginning IS the word".

That makes a difference. And quite a big one at that. Now the VIOCE of CHANGE can go into the wilderness, to make the desert bloom with the hope and aspiration for an awakened Sindh. For, in the awakening of hopes and aspirations intelligence alone is the future of Sindh.

Yours

G.M. Mehkri

Vol: XIV, 1986-No.2

Gul Hayat Institute

(2)

L-1/4 Modern Colony.
Karachi-16.
Dated:

To,

The Editor "Sindh Quarterly",
Karachi.

Subject: - Mr. Ibrahim Joyo's Article Published in the Sindh Quarterly, No.2, 1987.

Dear Sir

I am amazed to no end on reading certain parts of Mr. Joyo's letter

He wants a FREE PRESS OF WORKERS. Where is the Press that there should be a Free Press; and where is the Free Press that there should be a Free Press of the Workers?

Are there not tens, but hundreds of applications from the "FREE" citizens of Pakistan, for permission to start papers and magazines they go in the waste paper baskets every year?

Who will ever allow a Free Press of The Workers to come out?

In the United Nations the late Mr. Krishna Menon challenged the representative of Pakistan, asking "Has any Pakistani seen a ballot box?"

Similarly any one can ask, "Has any Pakistani ever seen an independent Daily?"

Mr. Joyo happens to be in Hyderabad. From there he himself sees how the local press there is under pressure at the hands of even the lower division clerk.

During the Censorship on the papers in Karachi, I saw the

sheer cheek of a girl who had passed her M.A. in Journalism just a few days before, and was now a 'censor' loudly threatening the Editor of a wildly circulating Daily in Karachi, saying that with the flick of her small finger she can stop his Paper.

Just 3 days back, there was such a big ballyhoo about the honour that was being bestowed upon the Press

Then I remembered having read the Funeral Ceremonies of the Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt.

There, when the Pharaoh died, he was handed over to the embalmers.

The embalmers first took away all the viscera of the Pharaoh. Then they took out his brains, by pulling them through the nostrils.

Then they soaked the body of the Pharaoh in oil for 7 weeks

Then his Pickled Majesty was exposed to the mercy of the merciless Sun of Egypt for days.

After that, he was again soaked, in scented oils this time.

And then in honey, perhaps to make him feel sweet.

Then came the process of mummifying him and wrapping him in yards and yards of cloth (probably imported from Sindh of those days)

After that His Mummified Majesty was most reverentially handed over by trembling hands of the Mummifiers to the equally and even more so trembling and reverential hands of the most anxiously awaiting Courtiers, whose mercenary grief simply knew no end?

Then began the bigger fun, 'Tamashaw' as we name it.

The Pharaoh was to be expected to be more majestic, more powerful and more uncompromisingly alive in the shroud. Therefore, all the courtiers were just agog and sweating and trembling at the just awesome power of his Majesty, God-Incarnate. For days he lay in state, all without viscera in his body, all without the humblest one, to just have an idea of what

Freedom of The Press meant and how the "Cub" reporter can 'roar like a lion'!

You, yourself, in the same issue of your Journal, on page 16, para 2 have stated, "it is unfortunate that no sociological and political thinking was done at the time of the creation of Pakistan".

Stick to it, Mr. Editor, stick to it, and try to go deeper, then you will not regret at what is fructifying now.

You will then regard this as Cause and Effect relationship. If you do not shy away from your own conclusions, then you will remember the old, but never worn out, Persian line: -

"Khis tawwal gar nahed maymar kaj,

"Ta surriya me rawad dewar kaj"

And as Ghalib says,

"Meri taamir mien muzmir kharab thi

Havella burq qarman ka hai khoon e garm dehkan ka"

There are such terrible things like inherent inner contradictions, which latterly they assert, the more fiercely they do so, mercilessly so. Even the present day raging Iran-Iraq War bears testimony to the thousands of such happenings in the past that Religious blankets are no panacea for such inexorable forces as the inherent inner contradictions.

Perhaps it was to such inexorable abstract forces that the old sages gave the anthropomorphic names as "DEMONS", "Ashuras", "Furies" and the like!!

It has been since Karl Marx that even the American sociologists and economists who pretend not to take notice of this kind of study are objectively studying these Inherent Inner Contra-

dictions.

Those who had studied such inherent inner contradictions had done their onerous duty to spell them out.

So it is not altogether correct on your part to say, "No socio-logical and political thinking was done at the time of the creation of Pakistan". It was done. It was bootied out.

By placing the demographical map of the then undivided India, before them, analysts had pointed out that with the division of India three factors will emerge:

1, The then all prevailing Muslim BELT, stretching from Sindh to the eastern borders of the then East Bengal will be first shattered into three:

a) West Pakistan

a. Middle region between West Pakistan and East Pakistan.

b) East Pakistan

Sindh in West Pakistan they had indicated the region where power would reside. Perhaps to vainly counteract it, Karachi was made the Capital of Pakistan. But power has its own Gravitation.

Mohammed Tughlak tried to have a more 'scientific' capital of India at Daulatabad. It didn't work, although in the transfer of population he dragged the unwilling wretched cats along with him. And think of Akbar and his Fatehpur Sikri versus Agra. Later the wholly British-made Capital of India, Calcutta, had to give up to the pull of Delhi.

So also had Karachi to yield to Islamabad.

Things that look hectic when they occur seem to fall into patterns when looked at in retrospect

Although forty years period is too near a period to provide a balanced perspective, nonetheless this period is all that is left to you and me to see what has happened

The main things that seem to have happened appear to be:

1. The deft elimination of the largest majority who built Pakistan i.e. the East Bengal's Muslim Population.
2. The disgraceful elimination of the Muslims of the minority provinces whose were the most vociferous self-sacrifices for Pakistan, according to even Government's record. They have become the "least of the minorities" in spite of their numbers in India, and in Pakistan they have everything except what is called "AAB ROO" and when asked "when you have not remained true to your own land, how you can ever be true over here", they have no answer. And now by demanding to be the 5th nationality, they have made themselves enemies of the Pathans, Balochis, Punjabis and Sindhis (the Sindhis who cannot either forget or forgive the Muhajir-Punjabi-Pakhtoon Mahaz, in Sindh, and also the "**Urdu ka janaza hai zara dhoom say nickley**", and the demand for the elimination of Sindh from Sindh!
3. The third thing that seems to have happened is the reduction of Sindh that was the first to have passed resolution in the assembly in favour of Pakistan way back in 1943, into both a battleground and political non-entity, a free for all, with no holds barred. come what may, with practically no hope whatsoever of its retaining for itself the powers it had upon its own destiny as far back as in the 1935 constitution; plus a most blunt declaration on the provincial government level of a province that its people have the right to occupy any place anywhere in Sindh, a right that Sindh dare not question.

These three seem to me to be the three main achievements in the political pathology since 1947

That means that in and all of the three forces or rights of a constituent people that went into the building of Pakistan are eliminated.

It now looks as if there was a pattern, if not a plan, behind this performance of states and open usurpations.

In the language of William Mac Douglas, the great psychologist a sheer powerful Group Mind is at work

In terms of Analytical Psychologist, Carl Jung, perhaps a "Collective unconscious" has been at work.

And in terms of the mundane elementary political sociology with historical background, it may be the revival of the forces that gave rise to Sikh power, which power was about to take over Sindh when the British intervened all of a sudden, much to the bewilderment, astonishment and disappointment of Ranjit Singh who had been deftly sidetracked with matchless dexterity.

To a student of Political Sociology things can look to be far different than mere day-to-day political strategies.

They are not merely the Population Movements known to history. There is evidence of a wild insight and a savage foresight.

Look at the many maps of Ancient India, collected by Mr Panhwar; maps whose value is hardly appreciated by many so-called professors of history over here

From those maps (painstakingly reconstructed by the blessed British historians and ethnologists) we can see that there were many peoples that "were" but are not now there at all!

To quote but two only of more than 18 peoples of yore, where, for instance, are the Vallabhas now in South India?

And where are the Hosalyas over there?

Not a trace left.

Till recently we did not know even the names of monarchs of the many peoples who are lost in the Black Holes of History.

Ajat Shatru, Kadpesi-I, Kadpesi-II, Rudrademan, Mahindraverman and their peoples and their kingdoms were all lost to history, taken over, wiped out.

See, how many peoples, clans, disappeared, all over the Indo-Gangetic Plane right from Sindh upto the borders of

Cooch Bihar in the full 600 hundred years of the Muslim conquests of India beginning with the Arabs and up to the death of Aurangzeb

Let us read the history of India, not king by king only, but also Map by Map. more especially DEMOGRAPHIC MAP BY MAP and the Demographic maps are based on so many other MAPS, of course including the Geological, Hydrological, Climatologically Botanical and Zoological MAPS. none of them being in any way insignificant in our understanding of the economic and therefore the political Maps

That was what the significance of Mr. Panhwar's exhibition of the Maps was. a feast to the eyes of those who not only see things, but also understand. In Bacon's words, 'the interrelatedness of things, the significance of the items of experience'

The significance of even the so called smallest differences becomes colossal, in its effects

The difference between the soil of Punjab and the soil of Sindh means all the difference between the straight-running water, and the water that forms itself into vast pools; this is the very ideal condition for the development of the health and happiness of the malarial mosquitoes. These have been one of the major causes of the enervation of the Sindhi *Manush*. He has therefore been unable to have the sustaining vigour to withstand onslaughts from outside for long.

The very same in Bengal. Like Mother Sindhu, Mother Ganga has been far more a solicitous Mother to the malarial mosquito than to the self-deluded human beings.

And in between, whole cultures, whole kingdoms, whole empires even have been wiped out by Malaria. Deep in the forests of Bengal, in the midst of the powerful roots of the Banyan trees, one often comes across best dressed plinth stones of once mighty temples and places in which ruins now only the mighty mosquitoes rule... there (it is to the glory of my birth city, beautiful Bangalore, that the great Ross arrested Begum Malarial Mosquito as the murderer of millions upon millions for thousands of years).

That only goes to show the colossal importance of the pur-

suit of Science, which depends wholly upon the existence of the absolute freedom of thought and inquiry.

You also, on page 7, Para 2. Sindh Quarterly. Vol. XV, 1987, No. 2 have said the same, i.e. "It is freedom of thought which alone can create, generate, propagate, ensure and generate the future of nations and communities" ("Let hope, against all hope, that you may remain true to what you say!!!"). But, one of the factors of Dr. Iqbal's greatness consists in his most drastic condemnation of this very freedom of thought. This MASTER of INCONSISTENCY (the most inexorable demand of PHILOSOPHY is CONSISTENCY) himself exhibiting so much of freedom of thought as suited his own purpose, none the less condemned Freedom, as the VERY INVENTION OF THE DEVIL "AAZADI-E-AFKAR HAI SHAITAN KIEIJAD".

Not only that. He declared Democracy to be MONSTER OF TYRANNY. He demanded that people should shun democracy and follow some 'wise man' and not expect Wisdom from the Democratic Donkeys

"Guraze uz tar- - jamhoori, Ghula- - pukhta karay sho.

"ke uz Moghze do sud kharan fikr- e- insani nami aayed"

Now he praised the liberator of the Russian Masses from the centuries old and proverbially despotic rule of the Masses, Lenin. And in the very next breath, he praises Mussolini, the enslaver of innocent Ethiopia!!! From UTOPIA to Ethiopia! What a confusionist we seem to have mistaken to be our Confucius!!! Jumping from one Band Wagon to another Bandwagon.

Now condemning the Love of one's land, Patriotism, as the very shroud of "Millat" and now demanding a separate area of the Muslims, and now all in the same breath, condemning the idea of Mohammed Ali Jinnah's Pakistan!!!

Any way, I think, that unless I am very thoroughly mistaken, and madly, blindly, prejudiced, Iqbal has made his unviable contribution to the chaos and confusion in the minds of the Muslims of the minority Provinces in India

Epistemologically speaking, on the one hand he praises

human thought to the skies; and on the other hand he condemns it to hell, when he says that "ILM" knowledge is nothing before "ISHQ" or EMOTION.

How does he KNOW all this, without the help of THOUGHT, 'ILM' itself?

Any way, I think that I have a right to think, that, so long as some (not all) of the ideas of Iqbal are not condemned outright as being master-pieces of confusion, there may be no freedom of thought amongst the Muslims of the subcontinent.

I think that his outrageously fascistic kind of thinking has come quite handy to all the tyrants that have taken Pakistan as their personal property as monkeys have picked up wrist-watches and opened them up to 'regulate' them.

Of course I like to think that I know a bit that absolute freedom of the thought is no easy achievement especially amongst the adults.

It is said that even in the realms of Physics, had the scientists who came soon after Newton, exercised their absolute freedom of thought, it would not have taken three centuries for Physics to come to the concept of Relativity.

Their "intellect" got paralyzed at the thought of the greatness of Newton.

Einstein came out of that SPELL. Not for nothing is the term "SPELL-BOUND" used to describe total inability to think, remaining perplexed inspite of and against perception itself.

So great has been the power of the SPELL of the great Buddha amongst his followers all through these 25 centuries, that his greatest words "as could only be now spoken by the Scientists, that "Do not believe because Buddha believes; do not think because Buddha thinks. Do not say because Buddha says so; but believe. Think, or say when your REASON tells you so". These words have fallen on such deaf ears that Today Mountains of superstitions are a common sight in Buddhism.

But yet, as I think I see it, in spite of all these mountains of superstitions in Buddhism, his age mentioned saying is the

shortest, strangest path to Buddha i.e. 'INTELLECT' in you and me and in the scientist and the thinker.

By following it, under the light of the demonstrations by Galileo, Europe is what it is.

It is against this REASON itself that our great Iqbal has railed as it being the very Invention of the Devil. Did he care to understand what a compliment he paid the Devil thereby!

Imagine what, according to Iqbal, the Devil has done: He has given us FREEDOM OF THOUGHT itself.

Thereby, the DEVIL is THE Liberator of Mankind, not merely a Miltonian rebel who was content to rule in Hell in preference to serve under Heaven

Iqbal's Devil 'INVENTED' FREEDOM OF THOUGHT and did not take out a selfish patent, for his exclusive and personal use only.

Only to remain satisfied by Ruling In Hell would be just a kind of a 'Vaderaism', a mere monarchy, and dictatorship at most

Not so the INVENTION of FREE THOUGHT, without which man would not have been able to be in the SPACE AGE today

We would still be living in dark caves and *Jhugies*, of course most of us are happy still living in the mental dark caves and "*Jhugies*" hindered and delayed and deceived, by "augurs and prophets, by popes and priests" as Ingersoll said.

And all because children try to come out of the SPELL we weave upon them, the same Ingersoll says "We blow out the brains of the children with the bones of the dead".

Worse; we drug those brains with the heroin of Mysticism.

As Henri Bergson says, when we so manage with reason that it begins to twist upon itself, it begins to go round and round, in unending circles.

That may be what may be happening in many cases of mysticism; no straight thinking from point A to point B so to speak.

But a self-hypnotizing, self-satisfying, auto-gyroscope.

But from what little I was able to glimpse from Mr. Amar Jaleel's article. on pages 20, 21, 22 in your Sindh Quarterly. Vol. XIV, 1986, No. I. Sachal was not one such auto-gyrating person.

Instead, a SECULARIST to the core, a Rationalist to the core, a humanist to the core of his great being.

It is not ironical that he also has been alchemised into a tall-spinning mystic, on whose grave there is a huge turban to overpower the rationality of the 'worshipping' pilgrims?

If I am not mistaken, I think that, Sachal has exposed and also condemned HUMBUG perhaps more than any Shah or Saint in Sindh.

I think that by reading Mr. Jaleel's article, the youths of Sindh can AT ONCE come out of the SPELL. which has been cast upon us since ages. This will mean Freedom from Mental Slavery.

And unless there is freedom from Mental Slavery, there can be no social and political emancipation.

For as the poet says "Slavery is not in the chains, but in the mind". I begin to wonder what the face of Sindh would look like, if the people of Sindh "Understand" and CARE to listen to the words of Sachal, as reproduced (in translation) on pages 20-22) of the article

Why and HOW it is that, inspite of such emancipating words of Sachal, Sindh is in such a paralyzing spell, in such deep hypnosis

Nor it can be said that there was no one to awaken the Sindhis, to awaken them, to free them and to make them Merchants, Businessmen, otherwise EVEN MORE MODERN, and least caste and creed conscious than their Hindu compatriots.

Even now, nothing is lost, nothing is lost and NOTHING IS LOST. It is the Sindhi CHILDREN who have to be brought in contact with these thoughts of Sachal. Elders become entrenched. Age ossifies. Indoctrinisation BRUTALISES and

causes the most complete intellectual myopias. In such DEMONSTRABLE darkness. For rousing them to self-awareness words like those of Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Robert G. Ingersoll, Bertrand Russell, and Shah Sachal are blazing torches.

Sachal has opened the gates of the Bastille of Bastille dwellers.

It is wholly for the Sindhis either to bring their children out of the Bastille of superstition or to continue to keep them in, as they themselves have been since so many centuries. Once the INTELLECT is FREED, the Sindhi can make their Sindh, as modern as that wonderful modern miracle, the present day SINGAPORE

It would be the greatest services of SINDH, if some Sindhi patriots, putting aside the present day political squabbles a bit, take very special study tours of Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan for very purposefully meeting the Sociologists, the Economists, Political Scientists and all such other Intellectuals, and know from them the WHY, the HOW of the progress of those countries.

Of course any number of books has been written on these subjects. Many of the books are full of statistical data.

But, even more interesting information in these books consists of the dry looking sections dealing with the Legislations that enable these countries to progress.

Some of us fail, often altogether, to understand that one of the reasons of the tremendous development of U.S. is contained in the extremely simple looking words in the preamble of its political constitution that the duty of the American Government is to ensure "the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" of the individuals.

This phrase, the "pursuit of happiness" was first inscribed on a Pillar of the Great Asoka.

This phrase "the Pursuit of happiness" is the source of all the initiative, boldness, and of the freedom itself of the American citizen.

Wherever this right of the individual to his and her pursuit of happiness has been denied under any pretext, we see, with our own eyes, how people have been reduced, instead of manhood to worm-hood under the priests, lamas, Mullahs, Pirs and Mirs and all sorts of hoodoo men.

Think, just think, what would have been the fate of the U.S., if there were in it, powerful priests as they were in Italy, Mullahs as they are in the Muslim countries, Lamas as they were in Tibet till recently, and voodoo men as they are in the jungles of Africa!!!

Think of the colossal handicap India suffered in the hands of Brahmins with their soul destroying caste system, and the consequent military weakening and subjugation of the whole of the subcontinent in the face of the handfuls of raiders, invaders, looters, all outsiders.

From the day India, under Mahatma Gandhi decided to end the terrible clutches of Untouchability, India began to gain might and strength.

And, on the day the "Untouchable" Mr. Jag Jeevan Ram became the Defence Minister of India he issued Orders. The Army, Navy and Air chiefs, belonging to the "TOUCHABLE" obeyed them!! They were almost all the Kashmiri Pundits of the North, the Acharyas, Brahmins of the South, the Ranas of Rajputana, the Singhs of Punjab, and the Banerjees and Mukherjees of Bengal!!! And India registered a social Evolution.

And, on the day a true Hari issued orders that have to be similarly obeyed by the Sayeds, the Makhdooms, the Pirs, and also the Pirzadas, Sindh also will experience a social evolution.

India has had the facility of its strongest mercantile middle class, which, over the centuries swung this way and that under the impact of invasions, but was resilient enough to brave the onslaughts without getting smashed.

Perplexed and bewildered at this, Allauddin Khilji took measures to break it. His Mullahs gave him advice as how to break it.

It was alas not in their reach to know the sources of the

strength of the mercantile community, its Joint Family System and its System of inheritance, which prevents the disruption of the Family Property.

All sorts of the Hindu converts to Islam, having broken loose from their earlier system of inheritance, with no security of the Joint Family and the caste system, to provide the individuals in matters of food, clothing and shelter, and also ensure them a hereditary employment without competition from others, has instead to live bereft of such a support or advantage.

The social Endurance that the Caste System provided them was gone. Therefore there was a hard struggle for existence and it took the shape of the formation of *Biradaries*, the Barber *Biradari*, the Butcher *Biradari*, the shoemakers' *biradaries* and many other such *Biradaries*.

But they always remained poor because of the break up of the family property, unlike among the Hindus.

In the Hindu Joint family law, a man cannot sell his own father's property if he himself has a son.

The son's claim to his grand father's property is stronger than his father's.

Compare this with the system of inheritance in the Muslims. To maintain the ancestral "Property" in tact, and to exemplify the method adopted for this purpose, Jehangir, Snah Jahan, Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah had to face the music and give a demonstration, naturally on an imperial plane.

They gave it.

And they won trophies.

These trophies were however the beneaded heads of all the possible male claimants to the throne. The Mullahs not only looked on, but, also, as in the case of the murder of Dara Shikoh, blessed the event in advance.

In Sindh also, the male claimants to the *gadi* of *Pirdom* similarly 'tasted of death but once' all right, but, rather very prematurely.

A late *Pir* has recorded in his biography that both he and his later illustrious brother had to run away from their home town to Karachi, only to save their necks from the swords of the Mureeds of the *Pir* who held the *Gaaddi*

Here they slept on the footpath, totally incognito, for fear of the speedy exit to heaven!

Under such circumstances, prevailing all over Muslim India how can ever arise the birth and development of that social backbone, known as the mercantile Middle Class amongst them.

Only those converts like the Memons, the Bohris and the Khojas who did not follow the Muslim Law of Inheritance became the exclusive, even to the point of being Xenophobic, groups who retained trade in their hands. (But most of these, and for a long time, even failed to get the benefits of modern secular education.)

For instance, the Bohri merchants from Bombay, while having become prosperous in trade (in spite of many political and racial discriminations) in South Africa leaned heavily upon the help from the customs of Hindu educated middle class there, for legal, and other official matters

It was the Bohris in South Africa, who invited Gandhiji from India to plead their cases for them before the South African Courts

And the Habibullah Commission to South Africa revealed that while the Muslims from India in South Africa carried on even the small trade that was allowed to them, they did not take up to studies as did the Hindu lower middle class children, and became clerks, accountants, lawyers, and Muslim youths instead suffered the same malady as did the Muslim families all over in India.

The factor, or the set of factors, which have prevented the formation of mercantile middleclass amongst the Muslims of Sindh, also is to be studied by the students of Sociology and Economics in the Sindhi Universities. But none seems to care

And, perhaps, UNLESS there is the rise of such a mercan-

tile class of indigenous Sindhis one can wonder how the affairs of the Sindhis will remain long in the Sindhi hands.

The Swadeshi Movement which started in India in 1908 developing as the Khaddar Movement in the twenties, matured in 1938 when Jawaharlal Nehru declared in India, for the Indians to use the goods they have to make for themselves, or to go without them.

As a consequence, today India is the tenth biggest industrially developed country. But, even this is not enough. What is it, with all its colossal raw materials, in comparison with the chalk-built Islands of tiny Japan, which is now the second most industrialized country in the world?

Why so? What is the power and secret of Japan?

We have to deeply study sociology in our attempt to get any plausible reply.

The study of the spiritual nature of the social structure may hold a key of understanding it somewhat i.e., the study of the Emotion Of The Ideal of a community, by the community and for the community.

Nearly two thousand years of 'spiritual monarchy' of Japan have to be contrasted with the turbulent history of unending foreign invasions and internal upheavals in India, to see and realize why and how the focal point of the "Emotion of the ideal of Community Good" achieved by Japan, is not to be had even now in India, what to say, here with us in Pakistan, as yet.

England also began to achieve its greatness only after Feudalism there got itself exhausted in the Wars Of Roses, and Henry VII was invited to take over.

He disarmed the Lords of their artillery. And the ensuing Peace began to strengthen the Merchant class, instead of the Lords.

Henry's much marrying Sultan like son, Henry the VIII, furthered the power of the Merchant community. He could dazzle the princes of Europe with his Field of Cloth Of Gold; and by giving independence to the Church of England, from the Church of Rome, thanks to his temporary fascination for the

bewitching Annie Bolin as the cause of the rift!!!

And under their daughter, Elizabeth 1, the mercantile classes in England became so powerful that they could support their Queen in her war against Spain on their behalf. The rest is a glorious history.

All this is to illustrate what the Middle Class, and the mercantile community means to the strength and stability of society.

And thus to point out the need of a powerful Sindhi mercantile community for the Sindhi Society, to me it seems that Sindhi life is not worth living to a Sindhi if at least the total education of the Sindhi is not in Sindhi hands.

This is not sentimentality, especially of one who was born in India and lived there as his mother land, for full 40 years. This is the view of one who wants to know how best Sindhis can develop a mercantile middle class, without which they will remain ever and ever crippled.

As an educationist, my thoughts simply cannot go beyond Education. I think at the HOKUM of the politicians, Sindhis cannot develop the most needed mercantile Middle Class.

Perhaps it can only come wholly through Education, provided this Education is wholly, solely, in the hands of the Sindhis and Sindhis only.

But how, educationally?

For that we have to look back to history.

What do we see there?

We see that though the Sindhi Muslims did have religious education Tibb (Medical Education) and all that, they like Muslims all over India DID NOT HAVE COMMERCIAL EDUCATION ALTOGETHER.

Importance of things like trade, commerce, Interest, Simple Interest, Compound Interest, etc. etc. etc., so very VITAL to the existence of a community living side by side with the Hindu commercial community, was totally denied to the Sindhi (Muslim) children.

Whereas the Delhi Anjuman-e-saudagaran Punjabi took all possible care to see that in their powerful primary, secondary and high schools in Delhi itself, all these vital commercial subjects were COMPULSORILY taught to their children.

And you are eyeing how very prosperous they were in Delhi itself, and how very increasingly prosperous they here are in Karachi.

Louis the Fifteenth of France one day said: "TAKF AWAY FRANCE. GIVE ME MY PARIS".

May the Sindhi leaders like you, have the brains to demand, "TAKE AWAY SINDH. BUT GIVE US THE EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN IN OUR OWN HANDS". WIND UP ALL YOUR POLITICAL CAMPS.

LOOK AT THEM, YOUR POLITICAL CAMPS FROM THE EYES OF AN ECONOMIST; FROM THE EYES OF A POLITICAL SOCIOLOGIST, FROM THE EYES OF A CULTURALOGIST.

I have thought long over it.

You know I am from my most beloved, beloved, beloved. BANGALORE, beautiful Bangalore.

The moment I disowned it, it was in 1935, October, I disowned myself. When I happened to come to Karachi in 1942, I somehow liked Sindh, although there was a vast difference between over verdant Bangalore and arid Karachi.

In 1947, I came here as an optee.

Then I thought I was going to a Dominion, like the Dominion of India. I had no thought at all that I will be permanently an alien, an enemy, and a suspect, to the land of my birth.

Without the backing of Economics, institutions are boneless structures.

Necessity knows no law. It is law unto itself. The greatest necessity of Sindh is the business middle class of Sindhis.

Not for nothing that Napoleon said "THE ARMY MARCHES ON ITS STOMACH". The Economic and commercial middle

class is the STOMACH of A PEOPLE.

Concentrate wholly upon taking the fullest control of the Educational system, as it is from there that the Middle Classes begin. Keep aside all other subjects except SINDHI, ENGLISH and MATHEMATICS as the main ones.

Geography, history etc. etc. can now be taught effectively with the T.V and the V.C.R too.

Concentrate Wholly AND SOLELY UPON THOSE SUBJECTS THAT WILL HELP THE SINDHI CHILD TO HAVE **ROTI, KAPRA AUR MAKAN** FIRST, AND HEAVENS CAN WAIT as they say It has waited for billions of years, and can easily afford to do so for a few more years

Read history The English Revolution succeeded because it was based upon the Producers. Oliver Cromwell himself was a farmer. American Revolution succeeded because it was based upon the Farmers. George Washington himself remained a Farmer.

French Revolution succeeded because of the Farmers, Labourers and merchants

Indian Mutiny FAILED because it was based upon the Feudals and not farmers. Nana Sahib, Tantia Topi, Rani of Jhansi, the sons of Bahadur Shah were all feudals. Not farmers

The energy that helped Khomeini to overthrow the Shah of Iran came from the farmers, peasants, labourers. All these were the BACKBONES.

How CAN you even stand up without the Backbone? And what is your BACKBONE? WHERE ARE THE MIDDLE CLASS, THE LABOUR, and the MIDDLE CLASS INTELLECTUAL in SINDH?

See, what the STRENGTH OF PUNJAB HAPPENS TO BE DARE you start a shop in Lahore? Try. Those who tried ran back post haste

So, with EDUCATION WHOLLY SOLELY and EXCLUSIVELY in SINDHI hands, a most needed start can still be made.

When a house is on fire, no use arguing who started the fire. Why so etc. etc.... all that matters most is to PUT DOWN THAT FIRE.

On getting a report that at a particular spot, the American army, fighting the English, was weak — “Go there the SOON-EST with the mostest of men,” shouted the commanding General. Looking at it OBJECTIVELY, any political scientist, any political economist, and any political sociologist would laugh at the manner the political parties in Sindh are behaving.

Demand and command and see that the Sociologists in Sindh Universities teach sociology at present, as a matter of emergency, wholly with relation to Sindh and its society.

Demanding, command that the Economists in Sindh Universities do the same. Demand and command that all in the Universities in Sindh bend their intellectual resources to the focal point of SINDH and its problems. What have the Sindhi boys and girls to immediately benefit by knowing about Abdui Rehman the third of the Spain of 8 hundred years back?

And what has that Ibn Khuldoon to do with the out and out pressing problems of Sindhi sociology?

Did and do not the Sindhis have their own pressing problems to attend to?

Unless the Sindhi intellectuals like you use your brains, as do the surgeons, to attend to the most direct problems of Sindh on an emergency basis, what the damn else is there that can be done??

As a GREAT SAGE commanded: “AWAKE! ARISE! OR BE FOR EVER FALLEN”. It looks as if he had SINDH in his mind, more than a hundred years back even.

“AWAKE! ARISE! OR BE FOR EVER FALLEN” AWAKE! ARISE! OR BE FOR EVER FALLEN” what a clarion call of Destiny!

HEED IT, NOT EMOTIONALLY ONLY, BUT, MOST IMPORTANT, INTELLECTUALLY.

Both the General as well as the Soldier have the same

emotion to WIN. But the General's EMOTIONS are differently channelised than of the Soldier. The General thinks TEN DEEP, THOUSANDS DEEP. THE SEPOY KNOWS NO STRATEGY. Indeed, Indeed and Indeed, with what DIABOLIC COOLNESS OF THE GENERALS. THINK WITH WHAT DIABOLIC COOLNESS DID CHURCHILL THINK DURING THE WAR? The English had succeeded in breaking the GERMAN CODE. And then they learnt that the Germans had planned the total bombardment of a whole city. CHURCHILL knew it. BUT HAD HE TAKEN EVEN THE SIMPLEST POSSIBLE STEP TO SAVE that City. THE GERMANS WOULD HAVE KNOWN THAT THEIR WAR CODE HAD BEEN BROKEN BY THE BRITISH.

WITH TEARS ROLLING DOWN HIS EYES, CHURCHILL KEPT MUM. THAT NIGHT THAT CITY WAS DESTROYED BY THOUSANDS OF GERMAN FLYING BOMBS. BUT THEY THOUGHT their CODE WAS SAFE AND SOUND. WHEN THE TIME CAME, SOON, CHURCHILL'S strategy paid, in full, THE GERMAN DEFENCE was SHATTERED all because the German Code lay broken in English hand, unknown to the Germans.

THAT IS DEEPEST THINKING; every single drop of Emotion exploding only in the cylinder of the Car and not outside.

No balder-dash--no bombast--no beating of the drums, no blare of the trumpets, but deep, deep and deep thinking.

I have seen the deep thinking of Gandhiji. In the Koknada sessions of the Indian National Congress, Maulana Hasrat Mohani moved the INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA RESOLUTION.

To his horror, Gandhiji opposed it. Reason: "INDIA, at present, is not in a position to take upon its shoulders the burden of independence. I will be satisfied, for the time being, with Dominion Status".

Coming to think of it, what had Maulana Hasrat Mohani to lose by shouting for all too premature independence?

Gandhiji, as the very custodian of all the Economic and Industrial THOUGHT of India had to think as a General in the Field. Maulana Hasrat Mohani could well be a Sepoy. He had ~~no economic community be~~ hind him, had he?

When quite young and emotional, I was wondering why on earth were the non-fighting Generals and Statesmen like Churchill credited with VICTORY, when it was the soldiers who were laying down the lives.

Later, on studying "STRATEGY" and the "PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR" and on studying the biographies of General Allenby and Lawrence of Arabia, I learnt why such people were held high as heroes.

Strategy. DEEP THINKING. DEEPEST THINKING THAT SINDH NEEDS. Once Dr. Zakir Hussain told me that "If your heart is on fire, put an ice-bag on your head"

The great Dr. Brijindranath Seal (on whose death the British Philosopher C.E.M. Joad declared that "the biggest brain in the world has stopped working today") as Vice Chancellor of the Mysore University always asked us to go "AFTER THE PRINCIPLE IN ANYTHING. UNDERSTAND IT. GRASP IT. MAKE IT YOUR OWN. THE REST WILL FOLLOW. ASK "WHAT IS THE PRINCIPLE USED HEREIN?"

NOW, coming to think about SINDH also, "WHAT IS THE PRINCIPLE TO BE EMPLOYED FOR ITS RECONSTRUCTION?"

USE BRIJINDRANATH SEAL'S PRINCIPLE OF SEEKING PRINCIPLES!!! UNDERSTANDING THEM, MAKING THEM YOUR OWN!

G M Mehkri

Gul Hayat Institute

(3)

L-1/4 Modern Colony,
Karachi-16.

Dated:

To.

The Editor "Sindh Quarterly",
Karachi.

Subject: - Sindh Institution Of Intellect And Culture

My Dear Shah Sahib.

In continuation with our telephonic conversation today, and obedience to your command to put down in gist form the subject of our conversation, I have this to say: -

As fate would have it, English language has become the most practical medium of thought all over the Subcontinent; and we simply cannot do without it. If the French had become our administrators, perhaps French would have had that place. If the Dutch had succeeded, Dutch would have been so exalted. But, I guess, and guess only, that had we not come in such touch with Europe at all, perhaps, at least fourteen of our languages, (which already were highly developed in themselves,) would, because of the inevitable introduction of printing, as in other parts of the world, have developed far more than now. Any way, with English now as our main European language, we have been cut off from the other main streams of European languages, we have been cut off from the other main streams of European Thought, as it flows in GERMAN, FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, RUSSIAN, in matters both cultural and also scientific. Mirza Qalich Beg, and his famous Hindu friends, so enriched the Sindhi language by bringing the water of the Thames to meet the waters of the Sindhu.

Think of the benefits to the Sindhi language when the mighty contributions of the GERMAN, FRENCH, ITALIAN, SPANISH, and Russian languages are added.

Thanks to the greatness of the most modern electronic methods of learning and teaching, now it has become thoroughly practical for us to learn any language within one year, well and painlessly. All that seems needed is a simple tape-recorder, set of cassettes of the language to be learnt, and writing and reading materials. So, to ENRICH SINDHI, (which, stands threatened as never, never before,) along with the mighty indigenous inspiration of the *Sindhis* to stoutly stand guard upon the language of their hearths, homes and cradles, there is the need to get fresh streams of thought from these other European languages, both in matters of cultures as well as Science.

For that purpose, I think, that under your guidance a SINDHI INSTITUTE OF INTELLECT & CULTURE, to which Savants from England, FRANCE, ITALY, SPAIN, GERMANY, INDIA, RUSSIA, AMERICA, CHINA, JAPAN, savants who care two tuppence for pomp and show, savants as modest missionaries of their nations, very best, in all forms of intellect and Culture, arts and sanity, may pay visits, to mingle with the intellectual STUDENTS of Sindh, to be with them, at least for a few hours, even will benefit SINDH of Today and SINDH of TOMORROW. You yourself are a witness to the fact that your contact when young, with Savants, saved you perhaps thousands of years of effort to gain a perspective. Similarly your contact, even a few words from you, must have saved thousands of years' effort to many students to gain perspective. Imagine Sindhi youths coming under the aura of cultural and scientific personalities from all great nations, even for a few hours in an atmosphere, not of the stiff conferences, formal speeches, loud addresses and all the paraphernalia of rigid officialdom, but in a GET-Together on a 5 acres or open land, donated in a place like Sulawal, for an Institute as a small Shantiniketan, with no buildings, but simplest huts and Jhuggies, a THOUGHT CENTRE, with living thoughts from all over the world to contribute to Sindhi culture, so that, in the words of professor Dr. Manshardutt 'LIFE MAY BE ENRICHED'. With Sindhi youths eager to learn as many languages, as easily they can, on the one hand, and Savants, exactly as MISIONARIES of the very best of their respective cultures, from all over the world, meeting them all under the SINDH INSTITUTE OF INTELLECT AND CULTURE,

and without any political strings whatsoever, LIFE IN SINDH WILL INDEED BE ENRICHED.

Then, the main purpose for this is just that "LIFE MAY BE ENRICHED through TRANSLATION OF THOUGHT FROM ALL OVER. Each culture is a FERTILIZER to another culture. It is this cross-fertilization of cultures that enrich even material life. In the U.S, it is incumbent upon Doctorate students to learn one or two European languages, especially GERMAN. A pool that gets no contributions from other cultures and does not contribute to other cultures soon becomes a deceased pond. As you, as a prominent Educationist, so well know more than I do. All psychologists, and especially Child psychologists, insist that for the efflorescence of intelligence, exposure, exposure and exposure of the individual's intellect to as many healthy stimulants from the world is so very necessary. The old wise observation, "TRAVEL BROADENS THE MIND", stands proved. But all cannot go abroad. The stimulation from outside can more easily be had. But think of it: just think of it. Dr. Schlemiel has come to Sindh so many times. And how many times both she and the boys and girls from colleges of Sindh have had the chance of having informal contact, a get-together. Even if she were to meet only the Girl Students, informally, for a few hours, our girl students would stand to gain so much. Similarly "Cultural delegations" come and go, come and go, come and go. The whole brunt of the innumerable visits falls upon the necks of the countless fowls, which are slaughtered for MURGHI BIRYANI, all against their will and understanding of it all.

In an institute like a SINDH INSTITUTE OF INTELLECT AND CULTURE it will not be a matter of neck to neck, but from heart to heart, from mind to mind, from intellect to intellect, from culture to culture. No "SHOW BIZZ" as is now so rampant.

The SINDH INSTITUTE OF INTELLECT AND CULTURE can be as much a CONFLUENCE OF MINDS FROM ALL OVER as the Sindhu RIVER itself is the confluence of so many, many streams

This is just what Mirza Qalich Beg and some of his friends so successfully attempted. THINK, just think, what Sindh would have been today, if these Savants had been followed by other *Sindhis*! But, as Ulysses says "It is not too late to seek a newer world.... though mesh is taken, much abides; that which we are, we are, one equal temper of heroic hearts.... strong in will, to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield".

***GAR TU SANG E KHARA YA MURMUR SHAVI, CHUN
BA SAHIB DIL RASI, GOWHER SHAVI'***

This is what SINDH INSTITUTE OF INTELLECT AND CULTURE will do to the people of Sindh.

As birds from all over come to Haleji Lake, SINDH, so may the Intellectuals and cultural Savants come to Institute of intellect and culture SINDH, from all over the World.

Yours with respects & regards.

Yours
G.M. Mehkri

Vol: XVI, 1988-No.2

Gul Hayat Institute

(4)

L-1/4 Modern Colony,
Karachi-16.

Dated:

To,

The Editor "Sindh Quarterly",
Karachi.

Subject: - Foolish Insolence

Respected Shah Sahib:

Since I have become a cripple, I am unable to see you.

I am enclosing a press cutting in which you are insolently asked to mould yourself as a Pakistani. "The cheek"!

All sorts of European Refugees poured into America, practically exterminated the Red Indians (whom the most honest anthropologists claim to be the very acme of the human race itself) and even to this day their petty "reservations" in their own land are being encroached upon, inch-by-inch. Their religion, whatever it might be, was washed out by compulsory conversion.

Every Sunday, after the most 'solemn' hymns were sung in the Churches of Christ, organized parties would spread out in the country, 'INJUN SHOOTING' i.e. 'free' shooting that persists, to this day, as children's game in America. Anywhere and everywhere, through out the bloody pages of human history, the game is the same.

See if this thing did not happen to Sindh, with the Arab expansion. No invader, no parasite can ever be expected to have any mercy, any pity, and respect, any admiration for the defeated victim.

Those patriots, be they Queen Bodedia, Raja Dahir, Raja Prithviraj Rana Sanga, Abdul Hassan, Tana Shah, were martyred to the very limit for their unpardonable SIN and CRIME of losing DEFENCE of their Liberty.

Not for nothing at all was the Roman War Cry "WOE UNTO THE CONQUERED". The leaders of resistance were out completely to the very last. The weak and defenceless were enslaved, "*Halqa ba goosh*". In the Arab History you see the same. You do not hear, even to this day, the same of any one Arab as GHULAM So and so. "Ghulam" has been a hated word with the Arabs, strictly reserved for the enslaved, on which sodomy was so extensively practiced; that as all can verify, Sodomy is known as *Ighlam*. And the defeated are so made to feel proud of their defeat and humiliation, that for having been allowed to live, they began to call their children as Ghulam so and so.

My parents also 'proudly' named me as Ghulam Mohiuddin. You do not come across any Aryan as a Das. The defeated Dravidians and the locals defeated other people were made to call themselves as Das or Dasue. This is verifiable anthropology. Kali Das means the slave of Kali, Ram Das means slave of Ram. The great, great, great, great Ravan is to be hated and crushed all because he died fighting the aggressor Ram.

So, if YOU are being maligned, you 'justly' deserve it all. Your never to be pardoned crime is that you stand to defend Sindhi language, culture, thought, in short the Sindhi in his own Sindh.

Ali Mohammed Rashdi plainly told me in the presence of Mazher Yousuf, that when he, Rashdi, along with Khuhro, willingly handed over Sindh on the altar of the One Unit, one Punjabi highly placed lady 'congratulated' me on being a patriot. So very brazen indeed was this man Rashdi, that he seems to have had the objectivity to reply saying "Yes Madam' at the expense of Sindh'. The man knew what he had done and was not remorseful at all.

How great indeed Macbeth that immediately on murdering Banco, he had the conscience. Me think I heard a voice cry "Macbeth; sleep no more. Macbeth hath murdered sleep".

You have missed a great chance of being known as a patriot. Had you also prostrated yourself, offering the language, culture, thought and feelings of Sindh on the altar of the demand of outsiders upon you 'to become a Pakistani?' You also would have been known with them as 'a good man'.

The very bee in the bonnets of all outsiders has been that it is only they that are Pakistani and that now it is their sacred duty to convert the Punjabis, Balochis, *Sindhis* and Pathans into Pakistanis.

The great Maulana Azad, in one of his most soul stirring speeches had warned us, in most unmistakable terms "You are not going to any idyllic land as Pakistan. You are going to Punjab, to Sindh, to Sarhad, to Balochistan, and to Bengal, where they already have their own cultures, societies, languages and systems and ways of life. When 25 years later, the nationalisms of these peoples wake up and become alert, then, where you will stand?"

And strange to say, almost exactly 25 years later, Sindhi nationalism began to make it felt.

Enlightenment consists in turning the Unconscious into Conscious. Shah Sahib, we are glad indeed that we refer to Shah Latif of Bhitt for 'Love and Peace'

But it is my petty little opinion that for the thing called "Enlightenment" you have also, to get to Sachals, the "Rationalists". Their poetry is not an opiate either for the masses or for the classes. Their appeal is to REASON, fair, frank and outright bold. There seems to be no mist of mysticism in those poems, which you have published in one of the issues of the Sindh Quarterly. Their whole and sole appeal is to REASON.

Tell me where can things like Love & Peace be without REASON, the most unique characteristic of mankind? See how the great Shakespeare defines insanity: "Sweet bells of reason jingled out of tune". It is this malady that has made those of us who betrayed their own hearth & home, to demand that you should become 'Pakistanis' THE CHEEK".

Yours

G.M. Mehkri



Appendixes

Gul Hayat Institute



Gul Hayat Institute

Appendix – I.

SINDH THROUGH THE AGES A BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY

From Pre-historic Times to 1847

Saheb Khan Channo

Sindh's recorded past is an inspiring tale of patriotism. As early as 326 B.C. even non-combatant people like Brahmans declared before the invader, Alexander the Great, that they had risen in open revolt and had exhorted the people and the ruler to defend their motherland because they wanted "to live with honour or die with honour." (Plutarch, Life of Alexander) And again in 1843 A.D. "marvesoon par Sindh na desoon" (Die we shall but give up Sindh never) was the war cry with which warriors of Sindh fought their decisive battle for freedom against British imperialism at Dubbo.

Sindh down the ages has undergone vicissitudes of many wars of conquest and reconquest by many a foreigner. It has seen the advent of different kinds of people and at times has assimilated certain features of their cultures, yet it has maintained its independent and distinct identity. And whenever subjected to any alien domination, the people of Sindh fought and regained their cherished right in good time.

The defeat at Dubbo brought Sindh under British imperialism. Initially, the individuality of Sindh was maintained; in a sense, by deciding to administer it as a separate province directly under the supreme Government at Calcutta. This decision was subsequently changed, and Sindh was annexed to the Bombay Presidency in 1847 A.D. In 1936 A.D., this decision was again changed and it was found expedient by the British imperialists to accord Sindh an autonomous status, of course, under the framework of colonialism.

This study does not aim at giving a detailed history of Sindh. It is on the whole, confined to the political struggles launched by the people of Sindh time and again, through the ages, for maintaining and strengthening the distinct identity of Sindh and for upholding their inalienable right to be their own

masters in Sindh

Sindh occupies a unique place among the ancient civilizations. The civilization that flourished here in the third and second millennia before Christ was an original, indigenous development produced by the local ecological conditions. It was a logical culmination of various complex and inter-related indigenous socio-economic and politico-cultural processes. The best evidence of these processes comes from the excavations at Kot Diji and Amri. The early levels of Mohenjo Daro and Jhukar have also brought forth some evidence of an early formative phase.

The discoveries of well-planned civic services, big and small dwellings, impressive public buildings, elaborate architecture, cotton and wheat granaries, single system of weight and measures, a developed script denoting common language, cult objects, wide range of pottery, seals, stone and metal tools, close similarities in urban layout and building techniques, the uniformity of motifs, the standardization of artifacts; all these and other excavated findings lead to the following inferences-

1. that it was a highly mature and urbanized culture;
2. that the system of government was one of autonomous city states with some degree of central authority;
3. that the economy was primarily agricultural, advanced beyond the stage of subsistence farming to production for exchange through barter with sufficient resources to support a growing population having enough surplus to mobilize labour, full-time craftsmen and to engage in trade with far off regions;
4. that there were a number of social classes such as priests, merchants, cultivators, artisans, bonded workmen and probably warriors; and
5. that it was a society with uniform and homogenous cultural patterns.

All these inferences taken together indicate that as early as mid-third millennium B.C. the Sindhi society had reached the stage of social development when it was no longer a conglomerate of disparate, isolated tribes but a definite nationality simi-

lar to contemporaneous Sumerians and Egyptians.

This ancient Sindh civilization started to decline sometime in the second quarter of the second millennium B.C. Various ideas have been put forward to throw light on the process of its decline i.e. invasion by barbarous tribes, tectonic disturbances, alteration of monsoons, encroachment of the Rajasthan desert, break of trade ties between the ancient civilization of Sindh and the earliest civilization of Western Asia, salination of the soil, flooding, changes in the course of river, the ruin of irrigation and degeneration of culture due to rapid extension of its territory. This subject requires further investigation but it is evident it was precisely internal phenomena which brought about this decline. Judging by the recent excavation it is clear that the demise of these ancient settlements was neither overnight nor simultaneous. This process of slipping into a degenerate society, in fact, lasted for quite a few centuries. Indeed, some cities were still flourishing while others were in complete decay.

Describing the condition of Sindh after the decay of its ancient civilization is a matter of conjecture. The period covers a number of centuries marked by many changes on economic, social and political setup. The development of productive forces, e.g. the use of iron and iron tools helped Sindh's people to develop new areas, improve agriculture, irrigation and handicrafts. The resultant increase in labour efficiency augmented production, which in turn led to accumulation of surplus in the hands of the aristocracy, accentuating class distinctions. These class distinctions consolidated the territorial and social orientation of the Sindhi nationality. The migrant foreign tribes which came in waves spread over several centuries, amalgamated with local population, contributing to the ethno genesis and culture of this nationality. The predominant role, however, was played by the indigenous farming population, not because of its numbers but also because it determined the principal element of the economic activity- the productive basis- of the nationality, namely settled cultivation.

Little that is known about the political state of Sindh during the period between the decay of its ancient civilization in the latter half of the second millennium B.C. and its annexation to the Achaemenian empire in 519/18 B.C. comes from Sanskrit,

Pali and Persian sources.

The earliest of these sources is the Sanskrit epic, Mahabharata which, though written down between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., describes events that took place in the first half of the first millennium B.C. The Mahabharata tells about Jayadratha, King of Sindhus and Sauviras, who fought on the side of Kauravas in the war against Pandavas. Warriors of Sivi, Sauvira and Sindhu are mentioned as fighting side by side in Jayadratha's army. The epic depicts the Sindhuraja Jayadratha as the sole ruler of the rich "countries" of Saivya, Sivi, Sindhu and other regions.

The Pali (Buddhist) literature, though little concerned with historical events, throws some light on political conditions in Sindh. In the Digha Nikaya one of the seven Kingdoms is Savira and its capital Roruka. The same is repeated in the Jatakas but the capital is spelt as Roruva.

Around the year 518 B.C. Sindh became a tributary to the Achaemenian King Darius the Great (522-486 B.C.). This was the result of the expedition undertaken by his Greek admiral, Skylax, who passed through Sindh with a fleet of warships. Sindh, at that time, was divided into various principalities ruled by independent chiefs. The lack of unity among them contributed to their subjugation to the Achaemenian Empire.

The effective hold of Achaemenian Kings over Sindh remained for about a century and a quarter. By the turn of the fifth century B.C. Sindhis succeeded in regaining their virtual independence. Thereafter the entire administration came in the hands of indigenous chieftains, so that subordination of Sindh depended on their fealty to the Great King. Most of the Sindh chieftains, however, acknowledged the fealty of the Achaemenian Kings until the end of the latter's rule. We find Sindhis as defenders of the ill-fated Darius Codomannus (335-330 B.C.) in his last stand against Alexander. Men and elephants were dispatched to join him in the decisive battle of Arbela in 331 B.C. The fact that Alexander did not encounter a single Persian official in the course of his expedition through Sindh four years later shows that the country was wholly administrated by the local princes and chiefs.

The cultural influence of Achaemenia even in its heyday was by no means profound and indeed affected only the top of the society. The dominance of Achaemenians did not lead to the Persianisation of the territories and indigenous population they conquered. The Achaemenian invasion did not involve colonization of Sindh and hence the rule of Persian elements in the ethnogenesis of Sindhis was negligible.

In 326 B.C. Alexander came to Sindh by way of Indus and established his rule over the country. He used a fleet of war-ships for conquest of Sindh, a tactics earlier adopted by Skylax. Sindh, at that time, was divided between a number of small state formations of tribes and tribal unions contending for supremacy and lacked unified command to meet the challenges of the invader.

Alexander's hopes of easy victories in Sindh, however, did not materialize. His enormous and well-equipped army had to encounter fierce resistance from the very outset of the march on Sindh. Even the Greek Chroniclers of the campaign, prejudiced as they were, did not fail to take the note of the persistent resistance put up by the Sindhis, their bravery and their passionate desire to fight unto death. Some of the rulers such as Musicanus, Sambus and Moeris, no doubt, preferred timely submission. In return for this Alexander allowed them to retain their former possessions. But the subjects of these rulers did not approve of their action and rose in open revolt, élan vital of the revolt being the non-combatant community of Brahmins. Popular resistance to the Greek invasion was so stiff that Alexander had to order wholesale massacres to break it. In one such massacre, "upwards of 80,000" Sindhis were put to the sword.

On leaving Sindh in 325 B.C. Alexander left behind military settlements of Greek and their allies in various places. But the dust raised by his returning columns had hardly settled before symptoms of revolt were manifested. Alexander's renowned general and associate, Nearchus, was then still in Sindh. He quickly left with his fleet of some 80 ships without attempting to crush the revolt.

Alexander's hold on Sindh was thus brief. Two years after

his departure, his own life came to an end in Babylon and the Macedonian empire fell into pieces. Local chiefs soon assumed independence in their respective territories in Sindh.

Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's generals and successors, having gained control of the countries up to the Indain border, entered into an agreement with Chandragupta Maurya (317-293 B.C.), the ruler of Magadha, about 305 B.C., by virtue of which Sindh including Las Bela came under the Maurya tutelage. Sindh principalities became feudatory states of Maurya Empire retaining their own rulers and forms of government. After the death of Ashoka (268-232 B.C.), the Maurya Empire declined. They were ultimately replaced by the Shungas about 180 B.C.

Very little is known about the condition of Sindh during the region of shungas (180-73 B.C.) It appears, like some governors and chieftains of the former empire elsewhere. Sindh chieftains also assumed independent Status. Sindh, at the time, though practically independent of foreign rule, did not succeed in achieving a permanent form of political unity of stability and it could not withstand the Scythian onslaught.

In the first half of the first century B.C. the Shaka-Massagetae tribes, better known as Scythians, from Shakastan (ancient Drangiana or modern Seistan) began to pour, through southern Afghanistan and northern Baluchistan, into Sindh including Cutch and Kathiawar. This region thereafter became known to Greek geographers as "Indo-Scythia," and in Indian literature as "Shaka-dvipa".

This form of invasion was different than that of the Persian and Greeks, for the Scythians did not come to conquer but to stay. They had, however, nothing to offer; for they brought no new religion, no higher civilization, no superior language. And, as result of consequent interaction and close contacts between the Scythiana tribes and indigenous population of advanced culture, the Scythians were Sindhiised. The Scythians adopted the traditions, the culture and the language of the indigenous population and were ultimately absorbed by the people in the midst of whom they had settled.

In the first half of the first century A.D. the Parthians ap-

peared on the scene after defeating the Bactrian and Shaka rulers. Sindh succumbed to Gondophares, the great Parthian/Phalava emperor in India, who ruled some time between 20 A.D. and 48 A.D. Sindh, as described in a Greek work, the periplus of the Erythraean Sea, was governed by the Parthian Princes, who were constantly at war and supplanting each other.

In the latter half of the first century A.D. the Kushana-Tokharian tribes, better known as Kushanas, ousted the Parthians from India. Kanishka (78-120 A.D.), the great Kushana King, within a few years of assumption of throne made himself suzerain of upper Sindh. For his conquests, Kanishka made considerable use of local Pahlava and Shaka chieftains, some of whom had acknowledged the suzerainty to the Greek King of Parthia while others were for all practical purpose independent. In return, Kanishka allowed them to retain former possessions as his governors.

After the death of Kanishka many of his governors, the higher grade of whom was titled as Mahakshatrapa and the lower Kshatrapa, virtually assumed independent status but continued to style themselves as Kshatrapa and Mahakshatrapa. One of them, founded the Shaka dynasty of Kshatrapas at Ujjain in Malwa. His grand son Rudradaman's inscription at Junagadh dated the year 72 i.e. 150 A.D. reckons Kakura, Kachchha, Sindhu and Sauvira among his dominions. It is, however, doubtful if Rudradaman (130-150 A.D.) ever conquered Sindh. It appears the practical control over several principalities of Sindh remained in the hands of local chiefs, some of whom acknowledged the supremacy of the Kushana Kings while others finding imminent danger from the rising power of Kshatrapas changed their allegiance to them.

The duration of Kushana (48-220 A.D.) or Kashatrapa (128-388 A.D.) influence over Sindh is not clear. During this period, however, Sindh appears to be divided into different principalities ruled by practically independent local chiefs who under the demand of the time acknowledged nominal supremacy of the neighbouring powerful Kings of India and Persia and occasionally paid tribute to them. And this state of affairs seems to have continued intermittently.

In the second half of the fifth century A.D. the union of Chionite-Ephthalite tribes, better known as the Huns, emerged as the paramount power in the region. Under the King Toramana (490-515 A.D.), whose centre of rule was Malwa, they succeeded in penetrating Sindh. Under their rule, the local princes usually stayed as such on the condition that they paid tribute to the Hun king, evidently a vassal of the Supreme king of the Huns whose capital was in North-Eastern Afghanistan. The inroads of the Huns involved the migration and settlement of some of the tribes of the Hun Empire into the lands under their domination, including Sindh, and this changed to a certain extent the ethnic character of the territories under the Huns.

Towards the middle of the sixth century A.D. the Hun power began to decline. In 533 A.D., Toramana's heir, Mihirakula, who had shifted his capital to Shakala (near present-day Sialkot), was overwhelmed by a coalition of local rajas of northern India. It was, however, Sassanian Iran and the West-Turkish Khanate that dealt, in their joint effort, a deadly blow to the might of the Huns. Around 567 A.D., the Hun Empire collapsed.

The weakness and disintegration of the Hun empire encouraged the Sindh chieftains to consolidate their power over the whole country. Eventually it was the Rais who emerged as the most powerful. Initially they had to acknowledge the supremacy of the neighbouring powerful Sassanian emperor, Naushirwan (531-578 A.D.). But soon after his death, Sindh including Makran went out of the Persian sphere of influence and Rais assumed full independence. By the seventh century A.D., Sindh, under Rais, was certainly an extensive and powerful kingdom without any overlordship and, according to Hsuan Tsang, with three states as its dependencies.

Under the local Rai dynasty small and fragmented state formations torn by bitter rivalry were replaced under centralized dynastic rule which embraced almost all the motherland of Sindh. The Rai period was a period of major political, social and cultural events; it was to leave a deep imprint of evolution of Sindh's society and state. The creation of a unified Sindhi state led to the interaction and communication between a variety of tribes of different ethnic origins; this exposure gave birth to consolidated tradition raising them beyond petty and narrow

tribal categories. Thus the resultant culture was a mature synthesis of diverse cultural patterns. Many of traditions of this synthetic culture such as religious tolerance endured even after the fall of Rai dynasty.

The foundation of many state institutions, that were to develop in the years that followed, was laid in the Rai period. Under the Rai rulers warring tribes were made subservient to the dynasty rule of one monarch. The King was the cornerstone of the state. The principle of primogeniture was observed. King had the prerogative of appointing high state ministers and, as a matter of principle, conducted administration in consultation with his ministers.

What is now the Upper Sindh, the Southern part of Derajat and adjoining portions of Baluchistan including Sibi and Kachhi were directly under the king's administration who ruled from his capital at Aror. The rest of the kingdom was divided into provinces of which four enjoyed special status, the capitals of which were Brahmanabad and Sehwan in the South and Askaland and Multan in the North. These provinces were governed by the king's viceroys who were in some instances his relatives

The Rai dynasty reached its zenith during the reign of Rai Sahiras II, who was killed on the battle field in Makran, while successfully defending the frontiers of his motherland against foreign invasion. His son, Rai Sahasi II, succeeded to an undiminished kingdom and enjoyed a peaceful reign. He died childless and was succeeded by his minister, Chach, founding the Brahman dynasty.

Chach ruled for over quarter of a century and was succeeded not by his son but by his brother, Chandar, then the governor of Aror, who ruled the country for a few years. His death gave rise to an internal strife amongst the claimants of the throne. Dahar, son of Chach and most capable among the claimants, succeeded him at Aror and Raj, son of Chandar, ventured to establish himself at Brahmanabad but soon made way for Daharshihun, his brother or cousin, who thereafter ruled as an independent ruler over his principality comprising former provinces of Brahmanabad and Sehwan. Daharshihun lost control of Cutch to a local chieftain, Jairaj, who established the Chawra dynasty.

Sindh remained divided into three principalities for some-time but after the death of Daharshihun in the last decade of seventh century A.D. Dahar succeeded to all his possessions, excepting, of course, Cutch.

The Sindh scene, since five centuries before the Christian era to the coming of the Brahman dynasty, was marked not only by political changes but also by ethnogenetic and socio-economic changes.

Because they were mere conquerors and not colonizers, the ingress of Persian, Greek, Parthian and Kushana elements into the Sindhi society was negligible. By contrast, the Scythians and the Huns had an appreciable effect on the ethnic character of the indigenous population, the Scythian influence being much greater than that of the Huns. The clan aristocracy of these two elements became the dominant stratum of the ruling class. As to the commoners, they settled down in the towns or in the lands they had taken possessions of, and gradually became part of the indigenous land cultivators and artisans. As time passed by, they underwent intensive Sindhisation, but the alien elements also transmitted at the same time certain features of their culture and ideology to the indigenous population. Thus they played a considerable role in the formation of ethnic elements from which the present-day Sindhis have eventually evolved.

During the period, socio-economic change was slow but steadily character of the society was changing into feudal one. The process probably began with further advance in agriculture towards the end of first millennium B.C., when not only new plots of land were being brought under cultivation, but new crops were introduced and better techniques employing sophisticated wooden and iron tools were also adopted. Those who cleared and cultivated forest and waste lands came to enjoy proprietary rights over these lands. Subsequent periods saw further development of private landownership; they not only increased in numbers but were able to retain their rights to the land regardless of the fact whether or not they actually tilled it themselves or rented it out to tenants. This development coupled by the gradual change in the nature of royal land grants contributed to growth of feudal society. Earlier grants had only

been for land usage with no rights over administration of the areas. Many of the grants had been temporary, lasting for as long as, for example, the official duties warranted. These grants now increasingly came to assume a hereditary character thereby turning the State lands into private lands and the grantees into owners. Gradually the private landowners came to enjoy so-called immunity rights, which freed them from the previous obligation of admitting the state troops and functionaries to their lands. After the fifth century A.D. it became a practice with the kings to delegate almost all administrative legal and fiscal functions connected with the privately owned lands to the owners themselves. This practice gradually brought the inhabitants and the peasantry under the dominance of landowners; and accelerated the process of feudalization of Sindhi nationhood.

The most important event in Dahar's reign was the Arab invasion, which despite his unflinching resistance overwhelmed him and put an end to his kingdom in 712 A.D.

The hostilities broke out about 708 A.D. The reason of attack apparently is said to have been the failure of Dahar to extradite Muhammad IIafi and his kinsmen, who were wanted by Arab authorities in connection with the murder of an Arab governor of Makran (earlier part of Sindh) and had taken shelter with Raja Dahar, and also ransacking of Arab ships in Sindh waters. During the 75-year period since 363 A.D. the Arabs mounted no less than nine expeditions against Sindh. Hajjaj, the Arab viceroy of Iraq (695-714 A.D.), made renewed efforts on a large scale for conquering a country which had for so long withstood and resisted the might of Arabs. The Caliph, Walid (705-715 A.D.), was at first unwilling to sanction the risky expedition, but ultimately gave his consent when Hajjaj offered to pay, from his own resources double of what would be spent from the public treasury on the conquest. Hajjaj then sent an expedition for raiding Debal under Ubaidullah, who was defeated and killed. Hajjaj's second expedition, by way of sea from Oman, under the command of Budail, met with the same fate. Hajjaj then made elaborate preparations for the subsequent invasion of Sindh and sent an army under his close relative, Muhammad bin Qasim, whom he provided arms and ammunitions on a very lavish scale.

The Brahman dynasty ended with the death of Dahar. But for almost a decade the people strove to maintain the struggle, particularly under the command of his son Jaishihun, and there was much hard fighting before the whole kingdom could be subdued by the Arabs, which is not surprising as Sindh at the time was a prosperous country with firmly established traditions of statehood, regular indigenous army and popular administration and had not only a distinct culture and language but also its own script, calendar and coinage

For firm footing and consolidation, the Arab policy was aimed at maintaining and strengthening the privileged classes with the result that these classes came to have vested interest in the continuation of the Arab rule. Their policy in Sindh is described in the following words:

"It was essentially a sound imperial policy. The policy was so constructed as to win the support of all politically and socially important classes, and at the same time keep them from uniting against Arab rule. The privileges of the Brahmans were fully maintained and in certain respects increased. The productive and commercial classes were protected and given a vested interest in maintaining and augmenting production and circulation of goods..... Hajjaj's policy was essentially conservative. He avoided doing any thing that would have disturbed the social structure in Sindh. The Brahmans remained the fattened calves of the society, while the underdog remained the underdog."

Arabs, however, could not bring political stability to Sindh. No less than forty governors were changed in a short period of fourteen decades. This was direct reflection of the internal strife among the Arabs. Another cause of the instability was the resistance put up by the deposed ruling sections against their supplanters. That the native revolts occurred in the first three decades of the Arab rule and that there were no such significant attempts in the subsequent decades was perhaps due (i) to the gradual appeasement of the deposed native chiefs by including them in the ruling hierarchy; and (ii) to the great measure of autonomy allowed to Sindh in the conduct of its day-to-day administration

Islam came to Sindh in the wake of Arab invasion. Various

sections of its population adopted the new religion due to various reasons. The decline of Buddhism, which was already assimilated by Hinduism in the land of its origin, also added to the number of converts to the new faith. In the course of several centuries, majority of the native population became adherent to Islam. They together with the Arab settlers changed the religious complexion of the population.

Arabs introduced certain changes in the feudal structure of Sindhi society without affecting its exploitative character. All land was ordained as state land, and grants to the individuals were confined to land usages only with no rights of ownership. In return they were required to pay to the state treasury a fixed portion/amount as state tax. They were also required to supply a specified number of troops to the ruler's army as and when the need arose. As a matter of rule, land grants were not inherited. The grantees had but little administrative, judicial or fiscal powers. Number of the private landowners was severely limited. Thus what distinguished the feudalism of the Arab period from the feudalism of pre-Arab times was the predominance of state ownership of land.

These changes and the system of deputing administrators from without led to disintegration of the hierarchical structure of the Sindhi feudalism. The Sindhi society thus ceased to be what it had been in the pre-Arab area – a feudal nation. This setback in the social evolution of the medieval Sindh was, however short lived.

In the period from about the third quarter of the ninth century A.D. to first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., Sindh remained practically divided into several principalities ruled by Arab settlers as well as by indigenous Sindhis, for instance the principalities of Multan and Mansurah were ruled by two dynasties of Arab settlers and Cutch and Aror by indigenous Sindhis.

By the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. both these Arab dynasties began to lose their grip. A fatter blow was, however, dealt by Mahmood of Ghazna (998-1030 A.D.), who after a crushing defeat to the Qaramatians, the backbone of the Multan principality, annexed that principality to his empire in 1010 A.D. Mansurah was also annexed by him about 1026 A.D.

The absolute sovereignty of Sindh did not long remain with the Ghaznavids. Soon after the death of Mahmood, the people of Sindh began to revolt and ultimately many parts of Sindh became virtually independent. In a number of these territories power was seized by local chieftains; thus a bitter struggle for supremacy in Sindh ensued. Eventually it was the Soomras who emerged as the most powerful. For some years Soomras acknowledged the overlordship of the Ghaznavids and paid tribute to them but finding the appropriate opportunity about 1054 A.D. they restored the sovereignty of Sindh. It appears, during most of their reign, Soomra power was not extensive and absolute in Sindh. They, however, continuously struggled against alien invaders and strove to consolidate Sindh into a single state. It was during the Soomra period that Sindh was subjected to ruinous devastations by the Mongols and perpetual incursions from the Ghoris, Khiljis and Taghluqs. The attempts of all these invaders to assert their power over Sindh came to grief. The notable feature of Soomra rule was their determined policy of giving none of the foreign powers any lasting foothold on the soil of Sindh. This gave rise to many legends in Sindhi folk lore, various tales of Dodo Soomro to the present day are an inspiring recital of their toil.

The Soomras gradually lost their power and were ultimately overthrown by another indigenous tribe, the Samma, in 1351 A.D.

The Samma dynasty reached the height of its power during the reign of Jam Nizamuddin, better known as Jam Nindo (1461-1508 A.D.) Legends grew up around him and a number of his associates and friends such as Doolah Darya Khan, Makhdoom Bilawal, Shah Haider and a host of other honouring their patriotism and sacrifices for safeguarding and upholding the honour and independence of the motherland.

The unprecedented economic prosperity, the great number of Madressahs representing various mazhabs, and above all, the creation of a strong Sindhi State with a regular indigenous army in the Samma period mark it out as the "Golden Age" of Sindh. The Sammas restored to Sindh what had been lost after the fall of Brahmans in 712 A.D. i.e. sovereign indigenous rule over its different parts. Sindh proper was directly under them;

Cutch and Las Bela were respectively under Jareja and Roonjha Sammas; and the area North of Sindh battle proper embracing Multan (referred to as Siraiki region in subsequent pages) under another Sindhi house, the Langahs.

The Sammas were dislodged by the Arghuns in 1512 A.D. During their first expedition in the reign of Jam Nindo, the Arghun forces of the ruler of Qandhar, Shah Beg, were defeated so decisively that they did not venture to return during his reign. However, Jam Nindo's son and successor, Jam Feroz, an inefficient, immature and short-sighted prince, fell an easy victim to Shah Beg, who was later on ousted from Qandhar by Babur.

That it should have been so was only natural. The political disunity that followed the infighting between the two claimants for the Sindh throne, Jam Feroz and Jam Salahuddin, paved the way of the fall of Samma dynasty. The other contributory factor was the shift in the loyalties of the Sindhi Mahdists from the Sammas to the Arghun prince Shah Beg, who was, presumably, seen the "Just Ruler" they believed would come to implement the Mahdists' principles into practice.

Shah Beg took a straight course for Sindh's capital, Thatta, through very narrow Laki Pass, avoiding a Sindhi force which was waiting for him at Talti. The Sindhi forces were defeated in the battles near Thatta and their commander, Darya Khan, was killed in action. An arrangement was subsequently arrived at by which the territory extending from the Laki hills, near Sehwan, downwards to Thatta was assigned to Jam Feroz, while the upper part from the same hills was to be under direct control of Shah Beg.

To the Sindhi masses, this was unacceptable. With the blessings of Makhdoom Bilawal and under the leadership of Mahmood and Mithan (both sons of Darya Khan), Jam Sarang Sahto, Ranmal Sodho and Jodho Sodho, they posed a challenge to the invaders; thus ensued another valiant battle at Talti, near Sehwan, resulting, however, in complete routing of the Sindhi forces.

The Arghun rule began in 1521 A.D. and ended in 1554 A.D. with only two rulers - Shah Beg and his son, Shah Hassan. Shah Beg died in 1522 A.D. The news of his death was

received by the people of Sindh with delight, and at Thatta drums were beaten out of joy and gratification. Mirza Shah Hassan, the successor of the Sah Beg, marched on Thatta. Jam Feroz fled to Cutch, where he obtained the help of Cutchis and returned with 50,000 men challenging the supremacy of the Arghuns. The ensuing battle near Badin was a bloody contest. Nearly 20,000 men died fighting for Sindh's independence. However, the Sindhi forces were defeated. Jam Feroz was demoralized, and fled to and died in Gujrat.

After subjugating Sindh proper, the Arghuns turned their eyes on the Siraiki region and the Cutch, which were then, so to speak, the northern and southern parts of Sindh. The Siraiki region was annexed in 1525 A.D. and the Cutch two years later. The Arghun hold over Cutch was, however, precarious. The Cutchis were soon able to liberate their homeland with their policy of total non-co-operation and guerrilla warfare.

Shah Hassan died sonless in 1554 A.D. and was succeeded at Thatta by his general, Mirza Isa Khan, founding a new dynasty, the Tarkhan. Shah Hassan's other general, Sultan Mahmood, then governor of Bakhar, did not approve Mirza Isa's ascendancy to the throne and eventually an agreement was reached by which Arghun Sindh was divided between the two claimants; upper Sindh coming under the rule of Sultan Mahmood for his life time only and lower Sindh under Mirza Isa, but on the death of the former the principality of Bakhar was annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.).

The rule of Tarkhans did not last beyond 1592 A.D. when after a series of battles-the last being fought at Unarpur-Mirza Jani Beg, the last Tarkhan ruler, was dislodged by the Mughal army under Khan Khanan in the reign of Akbar and the remaining Tarkhan Sindh was also annexed to his empire.

The Mughal rule over Sindh proper ended in 1737 A.D., when the power of an indigenous tribe, the Kalhora, was recognized by the Mughals.

For nearly two centuries Sindh remained under foreign domination. It is precisely because of this that the rulers were often unable to exercise their authority effectively. The entire period (1521-1737 A.D.) is marked by a series of uprisings by

local tribes. During the Arghun rule, the tribes which revolted were Jareja, Sodha, Dhareja, Jatoi, Buledi, Korai, Mangneja, Sameja, Bughia, Lakhair, Modhra, Sakej Dal, Shora Dal, Langah, Nahar, Sangi, Abra, Dahar, Machhi, and Mahar. During the Tarkhan period the resistance was put up by Sameja Unar, Sodha, Hingora, Juneja, Rahma, Deparja, Sahta, Jareja, Khor Mubani and Rahpotra. During the Mughal era it were Mangnecha (mangneja), Dhareja, Nahmardi (Numria), Sayara (Sarya), Nuhani, Machhi, Sammeja, Chandia, Unar Dal, Kalamati, Jokhia, Rajyal (? Rajar of Rajpar), Panwar, Abra, Jam, Makrani, Magsi, Juneja, Nuhria, Sodha, Sahta, Laashaari, Rind, Dinari, Dombki, Kaluhar (? Kalwar or Katohar), Buledi, Babar and Kalhora, who rose up in arms.

All these uprisings proved abortive mainly because the resisting tribes could not succeed singly and did not severally join forces.

The Kalhora family as a dynastic force later rose very gradually. They were leaders of the Mahdist sect in Sindh. Based in Chandka region they began their career as religious guides (*Murshids*) with a considerable following. The land gifts that they received from their followers (*Murids*) and the large estates that they managed to acquire subsequently through persuasion, chicanery and coercion started them on the road to feudal power. As they rose in the feudal hierarchy they began to entertain political ambitions, which they pursued relentlessly uninhibited by religious scruples. By the turn of the seventeenth century A.D. they emerged as a dominant force under Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro.

The Kalhora ascendancy on the political stage formally commenced in 1701 A.D. with the appointment of Mian Yar Muhammad as governor of a portion of Sindh, namely Sibi and Dhadhar, and climaxed in 1737 A.D. during the governorship of Mian Noor Muhammed, when lower Sindh was also put under their rule.

Governors though they were called, the Kalhoras ruled as sovereigns, paying tribute to Mughals and their successors; that too when circumstances compelled them. To extend their sovereignty, the Kalhoras launched a number of attacks on small state formations in the north, the east, the west and the

south. Over the years, Shikarpur, Thar, Kakrala, Dhareja and Kanji Kot were annexed. Their expedition against Cutch was, however, not fruitful.

In 1739 A.D. the Kalhoras became tributaries of the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah (1736-1747 A.D.), and in 1747 A.D. of his successors, Ahmed Shah Abdali. The latter prince annexed a portion of Sindh, namely Sibi including Shikarpur, to his kingdom and ruled it from Kabul.

The Kalhora rule ended in 1783 A.D., when they were overthrown by the Talpurs after a bloody civil war.

The notable features of the Kalhora period were:

- i. The development of Sindhi language and literature
Indeed, the foundations of modern Sindhi Letters were laid during the Kalhora period. It was in this period that Sindhi as a language found its nationalistic bearings and a conscious effort was made to make it earth-bound and people-oriented. Poets like Miyoona Shah Inat Nasarpuri and Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai made pioneering contribution towards this development.
- ii. The rise of fundamentalist clerical thought and, in reaction to it, the maturing of Sufist tradition
- iii. Endeavours of the rulers to diminish foreign domination of the country by stopping, whenever the circumstances permitted, payment of the annual tribute of the Mughal, the Persian and the Pathan overlords.

However, what is of greater significance about this period was its relative lack of political peace and security, the setting back of feudal development of Sindhi society, and the commencement of a process of ethnogenetic change in composition of the native population.

Of the 82 years (1701-1783 A.D.) of the Kalhora rule, it took them 36 years up to 1737 A.D. to gradually extend their power over different parts of Sindh and about a dozen and a half years more to face the Persian and Pathan incursions, civil wars, and subdue petty states and local uprisings. This insecurity coupled with the huge booties taken away by the returning armies of Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah and Madad Khan Pathan

told heavily on the economic welfare of Sindh. Thriving cities fell into ruin, trade deteriorated, and irrigation suffered and the acreage under cultivation shrank sharply with the result that even in areas where settled agriculture was the dominant feature of the economy, pastoral system and stock breeding gained greater ground. One of the factors which contributed directly to this development was the large scale induction of the Siraiki speaking Baluch tribes, mainly the Talpurs, into the feudal hierarchy by virtue of state land grants in return of military services. What had hitherto been a largely homogeneous aristocracy, slowly, came to be dominated by immigrant elements. As the number of these elements rose over the years, the homogeneity of the Sindhi society underwent an ethnogenetic transformation. The fact that these elements differed widely from the native people in economic outlook as well as in social make-up was to play a determinant role in the subsequent course of Sindh's history.

The Talpurs formed the nucleus of the Kalhora army, which was in the main composed of the Baluch elements, from the Siraiki region. With the passage of time, these elements, led as they were by the Talpurs, became entrenched in the ruling aristocracy and acquired the role of veritable King makers. When the last Kalhora rulers tried to outsmart them in the power game, the Talpurs finally unseated them after a bloody civil war and established their own rule.

TALPUR DYNASTY

True to their tribal traditions, they divided up the country among three branches of Talpur family-the Shahdadani house ruling at Hyderabad, the Manikani house at Mirpur and the Sohrabani house at Khairpur. The head of the Shahdadani house, Mir Fateh Ali, associated his three brothers, Ghulam Ali, Karam Ali and Murad Ali, in the government of central Sindh. Similarly, the Mir of Khairpur, Sohrab Khan, bequeathed his 'state' to be divided among his three sons, Rustam, Mubarak and Ali Murad. The purpose of these divisions and subdivisions appears to have been retention of tribal unity and prevention of internecine feud after the heads of the houses. But as subsequent events were to prove, these intensions did not

materialize. Weakened though the Talpur polity was by these divisions, they were able to

- i. recover in 1795 A.D. the harbour of Karachi, which had been ceded to the Khan of Kalat by their predecessors
- ii. recapture in 1813 A.D. the fort of Umarkot, which had been gifted by the last Kalhora ruler to the ruler of Jodhpur in 1782 A.D.
- iii. regain in 1824 A.D. the town of Shikarpur from the Pathan rulers, and
- iv. extend their power over Sabzalkot and Bhong areas then in the Bahawalpur state

For strength, and security Talpurs relied on two main supports: Firstly, the loyalty of most of the Sirai Baluch clans, and secondly, the co-operation of the privileged classes, namely the jagirdars, the pirs, the fakirs and the holymen who held arms and great tracts of cultivable and pastoral land. Consequently, the regime was not popular outside the privileged classes; thus they were unable to rally full strength of masses to meet the challenge of the British.

From the first decade of nineteenth century, Sindh was entrapped in rivalries and stratagems of the imperialist powers-the British, the French and the Russians. At the time, the fears of French and Russian advances, particularly of the latter, through the north-west focused the attention of British strategists on possible lines of defence and 'safe frontiers' for the Indian empire. This gave impetus to the policy to acquire control of the Indus and then make it the bastion of Imperial defence to counter and offset Russian influence in the region. Consequently, a series of treaties was imposed on the Mirs by the British to further their imperialist ends. Finally Sir Charles Napier arrived in Sindh in September 1842 A.D. as the Commander of British forces. A fresh treaty, which virtually destroyed their independence, was thrust upon the Talpurs. Incensed and provoked, the Sirai Baluch subjects gheraoed (surrounded) the British residency at Hyderabad. Napier marched against Hyderabad and after two battles, at Mianee (February 17) and Dubbo (March 26) in 1843 A.D., he annexed the whole of Talpur Sindh except Khairpur whose Talpur poten-

tate, Mir Ali Murad, had sworn fealty to the British at the opportune time.

An impartial assessment of the events of those fateful days at the beginning of 1843 A.D. would inevitably lead to the conclusion that Lord Ellenborough, the then Governor General of India, and Sir Charles Napier were bent upon annexation of Sindh:

"The story of that much discussed event might be taken for a lost chapter from The Prince of Machiavelli. No amount of sophistry can disprove the charge that Ellenborough was determined from the very beginning to carry through the project by fair means or foul, that the treaty engagements with the Talpur Amirs were cynically violated, that the ensuing war forced upon them. Opinion at home was prompt in denunciation. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Nestor of Anglo-Indian politics at that time, gave the best of the many verdicts passed on the subject. 'Coming after Afghanistan it (i.e., the annexation of Sindh) put one in mind of a bully who had been kicked in the streets and went home to beat his wife in revenge.' (The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy Vol. II, p. 211).

Napier's prejudgment of his own projected action, as recorded in his journal, cannot be improved upon. He had pithily noted: "We have no right to seize Scind; yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful humane piece of rascality it would be." William Napier, (The Life and Opinions of Sir Charles Napier, Vol. II, p. 203).

BRITISH RULE

Soon after the conquest, a Martial Law regime was established and Napier was appointed Civil and Military Governor of Sindh, combining in his person the military command and the civil administration. Sindh was to be administered directly under the Government of India and efforts were to be made to make its administration a model for the rest of Indian empire. The reasons underlying this decision were:

- i. A warlike people were more likely to be disposed to obey the chief who conquered them than any other imperialist officer.

- ii. The man who had conquered Sindh wanted it to be administrated separately.
- iii. The unsettled conditions of the Punjab necessitated maintenance of a strong force in Sindh, which in turn made it necessary to administer Sindh independently.
- iv. Strong, independent frontier 'province' of Sindh would be in a better position to help at the time of apprehended Russian-backed Afghan encroachments into India.
- v. Napier and Ellenborough had to vindicate their "Piece of rascality" for which they had come under heavy fire at home

Napier's prime duty was to consolidate British rule in Sindh. He expected danger of uprising from the Baluch elite. The Baluch were, however, a tribal community. The division amongst the tribes prevented the Baluch elite from having any national feeling or any intense attachment to the former rulers, for their elitist pride in tribal prejudices transcended their loyalty to Sindh and its people as a whole. Napier, therefore, manoeuvred to conciliate the Baluch chieftains by attaching their interest to the continuance of British rule in Sindh. He did this by letting them retain the jagirs which they held from the former rulers.

"You Belocch Sirdars are required to present yourselves before the Governor, and make your salams to him, and your jagheers and other property will be confirmed to you by the British Government, and no diminution will take place in your rank." (Proclamation, 20 May 1843, Commissioner-in-Sindh Record, Vol. 251 political).

All the Jagirdars, nearly two thousand, who tendered allegiance on 24th May 1844, the date fixed for assemblage, were confirmed in their estates. Thus, the 19 lac bigha (about 4 lac hectares) land in-jagir was confirmed to the title holders. To conciliate the ex-rulers, Napier granted them cash pensions amounting in aggregate to about 3072 lacs of rupees yearly, and also permitted them to hold land in jagir. A newspaper commenting in 1854, stated that by adopting this policy:

"all anxiety on the part of the holders of them (lands) termi-

nated, and the increased security and consequently increased value of their lands as property, reconciled the owners in a great degree to the loss of the political power that before attached to them..... the Sovereign was changed, but the possessors of estates under feudal tenure remained in undisturbed possession." (*The Resumption of Lands in India, "Sindh Kosid, Karachi, 18 August 1845; reproduced from the Press.)*

Napier was empowered not only to govern British Sindh but also to exercise control over almost all its principalities. Thus after a long time traditional unity of Sindh was achieved, in a sense, and it appears that Napier was determined to help unite historical Sindh albeit subservient to British interests. He, however, did not succeed in this objective.

ANNEXATION TO BOMBAY

Napier resigned in August 1847. His resignation was more than acquittal. It was removal of a man who stood in the way of annexing Sindh to the Bombay Presidency. Napier was very skeptical of the wisdom of annexing Sindh to Bombay and believed that "under the Bombay Government Scinde is not likely to be safe, as it has been hitherto." (C. J. Napier, Defects, Civil and Military, of the Indian Government, p.366) However, in view of the danger apprehended from Afghanistan and Russia it was preferred to organize a streamlined chain of authority, with the provinces under the direct jurisdiction of the three Presidencies which were thoroughly entrenched and organized seats of administration and military power. Of all then three Presidencies of British India, namely Bengal, Madras and Bombay, Sindh was not only nearest to the latter but was also only accessible from the port, since it was separated from rest of British India by foreign territories and Indian states. Consequently military operations, if and when conducted, were necessarily to be entrusted to the Bombay army, which alone was in a position to send reinforcement there, as and when needed. It was also considered imperative that littoral part of western India should be under one and the same government.

Napier's resignation paved the way for immediate implementation of the decision to annex Sindh to Bombay. He was relieved by Robert Keith Pringle, till then Chief Secretary to the

Government of Bombay, on the 30th September, 1847. The day, Pringle assumed charge as "Commissic:ner for the civil administration" of Sindh, it became an appendage of the Bombay Presidency.

Thus, Sindh, which lost its sovereign political status in 1843, lost its autonomous political character in 1847



Gul Hayat Institute

Appendix – II.

PROLEGOMENON

SAYED GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH

President, Servants of Sindh Society.

This modest booklet is a History of Deliberations of a well informed, experienced and sincere set of men and women and thinking part of Sindh society, which trace their roots to convulsions going as far back as 1936. These went quiet and came alive all these years, in fits and starts, also at one stage, on the platform of Sindh Historical Society. Lot of water had flowed down the Kotri Bridge into the Arabian Sea till 1981, when regular functioning and meetings of those concerned became imperative in the interests of Sindh and Pakistan. These pages eloquently speak of dilemmas, absurdities, chronic and continuous permutations and combinations of political hypocrisy, which have resulted in Pakistan's present internal and international derision. This God given land gives every impression of a God-forsaken people. Pakistan has a discursive and chequered history-politically, institutionally and socially. It's continued existence was doubted at its very inception even by its founder. It was the hope and the spirit of the people of Pakistan which kept it alive. Today it is a ridicule of the world and insinuated about as a failed state.

THE SERVANTS OF SINDH SOCIETY vigorously revived itself in early eighties, with the betrayal of Punjab leadership of the principles and programme of MRD (Movement of Restoration of Democracy). It was sad to see that the efforts of good old late Malik Qasim, for the amendment of 1973 Constitution, were going waste and the busybody Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan forsook it and left it in the doldrums and in the lurch. This phase of democratic struggle was a shock to Sindh and other two smaller provinces. Sindh was betrayed by the MRD leadership of Punjab and was left alone to face the brunt of Martial Law, police brutalities and atrocities and mischief of the Intelligence Agencies. The principle of the MRD and the decision to amend the 1973 Constitution to meet the demand of Federating Units were thwarted by the machinations of the President, the Army, the Agencies and the mischievous collusion of Punjab

and immigrant bureaucracy. All efforts to amend the Constitution, specially in Sindh by Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan and some intellectuals, was brought to naught.

Sindh paid heavy price. Some of us went round the whole of Sindh where atrocities and brutalities were committed, to every village, town and place, where huts and houses were burnt, where children, men and women were molested and shot. In Larkana, Soneri, Sukkur and Chandio Village and New Jatoi Innumerable villages and places in Larkana, Shikarpur, Jacobabad, Sukkur, Khairpur and Sanghar were incendiary, and bombarded with gun-ships. This cruel handling of Sindh was a flagrant demonstration of hatred against Sindh. Raja Zafarul Haq, a minister of the government, came to Sukkur to thank the immigrant population in Sindh for not participating in the MRD movement and saving the government from collapse. Sindh was a tremendous display of tears, sweat, blood and torture.

The cruel handling of Sindh necessitated the revival and regeneration and invigoration of SERVANTS OF SINDH SOCIETY. Our endeavor was to stick to and preserve Pakistan as a Federal State in consonance with the principles of Pakistan Resolution, consisting of "Autonomous and Sovereign States."

In Sindh both the innocent and the thinking were convinced of the disaster and catastrophe that had taken place. Sindh had seen and known the events, episodes and ravages of the partition and the vivisection of 'old' Pakistan. The intelligent and the thinking and the knowledgeable part of Sindh was taken aghast and disillusioned by the slogans of Islam and Unity on one hand and massacres on the other, and the society was convinced that the only honourable solution of Pakistan was in giving "full autonomous and sovereign status" to the Provinces in which the Central Government was constitutionally barred from interfering in provincial geographical jurisdiction and authority.

We had marked with dismay the slow but sure and steady erosion of provincial authority throughout the history of Pakistan, right from 1948. We openly proclaimed, defined and exposed the evil forces latent and patent, indigenous and foreign, hypocritical and brutal which had reduced the international status of Pakistan, terrorized and brutalized its society deliberately and incessantly.

No country in the world created with such fanfare and enthusiasm, sacrifices, and hopes, fell prey to conspiracies so quickly from its very birth. The atrocities during the MRD movement were glaring and reverberating all over the world-in the columns of newspapers, on the radio and on the television screen. Reporting of the MRD movement both internally and internationally, had necessitated the suppression of information and this brought about the incarceration and beating of the intelligent, the thinking, the writers and the journalists.

Pakistan's history can easily be divided into various periods-all distinct portions pathetically subjected to increasingly absurd and false revisionalism. We have continuously deteriorated in every period in politics, in morality, in economy, in social values and virtues by fantastic revisionalism. It has been a sad, disconcerting and pathetic phenomenon of Pakistan History that all institutions and personalities and their place and performance has been so variously viewed from extreme condemnation to excessive praise, prejudicially viewed or extravagantly and blatantly eulogized by the religious or the secular, by the purchasable and the hypocrite, by the Mullah or the General, by the illiterate or the intellectual, Pakistan History and its institutions have all along been obtusely viewed in different places and different circumstances and by different classes of men, all of them contrary and even antagonistic to each other. All these years we have been engaged interpreting and misinterpreting, revising and falsifying, to serve some groups and special interest and factually and chronologically, turning it and twisting it, and so making it meaningless and misleading. Pakistan History and its different phases have been subjected to very sad and ridiculous modern philosophy of revisionalism in interpretation of facts, events, episodes, periods and personalities. That is why Pakistan History is so incoherent and so it cannot be written or taught as a rational whole. We have continuously deteriorated in every period in politics, in morality, in economy, in social values and virtues and general sense of responsibility. Chronologically we can say:

1. From 14th August 1947 to the death of Quaid-e-Azam.
 2. From Liaquat Ali Khan to his assassination.
 3. From Ghulam Mohammed to One Unit and Parity
 4. The Declaration of Martial Law 1958 to vivisection of
-

- Pakistan.
5. The Surrender of Pakistan and the establishment of Bangladesh.
 6. The Chaos of Indo-Pakistan war and the Tashkent Declaration.
 7. The Emergence of Z.A. Bhutto and his assassination and the resultant gloom and frustration of Pakistan society.
 8. The Pakistan society in doldrums and in the throes of Martial Law, hypocrisy of Agencies and the mischief of the Punjab politician and the bureaucracy.
 9. The period of cheating and deceit through the Army by foreign powers and the creation of novel nomenclature of Caretakers and Undertakers-they came by fluke, they ruled by goof and they disappeared like UFOs.
 10. The notoriety and the ridicule of Pakistan in the eyes and assessment of the world.
 11. The period of spasmodic failure of Constitutions and fiddling with the 1973 constitution by the dictators-the 8th amendment.
 12. Emergence of Benazir and Nawaz Sharif-truncated and crucified governments.
 13. Ping-pong United States diplomacy in Pakistan society and politics.
 14. The disastrous consequences of Afghan policy-Pakistan a sere society became victim of guns, narcotics, smuggling and economic destitution.
 15. Pakistan reduced to the status of slavery by the World Bank and International Monetary Funds.
 16. The land of plenty reduced to penury, privation, shortages and hunger and starvation.

Pakistan was created as the finest instance of hope but paralyzed into a non-entity. Pakistan with its rich natural resources, agricultural abundance and wonderful peoples was reduced to poverty and hunger. Pakistan was in the grips of terrorism, sectarianism, brutalism and scandalous collapse of state machinery.

"Sovereign and Autonomous" status of provinces free from the fiddling and mischief of the Centre is the only solution of the fluctuations of its fortunes and the only remedy of its ills and a guarantee of its continued existence.

Appendix – III.

SINDH AND SINDHI NATION

Mohammed Ibrahim Joyo

Vice President

Servants of Sindh Society

The land of Sindh through the ages is a known part of mother earth, and is, therefore, a geographical reality. The Sindhi people, taking their name and that of their language from this ancient land, and living there all along in majority, are a member of the fraternity of peoples similarly placed elsewhere on earth, and are, therefore, just as those others, a national and historical reality. Every other group of people-ethnic, religious or any-have to accept and live in reconciliation with their minority status in Sindh, even as similar minority groups do in other countries throughout the world, enjoying, of course, their basic right to equal citizenship and full protection of their cultural rights.

The All-India Muslim League's Pakistan Resolution of March 1940, later made a part of the League's Constituent, and the Quaid-e-Azam's August 11, 1947 inaugural address to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, re-defining 'nation' and 'nationalism' in secular terms, and his clear pronouncements and most solemn assurances on the place and status, particularly of Hindu and Muslim minorities in the two post-partition "countries" of the Indian sub-continent, specifically recognized and confirmed the above stated position of autonomy and sovereignty of the Sindhi people as also of the other constituent peoples in their traditional homelands in Pakistan. Indeed, as regards this basic position of autonomy and sovereignty in the conceived political setup vis-à-vis the competent territories and their peoples in Pakistan, there were and could never be any two opinions.

And what splendid vistas, indeed, of peace, harmony and prosperity, and also of the best possible neighbourliness, could have opened up before peoples thus freed from the prison-house of nations that British Indian Empire had latterly grown into, had that position of promised autonomy and sovereignty

been afforded to peoples in Pakistan, and also, in the rest of the sub-continent as was very much validly called for there too! But that, somehow, was not to be to start with; with the result that both the countries have had to face a highly determined, almost an endemic, national upsurge of their peoples, which so gravely threatens today their stability and even very existence as states.

The British intruder-merchant, soldier and priest, on arrival on the Indian sub-continent, found it broken into pieces as always happens to be the case when empires break and religions putrefy.

The sub-continent of India, with vast territories and bewildering variety of colour and creed, language and culture, could, from the start, hold together as one, only as an Empire. The Maurya Empire (about 320-184 B.C.), to a great part of sub-continent, associated with the names of Chandragupta and Ashoka, the great, was one such Empire. The Gupta Empire (about A.D. 320-500), linked with the name of Vikramaditya and others of his great dynasty, was the second such Empire. And the Mughal Empire (in greater part of the period A.D. 1526-1857) was the third one of the kind. The Britons arriving at the scene in the 18th century, with all the vigour and self-confidence of national renewal attained through the first-ever industrial revolution of Europe, set out emulating their immediate predecessors, the Mughals, in building the empire for themselves, and succeeded in their task to a degree far greater than any previously attained.

As modern people and pragmatic administrators, the British Imperial rulers floated political organizations among various strata of their subject people in India, to serve as shock-absorbers, tracers and even as tools of execution of their political policies and programmes. The Indian National Congress was perhaps the first such organization, followed some years later by the All-India Muslim League. Operating against the panorama of an Empire-so vast yet so monolithic and compact-these organizations, in time, started dreaming of their own political empires, and looking, each in its own way, upon the national question in India with a 'totalitarian' eye. For the Congress it was the question of 'Indian' and for the Muslim League

that of 'Muslim' nation. They failed to see that, by their time, in the "little Europe" as Napoleon Bonaparte had called India while dreaming of playing the role of a revolutionary Alexander in the East (as he thought he had done in Europe), other nations, more real, the flesh and blood one, than the mere nebular 'Indian' and 'Muslim' nations, had come up on the scene demanding freedom and deserving recognition. Both the Congress and League, however, in this respect too, were not that much ignorant either.

Apart from the leadership of Communist party of India who, trying to sound more palatable, shouted ad-infinitum the word 'nationalities', Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, having freshly returned from his deeply penetrating travels in the Soviet Union and his years of exile in the highly nation-minded Saudi Arabia, called the peoples of India-the Bengalis, Gujratis, Beharis, Kashmiris, Tamils, Punjabis, Pukhtoons, Baloches, Sindhis etc., as full-fledged nations. Quaid-e-Azam himself came very near to recognizing the reality of nations in the sub-continent, when he addressed the famous March 1940 session of All-India Muslim League at Lahore. In his presidential address, referring to "the most leading statesmen of Great Britain having asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India", he said: "What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realized by the imposition of a Central Federal Government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it..... The problem in India is not of an *inter-communal* character but manifestly of an international one and it must be treated as such... If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of the sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by *dividing India into autonomous national states*."

The Pakistan Resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League session, the next day, which stipulated the retention and enjoyment of autonomous and sovereign status by the constituent units of the two states in Pakistan, reflected these defi-

nite, wise and truthful views of Mr. Jinnah.

In his next presidential address to the All-India Muslim League session at Madras in April 1941, Quaid-e-Azam made his concept of the national question in India even clearer. Framing the question to the huge audience of over 100,000 persons: "Can such a system (of one central government in India) ever work or succeed when you have two different nations-indeed more than two totally different nations in this sub-continent?" he said, "In this land of yours (meaning the Madras Province), there is another nation, the Dravidians. This land is really Dravidastan... The only way for you is to come into your own, live your own life according to your own Culture and according to your own language-thank God that Hindi did not go very far here-and your own history is to go ahead with your ideal. I have every sympathy for you and I shall do all I can to support you to establish Dravidastan. The seven percent of Muslims will stretch their hand of friendship to you and live with you on lines of equality, justice and fairplay." (While at this, one could almost feel tempted to ask the question: Did not the case of Dravidastan as pleaded here by Mr. Jinnah, apply exactly to the case of Sindh vis-à-vis Pakistan as proposed-only substituting the Muslim minority in Dravidastan by Hindu minority in Sindh? The only point of departure or difference from the similitude of two cases that comes to the mind is that Sindh, as a nation, was being offered autonomous and sovereign status in Pakistan, while the fate of Dravidastan was not then so definite in the Indian Union. But there too when time for Dravidian people came they probably got by far a better deal!).

At the end of June, 1947, only one and a half month prior to the birth of Pakistan, a question was placed before the Legislative Assembly of Sindh, under British Government Plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India: Whether the Constitution of the future state of Sindh should be framed.

- a. in the (then) existing (Hindustan) Constitutional Assembly, or
- b. in a new and separate (Pakistan) Constitutional Assembly."

And the then Legislative Assembly of Sindh formally opted

for the second alternative.

On that occasion, I had addressed an open letter, dated June 25, 1947, to the Sindhi Assembly members, and among other things, expressed my sentiments thus: "...Historically, we the people of Sindh will be within our rights if we now resumed our sovereign status and independent existence as a people, which we lost to the British Power, only about 100 years ago.....

"...The Congress and the League to which you all, among yourselves, prefer loyalty, both having now agreed to the latter position, and those of you with pronounced leanings for Pakistan now commanding a clear majority in the Assembly, your decision in regard to the alternatives offered is a foregone conclusion. Any other decision of yours would indeed be tantamount to thwarting the mandate of your electorates.....

"...Hon: Sirs, it should not be necessary for any one now to remind you of the fact that the irresistible popular urge to freedom from foreign yoke was based on even greater and intenser aspiration for a better, a happier and nobler life. Uptill now, the people were being made to believe that such a life was denied to them and, in its place, a life of excruciating poverty and all-round degradation was ordained upon them either by the Imperialist Englishman or, among themselves, by the 'accursed' Hindu or the 'malecha' Musalman. Such easy scapegoats and convenient bogeys would no more be available anywhere now for diverting the people's attention from their real problems and for blunting their will to apply appropriate methods to solve the same. The Imperialist Englishman is ready to quit as soon as you think it safe to tell him to do so. The 'Hindu versus the Muslim' problem should at least now exist no more, as what is said to be the solution of it has already been applied. Any more attempts at playing the Hindu against the Musalman or the Musalman against the Hindu, here or anywhere else, whether by way of self-protective camouflage or of aggressive exhibitionism, would only be inviting an unprecedented disaster in the yet unsettled affairs of the two young states of Pakistan and Hindustan. Time has now come when not only the sincerity of the hitherto mere professions should find its tangible proofs in concrete actions, but when utmost imagination, and statesman-

ship of a sterling character will have to be shown by all those in whose hands fate has, for the present, placed the destinies of our people.

"Hon. Sirs, the inarticulate masses of your people, under these circumstances, expect of you that you would be good enough to charge, on their behalf, your four representatives on the Constituent Assembly with a clear cut mandate on the lines urged upon above. May the trust and faith of your people in you beget, in an equal measure, sympathy, love and solicitude for them in your minds!"

What could be worth particular note in the context of the question put to the Sindh Assembly members in June 1947, even as late as today (i.e., over four decade after the event) is that, excepting the Sindh Legislative Assembly as a whole, and members of West Punjab and East Bengal Assemblies, and of the Quetta Municipality and some leading Sardars of Balochistan (the Province of N.W.F.P and the district of Sylhet in Asaam were offered the choice separately by plebiscite), no such question was put to any other Province or area or people in the Sub-Continent. An authentic member of M.Q.M. in Sindh is on record to have claimed sometime back that all the Muslims in India have a right to enter Pakistan and claim its citizenship. The legal and constitutional position, however, turns out to be that none from outside Pakistan, not even a refugee from India or elsewhere, not to say a Muhajir (immigrant), has any claim to such a right. That was exactly why soon after the first unforeseen waves of evacuees from India and Pakistan after August 1947 subsided, the two prime ministers of the two countries, Nehru and Liaquat Ali, struck a pact on March 8, 1950 to the effect that thenceforth the people (Muslims or Hindus) would be permitted to cross the borders only on issue of visa. All entrants, therefore, from India after that date who have stayed away in Pakistan, have yet to prove their legal right of stay in Pakistan as Pakistan nationals. As late as mid-Seventies, the then Prime Minister of India, Mr. Morarji Desai, is on record confirming the above position, and even formally offering all such Indian Muslims freedom of return to India from Pakistan if they so wished. Exactly the same position could hold good and well for all such Sindhi Hindus should they wish to return to

Sindh and claim their right to stay in Pakistan as its lawful citizens.

With the birth of Pakistan, and Quaid-e-Azam's early demise the Muslim League leadership, in a total huff of unreadiness, forgot all about the political rationale of peoples urge for Pakistan. Falling prey to the finessc of obscurantist slogans of Mullah, they got busy catering to notions of their own empire-building minds. Backed up in this exercise by the British-trained bureaucracy-Civil and military-and actuated further by well-entrenched vested interests, particularly of the major province, the sole power base in Pakistan. all these inheritors of the Imperial mantle jointly and together set out constructing and 'imposing a strong central government', and for 'the fiat or the writ of that government to command a willing and loyal obedience' throughout the vast "Mumlikat-e-Khudadad" of the two wings. They soon saw that all that they could manage only 'by means of the armed forces'! And by thus zealously re-enacting imperial management of the state, we promptly lost East Pakistan. Democracy with us, of course, went overboard at the very first instance of our practice it-if the way we handled it could be so described. We could give ourselves a constitution for the first time only after some three decades of our birth as a state, and tasted the embittered fruit of it to its last dregs. Within a mere half a decade next, for the following one full decade, we once again indulged our fancy with the autocratic style of the game at its worst. And what did we do with the return (or the revival) of the modest dame to our court, rejected the full-throated mandate of the Sindhi people to the poor innocent, not once but twice at a stretch in twenty four months. Today it struts about freely in Sindh, so often sinned against that, turning saintly, she accepts democracy by its word, to be what it claims to be, but actually is not!

What Sindh and the Sindhi people, the Sindhi Muslim people for that matter, have suffered in Pakistan during the four decades-and they have suffered as no other people have suffered-could be nothing to grieve about as compared to what the future seems to hold in store for them. The most ominous threat for them is the threat to their very existence as a nation. They went for Pakistan as a 70% majority-Sindhi Muslim: majority in

their "Sindhi Muslim homeland". Together with 25% of the Sindhi Hindu nationals they constituted 95% majority of the Sindhi nation in their Sindh national home. The rest of 5% composing ethnic and religious minorities of Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and other denominations too owned themselves as an integral part of the Sindhi nation. The Sindhis, thus as a 100% homogenous nation, were living in peace and tranquility in Sindh, their national home, on the eve of Pakistan. With 20 out of 25% of their Hindu compatriots-urbanized, educated, socially conscious, loyal and responsible sons of the soil-uprooted and thrown to the winds outside, and the doors of their land surreptitiously pushed open from inside and maliciously held ajar since Pakistan's birth, for every type of alien influx, has, with passage of time, confronted the Sindhis with a situation when the assembled lump of selfishness that this 'muhajir' influx has congregated itself into, with nothing in common except ill-will for and greedy eye in the material resources of their host nation, calls itself "a fifth nationality" in Pakistan, and floats a claim, with all cleverness it can muster, for majority and hence the right to rule in Sindh!

The remaining 5% of the Hindu Sindhis and rest of Sindhi compatriots of different religious denominations-like Christians, Parsis and others-stood pushed apart, against their will, from the mainstream of the Sindhi national community under separate electorates, while immigrant Musalmans, as an allowance to Islam, massed together with the Sindhi Muslims under joint electorates, are wallowing in separate electorate in effect through their Muhajir Quami Movement! What a travesty of Islamic oneness this! Under the circumstances, the least the Sindhi people in Sindh could expect in Pakistan is the constitutionally guaranteed enjoyment of their natural and imprescriptible right to an irreversible and inalienable majority in Sindh. That alone can ensure to them their autonomy and sovereignty in Pakistan as promised to them under the basic foundational contract embodied in the Pakistan Resolution

Let me now say a word about religion, in the name of which Sindhis have come to this pass, in Pakistan, of depending on constitutional guaranties for living as masters in their own home! When religions lose their spirit and putrefy, people are

left stultifying and stagnating. Sindh of the eighth century, at some such stage of her religion, received the blessing of Islam, and, in course of time, made it her own, even as, let us say, England owned Christianity in her way and made a National Church, while France her Catholic one; Iran professes Islam in its Shi'ite version, while Saudi Arabia has its own Shari'a; and Buddhism could be seen, even today, as of different hue and colour in Sri-Lanka, Burma, Japan and other Buddhist lands of the far East. Islam in Sindh, too, in the similar vein, left an imprint peculiar to genius of the Sindhi people—that of the religion of conscience and of compassing rather than of a mere sacrificial or ritualistic practice, that of the soul, of the quickening of the heart, rather than of body-corporate or of mere outward appearance. The Sindhi temperament is 'Do ye the good, let the other know his part in return';

”تون پنهنجي توڙ نپاء، هن جي هو ڄاڻي“

Not the other way round i.e. 'Do us the good, we shall know our part in return':

دفا ڪرو ڳے وفا ڪريڻ، بڻا ڪرو ڳے بڻا ڪريڻ،
ڪرم ڪرو ڳے ڪرم ڪريڻ، ستم ڪرو ڳے ستم ڪريڻ،
هم آدمي ڀين تمھارے جيسے، جو تم ڪرو ڳے، وه هم ڪريڻ۔

This was one of the intimidatory formulation of public declaration of intent put up by the M.Q.M. at hundreds of spots on the walls in Hyderabad on the occasion of their America-returned leader's first arrival in a big procession from Karachi on October 31, 1987—by no means a socially positive or peaceful approach this, rather a non-human, nay, self-confessedly a brutalized one. In a civilized society, such "Better than thou" attitude, a chronic posture of injured innocence: "I am wronged and provoked; I am run down and robbed", those who behave thus, those who speak thus, will never cease to hate. And every one knows that "That which causes hate to cease in the world is not hate but the absence of hate". The approach in social or inter-communal living of the Sindhi minds is quite an apposite one:

” هو چوني تون مر چؤ ولتون ورائي،
اگ اڳرائي جو ڪري، خطا سو ڪائي،
پاند مر پائي، ويو ڪيني وارو ڪينڪي.“
(شاه)

*[“They provoked you, don’t provoke in return.
He who aggressor is, is the first to fall.
One carrying rancor in heart never is the gainer in life.”]*

ڪونهي آڳهه اهڙو، جهڙي محبت من. (شاه)

[“There is no asset as the love you carry in your heart.”]

Let me, my friends, in the end, share some good tidings with you, which Europe has sent forth to the world only a few days back—Europe, the continent that once received blessings of Enlightenment and Reformation, experienced Renaissance and Industrial Revolution, and went through formations of nation-states, and enjoyed all the humanity and good of Bourgeois Democracy, and then of the Proletarian one, and is now going through what its political thinkers describe as Humanist Democracy to which it is being introduced by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev through his Openness of Mind, Democratic Approach and Restructuring.

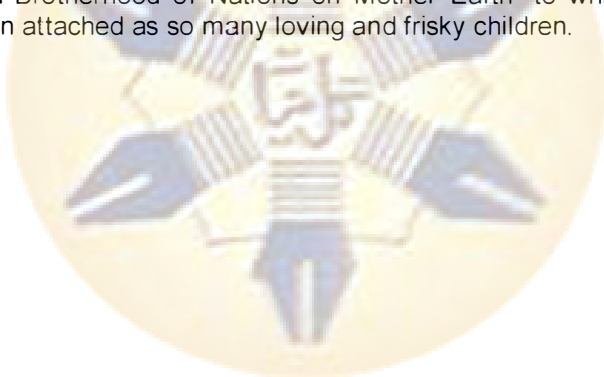
The glad tidings are: First, the Europe has established its “Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe”, affirming that “the era of confrontation and division of Europe has ended, and that henceforth our relations will be founded on respect and cooperation

“...Europe is liberating itself from the legacy of the past....Ours is a time for fulfilling the hopes and expectations of our peoples have cherished for decades—steadfast commitments to democracy based on human rights and fundamental freedoms, prosperity through economic liberty and social justice, and equal security for all the 34 countries in the Continent of Europe”. The other good tidings are the Promise of “Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics” in Russia replacing “Union of So-

viet Socialist Republics”.

What could be the equivalent blessings for us in our part of the world-India of the ancient history and the sub-continent of India or South Asian sub-continent of the modern!

I, for one, my kind friends, would consider it the best of the tidings of my life if I hear that as solution of our problems and end to all our troubles, Pakistan is turned into Union of Pakistan Sovereign Republics,” and India into “Union of Indian Sovereign Republics”, and, then, in time, even after my life (that is so puny and insignificant), the two Unions have come to establish, on the lines of the continent of Europe, ‘The Conference on Security and Cooperation of Indo-Pak Unions” in the great continent of Asia as one more building block of the supreme edifice of the World Brotherhood of Nations on Mother Earth- to which we remain attached as so many loving and frisky children.



Gul Hayat Institute

DR. G. M. MEHKRI: ON SINDH



CULTURE DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF SINDH

TO SINDH

O Our Ragmati, Our Bhagmati, Our Rasmati SINDHU
Thou, Our Mother Glorious

O Sindhu of our fathers, of our mothers
of our sisters and brothers ours
of our children: Salutations
Our Ragmati, Our Bhagmati, Our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

O Sindh our pride, our joy, our honour
Our hearth, our home, our deepest thought
Our Ragmati, our Bhagmati, our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

Our bowl of milk
Our morsel of rice
Our sweet water
Our dancing peacocks
Our fish, our fowl
Are from you, O Sindh
Our Ragmati, our Bhagmati, our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

We harken to thy CALL
O mother Sindhu, Thou: our Identity
Our Cow of Plenty
Our Kamadhenu, our Ajrak
Our Earth, our Heaven
Our Every thing to us
Our Ragmati, our Bhagmati, our Rasmati
Sindhu, our Salutations:

To thee, to thy Greatness, to thy Glory
Salutations, Salutations, Salutations.



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