

## COMMUNAL POLITICS, SINDHI SEPARATISM, AND THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN 1920-1951

# NCEL BOREHAM

B.A. (Hons.)
University of New England

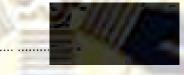
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Gul Hayat Institute

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.



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#### **ABSTRACT**

This thesis explores and explains the roles that communalism, Muslim nationalism and Sindhi ethnic identity performed in the Sind during the period 1920-1951. In particular, the argument is presented that in the case of Sind, a regional, ethnic identity was as significant a factor as the 'Islamic response' in mobilising the support of the Muslim provincial elites for the Pakistan demand. It will be explained how the changes which colonial rule brought to Sind's economic and political infrastructure prompted the response from the Muslim elites of demanding the separation of the province from the Bombay Presidency in the first decades of the twentieth-century. The granting of the Sindhi Muslims' separatist demands by the British in 1932 represented the legitimisation of their entwining communal and ethnocentric issues, and resulted in furthering the development of a distinctive Sindhi Muslim political identity. The subsequent structuring of state institutions under the provisions of provincial autonomy served to politicise religious identity. Combined with the legacy of the Sind Separation movement, state structures encouraged the communalisation of provincial politics. Although the establishment of the provincial government ir 1937 offered Sindhi Muslims the opportunity to govern the province, they were consistently outmanoeuvred by Hindu members in the Assembly. Failed attempts by the land-owning Muslim leaders to use an Islamic discourse to control political action in the public arena, and the strengthening of Hindu political power, demonstrated the need for assistance from the All-India Muslim League. By 1943, the establishment of a strong Muslim League provincial government formed a watershed in Sindhi politics. The catalyst for the popularity of the Pakistan movement came with the definition that it was to mean the creation of the sove eigh state of Sind. Ethnicity as well as religious identity shaped the Pakistan movement in Sind as it became the vehicle for the Sindhi Muslims to achieve their goals which the Sind Separation movement and provincial autonomy had failed to deliver. The centralising of Muslim politics into Jinnah's hands produced the culmination of communalism in the creation of an highly centralised Pakistan Government. The seizure of Karachi by the Pakistan Government, the resettlement of Muslim migrants in Sind's cities (thus replacing Sind's Hindus with non-Sindhi Muslims), the dismissal of the Sindhi Government and the replacement with central rule (1951), produced a legacy which Pakistan increasing bears today.

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## List of Chief Ministers in Sind, 1937-1951

March 1937 - February 1938 Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

February 1938 - March 1940 Allah Bakhsh Soomro

March 1940 - March 1941 Bande Ali Talpur

March 1941 - October 1942 Allah Bakhsh Soomro

November 1942 - August 1947 Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

August 1947 - April 1943 Mohammed Ayub Khuhro

May 1948 - February 1949 Pir Illahi Bakhsh

February 1949 - May 1950 Yusuf Haroon

May 1950 - March 1951 Kazi Fazlullah

March 1951 - December 1951 Mohammed Ayub Khuhro

(December 1951 - imposition of Governor's Rule)

## List of Governors in Sind, 1937-1951

April 1936 - March 194' Sir Lancelot Graham

April 1941 - February 1946 Sir Hugh Dow

February 1946 - Augus: 1947 Sir Francis Mudie

August 1947 - October 1948 — Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

October 1948 - 1952 Justice Din Mohammed

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The origin of this thesis lies in a brief journey I made to the Indian sub-continent, including the province of Sind, in 1982. The journey stimulated a great interest in the histories of India and Pakistan, and I undertook university studies in order to answer the numerous questions which the sub-continent had provoked. Of course, more questions than answers were revealed, and some of the more provoking questions concerned the modern political history of Sind. In the course of an honours programme which focused on the roles of the Muslim-majority provinces' in the Pakistan movement, the surprising absence of material dealing with the province produced a considerable void in the literature. That sense of surprise turned to concern, because it became obvious that without an adequate explanation of Sindhi politics for the first half of the twentieth-century, the existing interpretations of the Pakistan movement had been made without all of the pieces of the puzzle being revealed.

The research into Sind's history during this course of study has been thoroughly rewarding. I acknowledge the privileges of embarking on an area which does not carry the footfalls of the more familiar areas of colonial India's history. However, seven years' explorat on of unchartered territories has not been without its trials, and I owe an immense debt to the patience and generosity of my supervisors: Associate Professor Howard Brasted of the University of New England, and Dr. Jim Masselos of Sydney University. To Associate Professor Brasted, I express my gratitude for so unhesitatingly sharing his considerable wisdom of Jinnah and Muslim politics, and for setting such a high standard of scholarship. Most of all, I thank him for his friendship. To Jim, I sincerely thank for consistently making his time available, his feedback and for his probing questions

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AIML All-India Muslim League

anon. anonymous

BC Bombay Chronicle
Cmd. Commar d Papers

Comm. Commerce constituency

CP Central Provinces

CRO Commor wealth Relations Office, London

Europea i constituency

FO Foreign Office

HC UK High Commissioner, Karachi

INC Indian National Congress

Land. Land-holders constituency

MLA Member of the Legislative Assembly

n.d not dated

NWFP North-West Frontier Province

OIOC Oriental and India Office Collection, London

(formerly India Office Library and Records)

PRO Public Records Office, Kew

SAC Sind Azad Conference

SAP Sind Azad Party

SFR Sind Fortnightly Reports

SMPP Sind Previncial Muslim League
TOPI Transfer of Power Volumes

UP United Frovinces

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