

MQM VS Government reply by SDG

1994



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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PAKISTAN

Original Jurisdiction under Article 184(3) of the Constitution 1973.

Constitutional Petition No. 46 of 1994.

MQM (“Muhajir Quomi Movement”).

Petitioner

versus

- 1. The Federation of Pakistan,**
- 2. The Province of Sindh.**

Respondents

Applicant/Intervenor
Sindh Democrats Group (“SDG”).

Through Mr. Abrar Hussain Kazi, General Secretary SDG.
Presented by: Mr. Muhammad Yousuf Laghari, Advocate Supreme Court of Pakistan

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APPLICATION UNDER ORDER 1 RULE 10
READ WITH ORDER 33, RULE 6 SUPREME COURT OF PAKISTAN RULES

The applicant/inventor states as under:

1. That Sindh Democrat Group (“SDG”) is a group of concerned citizens of Sindh who are striving for the protection of rights of the people of Sindh. That the applicant/intervenor is the General Secretary of SDG.
2. That the Petitioner, Muhajir Quomi Movement (“MQM”) claims the sole representation of Muhajirs, a word it uses for those people who migrated from India after the Partition of 1947.
3. That the petitioner claims that Muhajirs made Pakistan by rendering great sacrifices of family, property and lives of 2 million people.
4. That the petitioner claims that various Federal governments have shown complete disregard and disdain for the enormous sacrifices of Muhajirs and rather than recompense, they have discriminated against Muhajirs in every walk of life.
5.
 - (i) That the petitioner claims that to secure Muhajir rights, MQM was formed by Mr. Altaf Hussain.
 - (ii) That MQM was a peace loving political party which firmly believed in non-violence and was struggling to establish true democracy in the country.
 - (iii) But that the MQM was not being allowed to operate and function freely as a political party because MQM represented a middle and lower middle class revolution that threatened the icons of feudalism and jagirdari entrenched in the Establishment and all political parties of Pakistan.
6. That the petitioner claims that in Sindh there is a distinct demarcation on linguistic basis so that Urdu speaking Muhajirs live in urban areas, which it calls “Urban Sindh” while Sindhis live in rural areas which it refers to as “Rural Sindh.”
7. That the main grievance of the petitioner is that the “urban Sindh” or Muhajirs, who it claims are all supporters of MQM, are 60% of the population of Sindh but are not represented in the National and Provincial Assemblies commensurate with their population. Therefore:
 - (i) The National and Provincial Assembly seats be so divided that Muhajirs obtain 60% representation for Muhajirs in Sindh Assembly and equal percentage from the Sindh quota in National Assembly.
 - (ii) Constituencies for National and Provincial Assemblies be so delimited that it ensures 60% representation for Muhajirs in Sindh Assembly and 60% of share of Sindh seats in National Assembly.
 - (iii) As a corollary to above, all government jobs in Sindh and Federal governments be so divided that Muhajirs get 60% jobs in Sindh and Federal services.
8. The “supreme leader” of MQM, the petitioner, claims (Petition: Volume IV Page 2), that geographical boundaries of provinces are not sacrosanct and that for better management and administration, provincial boundaries can be re-demarcated.
9. That the petitioner claims that there should be an end to quota system which it says, discriminates against Muhajirs vis-à-vis governments jobs and admissions to educational institutions.
10. That the petitioner claims that Biharis, at present domiciled in Bangladesh, are Pakistanis and therefore be brought to Pakistan.

11. That a further grievance of the petitioner is that Sindhi language has been made compulsory for Government officers working in Sindh.

12. In short, the main objective of the petitioner is to secure complete domination by Muhajirs (which it claims are 60% of population of Sindh) in the political, economic and cultural/linguistic spheres of the province of Sindh. That if the preposterous figure of 60% did not prove tenable, which it never can, then a separate province be carved out from the present boundaries of Sindh, or even a separate country, if necessary through use of force and violence.

13.

(i) That the applicant/intervenor on the other hand repels the contentions of petitioner as under:

(a). That through its own admission, the petitioner represents Urdu speaking population living in urban Sindh. The claim of the petitioner that it represents Muhajirs is perpetually false. Muhajirs are immigrants from India, most of whom migrated from East Punjab who do not call themselves Muhajirs and are not supporters of MQM. Among the rest, many are not Urdu speaking and even from among Urdu speaking not all are supporters of MQM.

(b). That Muhajirs are not an ethnic group. Muhajirs from East Punjab speak Punjabi, and among the rest who are settled in Sindh many speak Gujrati, Marwari, Memoni etc. MQM claims representation of only Urdu speakers, among whom also not all support MQM.

(ii)

(a). That the petitioner’s claim that Pakistan was made by them is not the whole truth. Pakistan could not have been created but for the participation of the people of Sindh in particular and people of other provinces in general. To carve out a Muslim country from combined India a land mass was essentially required. The Muslim majority provinces, that is, those provinces where Muslims were in majority, were asked whether they preferred to join Pakistan or to stay with India. Sindh Assembly was first to pass the resolution in favor of joining Pakistan in June 1947. A plebiscite was held in NWFP and they voted for Pakistan. Consensus was taken in the Punjab and Quetta municipality passed a resolution in favor of joining the Muslim country. Thus the four provinces forming Pakistan at present, indicated their assent in one way or other to provide the land mass for the new country. Had Muhajirs made Pakistan, it would have been hanging in the air.

(b). That the claim of 2 million Muhajirs killed is an untruth raised to absurd level. No one has calculated the number of dead in the enormous tragedy of Partition, but most of those killed were on both sides of Punjab who do not claim to be Muhajirs. Urdu speaking people did not make any sacrifice worth the name.

(c) That without prejudice to the above, mass migration of Indian Muslims was not part of the Pakistan scheme. Several statements of Quaid-e-Azam, give before Partition can be read with benefit including one on July 8, 1947 at Delhi airport, when Quaid-e-Azam was leaving for Pakistan. In reply to a correspondent, he advised the Indian Muslims to live in India as faithful citizens of India.

(iii) That Pakistan is a federation by constitution. Provinces are not administrative units, they are political and cultural entities. The word “nationalities” is being intentionally avoided due the allergy developed against this word in our country. In a real federation, like Pakistan, provinces or states, whatever word we may use, integrate into a whole to make a federation. Provinces are real factor, they can not be divided at will. In the constitution of USA for example, the federation can not take away one inch of land of any state and differences between the federation and the states are justifiable by the Supreme Court. Any division of the province of Sindh would be likewise unconstitutional and will open a Pandora’s box, under Article 1(2)(a) of the Constitution of Pakistan.

(iv)

(a) That the Urdu speaking Muhajirs have from the time of settling their feet in Sindh, tried to form a separate “suba” for themselves the proof of which is presented herein after.

(b) That the political aspirants among the present generation of Urdu speaking Muhajirs whom the petitioner calls its supporters and followers, does not hope, in the democratic set up of today’s Pakistan, ordinarily to wield political power in Sindh which will always go to the irreversible Sindhi majority.

(c) That in the garb of non-existent grievances and deprivations, MQM and its followers have opted for the last alternate, that is to resort to violence, unleash a reign of terror, battle, harass and persecute every community living in Karachi, Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas and Nawabshah, so that these cities are vacated by non-Muhajirs.

(d) That this diabolical plan is meant to achieve a separate province for MQM and its followers and even a separate country that would extend from Karachi to include Thatta, Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas and Nawabshah. In fact the maps circulated by some Muhajir organization leave only Dadu, Larkana and Jacobabad for Sindhis. The rest of Sindh, if they could help it will be variously called Muhajirstan, Jinnahpur or Urdu Desh.

(v)

(a) That to achieve its impossible goal of a separate province and contrary to its innocent supplication, the petitioner, MQM, has become, and acts, as a fascist, terrorist and criminal organization, which has in its 9 years of existence, brought untold miseries and colossal suffering on all the people living in Sindh, especially those living in Karachi and Hyderabad.

(b) That in order to prepare the ground for its nefarious design it has whipped up ethnic frenzy based on imaginary grievances and fabricated deprivations among its followers, most of whom are of tender age and easy to misguide.

(c) That such indoctrinated followers are first heavily armed by the petitioner and then let loose in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad creating a reign of terror by resorting to murder, inhuman torture, arson and looting.

(d) That it has battled, and continues to battle, with Pathans, Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis, Army, Police, Rangers, and its own dissident faction of Haqiqi in an apparently senseless and circular orgy of violence, the sole purpose of which is to generate a sympathetic wave of violence against Muhajirs living in other parts of the country. This dangerous game would then succeed in mutual migration of population once again, but this time inside Pakistan.

(e) That it has unwisely led its followers in a cul-de-sac that has no existence. The only way out is to give up politics of violence, throw out criminals from among its cadre and surrender lethal weapons. But this solution is not acceptable to Mr. Altaf Hussain.

(vi) That contrary to the claim of the petitioner that it is a middle class revolution, MQM is a reactionary and regressive phenomenon. Revolutions always spread outward bringing progress in their wake and improvement of all the people. MQM, on the other hand, is a retrogression that talks of only Muhajir rights; that is at war with all other people speaking languages other than Urdu; that has developed persecution syndrome in its followers; and that calls itself Muhajir Quomi Movement that foreclosing the chance of any non-Muhajir joining it.

This Honorable Court is requested to note that prior to the rise of MQM, Urdu speakers of Karachi and Hyderabad used to mostly vote for Jammāt Islāmī and Jameat Ulema Pakistan (JUP) who called themselves “Islam Pasand” parties during PNA movement of 1977. MQM has now further narrowed Urdu speakers horizon from “Islam Pasand” to “Muhajir Pasand”. This is not a revolution but a regression.

(vii)

(a) That Mr. Altaf Hussain whom the petitioner refers to as the “supreme leader” even in its petition to this Honorable Court, was a small time agitator whose sole aim in life was to obtain a Green Card, a kind of work permit for USA.

(b) This leader who sits in the safety of London while engineering an every day blood bath in Sindh was chosen by the supreme manipulator of all times, General Zia-ul-Haq, who reared and nurtured this monster to carry out his evil design of dividing and ruling Sindh, the people of which had refused to accept the legitimacy of the usurper.

(c) That Mr. Altaf Hussain willingly became a tool of General Zia-ul-Haq, because his design of dividing Sindh dovetailed with the malicious intent of Zia-ul-Haq to harm Sindh and Sindhis.

(viii)

(a) That the whole gamut of protestations by the petitioner is based on grievance and deprivations that do not exist. In fact the Muhajirs are highly privileged in comparison to Sindhis and at the cost of ethnic Sindhis, as this document will prove.

(b) That the MQM’s claim that its supporters, meaning Urdu speaking people, are discriminated against in the matter of jobs and admissions to educational institutions is factually incorrect. The facts belie this claim. Even today Urdu speakers hold far more jobs and get far more admissions than their due share in professional colleges of Sindh as proved with the help of figures and tables in chapter 3 of this application.

(ix)

(a) That the petitioner’s claim of being 60% of population will be hilarious were it not backed by the malicious intent of refusal to accept Sindhis as a legitimate and irreversible majority.

(b) That after Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1950, passports and visa restrictions were introduced and free entry of Indian Muslims into Pakistan was banned. Citizenship Act was enacted and no foreigner could become a Pakistani citizen unless he obtained Pakistani citizenship. Most of the Muhajirs came to Pakistan after 1951, including even out of members of MQM Coordination Committee, who came in 1983. These Muhajirs are illegal immigrants as they have not obtained Pakistani citizenship through naturalization process.

(c) That under Article 62 and 113 of the Constitution of Pakistan only citizens of Pakistan are eligible to cast votes and to be elected as members of National and Provincial Assemblies. Illegal immigrants who are not naturalized citizens can neither form political parties, nor contest elections. All their political activities are in violation of A-62 and A-113 of the Constitution. Allowing these illegal immigrants to form political parties and to contest elections will be prejudicial to the rights of citizens of Pakistan and applicant/intervenor.

(x) The crocodile tears of the petitioner for the acceptance in Pakistan of Biharis, now living in Bangladesh, is nothing more than another crude attempt to multiply the numbers illegally. The MQM leaders are on record to have declared that any Muslim from anywhere in the world to come to settle in Pakistan, meaning of course Sindh. With the resources so scarce and the petitioner agitating on the streets and inside the Honorable Court to relief from quota legally imposed on the government jobs and admissions to professional colleges, why would MQM, as a policy, ask for more people to settle in Sindh? The answer is that the MQM and its sympathizers desire to swell their numbers, already swollen to unbearable limits, so that somehow, they could become a majority in the province to be able to rule, failing which they could justify the clamor to divide Sindh.

(xi) That a question on every lip in Pakistan is what are MQM and its supporters so unhappy about? Why is a visibly privileged community, at the cost of ethnic Sindhis, clamoring for more privileges, again at the cost of Sindhis? Why the accompanying violence, murder, arson and loot; a demand for share in power at all costs despite being in legislative minority; the ridiculous claim of being 60% of population; the insistence on immigration of Biharis from Bangladesh despite stiff opposition from ethnic Sindhis and all the ascendant tactics of blackmail? Why the desire and design to divide Sindh?

The obvious answer to this riddle is given here under:

(a) That the seeds of MQM and its misguided supporters fictitious grievances and imaginary deprivations were planted in the very first years of the federation through black discriminatory and confiscatory settlement policies which bestowed valuable urban property of Sindh, large chunks of fertile agricultural land, almost all jobs and total commerce and industry of the dynamic and prosperous Hindus to the immigrants from India.

(b) That this policy of doling out of unearned, and mostly undeserved, property to all and sundry refugees, created a stampede of opportunists, fortune hunters and carpetbaggers from all over India.

(c) That Sindh at that time, completely denuded of its dynamic and resourceful Hindu middle class, lay prostrate before this horde of immigrants, mostly illegal, who had only greed in their eyes for the material resources of Sindh and an ill will for the host nation.

(d) That the Muhajir community, having obtained unearned privileges and positions of power bestowed upon it by an immigrant Government and Muhajir bureaucracy, aided and abetted by a conniving intelligentsia and a sympathetic press, soon developed a conqueror’s psyche and a superiority complex that till date neither allows it to assimilate with the soil of Sindh nor to accept itself as a permanent and unchangeable minority.

(e) What Azim Ahmed Tariq wrote in an article is a vindication of our stand. He wrote: “Be assured that the political and economic problems of Muhajirs will not be solved for one thousand years till we have a Muhajir chief minister. And Muhajir can not be a chief minister till Karachi is a ‘separate suba’.”

(f) That it is not very difficult to find the reason why a PPP government, be it Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s or Benazir’s, is an anathema to MQM. The reason is that whenever democracy returns, the PPP wins the election and comes to power. MQM, on the other hand, inspite of winning several seats in the Provincial assembly, because of being in a minority, can not form a government. And since government formed by PPP consists predominantly Sindhi elected members. MQM takes an umbrage and starts its hateful campaign of disobedience and violence.

(g) It is for this reason that they do not relish democracy. Muhajirs did not raise a whimper during the eleven long and dark years of General Zia-ul-Haq’s Martial Law. But they take to streets resorting to violence and mayhem every time a democratically elected government is installed in Sindh.

(h) That in short the petitioner, MQM, and its followers and supporters, confined to only a part of Urdu speaking people of Sindh, unwilling to assimilate with the soil of Sindh and unwilling to accept their political status of an unchangeable minority are refusing to accept the Sindhis’ right of remaining a permanent and irreversible majority. That employing negative methods of every kind including terrorism, murder and arson, MQM and its supporters are on a destructive course of creating a separate province for themselves, and that in this unholy design the Urduist press, intelligentsia and opinion makers are tacitly supportive of MQM.

14.

(i) The applicant/intervenor further states that a large extent Urdu press and intelligentsia is responsible for inflating Muhajir ego to an assumption of undeserved superiority.

(ii) Barring honorable exceptions, the jaundiced Urdu press and intelligentsia has been persistently pro Muhajir and downright anti-Sindhi.

(iii) Contrary to ethics of responsible journalism, Urdu press and Karachi sector of the so called “National Press” has lionized MQM and Altaf Hussain by printing every word of his agitating, repetitive and sickening diatribes with banner headlines.

(iv) But the yellowest of yellow journalistic trick used by Urdu press is to call terrorists “Urban warriors” and plain killers “angry youth” or “armed youth”, thereby sanctifying arson, murder and vandalism as acts of holy war against a legitimately elected government representing Sindhi majority.

(v) On 14th and 15th July 1995, HRCF conducted a seminar in Lahore about ethnic problems of Sindh and its solution. The seminar was titled “Quest for a way out”*. In the resolution adopted by participants, MQM(Altaf) and MQM (Haqiqi) were both declared terrorist groups and the efforts of MQM at division of Sindh were condemned. “National Press”, Karachi chapter, resorted to the worst kind of selective journalism. The prestigious “Dawn”, that reports HRCF activities in details, reports selectively by suppressing the condemnation of MQM factions as terrorist groups, and the widely circulated “Jang” suppressed news of the seminar altogether thereby sidestepping the much required censure of MQM.

* HRCF Seminar in Lahore as reported in Dawn enclosed as volume: P. 1.

15. That the net losers in the whole saga of Partition and creation of Pakistan, to the unchecked influx of refugees from India, on to the mayhem and chaos created by MQM, are the Sindhi people. Each and every promise made and assurance given to them before partition was blatantly and shamelessly broken; they have been derided, abused, robbed and plain swindled in the name of Pakistan, Islam and brotherhood. Above all else their political existence has been put at stake by surreptitiously keeping the door of their homeland open from inside and holding it open by an alien influx that has nothing in common with Sindhi people and does not wish to assimilate with the soil of Sindh.

16.

(i) That the Sindhi culture has been a major casualty of the illegal invasion of Sindh. The Sindhi language is the mother tongue of Sindhi people and their identity. It is a beautiful and developed language that has about 20 daily newspapers and a sea of poetry and prose. It was the official language of the province of Sindh even before Partition but was cruelly and forcibly strangled by first being driven out of Karachi schools and now artificially being banned from the schools of Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas cities.

(ii) The protection of the mother tongue of Sindhi people is the right protected by United Nation Charter, to which Pakistan is a signatory, and by the Constitution of Pakistan that protects all provincial languages. Any relief granted to the petitioner will be in violation of the article 251(3) and will be tantamount to taking away the basic human rights of Sindhis under above Article as well as Article 28 of the Constitution of Pakistan.

17.

(i) That this petition is only an eye wash. The MQM wants to achieve its illegal objective of dividing Sindh by resorting to violence, strikes, lockouts, mass murders, torture, arson and every other method of force and blackmail.

(ii) That ab-initio this petition by MQM is meant to be a propaganda gimmick and to gain political as well as publicity mileage by using the august platform of the Supreme Court.

18. That in the petition all these matters will be adjudicated in pith and substance. The MQM has raised points which need to be replied in detailed, in the light of the submission made above by the applicant /intervenor.

19. That the points raised in the petition are not a private matter between MQM and the respondents. The points refer to matters of public and political importance affecting the people of Sindh as a whole and the intervenor in particular.

20. That if MQM is heard for the Muhajirs, the native Sindhis have a right to be represented by the applicant/intervenor for the protection of their rights.

21. That the very nature of the petition, the points raised in it and the relief claimed is such that the respondents No. 1 and 2, in view of their responsibilities as government, can not give an effective and comprehensive reply. The basic organic rights of Sindhis therefore can not be protected if the applicant/intervenor is not joined as a party.

22. That respondents No. 1 and 2 are now negotiating with the petitioner on terms and conditions which may betray the rights and privileges of the native Sindhis. The rights of people are not negotiable. The very act of Respondents No. 1 and 2 of sitting across the table with the petitioner, has clouded the rights of native Sindhis. The first priority of the respondent No. 1 and 2 seems to be to save their governments. The applicant/intervenor reposes no hope in them for safeguarding their rights against the petitioner. This is all the more ground for joining of the applicant/intervenor as respondent to the petitioner.

23. That as the issue raised by the petitioner are of public nature, and can not be covered by the orbit of the petitioner and the official respondents alone, and the scope of the issues is far wider, aiming at abridging the rights of Sindhis, the applicant/intervenor is a necessary party.

24. That the applicant/intervenor has no personal or private ace to grind. He is acting in the general interest of the natives of Sindh, whose rights are likely to be curtailed if they are not heard in reply to the petition. That Sindh is presently at a cross road where one wrong step could be the last step.

25. That for the complete, effective and judicious consideration of the issues raised in the petition and to secure the ends of justice, the applicant/intervenor is a necessary party as he would be able to throw light on subtler issues of political, economic and cultural nature and will put at the disposal of the Court facts, figures and necessary material which will facilitate the Court in arriving at a just decision.

26. That detailed facts throwing light on all aspects and scope of the case of the applicant/intervenor are attached herewith as chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 and volumes 1 to 4 of this application, which may be read as a part of this application.

27. That the Affidavit in support of the petition is submitted herewith.

Prayer

It is therefore prayed that this Honorable Court may be pleased to join the applicant/intervenor as respondent in the petition and may hear the Intervenor on consideration of the facts mentioned in the memo of petition and exhibits attached to the petition.

Drawn and settled by

Filed by.

*Mr. Muhammad Yousuf Laghari
Advocate Supreme Court of Pakistan
B-8, Block 18, Satellite Town, Mirpurkhas*

Advocate on Record.

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PAKISTAN

ORIGINAL JURISDICTION

In Re: C.P. No ----- 94

MQM vs. Federation of Pakistan etc.

Affidavit

I, Abrar Hussain Kazi s/o Sachedino Kazi, Muslim, Adult r/o 1-A, Unit No. 3, Latifabad, Hyderabad, at present at Islamabad do hereby swear as under:

1. That the deponent has been authorized by the Sindh Democrats Group to file this petition.
2. That the contents of the petition are based on the knowledge, information and belief of the petitioner.
3. That each submission, averment, and fact submitted in this petition may be read to be a part of this affidavit. A verbatim affidavit is not being submitted on account of the extraordinary length of this petition; however this affidavit fully adopts and be deemed to incorporate the entirety of the petition.

VERIFICATION

DEPONENT

Verified this _____ day of _____, at _____ that the contents of this affidavit are true, correct and based on the knowledge, information and belief of the deponent.

DEPONENT

CHAPTER 1**PART ONE**

1.

(i) It is submitted before this Honorable Court that Muhajirs are not an ethnic group as claimed by the Petitioner. Muhajirs, or those people who migrated to Pakistan, due to Hindu atrocities and pogrom, Banya intolerance or because the Muslim country promised a better social and economic life, trekked from different provinces of India speaking different languages and from variegated cultural backgrounds.

(ii) That a large numbers of Muhajirs were from Punjab who waded through the rivers of blood to reach Pakistan. These refugees who are far more in number than refugees in Sindh, have assimilated with the soil of Punjab, speak Punjabi, do not call themselves Muhajirs and are not supporters of MQM.

(iii) That the refugees who came to Sindh belonged to different states or provinces of India as the following table proves:

Table 1.1: Census Break down According to States from Where People Migrated to Pakistan

Place of Origin	Settled in Sindh & Khairpur State	Settled in Karachi
UP and States	116899	197560
Assam, Bihar, West Bengal	4320	19874
Mysor, Coorg, Madras	4745	11107
Bombay, Portuguese India	32064	119158
CP, Bhopal, Hyderabad State		
E.Punjab, Patiala, Jammu & Kashmir, Ajmir, Dehli & Rajputana	370876	217649
Bhutan & French India	341	1979
Total	550,2291	616,906

Source: Population Census 1951

(iv) That the language-wise break down of refugees was as follows:

Table 1.2: Language-wise Break down of refugees:

District	Refugee Population	Urban	Rural	Urdu M.Tongue
1. Dadu	20720	9194	11526	16589
2. Hyderabad	205641	177180	28461	181869
3. Larkana	25682	16501	9181	24732
4. Nawabshah	93345	41136	52209	77827
5. Sukkur	93739	66636	27103	87877
6. Tharpakar	88765	283233	60442	72077
7. Thatta	5851	1813	4038	3546
8. U.S.F	6535	3937	2598	6058
9. Khairpur State	10013	4889	5124	8912
10. Karachi	616906	616906	--	565816
Total	1167197	966515	200682	1045303

Source: Statement 3R. p. 36 for all districts, including Khairpur, Table 19A for Karachi. Population Census 1951.

(v) The tables and figures submitted before the Honorable Court prove conclusively that Muhajirs are not one ethnic block and do not speak the same language.

2. That petitioner is not the representative political party of all Muhajirs. It is representative political party of some pockets of Urdu speaking people only, and that from among the Urdu speaking people also many support parties other than the petitioner, like Jammat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema Pakistan, Tahrik Nifaze Jafria etc.

3. That it is a misconception that Muhajirs made Pakistan. And it is a gross exaggeration touching a high level of absurdity that 2 million Muhajirs lost their lives during Partition. Similarly the MQM’s claim that its supporters are facing deprivations and therefore fighting the State of Pakistan on streets is a brazen lie in order to hide the actual reason of MQM’s militant agitation. All above points are averred by the applicant/intervenor in chapters 2 and 3 following.

4. That basically the Petitioner, MQM is a fascist organization of terrorists and criminals that has whipped up ethnic frenzy among its misguided followers over imaginary and concocted grievances, killing, maiming, looting and burning, propagating hatred and antagonism, and inflicting heavy toll of human and material suffering on itself, its misguided followers and everyone around.

5.

(i) That the demonic frenzy employed by MQM and its indoctrinated followers to kill and destroy, is a calculated strategy to terrorize all non-Urdu speaking people from abandoning Karachi so that it could be turned into a separate province, or even a country.

(ii) In 1986 they fought pitched battles with Pathans in Qasba Colony over an accident in which an unfortunate girl Bushra Zaidi was killed by a mini bus. Blaming Pathans who predominantly own public transport in Karachi, for all their ills, the miscreants of MQM started a war that continued for many days and left 60 people dead and scores of mini buses and other property burnt.

The Pathans living in Karachi own transport industry, fruit and vegetables market and to a large extent are employed in the construction industry. They have increasingly replaced Muhajirs in the business and employment of all 3 fields. To save Pathan interests in Karachi, Mr. Wali Khan and Mr. Ajmal Khattak, leaders of Awami National Party (ANP), have made overtures and buttered up MQM by stooping to demeaning levels of the extent of going against the interests of ethnic Sindhis, but the tension between the two communities continues to persist. The Pathans reside in Sohrab Goth, Banaras Colony, Shireen Jinnah Colony, and other settlements, strictly outside the areas controlled by MQM or its supporters.

(iii) Next came Punjabis who are perceived to be owning a sizable number of industries and major houses of commerce in Karachi. Under Zia-ul-Haq’s regime, the Nooriabad industrial complex was planned and executed. It is an open secret that by developing the Industrial estate, Zia-ul-Haq desired to change the demography of Sindh by gathering upwards of five million people of other provinces in Nooriabad. Such a scheme threatened the long term plan of MQM. Therefore without any apparent flash point a clash was engineered that soon engulfed Drigh (Faisal) Colony and Malir. The Punjabis saved themselves from further damage to life and property by shifting to exclusive enclaves such as Green Town, Golden Town, Punjab Town and by fortifying themselves in one part of Faisal Colony.

(iv) That the hatred and animosity created by MQM in its indoctrinated followers is manifest from an incident* of July 1st, 1995, during the on going phase of violence in Karachi, when a terrorist was arrested from a shuttered shop guarding 3 people whose hands and feet were tied. One of the victims, Raja Muhammad Mehboob, a constable in customs department, recounted that the terrorists were abusing Pathans and Punjabis and asking as to why did these people come to Karachi. Another victim Hakim Khan, a PIA employee, said much the same thing. They tortured him while asking why did Punjabis come here (Karachi). The episode was related by one of the victims on Television, before the whole country.

(v) After Punjabis it was Sindhis’ turn. Since the Sindhi settlements in Karachi are out of immediate reach of MQM supporters, a conflict had to be engineered in Hyderabad. The Mayor of Hyderabad, Aftab Sheikh, was used for the dirty work aided by communalist Maulana Wasi Mazhar Nadvi, the then federal minister. As a first step all over Sindh and particularly Hyderabad huge posters, at times 3 storied tall, were displayed, showing ferocious young men, some time with shapely masks, but always holding Kalashnikov type guns in hand, and written underneath “Muhajir Power Super Power” or “Jo Muhajir Se Takrae ga Wo pash pash ho jae ga” (Translated in English: He who clashed with Muhajir will be destroyed). To say the least these posters were highly provocative.

* A cutting of “Dawn” dated 2nd July, 1995, is enclosed as Vol 1.1.

Next, a barrage of anti-Sindhi statements started pouring from the newly inducted Mayor Mr. Aftab Sheikh, who had been elected to HMC in the 1987 local bodies election on Haq Parast (MQM) ticket. These provocative statements raised the temperature a notch higher.

Changing the years old name Makhdoom Nooh Road to Fateh Muhammad Kanpoori Road and Hyder Chowk to Muhajir Chowk, greatly agitated Sindhi emotions. Makhdoom Nooh, a saint of Hala, is a revered name in the history of Sindh and so is that of comrade Hyder Buksh Jatui, the Hari Leader. Only an insane person or one who desires to provoke, can think of offending peoples’ sensibilities in this manner.

As the Sindhis stance hardened, MQM and its thugs resorted to their now familiar game of murder, loot and arson. Random killing of Sindhis,* caught in MQM dominated areas; looting and burning down of a historic museum housing invaluable artifacts and antiquities of Talpur era; shooting on buses carrying protesting students of Sindh University killing three and wounding five and general harassment of Sindhis all over Hyderabad, kept the tempers on the boil for nine long months.

Finally on Sept. 30, and 1st Oct. 1988 what was desired by these murders took place. A bunch of criminals from the Sindhi side reacted by brutal and unwarranted killing of 300 innocent people in Hyderabad. One Carnage was matched by another 300 or so people were killed early next morning in Karachi by MQM. Those killed were only Sindhis, picked by design, ruthlessly murdered, they were equally innocent. The MQM had done its job. The gulf between Sindhis and Muhajirs had become, and continues to be, final and unbridgeable for a long time to come.

(vi) With Balochis of Karachi the case is much the same, only a lot more vile. The Pathans, Punjabis or Sindhis may have varying degrees of economic conflict with MQM supporters but Balochs, the original settlers of Karachi, have never risen above menial employment to pose any threat to anyone. The only understandable reason to harass and persecute such harmless people must be MQM’s desire to see Karachi cleared of all non-Muhajir people.

(vii) The targeted killing of the personnel of the armed forces, police and Rangers is yet another example of the petitioner and its supporters’ intimidating tactics bordering on insurrection.

The applicant/intervenor respectfully suggests that the philosophy behind MQM’s picking on the law enforcing agencies is two fold. One: to demoralize the personnel of LEA and Two: to invite retaliation of the state with the hope that the heavy handed approach of the law enforcing agencies will help widen the conflagrations. On both counts the petitioner has succeeded.

(viii) The internecine war between the 2 factions of MQM has become a byword in sheer brutality and heartlessness. Members of either factions are picked up by the rival faction and murdered after inflicting inhuman torture, like drilling holes, pulling nails, breaking bones and shooting limbs before ending their lives.

(ix) Scores of torture chambers† found in MQM strongholds and hundreds of mutilated bodies are eloquent testimony for which no other proof is needed that MQM leadership and their supporters are psycho-pathetic killers for whom the word terrorist is too mild.

6. By its own admission, part 1, para 9, page 15b of MQM petition “... about 200 such members of MQM had been turned out of the organization. These expelled members were collected by the agencies...”

The 200 member ousted were not mere party card holders. Among them was the Deputy Secretary General Mr. Afaq Ahmed, Badar Iqbal and other office bearers including the sector incharge lines area, now deceased, Mansoor Chacha. It is impossible that these members suddenly became organized terrorists one fine morning and started hounding MQM(A). In fact they were already operating as the coercive arm of MQM but for reasons of expediency had to be disowned. Initially MQM had organized itself on the one point philosophy of becoming a Mafia style organized gang to obtain political and economic gains through intimidation, coercion and blackmail. Afaq Ahmed and the gang of 200 ousted thugs, were the gangsters who operated the coercion mechanism.

But when unexpectedly MQM received landslide electoral victory in 1988 elections and became a party visibly near legitimate power, these thugs became a liability and had to be got rid of. Afaq Ahmed and Badar Iqbal were sent to USA on very short notice to clear the party of unwanted baggage.

However when the dissension refused to die and gathered further momentum, the internecine warfare for turf control started.

* A list of Sindhis killed from January, 1988 to September 1988 is enclosed as Vol. 1.2.

† A few photographs of torture chambers and some press cuttings of MQM terrorism are enclosed as Vol. 1. 3.

The applicant/intervenor respectfully begs to inform the Honorable Court that there are no ideological or policy differences between the Altaf and Haqiqi groups. Both speak of so called Muhajir rights, both accuse the other of wanting to break the country, both accuse each other of terrorism and murder. Fact is both MQM factions are two faces of the same coin. Their war is not for principles but for control of turf. Their respective sector incharge make sure the people of the “controlled” area pay “Jagga Tax” only to them. It is the war of Jagga Tax.

7. Political parties representing people, act as a bridge between their supporters and other parties or even Establishment. MQM on the other hand has completely isolated Muhajirs from other people living in Pakistan. Not a single leader of any standing, anywhere in Pakistan, has issued a statement to indicate solidarity with MQM. In fact many people think that is poetic justice that the savages who torture to death other human beings are tasting their won medicine.

8. The unending violence in Karachi has taken a heavy toll of business and industry.* According to an estimate 25% of industry has already shifted from Karachi to up country and more units are in the process of transfer. The direct result of the closure or transfer of business and industry is loss of jobs, which is exactly opposite to the demand to MQM for more employment.

9. If one were to sum up the “achievements” of 9 years of MQM’s existence as a political party and the service it has rendered its constituency, the Muhajirs, a very grim picture emerges:

- (i) It has not obtained any increase in quota of jobs allocated to urban areas.
- (ii) It has obtained no additional seats in education institutions for urban areas.
- (iii) Civic amenities of urban area have not improved a bit despite Karachi and Hyderabad Municipalities being directly under MQM control for six long years (1987-1992).
- (iv) 25% of industry has shifted from Karachi, effectively reducing jobs in private industry where most Muhajirs are employed.
- (v) Business and commerce has heavily suffered, directly affecting Muhajirs, who own and operate most of this sector.
- (vi) The lives of the people of Karachi & Hyderabad especially, and rest of Sindh generally, have suffered a great deal with daily wage earners starving.
- (vii) Thousands of people have lost their lives, because of MQM’s terrorist and agitation politics.
- (viii) The whole MQM leadership is either underground or in jail with their “supreme leader” living in self exile and hundreds of criminal cases registered against them all, so that there is no one left to console or to guide their supporters.
- (ix) MQM has left Muhajirs totally alienated and isolated from all other communities living in Pakistan as well as the Establishment.
- (x) It has actually earned for Muhajirs the stigma of being terrorists, subversive, anti state and Indian agents.

10. The applicant/intervenor begs this Honorable Court to note that if Urdu speaking Muhajir community had a sworn enemy, he could not have done a better job than what MQM has done.

PART TWO

1. To understand the MQM psyche it will be instructive to understand the genesis of MQM and its modus operandi.
2. Mr. Altaf Hussain was a small time agitator whose sole aim in life was to emigrate to USA. At the height of Vietnam War there was a great demand of pharmacists in USA and anybody having a degree in Pharmacy could easily get Green Card, the work permit of USA.
3. Karachi University was the only university in Pakistan that taught Pharmacy and therefore students from all universities of Pakistan had few seats reserved in the Department of Pharmacy.

* Statement of KATI (Korangi Association of Trade and Industries) is enclosed as Vol. 1.4.

4. Mr. Altaf Hussain first agitated in front of Department of Pharmacy, Karachi University, not for any “national” cause or even a “Muhajir” cause but on the slogan of “no seats for other universities except Karachi”, so that low marks holder like “supreme leader” could get admission in Pharmacy.
5. Emboldened by his success, he set his eyes on student politics of Karachi University. Since Islami Jamiat Tulaba, IJT, the effective KU student union then, was dominated by Punjabi students, he launched APMSO, the “All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization” in June 1984, as a counter to that hegemony.
6. After obtaining the Pharmacy degree, Mr. Altaf Hussain abandoned all intentions of striving for “Muhajir cause” and applied for American Green Card. He duly received it and left for USA to become a taxi driver, and would have continued to live there happily ever after, but for the “supreme manipulator” General Zia, he came back to Pakistan.
7. In the MRD movement of 1983, rural Sindh had stood upto a man against the illegitimate rule of General Zia-ul-Haq. Wishing to punish the people of Sindh for their audacity, the scheming General decided to divide Sindh to decrease its economic and political importance. But to divide Sindh Physically, conditions had to be created to artificially divide people of Sindh first. Therefore a green signal was sent to Mr. Altaf Hussain and an unusually large reception for the relatively unknown leader was arranged for him on his arrival at Karachi Airport.
8. Seeing in hindsight, a mischief-monger, desiring to harm Sindh and the people living in this peace loving province, could not have come up with a better devilish contraption, than creating an artificial wedge of ethnicity between Sindhis and Muhajirs, permanently dividing Sindh ethnically if not physically.
9. In the last days of his life he made a statement and an administrative move that are a proof of his evil designs. First he stated, “Muhajiron ne apne aap ko panchveen qaumiyyat manwa liya hai.” Translated it means that “Muhajirs have established themselves to be the fifth nationality.” In the administrative move he brought General Rahimuddin, a communalist Muhajir, as Governor of Sindh, who set about subtle moves of bifurcation of Sindh. His first action in that direction was to divide the police force by establishing Karachi Metropolitan Police.* But mercifully General Zia got killed soon after and the whole nefarious scheme froze over.
10. The “supreme leader” was quite willing to become a tool of the dictator. In Hyderabad he received a sum of Rs. 2 crores from Syed Ghous Ali Shah, then Chief Minister of Sindh, to organize his party. He then set his course on creating a monster, and destroying peace in Sindh.
11. The modus operandi of the MQM is styled after the Nazi Party of Germany’s Hitler, as described in Adolf Hitler’s “Mien Kempf”.
12.
 - (i) To obtain unquestioned allegiance of the people, each city was divided into sectors and sub sectors, where local thugs were made incharge. In the know of all darks and seedy aspects of their respective sectors, and secure in the knowledge that all decent people are basically cowards, who will compromise rather than fight back the sector incharge were able to organize a disciplined party.
 - (ii) The torture chambers, the drilled bodies, murders, rapes, “Bhatta Tax”, and several other methods that are now public knowledge were used to keep disagreement to non existence.
 - (iii) As the next step, the MQM “supreme leader” fomented passions of Muhajir community by harangues of wholly exaggerated grievances and deprivations, stoking their vain glory by reciting real and imaginary sacrifices made by their forefathers, inflaming their sentiments by display of large posters of Kalashnikov toting youth and captioned “Jo Muhajir say takraey ga wo pash pash ho jaye ga”, inciting mass hysteria by exhorting them to sell TV, VCRs and buy guns and ammunition and provoking them “to snatch their rights.” Especially mesmerized were the young and the tender who are easily brain washed.

Adolf Hitler’s rise to power was much through the same strategy only he used the “Aryan Race” myth to mobilize much the same passions.

* General Rahimuddin’s statement about Karachi Metropolitan Police is enclosed as Vol. 1.5.

13. Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, the leader of JUP, and some senior leaders of Muhajirs had more than once cautioned against this suicidal path. They were absolutely correct in their assessment of the long term damage in store for Sindh in general and Muhajirs in particular, and said so loudly and clearly.

14. To the misfortune of every one, demagoguery won and common sense lost. All the people living in Sindh are paying the price.

The television press conference of a 19 year old who confessed to 28 murders, speaks volumes of the recklessness and short sightedness of MQM leadership and its supporters.

15. One feline and furtive method of MQM’s working is to persecute others and then cry hoarse of victimization; kill innocent people and then wail to high heaven that its members are being murdered. This petition of MQM is a text book case of such hypocrisy. After butchering not hundreds but thousands of innocent people and many of its opponents it has the gall to approach this Honorable Court and lament about victimization.

16. Yet another loathsome methodology of MQM operation is to concoct stories of persecution and then create whole sale disturbances followed by bloodshed and arson. The recent case of Farzana Sultan is a case in point.

A 16 year old girl Farzana Sultan was made to confess before press that she was gang raped by 6 people including a PPP leader. Extremely inflammatory statements were issued designed to whip up emotions already running high. The resultant chaos left 120 dead, many innocent, 25 vehicles burnt and the city of Karachi and Hyderabad shut down for 2 days creating hardship for many.

That the whole episode was concocted only to create mischief, became evident when not one but two medical reports* asserted that no rape ever took place.

The way Mr. Altaf Hussain shouted in the interview to BBC that the medical report of Agha Khan Hospital was lying in front of him, while the report never confirmed rape, speaks volumes of the recklessness of MQM leader, who has no sanctity for his spoken word and who uses all and every method to foment mischief and create mayhem.

PART THREE

1. Barring Honorable exceptions journalists of Urdu press and the Karachi chapter of so called “National Press” as well as Urdu speaking intelligentsia, are anti-Sindhi, parochial and conceited. They have used all dirty tricks of the trade like concoction, suppression or half truths in order to develop sympathy for MQM and Muhajir cause while down playing the opposite view.

2. Both the Urdu Press and the intelligentsia are equally to blame for MQM supporters intolerance and selfishness by constantly printing and upholding the Muhajir view but never giving due importance to the Sindhi opinion which is more often the correct and principled point of view.

3.

(i) A cursory look at the way print media and Urduist intelligentsia have handled the MQM issue will make this point clear.

(ii) The MQM is lionized by calling terrorists “urban guerrillas” or “urban warriors”, and murdered and arson as “angry youth” or “armed youth”. Each and every word uttered by Mr. Altaf Hussain is printed as gospel truth with bold headlines and catch photographs.

The prominence give to MQM and Altaf Hussain gives a distinct impression that the Urdu press takes vicarious pleasure in promoting terrorism. The banner headlines can possibly be because of the terrorist reprisals against the concerned paper, but the spineless submission gives definite impression of glorifying anything Muhajir, be it terrorism even.

(iii) At no point is Urdu press or intelligentsia seen denouncing terrorism. Always an impression is given that whatever terrorism or arson and murder is perpetrated by MQM and its thugs, is a “reaction” to the deprivation

* The two medical reports of Farzana Sultan From Civil Hospital Karachi and Agha Khan Hospital are enclosed as Vol. 1. 6.

visited upon the MQM supporters. No one questions or condemns, that torture and murder are unacceptable forms of protest.

(iv) The Urduist columnists, analysts, correspondents, news gatherers and the editors are forever asking the governments to start a “dialogue”. None suggest that terrorism, for whatever misguided reason, should be firmly and ruthlessly suppressed.

(v) The front page photograph in the prestigious “Dawn” showing terrorist Farooq Dada’s * sisters and mother crying is an unfair attempt to rouse sympathy for Farooq Dada’s death. It would have been far better to show the killer of more than hundred people hung upside down to dissuade youngsters from idolizing and emulating him.

4. The perception among Urdu speakers that Pakistan came into being only because of their sacrifices is deliberately created by Urduist intelligentsia and press and hyped their leaders. It would perhaps be far more sobering, if the same medium informed its readers that the responsibility of the terrible mess the whole country is in now must also be laid mostly at their door, since they were the unquestioned masters in the initial and formative years of the state.

5. Further, if they were informed that maximum benefits from the new state were also taken by the immigrants, mostly undeserved and unearned, there will not be so much lamentation about sacrifices of their forefathers.

6. On the one hand Urdu press has impelled hypochondria of superiority in Muhajirs, and on the other, it has downplayed, to the point of suppression, the enormous sacrifice and loss that Sindhis bear to make way for unending influx of Muhajirs.

7.

(i) On the contrary the Urdu press and intelligentsia, again barring Honorable exceptions, use every opportunity to malign, or downright oppose, the cause of Sindhis. Rais Imrohi’s “Urdu ka janaza hai barri dhoom say nikley” that sparked off language riots in 1972 is a case in point.

(ii) The language Bill presented by Mumtaz Bhutto as Chief Minister in Sindh Assembly was only restoring Sindhi Language to its rightful place as official language of Sindh, which was banished by an unjust fiat of an ill informed Brigadier in Ayubian Martial Law.

The Urdu press and intelligentsia criminally acquiesced in this unfair steep by not raising even a whimper, while the whole of Sindh seethed and protested.

8. Karachi and Hyderabad Municipal corporations were under MQM sole administration for six long years from 1987 to 1992. While the enormous budgets of KMC, Rs. 4 billion per year and HMC, Rs. 19 crores per year, was frittered away, year after year, on purchase of arms and unnecessary employment as both cities turned into ruins due to negligence, the Urdu press and intelligentsia deliberately refrained from developing the perception that Muhajirs were themselves largely to blame for the deterioration of civic amenities of urban areas, which is one of the major grievance of Muhajir community in the present unrest.

9.

(i) In 1990 when Ayodhia mosque incident took place in India, a large number of temples were burnt in Sindh by Urdu speakers. One lone Kolhi, a low caste Hindu, who used to mend shoes was shot dead in Pucca Qila Hyderabad.

(ii) In any civilized society, especially so in a Muslim society, burning places of worship, particularly that of a feeble minority must be considered a matter of great shame. But to kill a cobbler, the lowest of the low, who mends other people’s shoes for a living, must be an act for which the whole nation should weep for years and still the filth and vileness of the deed would not wash.

* “Dawn” front page photograph of Farooq Dada’s death, enclosed as Vol. 1.8.

(iii) The Urdu press and intelligentsia, except a few columnists, declared vociferously that the wanton acts were “reaction” to Babri mosque incident,* much as they are condoning MQM’s murder and arson as a “reaction” now.

PART FOUR

1. The whole nefarious exercise of MQM and its supporters, from the very beginning, has been directed to carve out a separate province from the present boundaries of Sindh. They are even prepared to go for a separate country if the conditions permit them to do so.

2. The genesis of this movement could easily be traced to the period immediately after partition, when Karachi was separated from Sindh to become the country’s capital. The opposition from Sindhi people with whatever voice at their command, created the fear in Muhajir minds that Sindhis will not stand for this injustice for long and will employ all means available to them for reversion of this blatantly partisan decision. Following is what some Muhajir leader had then said:

- (i) Mr. S. M. Tariq, President Muslim League Karachi Suba, said,
“I am grateful to all political parties who have shown their solidarity with us for demanding a separate Karachi Suba.” (Monthly Nizara, November 1953, Editor Khalil Ghaznavi).
- (ii) Syed Muhammad Taqi, Editor Daily Jang, said,
“No lover of democracy can oppose the just demand of Karachi Suba.”
- (iii) Muhsin Siddiqi, General Secretary, Muslim League Karachi, said,
“We will not relax till the government accepted our just demand of according provincial status to Karachi.”

Such obnoxious demands and moves continued till 1955 when “One Unit” was proclaimed and resistance from Sindhis did not pose a direct threat to Muhajir interests.

3. The second phase of the mischief, predictably, started with the dissolution of One Unit on 30th June 1969.

- (i) Mr. Azad Bin Haider, convened a meeting at Jabees Hotel Karachi on 19th December 1969 and formed “Karachi Suba Ittehad.” Those attended included Hafiz Muhammad Habibullah., Raja Muhammad Ashraf, Z.A. Lari, Haji Ziauddin, Muhammad Arif Advocate, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, Maulana Jameel Ahmed Naeemi, Begum Mehmood Sultana, Sheikh Liaqat Hussain, Dr. Yasmmeen Zuberi and others.
- (ii) Khan Bahadur Habibullah, Vice Chairman Karachi Municipal Corporation called meeting of prominent citizens of Karachi where a resolution was passed in favor of “Karachi Suba.”
- (iii) Karachi Suba Ittehad convened a public meeting on 10th January 1970 in Nishtar Park, Karachi, where the speaker Azad Bin Haider, Maulana Ibn Hussain Jarchvi and others publicly demanded Karachi Suba.
- (iv) In April 1970 a procession was arranged from Meriweather Tower to Regal Bus stop in favor of Karachi Suba.

This chapter of the movement and agitation was overtaken by events in East Pakistan and their ramifications.

4. The final round of agitation for a separate “Suba”, which continues to this day, first came to public notice on December 14, 1989 when a Sindhi Newspaper “Hilal-e-Pakistan” published a letter by Director General Hyderabad Development Authority Mr. Tasneem Siddiqi to Azim Ahmed Tariq, chairman MQM. The letter says:

CONFIDENTIAL

My Dear Azim:

Serious talks held with Mr. Okley during his visit at Hyderabad on the subject regarding separation of Sindh.

Furthermore uptil now I accommodate 1000 families of Bihari Muhajirs in Khuda Ki Basti project and 1000 in the shape of shelter-less families to contain University of Sindh. We have to bring 6 lacs Muhajir population

* Some cuttings from newspapers referring to miscreants and van-Das as armed youth or angry youth and some articles by leading columnists and lead articles in which MQM terrorism is not unequivocally condemned, enclosed as Vol. 1.7.

in Khuda Ki Basti and for further 4 lacs, we have to purchase land from local zamindars and plan housing schemes.

The details inshallah I shall discuss with you at Karachi in near future personally. Make sure whatever I can do I will do for MQM.

MQM Zindabad
yours truly
SD (Tasneem)*

5. Since then a number of news items, news analysis, books and pamphlets have regularly been coming out advocating partition of Sindh and a separate province for Muhajirs. There are at least 5 prominent Muhajir organizations that constantly spread the venom of Muhajir Suba and three of them have even published and distributed maps of Muhajirstan.[†]

- (i) Muhajir Ittehad Tahrik, Chairman Dr. Saleem Haider.
- (ii) Muhajir Rabita Council
- (iii) Suba Urdu Desh Tahrik, President Faroorul-Hassan Jilani. (Advocate of the Petitioner)
- (iv) Muhajirstan Liberation Organization
- (v) Pakistan Muhajir League

6. Dr. Saleem Haider, chief of his own “Muhajir Ittehad Tahrik”, has written a highly provocative book title “*Ab Sindh Taqseem Hona Chahiye*” translated it means “Now Sindh should be divided.”

7.

(i) The Petitioner MQM, officially demanded division of Sindh on 19 Feb., 1994. In a convention[‡] held in Hasrat Mohani Hall, Nazimabad Karachi, by Muhajir Rabita Council, a subordinate organization of MQM, in which Mr. Altaf Hussain also spoke from London via telephone, a resolution was passed that Sindh should be divided in urban and rural parts.

(ii) Previous to that Azim Ahmed Tariq wrote in an article:
“Be assured that the political and economic problems of Muhajirs will not be solved for 1000 years till we have a Muhajir Chief Minister. And Muhajir can not be a Chief Minister till Karachi is not a separate Suba.”

(iii) Mr. A. Razziq Khan advocate, legal advisor to MQM and former speaker of Sindh Assembly, wrote a two page long letter[§] on 16.10.1985 to Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo, then Prime Minister of Pakistan, that said:

(a) It is necessary to diagnose the grave national problem of why sons and daughters of those who created Pakistan and who had made monumental sacrifices for it, are being pushed in the camp of G.M. Syed and branded as anti-Pakistan.

(b) Main problem is that Muhajirs have been deprived of sharing government jobs at the center and the provinces since death of Liaqat Ali Khan, and are still not a part of the “Establishment.”

(c) Main problem of young men who have made MQM is unemployment, quota system and admissions to schools and colleges.

(d) The steps necessary of a dialogue are:

- Immediate release of Altaf Hussain and all those arrested and detained and withdrawal of all cases.
- Dismissal of the present corrupt and ineffective government of Sindh and imposition of Presidential Rule.
- Appointment of Urdu speaking governor for Sindh.
- Holding of General Elections for Sindh on the basis of proportional representation.

* Letter of Mr. Tasneem Siddiqi is enclosed as Vol. 1.9.

† The maps of Muhajir Suba issued by Urdu Desh Tahrik, Muhajirstan Liberation Organization and Pakistan Muhajir League, enclosed as Vol. 1.10. Also title of Dr. Saleem Haider book.

‡ News item of the convention, enclosed as Vol. 1.11.

§ Mr. A. Razziq Khan’s letter is enclosed as Vol. 1.12.

(e) The dialogue should take place with you (Prime Minister, Junejo) only on following points:

- In Sindh both for National and the Provincial Assembly, the rural and urban constituencies should be completely separate from each other and in no way should be interconnected or inter linked.
- The quantum of representation for both urban and rural areas should be the same.
- All local bodies in all cities of Sindh should have wide powers of taxation and the provincial government should not have the powers to dissolve them.
- Voting age should be reduced from 21 to 18 years.
- Complete parity should be enforced in the representation of Muhajirs and Sindhis in all legislative, judicial, executive and administrative institutions both at center and province.
- Abolition of Quota system with immediate effect and the enforcement of merit for admissions in education institutions and for all central and provincial appointments in Sindh.
- Repatriation of Biharis.

(iv) A number of provocative speeches by MQM leader have appeared regularly designed to hype Muhajirs on the one hand, and to prepare the ground on the other hand, for creation of separate province for Muhajirs. The very recent questionnaire* that is being enclosed asks its reader to suggest whether there should be a separate Muhajir Suba, and if so why.

8. The mischief of MQM and its Urdu speaking followers is thus very clear that they can not live in a democratic dispensation in which Sindhis being an irreversible majority will always have a major share. Unwilling to assimilate with the soil of Sindh or to live in the role of a cultural minority, the MQM and its followers want to carve out a province through the barrel of a gun.

* Copy of questionnaire enclosed as Vol. 1.13.

CHAPTER 2

1. The applicant/intervenor begs to state that it is a misconception that Pakistan was made by Urdu speaking people from India. This half truth has been deliberately built up by vested interests, including a majority of Urduist intelligentsia, in order to justifying the unearned and undeserved privileges of material benefit and positions of power obtained in Pakistan generally and Sindh Particularly.

2.

(i) The Pakistan movement was preceded by a hundred year struggle to restore Muslim glory and ascendancy in India lost to the British in the Battle of Plasey. It was a struggle for Muslim identity in an overwhelming Hindu India, when renaissance of nationalism was spreading all over the world. In this struggle, Muslims from all walks of life and all corners of India took part.

(ii) Political Movements like Gandhi’s Ahansa (Non-violence), Quit India Movement, Khilafat Movement, All India Congress, Non-cooperation Movement, even Khaksar Tahrik played a great part in prying the British hold loose over India.

(iii) In fact the earlier part of the struggle that made independence of India, and consequently creation of Pakistan possible, was carried out by Hindu more than Muslim leaders. For example not a single leader or worker of Muslim league was jailed or even slightly injured, while the whole top Hindu leadership was incarcerated for a long time. Those Muslim leaders who suffered privations of goal like Moulanas Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abdul Kalam Azad and leaders of Khaksar Tahrik, were not jailed for Pakistan but for Khilafat Movement.

(iv) That in all above named movements aimed at winning freedom of India from British, and later when the Muslim renaissance took the form of a demand for a separate homeland, Muslims from all over India joined hands. Prominent leaders like Sir Agha Khan, Abduallah Haroon, G.M. Syed, Kazi Muhammad Moosa, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, A.K. Fazal Haq, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi, Abdul Rab Nishtar and many others were not Urdu speaking. Above all else despite much falsification of history, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the unquestioned leader of Pakistan Movement was a Sindhi who was born in Jhirk, a small town of District Thatta about 30 Km away from Hyderabad.

3.

(i) In much the same way, the claims of the petitioner that two million Muhajir lives were lost for Pakistan is twisting facts out of shape to serve MQM’s propaganda.

(ii) If the Honorable Court may please note the following facts, the monumental absurdity of MQM’s claim can be gauged:

(a) During the second world war (1939-1945) in which 26 countries of the world were directly involved and almost all the rest indirectly, being colonies of the imperialist forces then, whole of Germany was bombed to a rubble, 2 full and vibrant cities of Japan, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were turned to ashes by atom bombs, two million Jews were executed in concentration camps by the Germans and thousands of soldiers and civilians died on both sides of the divide.*

This war raged on for 6 years and claimed 64 million lives which was about 3.0% of the 2.1 billion population of the world estimated at that time†.

(b) India at that time of Partition, had a total population of approximately 340 million out of which Muslims were approximately 120 million, and Muslim population in the minority provinces was approximated 40 million.

* Chronicle of the Second World War is enclosed as Vol. 2.1.

† World Population Trends and Policies 1979 Monitoring Report enclosed as Vol.2.2.

[Estimated population of India in 1949 = 342 million. Estimated population of Pakistan comprising East and West wings in 1949 = 80 million. Muslim population of minority provinces, estimated at half that of Pakistan approximately 40 million]*

(c) The MQM wishes everybody to believe that in a conflict that only lasted for couple of months, when no machines or method of mass destruction was used, two million people or full 5% of the population was massacred.

(d) In other words using only kirpans and daggers upwards of 10,000 people were being massacred every day for 200 days consecutively so that 2 million lives were lost at the end of 6 months. Compare it with today’s Karachi where 60 deaths per day have literally shaken foundations of the state.

(e) More credible is a report cited by Red Cross that 10,000 people died on both sides of the border. Among the half or 5,000 dead from Muslims side most were from district Ferozpur in East Punjab. In fact the number of Urdu speaking refugees who lost their lives during or after partition could be counted on fingers. All the hype of sacrifices by MQM and Mr. Altaf Hussain is plain rabble rousing nonsense.

4. In yet another absurd claim the petitioner has quoted a ridiculous figure of MQM and its supporters being 60% of the population of Sindh or 18 million out of 30 million Population of Sindh conceded by the petitioner in its Petition and claiming relief under Article 25 has demanded correct enumeration. Article 25 reads as follows:

“Equality of citizens:

- (1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law
- (2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone
- (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

5. In the first census conducted in 1951, total population of Sindh was enumerated at 6,048,000, out of which Urdu speaking population was enumerated at 1,167,197 i.e. approximately 19% of the total population. (All figures have been presented in chapter 1 preceding).

6. In 1981 census, the households speaking Urdu as mother tongue were 22.64%. Complete table is given below:

Table 2.1: Break down of Population according to Languages

LANGUAGE	% POPULATION
Sindhi	52.40
Urdu	22.64
Punjabi	7.69
Balochi	4.51
Pushto	3.06
Siraiki	2.20
Birahvi	1.08
Hindko	0.36
Others	5.97

Source: Census 1981

7. This belies the claim of the petitioner of being in majority in the province. However even before the maintainability of MQM Petition to this Honorable Court is argued upon, the leader of MQM, Mr. Altaf Hussain, has escalated the population of Muhajirs from 18 million to 22 million. In his latest diatribes the “Supreme Leader” insists that his supporters now numbered 22 millions which is a surprising increase of 4 million souls in 4 months from 60% of the population of Sindh to 73%.

* The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1951, page 295 for India and 296 for Pakistan enclosed as Vol. 2.3.

8. Without prejudice to above a question arises as to how, and why, is it that the petitioner and its supporters, by which is meant Urdu speaking people, have become 60% (or 73%) from a figure of 19% in a short period of 40 years except through massive illegal immigration.

9.

(i) The applicant/intervenor begs to inform this Honorable Court that at no time during the struggle for creation of Pakistan was a plan of mass migration from minority provinces envisaged or even contemplated. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was very clear on this issue. In his mind and that of other Muslim League leaders, creation of Pakistan would automatically reduce the dominant role of Hindu minorities in Muslim majority provinces which would otherwise, in a combined India, be influenced by a federal government belonging to the permanent majority of Hindus.

(ii) The text of All India Muslim League’s Pakistan resolution of 1940 clearly shows that minorities’ rights were being resolved at the political level without contemplating migration of any kind. The Resolution reads as follows:

“Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute ‘Independent States’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”

“The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.”

(iii) A year later, in 1941, All India Muslim League revised the wording of its political objective, and adopted it at Madras. The text is as follows:

(a) The establishment of completely independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted. With such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homeland in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

(b) That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political and administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

(c) That in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution of them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.”

(iv) But much clearer in its perception is Quaid-e-Azam’s press conference with foreign correspondents at New Delhi one year before Independence. In it he said,” As soon as Pakistan is achieved, this tension which exists and will [otherwise] continue...that one nation is going to rule the other... will cease. The minorities can live only as minorities and not as a dominant body.”

“At present the position is this: that the minorities in Muslim zones naturally do not want Pakistan, because with the backing and dissension of Hindus all over India, they are encouraged and are dominating Muslim majorities.”

“Once they realized that they have to live as minorities then I think you will have really stable and secure Government in Pakistan and Hindustan. Why should there then be a national quarrel? The position is reduced to much smaller plane, i.e. how best can the minorities be protected and safeguarded in the two states.”*

10.

(i) Despite a clear concept of how the problems of minorities was going to be solved, the first incumbent government of the Federation under a feline and furtive plan; and in spite of all that was done by Sindh for the Federation, betrayed Sindh by opening borders of Khokhrapar with a perfidious design of swamping Sindh and turning it into another later day state of Oudh. What we are facing now is the outcome of that treachery.

(ii) Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, the last of the prominent Muslim League leaders, has this to say in his Memoirs, “*The nation that lost its soul*”, p. 178.

“He (Liaqat Ali Khan) delayed the completion of the Constitution to avoid elections which he could not win because he had no seat in Pakistan and had to be elected by East Pakistan. He, on the advice of officer belonging to the United Provinces, broke the Liaqat-Nehru Pact about the agreed areas for migration from India to Pakistan, requiring the record of property to be exchanged officially. He, quite against the agreement permitted inhabitants of UP and Rajasthan to enter via Khokhrapar - thus opening floodgates endangering the stability of the already overloaded boat of Pakistan. I objected to this in the assembly. This action of Liaqat was quite partial allowing only people from his old Province and the adjoining areas to migrate unfairly into Pakistan in order to create a seat for himself in Karachi. The people of the rest of the India were left to stew in their own Juice. This act of his created a lot of confusion with people getting allotments in Sindh, without records on each other’s dubious evidence. This led to the problems of MQM and their hatred by Sindhis. These refugees got a monopoly of jobs in the cities and deprived local Pakistanis of their rightful share. The political instability still persists.”†

(iii) A conversation between Altaf Gauhar, the Information Secretary of Ayub Khan, on 15th March, 1969, with Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, on the subject of the grievances of the Sindhi people is most revealing. Chaudhry Muhammad Ali in conversation, as quoted by Altaf Gauhar, said, “The Sindhis were extremely unhappy about the growing presence of “outsider” in the towns of Sindh. The Muhajirs had taken over the whole of Karachi, the Punjab officials had acquired large tracts of barrage lands and the Pathans had acquired a monopoly of all transport and construction business. Muhammad Ali thought these worries were all unnecessary because his government in the 1950s had foreseen the problem and had planned the induction of Muhajirs into Karachi and other major towns of Sindh to forestall Sindhi nationalism” (see pages 466, 467 of “*Ayub Khan*” by Altaf Gauhar).

(iv) The Chief Minister of Sindh, Mr. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, at the time Pakistan was created, refused to accept more than 150,000 refugees. The dismissal of his government in 1948 was basically for this reason and that of not surrendering Karachi to federation.

11.

(i) After the initial wave of migrants from both the countries, the two premiers Jawahar Lal Nehru and Liaqat Ali Khan met and signed on 8th March, 1950, an accord known as Liaqat-Nehru Pact, to the effect that henceforth people from both countries would be permitted to cross the borders only after issue of visa. All entrants into Pakistan after that date who stayed here without immigration formalities are illegal immigrants.

(ii) As late as mid seventies, the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai is on record to have confirmed the above position, even formally offering all such Indian Muslims freedom of return to India from Pakistan if they so wished.

12.

(i) Muslims from India, Biharis and Bengalis and people from other parts of the world keep entering Pakistan and settling only in Sindh, specially Karachi, with the active connivance of Muhajirs in Karachi and the corrupt and

* *Pakistan a Dream and the Unfolding Reality* by Ibrahim Joyo p-9 enclosed as Vol. 2.4.

† Page 178 from the “*Nation that lost its soul*” is enclosed as Vol. 2.5.

overwhelmingly Urdu speaking bureaucracy of immigration department who issue them the necessary National I.D. cards and even Pakistan Passport for couple of thousands of Rupees.

(ii) According to Minister of Interior Government of Pakistan, of the many visitors from India to Pakistan who entered on visa between 1977 to 1987, 187,000 people failed to return and are perhaps now living in Karachi.

(iii) It is reported by a former IG of National Registration office that 7 out of 9 present members of MQM Coordination Committee are illegal immigrants, who have not gone through the legal process of naturalization.*

(iv) Defective immigration rules regarding Muslims have recently increased the influx from India into Sindh. This Honorable Court is humbly requested to note the following:

(a) Presently the entry and stay of foreign national except Indian Muslims is governed under the Foreigners Act, 1946. The visitors from India are however governed under the Pakistan (Control and Entry) Act, 1952. Contravention of The Foreigners Act, 1946, is punishable with imprisonment of upto five years as well as a fine. But, the maximum punishment for the contravention of the Pakistan (Control and Entry) Act, 1952, is only one year imprisonment and a maximum fine of Rs. 1000.00. To make the rule even more liberal, the offense is made bailable with the result that hundreds of thousands of visitors from India have broken the Rule, jumped bail and have vanished in the labyrinths of Karachi, Hyderabad and other places in Sindh.

(b) Subjects of the former States of Kathiawar, namely, Junagadh, Mangrol, Manavadar, Sultanabad, Bantva and Sardargarh are now eligible for Pakistan citizenship under Section 3 and 4 of Pakistan citizenship Act 1951 because these states had acceded to Pakistan at the time of Partition, and are presently considered under illegal occupation by India.

On entering Pakistan and intended to settle here, the people of these states are treated par with the inhabitants of the territories presently constituting Pakistan. They are normally required to produce a certificate from Junagadh State Muslim Federation in Karachi, as to the veracity of their claim. Thousands of Indians have entered Sindh employing the dubious method above, apart from the 0.35 million who, according to the Nawab of Junagadh migrated during Partition.

13. People living in Sindh are heterogeneous like in any other province of Pakistan. They speak many languages like Sindhi, Brohvi, Siraiki, Balochi, Katchi and Gujrati. One mischievous method adopted by MQM and its supporters is to separate Sindhi speakers only and plus the rest with Muhajirs to swell their numbers. For example the 1981 census figures for language spoken are:

Table 2.2: Break down of Population according to Languages

Total Households	274,420
LANGUAGE	% POPULATION
Sindhi	52.40
Urdu	22.64
Punjabi	7.69
Balochi	4.51
Pushto	3.06
Siraiki	2.20
Birahvi	1.08
Hindko	0.36
Others	5.97

Source: Census 1981

In this case MQM and its supporters are likely to say that Sindhis are 52.4% and the rest of 47.6% are Muhajirs, not considering that Siraiki, Brohvi, Balochi and Gujrati (Parsi and others) speakers are ab-initio part of Sindhi nation or nationality.

* IG Registration interview with Sindhi daily newspaper *Barsat*, Karachi of 11.7.1995 enclosed as Vol. 2.6.

In actual fact the 1981 census should read Sindhi people as 66.61% of the Sindh population; 22.69% as Urdu speaking and 7.69% Punjabi and Pushto speaking respectively.

CHAPTER 3

PART ONE

1. A legitimate question on every lip in Pakistan is what kind of deprivations and injustice have been meted out to the Muhajir community that they have taken up arms against everybody, killing and burning, looting and destroying. Surely the reasons for such an attitude should be overwhelming.

2. It is respectfully submitted before this Honorable Court that in order to resolve any conflict, especially when the conflict be so critical as in Sindh now, following parameters should be carefully considered:

- (i) . Claims of the parties in conflict
- (ii) . All the facts and figures of the issues
- (iii) . Resolution of the conflict according to the principles of natural justice.

3. The applicant/intervenor begs to submit the issues of the conflict as well as the facts hereunder, along with documentary proof. At the same time the applicant/intervenor requests this Honorable Court to note that Mr. Altaf Hussain, the “supreme leader” of the petitioner keeps issuing irresponsible statements like Muhajirs being 60% of Sindh population or being 22 million. He also wails about discrimination in admissions or in jobs without presenting cogent proofs or documentary evidence of his grievances. In this age of information revolution why Mr. Altaf Hussain does not state facts and figures indicate that he wishes only to blackmail the government into granting the Muhajir community such privileges that they are already enjoying more than their due share.

4. At the height of MQM and Muhajir anger, when “operation clean up” had gathered pace, some concerned citizens of Karachi, mostly Urdu speaking, contacted members of impleader organization, the SDG, for a dialogue on Sindh-Muhajir conflict.

The ensuing debate continued for six months between a number of concerned people from both sides in which complaints of the two communities were enumerated and a final compromise draft was prepared that was signed by more than 50 of the attending members.* It was extremely surprising that, the grievance enumerated by the Muhajirs, after raking many intelligent, fertile and prominent brains, totaled only three:

- (i) They (Muhajirs) have not been accepted as sons of the soil.
- (ii) The quota system for services and in educational institutions is an instrument of discrimination against them.
- (iii) There has been no effort to solve the civic problems of the urban areas in Sindh which affects them (the Muhajirs) exclusively.

5. The MQM petition also contains the total past and present grievances for which the petitioner has moved this Honorable Court. Minus those complaints that have arisen out of, and after “Operation Clean Up”, the residual grievances enumerated below are ethos for which the MQM and its leaders were agitating on the streets for past so many years as their “National” (Quomi) rights:

- (i) . The census figure for all previous exercises are wrong. The Muhajirs are 60% of the population of Sindh and therefore should be accordingly give the due share of power in the administration of Sindh and representation of Muhajirs in National and Sindh Assemblies.
- (ii) . Quota in educational institutions is discriminatory to Muhajirs, they deserve more, commensurate with their percentage of the educated.
- (iii) . Quota in government jobs is discriminatory of Muhajir, they deserve more, commensurate with their ability and qualification.
- (iv) . Biharis should be brought to Pakistan (read Sindh) from Bangladesh.
- (v) . Sindhi Language has been made compulsory for Government service.

6.

- (i) It is respectfully submitted that all above mentioned grievance, those enumerated by the petitioner and the ones itemized by the Muhajir intelligentsia are based either on concealment or half truths or downright dishonest as will be proved in this document taking each point separately.

* Declaration of Peace and Amity in Sindh is enclosed as Vol. 3.1

(ii) The issue of Muhajirs being 60% of the population of Sindh had already been separately averred in preceding chapter 2.

PART TWO

1. The petitioner has prayed for relief under Article 22 of the constitution of Pakistan. Translated, it means that the petitioner is agitating this Honorable Court against quota in admissions to educational Institutions. The relevant part of Article 22 reads as under:

Article 22 (3) (b) “no citizen shall on denied admission to any education institution receiving aid from public revenues on the ground only of race, religion, caste or place of birth.”

2. By educational institutions the petitioner means only Medical and Engineering University (or college) admissions, since there is no quota in other educational institutions.

3. The fact is, quota is fixed for under privileged people and areas which do not have equal opportunities as the other have. Quota was first demanded, and obtained, by all India Muslim League for Muslims of India against more educated Hindu majority.

4.

(i) Without prejudice to above, the number of Medical colleges in Public Sector in the province of Sindh, and the number of seats or enrollment is as under:

Table 3.1: Distribution of Seats in Medical Schools of Sindh.*

MEDICAL COLLEGE	NO OF SEATS	PLACE
Dow Medical College	355	Karachi
Sindh Medical College	243	Karachi
Liaqat Medical College	358	Hyderabad
Chandka Medical College	399	Larkana
Peoples Medical College	82	Nawabshah

(ii) In private sector:

MEDICAL COLLEGE	NO OF SEATS	PLACE
Agha Khan University	80	Karachi
Baqai Medical	50	Karachi

(iii) These tables clearly indicate that Karachi, which is 27% of the population of Sindh enjoys a lion’s share, that is, 46% of admissions in Medical colleges. If the seats of other urban areas like Hyderabad, Sukkur, Nawabshah and Mirpurkhas are added, the percentage of total medical seats for urban Sindh will have more than 60%.

5. The applicant/intervenor requests this Honorable Court to note that for each medical student from admission to award of degree, the government of Sindh spends Rs. 300,000.00. Most Karachi domiciled students strive to leave the country immediately after obtaining degree and many have settled outside. The Honorable Court is further requested to note that without exception none of the Karachi domiciled doctors is willing to leave Karachi and work in rural Sindh.

6.

(i) The total enrollment of Public Sector Engineering Universities in Sindh Province is as under:

Table 3.2 The total enrollment in state owned engineering universities in Sindh.

NAME OF COLLEGE	TOTAL ENROLLMENT 1993-1994	PLACE
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* Prospectus and application form of Health Department Sindh, are enclosed as Vol. 3.2.

NED Engg. University	3423	Karachi
Mehran University of Engg. & Technology	4265	Hyderabad
Dawood Engg. College	Refer (iii) below	Karachi

(ii) Thus the number of seats in Engineering Universities for Karachi alone is 44.5% of the total engineering disciplined seats of Sindh. Again if the seats for Hyderabad, Sukkur, Nawabshah and Mirpurkhas cities are added, total urban seats will be more than 60%.

(iii) Dawood College of Engineering and Technology* is a federally administered institution that has an enrollment capacity of 399 students in the 1st year. Out of 399 eighty seats are for Karachi, thirty four for Hyderabad and Sukkur cities and sixty six for the rest of Sindh. Remaining 219 are divided among other provinces, foreigners and special seats.

If 114 seats or more are added for urban Sindh (80 Karachi + 34 Hyderabad and Sukkur cities), the total seats for Engineering admissions goes way past 60%.

(iv) Karachi and Hyderabad have a multitude of other technical institutions as follows:

- (a) Petroman Computer Institution, Karachi.
- (b) Petroman Computer Institution, Hyderabad.
- (c) Swedish Technology Center, Karachi.
- (d) Pak-Swiss Training Center, Karachi.
- (e) UNDP Plastic Technology Institute.
- (f) Metallurgical Training Institute Pakistan Steel.
- (g) Leather Training Center Hyderabad.
- (h) And various training institutes run by many large industries and multinational corporations (“MNCs”).

The intake of such institutes runs in thousands per year, all for the benefit of Urban Sindh exclusively. These are besides the thousands of private schools and training centers from typing to computers to music and fashion that can essentially be established in large cities and that greatly increase the facilities available to city dwellers.

7.

(i) In the sector of college education, out of a total enrollment of 191,478 Karachi Division’s enrollment is 117,735 or a whopping 61%, Hyderabad Division (33,731), Sukkur Division (23,478) and Larkana Division (16,534) together account of the remaining 39%.

(ii) In the Post Graduate student enrollment of 29,701 for whole Sindh, Karachi Division alone accounts for 15,135 students or 51%, whereas rest of Sindh (Hyderabad=10,646, Sukkur=3920, Larkana=0) had the remaining 49%. As may be noted Larkana Division has no post graduate teaching facility.†

8.

(i) The measures of development of any people is indicated by its human resources, i.e. the extent its labor force is educated and healthy. The information submitted from 2 to 7 of this chapter is indicative of the educational and training facilities available to urban Sindh that prepares the Urban labor force for prevalent job market. Such privileges are hardly available to rural Sindh due to geographical and commercial reasons.

(ii) About the second parameter of human resource development, i.e. health, the following table is submitted to indicate the break down of Sindh Government’s budget for health department:

Total Health Department Outlay = 1300 million

on major hospitals, Teaching and all Hospital upto Taluka level.

For Karachi:

Civil Hospital, Dow Medical College,

* Prospectus for Dawood College of Engineering and Technology 1994-95 is enclosed as Vol. 3.3.

† Social Statistics in year 1992-1993, Statistics Department, Government of Sindh are enclosed as Vol. 3.4.

Sindh Medical College, and other major hospitals, Karachi = 450 million = 35%

Rest of Sindh:

3 Medical Colleges of Sindh, all hospitals including Civil Hospital Hyderabad, Chandka Medical College Hospital, Larkana, Peoples Medical Hospital and all Taluka and District Hospitals = 850 million = 65%

(iii) Major health establishments like Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Center, National Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases (NICVD) and National Institute of Child Health (NICH) are federally run and have separate budgets running in crores of Rupees. These all are located in Karachi city and benefit Karachiites the most.

(iv) Other medical institutes in private and public sector are as follows:

- Agha Khan Medical University Hospital
- Baqai Medical Hospital
- Lyari General Hospital
- Urology Institute run by Dr. Adeeb Rizvi
- Skin and Social Hygiene Center
- Hamdard Foundation
- Abbasi Shaheed Hospital
- Numerous centers and destitute homes run by Edhi Trust

All above institutes besides a plethora of variegated medical facilities, diagnostic centers, advisory centers and hundreds of top of the line specialties are available to the people of Karachi and those of nearby Hyderabad.

(v) In comparison, rural Sindh has Basic Health Units (BHUs) that are in most cases without doctors and para medical staff. There are no diagnostic facilities worth the name and no specialists. People of rural Sindh have to trek many miles mostly on bullock carts to reach a qualified doctor. Child mortality is high and deaths during childbirth are numerous.

Against such formidable deprivations of Sindhi People the petitioner’s claim that its supporters in urban Sindh are discriminated against is a cruel joke and the petitioner’s plea to grant it relief at the cost of ethnic Sindhis, is an attempt to further deprive Sindhi People.

PART THREE

1. The petitioner has sought relief from this Honorable Court under Article 27 which reads as follows:

Article 27 (1) “No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth.”

In other words the Petitioner’s prayer seeks to demand that jobs in Sindh and Federal Government be given to its supporters, meaning Urdu speaking people, without application of the legally sanctioned quota.

2. The quota in jobs is meant to give a chance to the underprivileged sections of society which for various social, cultural and economic reasons, have been left behind and cannot catch-up with their advantaged counterparts.

3. Quota in jobs was first demanded by all India Muslim League against the more educated Hindu majority. Muslim League won the plea from the British who fixed a quota of Muslims in government jobs.

4. In Pakistan, quota in jobs was for the first time fixed for immigrants from India through a government notification.

At one time 60% of all Government jobs were reserved for immigrants, out of which 15% were reserved for those who had not acquired citizenship of Pakistan or domicile as yet.*

5. Even in Sindh, the less educated Sindhi Muslims had demanded, and obtained, quota in jobs from the more educated Sindhi Hindus. When the number of educated Muslims fell short of the number of jobs available, Muslims from Punjab were offered the same. The proliferation of Punjabis in Sindh Police dates back to those times.

* Copy of the notification is enclosed as Vol. 3.5.

6.

(i) There has been much wailing by MQM and its supporters who claim persecution and deprivation because of their inability to get government jobs.

Following tables are being submitted for Federal Government jobs and for jobs in federally run autonomous bodies according to domicile.

PROVINCE WISE BREAK-UP OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF
CIVIL SERVANTS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS OF 1993

NO	PROVINCE/REGION	GRADE 1-2	GRADE 3-16	GRADE 17 & 18	GRADE 19 & 20	GRADE 21 & 22	PRESCRIBED QUOTA % SHARE
1	Punjab	77002	172108	6788	1468	153	50.0
2	Sindh (U)	13478	25436	1003	260	33	7.6
3	Sindh (R)	9335	15723	841	168	20	11.4
4	N.W.F.P	16145	26592	1333	303	37	11.5
5	Baluchistan	4878	6859	323	71	12	3.5
6	NA/FATA	3404	5044	431	64	2	4.0
7	AJK	3074	3202	141	32	1	2.0
8	Merit	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	10.0
	Unidentified	5994	9788	631	54	9	N/A
	Total	133310	264752	11491	2420	267	

Source: Establishment Division Survey 1-1- 1993.

EMPLOYEES OF AUTONOMOUS/SEMI AUTONOMOUS CORPORATIONS/BODIES UNDER
THE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
BY PROVINCE/REGION OF DOMICILE

Part -1

NO	PROVINCE/REGION	PAY SCALE IN PAKISTANI RUPEES					
		6500 & Above	6000 to 6499	5240 to 5999	4480 to 5239	3040 to 4479	2250 to 3039
1	PUNJAB	382	357	409	1694	11435	15519
2	SINDH (U)	288	227	343	1231	7317	8302
3	SINDH (R)	36	35	47	209	1712	2178
4	N.W.F.P	46	40	70	284	2440	3102
5	BALUCHISTAN	10	13	19	74	450	803
6	AJK	6	3	7	24	305	406
7	N. AREAS	0	1	2	0	55	96
8	ABROAD	0	0	0	9	16	24
9	FATA	2	5	14	41	187	172
10	NO RESPONSE	6	6	9	21	169	241
	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	776	687	920	3587	24086	30843

Part-II

NO	PROVINCE/REGION	PAY SCALE IN PAKISTANI RUPEES				GRAND TOTAL	
		1400 TO 2249	760 TO 1399	640 TO 759	639 OR LESS	NUMBER	%
1	PUNJAB	26068	95560	17833	4442	173699	51.4
2	SINDH (U)	12627	37122	4595	867	72919	21.6
3	SINDH (R)	3113	12223	1879	759	22191	6.6

4	N.W.F.P	5339	22944	6087	2486	42838	12.7
5	BALUCHISTAN	1168	4731	1887	816	9971	3.0
6	AJK	478	3435	935	125	5724	1.7
7	N. AREAS	171	569	168	15	1077	0.3
8	FATA	188	577	425	96	1707	0.4
9	OVERSEAS	12	8	16	0	85	0.1
10	NO RESPONSE	588	5702	764	158	7664	2.2
TOTAL EMPLOYEES		49752	182871	34589	9764	337875	100.0

(ii) Urdu speaking people form 22.64% of the population of Sindh and 5% of Pakistan. Their share in Federal Government and autonomous jobs should be 7.6%, but they are holding 9.75% (40210 out of 412240) and 21.58% (72919 out of 337875 jobs) respectively. The share of Rural Sindhis is only 6.33% (26087 out of 412240) in Federal Government jobs and 6.56% (22191 out of 337875) jobs in autonomous against their share of 11.4%.

(iii) Without prejudice to the argument that most of them are illegal immigrants in Pakistan, they are holding far too many jobs, illegally and unfairly at the cost of Sindhi people.

The break down of the 19% share of Sindh in the Federal services is as under:

78325 jobs (19% of Sindh) = 100%

Urban Sindh 40210 = 51.3%

Rural Sindh 26087 = 33.57%

Other provinces holding = 15.0%

Jobs of Sindh quota

7. As far as Sindh Government jobs are concerned on which Mr. Altaf Hussain has blown hot and cold more than once, following table shows the domicile wise jobs allocation:

TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN GOVERNMENT OF SINDH....496,691						
DISTRICTS	TOTAL EMPLOYEE	%	URBAN	%	RURAL	%
KARACHI	265647	100	259234	97.6	6413	2.4
HYDERABAD	48362	100	35984	74.4	12378	25.6
SUKKUR	31183	100	16836	54	14347	46
THARPARKAR	17541	100	10311	59	7230	41
REMAINING	133958	100	N/K		N/K	
TOTAL	496691	100	383218	78	109422	22

Source: Census Book 1981

TOTAL NUMBER OF NON-GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN SINDH....1,183,116						
DISTRICTS	TOTAL EMPLOYEE	%	URBAN	%	RURAL	%
KARACHI	611859	100	582866	95	28993	5
HYDERABAD	170299	100	80718	47	89581	53
SUKKUR	37680	100	21398	56.7	16282	34.3
THARPARKAR	45694	100	17372	38	28322	62
REMAINING	317584	100	N/K		N/K	
TOTAL	1183116	100	799898	67.6	383218	32.4

Source: Census Book 1981

8. MQM leadership and its supporters are only representative of 22.64% population of Sindh and 5% population of Pakistan. This “electoral representation” of people who hold far more jobs (78% Government and 67.7% non-Government) than their due share (22.64%), most of whom come and go whenever they like from India, most of whom are illegal immigrants, have the temerity to demand, and then to kill and burn when such absurd demands are not met, only because, perhaps, one of their grandfathers waved Pakistani flag 50 years ago in the streets of Junagadh.

9. The applicant/intervenor respectfully begs this Honorable Court to note that at the time of Partition not all Muslim minority provinces were developed as UP and CP. For example Hyderabad Deccan was as backward as Sindh if not more. Therefore all refugees were not more educated or emancipated than Sindhi people. After coming to Pakistan unchallenged opportunities were made available to them in diverse fields like Banking, Shipping, Airlines, Insurance, etc. At one time State Bank of Pakistan had 90% Urdu speaking employees.

In time Urdu speaking people became experts in various fields, the experience and expertise of which was obtained because of their most favorable location in urban Sindh rather than any previous experience in India.

There are upwards of 2 million Pakistanis working in the Gulf States and the West. Sizable number of whom are Urdu speaking. Exact data has not been collected yet but most of these people came to Pakistan much after Partition and obtained admission to professional colleges and/or necessary experience and expertise in different fields, emigrating thereafter to greener pastures using Pakistan only as a stepping stone.

If Federal and Sindh Government jobs as well as federally and provincially administered autonomous and semi-autonomous are tabulated from the above data, the following picture emerges.

Note: Sindh’s total share in the federal jobs is 19%, which is divided on 40% (7.6% of 19%) and 60% (11.4% of 19%) basis for urban and rural areas respectively.

Representation of Rural and Urban Areas in the Federal and Provincial Services

ORGANIZATIONS	URBAN		RURAL	
	% DUE SHARE	% ACTUAL	% DUE SHARE	% ACTUAL
FEDERAL GOVT.	40	51.3	60	33.57
FEDERAL GOVT. CORPORATIONS	40	113	60	32.6
SINDH GOVT.	40	78	60	22
PROVINCIAL GOVT. CORPORATIONS	40	67	60	32.4

Source: Census Book of 1981

PART FOUR

1. The petitioner had invoked Article 15 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, under which the petitioner has prayed for bringing Biharis from Bangladesh to Pakistan, meaning Sindh.

2. These Biharis are original residents of Bihar province who had opted to settle in the East wing of Pakistan at the time of partition.

3. When East Pakistan broke away to become Bangladesh, the Biharis, who are Urdu speaking, were numbered to be 250,000 and they opted to come to Pakistan.

4. The legal position is that only government servants of the Muslim minority provinces were asked to opt for Pakistan, or to stay in India. Those who chose to migrate to Pakistan, either settled in east or the west wing of the country. Biharis chose to migrate to East Pakistan. They had domiciles of East Pakistan for twenty four years when the country broke to become two separate states. Most of them are married in East Pakistan; to most children were born there; all of them spoke and studied in Bengali. In short they assimilated admirably in the Muslim homeland they chose to live in the first place.

5. Nationality and domicile are two separate issues that must be handled carefully while determining the legal status of Biharis. Nationality is the “legal relationship involving allegiance on the part of an individual and usually protection of the part of the state.” Domicile means “a person’s fixed, permanent and principal place of living.”

6. Any individual living in the East wing of Pakistan had his/her allegiance to the State of Pakistan. But the protection to the individual’s right was exercised by the state of Pakistan through its agents in the East wing. Thus for all

practical purposes, the government of East Pakistan, acting as agent of the Government of Pakistan was providing the protection to the individual.

7.

(i) The creation of Pakistan as a state is a unique phenomenon and the breaking up of Pakistan into two separate states has made the case even more complex.

(ii) During the birth of Pakistan, Muslims of majority provinces became indigenous nationals of the new country, whereas Muslims from minority provinces became national after they opted for Pakistan giving up the nationality of India. In Pakistan, however, which had two wings and five Muslim majority provinces, each individual opted to stay in any of the two wings or any of the five provinces of Pakistan according to his or her social and economic preference. All Muslims of Bihar opted to migrate to the East wing of the new Muslim State, Pakistan.

8. The total logic of Biharis claim to want to come to Pakistan now from Bangladesh is the “nationality” of Pakistan, or the name written in their passport. There was no other physical contact.

9. Assuming for a minute, Bangladesh, having been in the forefront of Pakistan movement and being the majority province having 56% population of Pakistan, insisted on naming their country Pakistan and the west Pakistan was then constrained to semantically rename itself Punjabistan or whatever, would then all Biharis stay in (East) Pakistan? And would also Urdu speakers from here then have made a bee line to migrate to the (Haqiqi) Pakistan? The answer is of course NO?

10. The fact of the matter is that west Pakistan or Pakistan, promises a better life for Biharis. Hence their desire to migrate here. Having been affiliated with the ignominious Al-Shams and Al-Badar has only added an urgency to their desire for migration.

11. Opinion on Biharis by Justice Abdul Hayee Qureshi is enclosed. His findings, albeit for different reason, are that Biharis are not Pakistani nationals.*

12. Historically Sindhi people have always welcomed people from outside. In 1901 and 1935 substantial migration took place from Punjab and was welcomed. In 1946 when Hindu-Muslim riots erupted in District. Bihar, Mr. Hussain Shahid Suharwardi requested G.M. Syed, then President Sindh Muslim League, to help settle the unfortunate Biharis Muslims in Sindh. The request was acceded to and Karachi’s Bihar colony is a testament to the generosity of Sindhi minds.

13. 50 years down the road, after immense betrayals and colossal treachery and double-cross, when Sindhi people are being murdered in their own homeland for jobs and admissions by those very people for whom they opened their homes and hearts, it will be an act of miracle if any Sindhi agrees to accept even one outsider.

14. Without prejudice to above, a valid question begs the answer. When MQM leadership and its supporters are agitating in the streets and in this Honorable Court for more seats in the professional colleges and for more jobs in Government service, why are they demanding that 250,000 more people should come to Pakistan and settle in Sindh?

PART FIVE

1. The remaining two grievances from the consolidated list of complaints of the petitioner and Muhajir Intellectuals are:

- (i) Sindhi language has been made compulsory for government service.
- (ii) There has been no effort to solve the civic problems of urban areas, which affect Muhajirs exclusively.

2. The complaint that Sindhi language has been made compulsory for government servants is bizarre to say the least. A government servant by reason of his profession, is liable to be transferred anywhere in Sindh. The people of far flung areas, mostly uneducated, in many cases do not speak or understand Urdu. To find out their problem and to do

* Report by Justice Abdul Hayee Qureshi is enclosed as Vol. 3.7.

justice to them, the government servant will need to know their language. Even British, the imperialists from 7 seas away, thought it wise and included it as a prerequisite to a stint of serve in Sindh.

3.

(i) As far as the problem of civic amenities of urban Sindh is concerned, although Urdu speaking intellectuals correctly enumerated it as a massive irritant, the petitioner, MQM had understandably not listed it as one of the grievances.

(ii) The reason is that the municipal corporations of both Karachi and Hyderabad were under the stronghold of the petitioner for six long years between 1987 and 1992. With the KMC budget of Rs. 4 billions per year and HMC budget of Rs. 190 million per year, the amount MQM received in the six years is a whopping Rs. 25 billion.

(iii) While the petitioner had most of the power and all the money for six long years, Hyderabad fell in ruins and Karachi went to dogs. Not a single worthwhile project was initiated or executed in both the major cities. The present ad-hoc administrator of HMC has done more for the Hyderabad city roads and drainage system in six months than the petitioner did in all six years of unchallenged supremacy.

(iv) Same is the case with Karachi. Under the care of a young man, humanely and scrupulously motivated, the KMC had shown a far better performance in 12 months than MQM, the champion of Muhajirs, did in all its pristine glory.

(v) The petitioner had, for its own sake, not agitated this Honorable Court on the point of civic amenities in urban Sindh, but as is indicated by the “Declaration for peace and amity in Sindh” many Urdu speaking people of Sindh are greatly perturbed by the crumbling civic services, and the violence it has generated among the users. In fact the petitioner and its supporters must bear the maximum responsibility for this induced violence and chaos.

CHAPTER 4

PART ONE

1. The applicant/intervenor respectfully states that Sindh and Sindhi people have been the net losers in the creation of Pakistan. From the first day of the new state of Pakistan till today Sindh and Sindhi people have received only pain and anguish which they have done nothing to deserve.
2. Sindh is the land of noble simplicity and generous nature. Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him), had said, ” I am getting cool pleasant breeze from Sindh”, “The Hindus is one of the rivers I witnessed in Paradise.”
3. It is the proud 5000 year old homeland of Sindhi people, of their past and coming generations, from the beginning till the end of time, which they have industriously developed and valiantly defended against all intruders. A glance at their history will show that Sindhis have never abjectly surrendered before any invader. When attacked by world conqueror like Alexander the Great, or the mighty British, Sindhis have fought and perished on the battlefield rather than bending their knees before the aggressors and becoming their tool against their land and their people.
4. Sindh had always been a prosperous state from beginning of time. At its zenith in early 16th century, under its native Samma rule, it was a center of commerce and education, boasting of 200 schools of Fiqh, and was connected to all centers of the world like Baghdad, Damascus, Egypt and Portugal, for commerce and for learning.
5. Islam came to Sindh in 8th century, not through marauders, mercenaries and professional looters belonging to nominally converted, semi barbarian Turkish tribes of central Asia, but by more civilized, generous and tolerant Arabs. In course of time Islam left an imprint on the people of Sindh peculiar to their genius, that of the religion of conscience, compassion and tolerance rather than a mere sacrificial and ritual grace, that of the soul and heart rather than of body corporal and mere outward appearance. It is for this reason that throughout history of Sindh communal tension was unknown, except one incident of Masjid Manzilgah in early forties of this century, for which also G.M. Syed, who was responsible for the incident, sought public apology from Hindus.
6. When British conquered Sindh in 1843, much like the rest of India, here too, Muslims were peeved at loosing their primacy and opted to keep themselves aloof from the merchandise of the far advanced British in the form of education, industry and knowledge. Again, like the rest of India, Hindus in Sindh also, took full advantage of the gift and rapidly advanced to a commanding position in the fields of commerce, industry, education and administration. Sindh was attached to Bombay presidency in 1847 as it suited the rulers.
7. However, like the rest of Indian Muslims, Sindhis were also waking up slowly to realize and had started to assert themselves. Despite stiff opposition from dominant Hindus, Sindh was claimed back from Bombay and made a separate province in 1936. Land Alienation Bill was passed by Sindh Assembly under which lands belonging to Muslims but mortgaged with Hindus could not be sold for sixty years to any one, but the owner. Muslims had obtained quota in jobs from more educated Hindus. When sufficient educated Sindhi Muslims were not available, Muslims from Punjab were accommodated. The large number of Punjabis in Sindh police dates back to those times.
8. The constant opposition of powerful Hindus to the economic development of majority Muslims inclined Sindhis towards Muslim League and Pakistan. They remained faithful to Muslim League and to the idea of Pakistan throughout the struggle. It is worth mentioning here that Punjab Muslim League split in two over the issue of welcome to Simon Commission, which had no local members. When Quaid-e-Azam boycotted the Commission, Allama Iqbal took the opposing stand by siding with Sir Chaudhry Shafi, effectively splitting Punjab Muslim League. The lotacracry in Muslim League and Punjab politics perhaps took a start from this point.
9.
 - (i) Sindhi Muslims and leaders believed in the letter and spirit of the Muslim demand for Pakistan. From Minto-Morley reform in 1909, through which British parliamentary democracy was first introduced to the Sub-continent to Lucknow Pact of 1916; from Simon Commission in 1927 to communal award in 1932; from the Act of 1935 to Cripps Mission in 1942; from Pakistan Resolution in 1940 to cabinet Mission in 1946, the whole struggle for Pakistan was directed at realization of the rights of the Muslim majority provinces and their people with special emphasis on the rights of Muslim or Hindu minorities as the case may be.

(ii) The Pakistan Resolution of 1940 and its re-affirmation of Madras in 1941 need to be repeated:

“Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into region which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute ‘Independent States’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”

“The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards could be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.”

(iii) Quaid-e-Azam’s address at the Press Conference with foreign journalists one year before Pakistan’s creation is even more explicit.* It said:

“As soon as Pakistan is achieved, this tension which exist and will [otherwise] continue -- that one nation is going to rule other -- will cease. The minorities can live only as minorities and not as a dominant body.

“At present the position is this: that the minorities in Muslim zone naturally do not want Pakistan, because with the backing and dissension of Hindus all over India, they are encouraged and are dominating Muslim majorities.”

“Once they realized that they have to live as minorities, then I think you will have really stable and secure Government in Pakistan and Hindustan. Why should there then be a national quarrel? The position is reduced to a much smaller plane, that is, how best can the minorities be protected and safeguarded in the two states.”

(iv) At no time was an exchange of population desired or demanded, at no time were the dynamic and progressive Sindh Hindus expected to be dispossessed and thrown out, to the everlasting grief and incalculable loss of Sindh.

10.

(i) But Liaqat Ali Khan and bureaucrats of the ilk of Choudhry Muhammad Ali had other ideas. Sindh which was always a prosperous state was to be cleared of all Hindu and resettled with refugees from India turning it into a replica of the later day state of Oudh, and from there the whole of Pakistan was to be controlled.

(ii) Working toward that end, the first communal riot was engineered in Karachi in which a number of people were killed and their homes looted. The riots were strongly put down by the Government of Sindh headed by Chief Minister Khuhro. Quaid-e-Azam toured the riot affected area personally on January 9, 1948 and addressed the following equally strong message to the refugee elements involved in riots:

“I quite understand the feelings of Muslim refugees and those who have suffered, and they have my fullest sympathy; but they must restrain themselves and act as responsible men, and not abuse the hospitality that has been extended to them and forget all that is being done for them to make them lot happier. I once more want to impress upon all Muslims that they should fully cooperate with the Government and the officials in protecting their Hindu neighbors against these lawless elements, fifth columnists and the cliques who are responsible for creating these disturbances, and restore trust and confidence amongst all communities. Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted government and not by cliques, or fifth columnists or mob, and the Pakistan Government is going to take the severest possible measures against the offenders, and they shall be dealt with sternly and ruthlessly.”†

11. Most regrettably, however within only a few days after the January 1948 anti-Hindu riots, a huge, maleficent shout for separating Karachi from Sindh and transferring its administrative control to the Federal Establishment was

* *Pakistan a Dream and the Unfolding Reality*, by Ibrahim Joyo, p. 9, enclosed as Vol. 4.1.

† *Pakistan a Dream and the Unfolding Reality*, by Ibrahim Joyo is enclosed as Vol. 4.2.

raised by refugee leadership under the impelling patronage of their immigrant bureaucratic power-base and the magniloquent heroics of their Urdu Press in Karachi.

Only some four months later, in May 1948, a bill for transfer of administration of Karachi to the Central Government was brought before the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, and carried through by brute majority, imperiously brushing aside, with no more than some cynical clap trap of arguments, all the opposition within the Constituent Assembly, including the most pathetic one from the four of Sindh’s representatives (these were the only four she had in the Assembly of 80), and summarily rejecting all the massive democratic protest that Sindh could then raise, from the floor of its Provincial Assembly, for its Provincial Muslim League, the Sindh Hari Committee, all its Municipalities and Local Boards, the entire Sindhi Press, her writers, lawyers, teachers, students -- in short, from all the resources which, physically and spiritually, the whole of the Sindh Society could then muster. Alhaj Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, one of the four Sindh members of the Constituent Assembly stoutly read out the resolution of the Sindh legislative Assembly, unanimously passed by it on February 2, 1948:

“This Assembly records its apprehension and alarm ... themselves ... that such a step ... would constitute a flagrant contravention of the Pakistan Resolution passed by All India Muslim League at Lahore in 1940 which emphasized the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the autonomous units constituting Pakistan.”

He also read out the unanimously adopted resolution of Sindh Provincial Muslim league on the matter:

“This council of the Sindh Muslim League ... places on record its amazement and alarm ... deems its sacred duty ... to protest ... Firstly, any attempt to deprive the Province of its nerve center will completely strange the life and growth of the Province ...; Secondly, will constitute a serious breach of faith with the people of the Province ... Thirdly, such a move is fraught with grave consequences ... it will be an ill recompense for the spirit of Islamic brotherhood and generous hospitality shown by the Sindh people ...; Fourthly ... is likely to prove a menace to the growing spirit of unity amongst Pakistani Muslims...”

Mr. Gazdar, then, made a fervent plea in the following words to the Honorable members of the House:

“Sir, if you do not want to make democracy a farce, if you do not want tracking towards absolute dictatorship, you should have respect for the feelings of the people of Sindh. Sir, if you want to be despotic rulers and impose everything on people without ascertaining the wishes of the people and without caring whether they like it or not, and say ‘This is my HUKUM and it must be obeyed then God help us. People of Sindh do not want to give up Karachi.’”*

Malik Muhammad Feroz Khan Noon (Punjab, Muslim) (once upon a time, one of the Knights Honorable the British Empire) making a thoroughly Machiavellian reply to all what the opposition submitted to the Honorable house over the question of Karachi’s separation form Sindh, said:

“This Assembly is the sovereign Assembly and can pass what it likes. What this Assembly passes will be the law of the land, and not what is passed by mean of resolutions in any of the political meetings in the past. And sir, even if we had passed the resolution [Pakistan Resolution] those days, are we bound by it? No. Every successive political body is free to form new resolution different from those passed a few years ago. Let me remind the Haji Sahib [He meant Al-Haj Muhammad Hashim Gazdar Sahib] of a very wise saying about political matters: ‘*Consistency in politics is the habit of an animal with very long ears*’ and I might say that we should be in great trouble and difficulties if we were going to be guided by what we passed, say, five years ago. Therefore, we must take stock of things from day-to-day. Pakistan Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body. Pakistan is a sovereign State. And that sovereignty cannot be shared by any of the component parts of our country, namely the provinces...”†

12. What Sindhis gave and what they received are very succinctly stated by G.M. Syed in his draft communication as Leader of Sindh Peoples Front Assembly Party to the speaker of Sindh Assembly under rule 115:

To
His Excellency, The Governor of Sindh,
Karachi

May it please your Excellency,

The part played by the Province of Sindh in the achievement of Pakistan, and the contribution she has since been making towards the building it up are so outstanding that it is not even necessary to mention them when a correspondingly appropriate place is urged for her in the social, cultural, economic and political set up of our country.

* *Pakistan a Dream and the Unfolding Reality*, by Ibrahim Joyo, p. 12 is enclosed ad Vol. 4.3

† *Pakistan a Dream and the Unfolding Reality*, by Ibrahim Joyo, p. 12 is enclosed as Vol. 4.4

It was Sindh, first and last, which on her own initiative, expressed herself officially in favor of the establishment of Pakistan, nay, demanded it, through her Legislative Assembly.

It was Sindh, again, which with all love and sollicitousness in her heart invited the Government of Pakistan to have a sojourn under her roof for as long as it was necessary, and, almost with a parental tenderness and foresight, spent tens of Lacs of rupees, and built hundreds and thousands of houses for the office and residential needs of those who were coming as her esteemed guests.

It was Sindh which opened her doors to the riot stricken Biharis in their tens of thousands.. the early vanguard of the subsequent armies of political refugees from India--, and did everything possible promptly to give them comfort and solace they so badly needed.

It was Sindh, again which received with open arms the early post-partition masses of her poor and helpless immigrant brethren, and immediately started absorbing them within her fold and owning them up as her own kith and kin.

It is Sindh, again whose doors are somehow being kept open even now for more or less, a ceaseless influx of immigrants from all directions.

It should, then, be natural, under the circumstances, to expect that the Province of Sindh must have received not only a fair but generous treatment in the scheme of things in the initial founding and subsequent dispensation of which she has had such a great hand.

To the great sorrow of Sindh, however, the actual state of affairs is quite the opposite. It is indeed difficult to contemplate Sindh’s present situation without feeling wholly uneasy for her future.

In face of Sindh’s most spirited opposition unequivocally and unanimously expressed through her legislative Assembly, her political organization including the Muslim League, and her entire press and public platforms, Sindh was geographically, economically, politically, socially and culturally dismembered. The grievous loss to which Sindh was subjected separating Karachi and its vast environs from her is beyond compensation. The Capitalized and revenue assets comprising the financial aspect of Sindh’s loss alone amount to more than hundred crores of rupees. The question of compensation even for this material part of Sindh’s loss no more worries the Government of Pakistan: what Sindh has suffered socially, culturally and politically by this dismemberment is literally incalculable.

The subsequent treatment meted out to Sindh in Karachi is all the more painful to recount. She had to quit her own magnificent Assembly Buildings, and move to the old, rickety Barracks after making them habitable at her own cost and for being allowed this luxury of a barrack-roof she was called upon to pay and is actually paying, rent to the Government of Pakistan!! nearly half of Sindh Chief Court’s premises have been, without any consideration for the sanctity of that august institution, unauthorized occupied by the Ministry of Commerce, Government of Pakistan, who refuse to pay even their own monthly electricity consumption bills. The Federal University of Karachi summarily abolished Sindhi as one of the languages for taking the university examinations in. The Secondary Board of Education for Federal Area have adopted their High School Syllabus in such a form, that Sindhi children are left with no option but to drop either the English language or their mother language as a subject of their studies. Sindh Primary Education in the Federal Area, instead of expanding, has actually contracted. In disregard to the assurances solemnly give to Sindh, at the time of the separation of Karachi, Sindhis are being eliminated from the services in Karachi Administration.

Autonomy of Sindh is reduced to such a farce that she is left with very little discretion in the disposal and arrangement of her internal affairs. Out of Sindh’s only five seats in the Constituent Assembly and Federal Legislature consisting of seventy nine members in all, one remains, at the moment, vacant, the second is occupied by a gentleman who on account of Karachi’s separation from Sindh has no more the right to represent Sindh, and on the third, sits a gentleman from Bombay, whose only association is that very seat itself.*

13.

(i) Not content with removing the last vestiges of resistance from Sindh, the Federation went a step further in making sure that even in some later date Sindh should not gain sufficient strength to challenge its dictates.

(ii) On 12th October, 1956, the 2nd Constituent Assembly agreed to the most ridiculous arrangement of joint electorate for West Pakistan only because Sindh had the highest number of non-Muslims in its folds and they could join hands with Sindhi majority at a later date to enhance its survival potential.

14. The establishment of One Unit in 1955 was another cruel act designed to rob Sindh of its identity and individuality. Followed by Ayubian Martial Law (1958-1969), Sindhi representation in political matters and in

* The letter of G.M. Syed is enclosed as Vol. 4.5.

formulation of developmental policies came to an end, since there were no Sindhi among senior bureaucratic or military establishments. A list of officers holding almost all important official positions of Sindh in the years 1955-1970, indicated the total eclipse of Sindh by people whose interest lay outside the province.*

15.

(i) According to Professor Equal Ahmed, a well known academic and thinker, Sindhi nation has been passing through a meat grinder. First, a well developed middle class, the engine of change and reform, was forced out leaving behind only peasant and Wadera Class, next an alien influx was engineered which had only contempt for the host nation and greed in its heart for the material resources of Sindh. In such cases governments help to lift up the society but, in the case of Sindh, the governments were also manned by aliens and outsiders, who had no popular mandate. They picked up waderas and jagirdars to help them rule, thereby strengthening the leeches and parasites in the Sindhi society. It is tribute to the Sindhi nation that despite all odds, it has breathed life into itself and is once again trying to assert.

(ii) And now when after such long and heart rending efforts, Sindhi people have come into their own, a plague in the form of MQM has been unleashed on them, which wants to turn itself into a majority by inducing further influx of alien immigrants, which demands a share in power at the peril of blood path, which kills and maims for a few government jobs and which wants to break Sindh because it can not live as a permanent minority.

PART TWO

1.

(i) The economy of Sindh was predominantly agrarian around the time of Partition. There were upwards of only 300 manufacturing units in all of Sindh which together with other smaller units, employed about 100,000 people.

(ii) Excluding Karachi, Sindh had about 1,644,000 civilian labor force out of which 4.9% only were engaged in manufacturing, 7.1% were engaged in trade and commerce, while almost all the rest were employed in agriculture and related activities.†

2. Since the conquest of Sindh by British in 1843, Muslims progressively went into an eclipse, while the Hindu star ascended in every sphere of life especially economy and education.

3. Following is the reproduction from p. 7-8 of the Senate Report on the Sindh Situation, December 1989.

(i) According to Mountford:

“The position of the Zamindar has not improved under British rule. That he should retain his feudal power and patriarchal authority was not to be expected...But it was part of that policy to reduce natural leaders of the people to insolvency and force them to part with their ancestral estates. This nevertheless was the almost immediate effect of the introduction of regular British administration.”

The introduction of British Civil Courts administered a heavier blow to the Muslim agriculturists whose land now began to move into the hands of the Hindu money lenders. Aitken observes:

“The facilities offered by the civil courts for recovery of debts, the enforced sale of land in execution of a decree the admirable opportunities that the civil law afforded to the stronger intellect for cheating and deluding the weaker intellect, stimulated the money lenders to advance far in excess of what had been his former limit viz., the surplus of the Zamindars crop.”‡

(ii) The result was a fast transfer of land from the Muslim landowners to Hindu money lenders, Dr. Hamida Khuhro quotes a report by Sir Even James discussing on the situation in 1896, that is, almost fifty years after the advent of the British rule:

“a. More that 42% of the arable land in the province was now owned, or held in beneficiary possession under mortgage, by Hindus.

* Copy of a book *They Ruled Sindh for 15 years (1955-1970)* is enclosed as Vol. 4.6

† Source: Gazetteer of Sindh by Sorely p. 553-555

‡ Mountford, Pamphlet on “Relations between Debtor and Creditor”, quoted in Aitken E.H. *A Gazetteer for the Province of Sindh*, Karachi, 1907, p. 336-337.

- b. For every acre taken by a Hindu from the government about three acre were bought from Muslims.
- c. During the preceding seven years the land parted with by sale, or by mortgage with possession, to Hindus amounted to more than 22% of the whole occupied acres.”*

(iii) The 42% of lands held by Hindus equaled approximately 4 million acres.

4.

(i) Population wise Muslims were 80%, where as Hindus approximately 20% of the total Sindh population as per the census figures of 1941.

(ii) The urban areas were populated by 64% Hindus and 33% Muslims according to the same census.

5. In such an economy Karachi city and port were the major sources of provincial finances. Karachi’s severance from Sindh, along with the substantial sea port generated annual income it used to contribute to Sindh exchequer, was the first of severe body blows to Sindh and its people by Liaqat Ali Khan and his immigrant bureaucrats.

6.

(i) The second and an equally cruel blow to Sindh and Sindhis was doling out lands, belonging in most cases to Sindhi Muslims, and urban property, to the refugees, in utter disregard to justice, fair play and to the vital interest of the host nation.

(ii) Immediately before partition in June 1947, Sindh Assembly passed the Land Alienation Bill under which money lender Hindus, who had Muslim lands in mortgaged possession, were disallowed to sell the lands which were to be redeemed within a period of 60 years. Such a bill had already become law in Punjab allowing Muslims to resume ownership of their lands. The bill awaited the Sindh Governor’s assent to become law when India was partitioned.

(iii) The federal government most callously allowed the bill to lapse and took over the entire 4 million acres, or 42% of lands of Sindh, most of which was legally owned by Sindhi Muslims and was only mortgaged to money lenders, for doling out to refugees.

(iv) To rub salt in the wounds a proviso was made in the Sindh Refugees (Registration of land claims) act (Sindh act II of 1950) under which all lands sold by Hindus after 1st March 1947, four and half months before the date of partition, were declared null and void and property declared evacuee.[†]

(v) In the Sindh Refugees act 1950 no document was needed as evidence of property in India and neither was any filed. This act was made applicable to all refugees from East Punjab, Delhi, Patiala, Alwar, Bharatpur, and Bikanair but not UP, CP and Hyderabad Deccan.

(vi) But by 1958, the loot and plunder of lands and urban property in Sindh had gathered so many parasites from India in the garb of refugees, that a Displaced Persons (land settlement) act was passed to accommodate those UPian and Deccani claims who had migrated to Pakistan after their lands in India were seized by the Government under land reforms.

(vii) Once Ayub Khan had complained that if all claims were to be honored, the total land of West Pakistan will not be enough. He issued M.L.R. 89 in the year 1961 to re-verify all claims and surrender extra land obtained fraudulently but had to hastily retract from the same through M.L.R. 91 when he realized the quantum of greed and lies, so high up in the immigrant bureaucracy.

(viii) The most obnoxious proviso in settlement laws was that the settlement commissioner, or the custodian, could declare any property “Intended evacuee” even though the Hindu owner was still present and living in Pakistan. Many Hindus suffered grievously through application of this proviso.[‡]

* Hamida Khuhro, “*The making of Modern Sindh: British Policy and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century*” Indus Publications, Karachi, 1978, p. 308 (Reproduction from p. 7-8 of the Senate Report on the Sindh Situation, December, 1989 is enclosed as Vol. 4.9.)

[†] The notification of Sindh Refugees Act II of 1950 is enclosed as Vol. 4.8.

[‡] The definition of “intended evacuee” as per The Pakistan Act 1956 is enclosed as Vol. 4.9

7.

(i) In the case of urban property much the same confiscatory and anti-Sindhi policies were adopted. In 1958, Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act 28 of 1958, was passed to compensate those people who came to Pakistan not because of any love for the country but were displaced due to communal disturbances in India. Again no verification was demanded. The claimant had to file an affidavit and bring two personal witnesses.

(ii) Although 64% of urban population of Sindh was Hindu almost 90% property belonged to them. In Hyderabad a town of 80,000 only one Akhund Mohalla had houses owned by Muslims. The 36% of Muslims mostly resided in rented houses.

(iii) The Displaced Persons Act had a provision mortally harmful to any future development of Sindhi nation. It was that locals were not eligible for the ownership transfer of evacuee houses and commercial property the value of which was more than Rs. 10,000.

(iv) This proviso effectively cut off whole Sindhi people from entering commercial or mercantile sphere of economic activity because the immigrant custodian never fixed the price of a commercial property at less than Rs. 10,000. Sindhis have still not overcome these cruel and discriminatory setbacks.

(v) Big mansions, Hotels, Cinema houses and Industrial units were transferred to refugees by auction the payment of which was made only through compensation books liberally issued against doubtful and even bogus claims. No local could even participate much less obtain, any such commercial property in the farcical auctions.

8.

(i) The subjugation of Sindh as planned by Liaqat Ali Khan and immigrant bureaucracy aided with malicious intent by the Punjabi military-bureaucratic elite was complete with commissioning of Kotri Barrage.

(ii) Ghulam Muhammad Barrage or Kotri Barrage was constructed in 1955 and has upward of 2.8 million acres of cultivable lands in its command area. Sindh was taxed more than other provinces to generate the 890 million rupees cost estimated for the construction of the barrage.

(iii) Of the 2.8 million acres command area, 1.1 million acres was private land whereas 1.7 million acres were government lands made cultivable due to availability of water. Barring 20% i.e. 0.34 million acres that were left for distribution to local haris, all the remaining approximately **1.4 million acres were distributed for a pittance to civil and military bureaucrats.**

9. The Sindh news media raised as much voice as its feeble reach could command but to no avail. Following is the translation of an editorial by Moulana Khan Muhammad Nizamani in *Daily Mehran* on May 26, 1951.

“There is a great sense of foreboding in the minds of Sindhis that will continue to increase in case the rumor (that the barrage lands are to be doled out) gains strength.”

“After that no federal or Sindh Government should expect cooperation and friendship from the people of Sindh. Because this is a matter of bread for which we are prepared to fight with everyone...”

“The haris of Sindh have the first right over Kotri Barrage lands. Most of them do not have any land to plough, because many used to till the lands belonging to Hindus. Half those lands have been allotted to Muhajirs. We will request all political and social organizations of Sindh to raise their voice in favor of getting the agricultural land for local people. We also request them to mobilize public opinion, because until and unless collective voice is raised for our rights and a joint effort is undertaken nothing will be achieved.”

10. Such editorials and many other forms of protest were used by Sindhis in order to obtain relief and justice from concerned quarters. No one came to their rescue especially the Urdu press and intelligentsia. They were quite happy to see the stark injustice being done to those people, who had offered them homes and a place in heart.

11. There are innumerable examples of the highhanded treatment meted out to Sindhis. Agriculture Development Bank, which was created to advance agriculture loans for barrage lands, was established in far away Lahore, while the barrages in question were in Sindh. Displaced people from Tarbela Dam inundation areas were given alternative lands

in Guddu Barrage command. One Unit government in Lahore made sure that even the chowkidars of offices came from up north. Sindhis were left prostrate and friendless, their material resources being usurped like spoils of war.

PART THREE

1. Socially and culturally Sindh has sustained incalculable loss due to mass exodus of Hindus and the influx of immigrants from India.

2. The Sindhi Hindus, who formed 20% of Sindh population were a part of Sindhi nation and nationality. They spoke the same language, worked towards the progress of Sindh, passionately loved the soil of Sindh, were disciples and followers of Muslim saints and sufis like Bhitai, Sachal and Qalandar. The diversity of religion only made the Sindhi culture that much more variegated and beautiful.

3. Sindhi Hindus were a far superior and disciplined people boasting of outstanding writers, educationist, playwrights, philanthropists, social workers and city planners.

4. Spread all over Sindh, schools, hospitals even drinking trouts for animals, bearing Hindu names are a testimony to the humane side of much maligned Hindus. The cities of Hyderabad, Sukkur and Karachi were a joy to be in for their immaculate planning, beauty and cleanliness. Sindh had never heard of adulteration in foodstuff or medicines.

5. Language is the sole, basic factor in the formation and enrichment of a culture. Thus ascendancy of Muhajirs, and subsequently of Urdu, in post partition Sindh coupled with a deliberate neglect of Sindhi Language had greatly impoverished Sindhi culture and emaciated its language.

6. The treatment meted out to the language of those who welcomed their Muhajir brothers is succinctly narrated by Mr. Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, a leading scholar of Sindh, in his paper entitled “Society Under Dictatorship” read in a seminar organized by Goethe Institute, Karachi in 1991. He spoke of the tragedy as follows:

“Two years after Karachi’s separation (1948), Sindh University was shifted from Karachi, along with its name to Hyderabad to serve the *camel cart and donkey cart culture* of the natives of Sindh as Liaqat Ali Khan had chosen to characterize it earlier, during exchange of friendly pleasantries, I should believe, over the question of Karachi. And for men more equal than others in Karachi, an especial University, the Karachi University, was established with elite Urduist Vice Chancellor of the Sindh University transferred from there to take the University. With the passage of further five years, Sindhi, the language of ‘lesser’ people of Pakistan, was eliminated as a language of examination from the University of Karachi, retaining for the purpose there only Urdu, Bengali, and English. Among a number of others, Hyder Bux Jatoi, President, Sindh Hari Committee, in his protest pamphlet in 1957 entitled. “*Shall Sindhi Language Stay in Karachi or Not?*”, Said,.... ‘He (Mr. A.B.A Haleem) continued as the Vice Chancellor of the Sindh University upto 1952 and left that office to join as the Vice Chancellor of the Karachi University. How Mr. Haleem treated Sindhis and their language is a long, sorry story...briefly stated, he showed his gratitude to Sindhis by doing everything possible in 8 years after Karachi’s separation, suppress Sindhi by closing Sindhi Schools, by reducing the posts of Sindhi teachers, by not providing Sindhi text books to the pupils, by appointing non-Sindhi teachers little conversant with Sindh to assess Sindhi papers etc., etc. This order of the Karachi University amounts to a call to the Sindhi students: “Leave Karachi, GO to the Interior if you want to retain Sindhi, Karachi is none of yours”! Out of the total population of about 15 lacs, about 5 lacs are the original inhabitants, whose mother language is Sindhi and they want to continue Sindhi and its script in schools and colleges (in Karachi), as is done in the rest of Sindh.. Our big Bengali brother insists on all that Bengal and Bengali are entitled to, and he has got them substantially. He concedes to the next big brother, the Punjabi, the luxury (even) of One Unit. All this is nationalism (on their part) and is permissible and praiseworthy. But if the younger brother, Sindhi, demands the same rights, that is “Provincialism” and is reprehensible and punishable.”*

7. By an administrative measure of the Government of Sindh, towards social integration, Sindhi children from class three in schools in Sindh had to study Urdu as compulsory language and Urdu speaking children had similarly to study Sindhi, along with their respective mother tongues. The system worked very well till the General Officer Commanding (GOC), Hyderabad, an ill informed Brigadier of Ayubian Martial Law, later the Butcher of Bengal,

* *Society Under Dictatorship*. By Joyo, M. Ibrahim, 1991 is enclosed as Vol. 4.10.

passed an oral order through which this arrangement was undone and only Urdu remained a compulsory subject in Sindhi medium schools.

8. Under the same Martial law, a National Education Commission was set-up in 1968 for re-structuring education system in Pakistan. The recommendation of the commission fell heavy on the mother tongue of Sindhi people. The commission’s report in para 13 on pages 283 and 284, pontificated as follow:

“The experience of other countries shows that where there are many languages, the best results could not be obtained. Where the education in mother tongue will be given upto 5th standard.. but after class 5 national language would be adopted as the medium of teaching and the mother tongue will stop forthwith. We strongly recommend the above formula.”

9. Not only Urdu speaking people did not raise voice against these steps and criminally kept silent at the senseless emaciation of a language and a culture, but when finally a democratically elected legislative assembly of Sindh took the long ignored and just step of passing a bill reintroducing Sindhi as official language of Sindh, they went on a rampage of their now familiar killing and burning. Twelve people, all Sindhis, lost their lives,* innumerable vehicles and property including the Institute of Sindhology, containing cultural archives and rare manuscripts, were burnt.

10. Again the Urdu press and intelligentsia resorted to their now familiar method of first provocation and then justification. Rais Imrohvi’s “Urdu Ka Janaza Hay Barri Dhoom say nikely” on the first page of daily *Jang* and black borders around the first page of most Urdu newspapers were deliberately designed to flare up emotions of Muhajirs. In the statement columns and articles subsequent to disturbances and murder of Sindhis, almost all opinion makers blamed the government criminally suppressing the Sindhi point of view that it was their land and their province where the Sindhi Language Bill was being introduced.

11. At present we form 70% of the province’s population but the Pakistan Television Karachi station, gives on average 20-25 minutes per day to Sindhi programs. The rest of the time, running into several hours, is given to Urdu and English. Same is the case with Radio Pakistan. Out of 15 hours of broadcasting time per day of Karachi station, hardly any time is given to Sindhi programs.

This maleficent treatment meted out to Sindhi language, education and culture, as a matter of course, and a willful apathy and arrogance towards Sindhis is not without economic reasons. The advertising revenue of both the T.V and Radio runs in billions, that benefit thousands of Urdu families through jobs and remuneration.

* A list of 12 Sindhis killed in 1972 is enclosed as Vol. 4.11