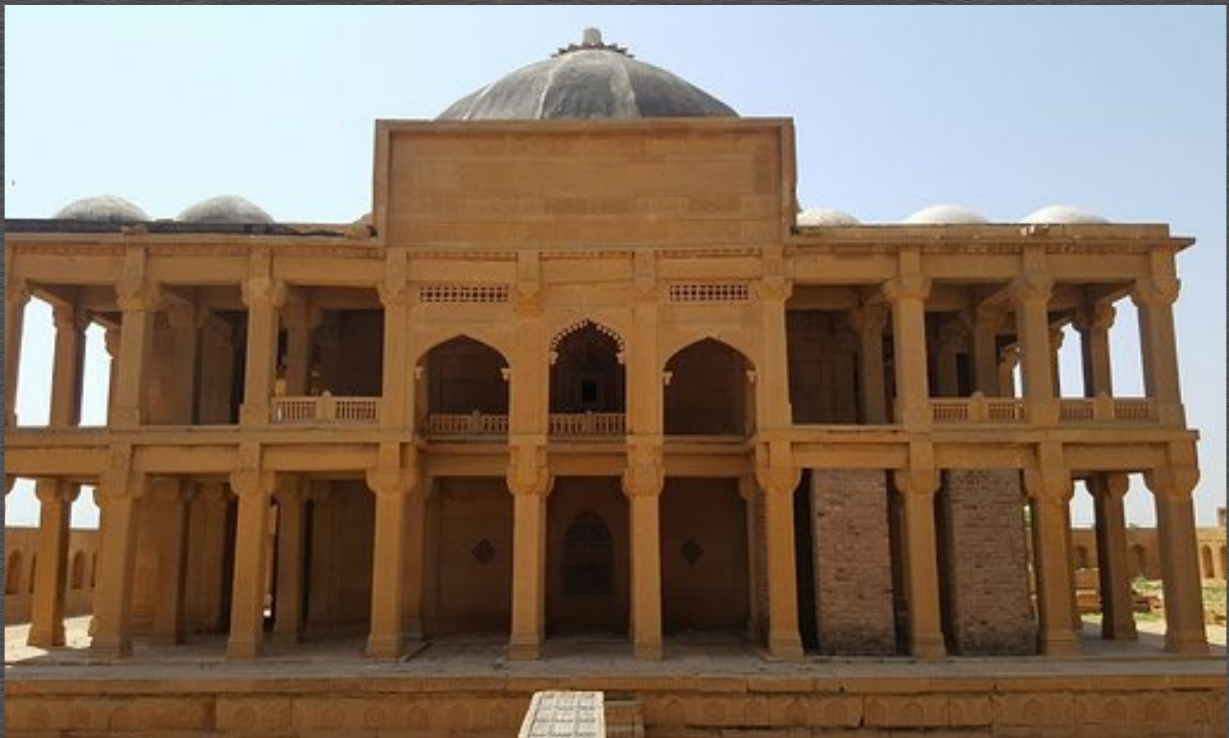


Unfinished Autobiography of Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah



*Compiled by
Sani H. Panhwar (2020)*

UNFINISHED AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF
SAYED GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH

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INTRODUCTION

I am reproducing an manuscript I found in my father's (M. H. Panhwar) library which was given to him by Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah for review, it is an incomplete autobiography of Shah sahib, which was written by him when he was 81 years old. Time did not permit him to complete it, but the portion (six chapters/parts) which are reproduced here cover most part of his childhood and early professional years.

Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah was born on October 18, 1918, in Qadir Dino Shah Village (Rahout) near Bulhri Shah Karim, Thatta district (now Sujawal district). He passed away on October 9, 1999 at the age of 81 in Karachi.

Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah was not only an educationist but also a very good administrator and a true *Friend of Sindh*. The revamping of the Sindh University, Jamshoro goes to his credit, as a Vice Chancellor. All the plantation, many buildings, Alamma I. I. Kazi's mausoleum and the roads were completed due to his personal efforts. The standard of education rose during his tenure.

In late 70's along with his friends he created "*Servants of Sindh Society*" which conducted regular meetings mostly at his residence and brainstorming sessions were held to address the issues Sindh was facing in the Zia's worst Martial Law in the country. A English language magazine "*Sindh Quarterly*" was edited and regularly published by him which contained related articles by prominent Sindhi intellectuals.

In 1988 he contested and won National Assembly seat from Jati Taulka in Thatta district and became federal minister for education during the first tenure of Benazir Bhutto.

After finding this manuscript I contacted Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah's son Sayed Rafiq Shah to see if he has the remaining portion of the autobiography but he told me that Shah sahib never completed it and he has the same material which I had in my possession.

I have added some footnotes for a better understanding of the reader. I hope you will enjoy reading this material.

Sani Panhwar (*Compiler*)
Los Angeles - 2020

Part I.

When I come to think about it, it has been a desultory life, a life of a mysterious development, a life which had been wonderfully designed by God. If anybody were to ask me if I would wish to live the same life again. I am now 81, born in the same parents, with same circumstances, in the same village, the same people, with the same teachers and with the same great men that I met in my life, with the same little men with whom I spent part of my life, with the poor whom I have known and among the rich and the kings and presidents of the countries. From the little schools in Sindh, the village schools, the primary schools, the wonderful games that we played to the most sophisticated areas of the rich people I met, I think, I am prepared to live every moment of my life that were full of danger, full of hooligan intrigues that surround my family and me, rage all kinds of terror which surrounded the country, fight impediments and obstacles that came in my way, I think I spent a very bright, a variegated life, a life full of adventure, life, of restraint, a liberal life, life I lived among men and women, life with boys and people, life with girls, life in mixed society, life in a European society, life in American, Canadian, African society, the Indonesian society, all the countries that I have seen. I could never imagine at the age of nine when my father died that I will see 71 countries of the world and then develop interest in the things that I've seen.

I love books. Somehow I had nothing else to do in my village except to run about, dance and trifle amid the wild growth around. I used to shoot birds, the partridges, the doves, the hare, and run about in the forests pick all kinds of mushrooms and in the forest. I moved bare-footed. I loved to be bare-footed. Probably, every time my mother purchased a pair of shoes, I think I made a mess of it by the weekend.

I have been a cowboy. Really a cowboy, literally a cowboy, because I knew no other transport except the horseback. I went to the primary school, about six miles from my village Rahout, where from my mother came from, on horseback in the morning and came back in the evening by the sunset probably little after that. We had wonderful teachers, the teachers whom I will never forget. That was all my primary education in Sindhi High standard I got from such wonderful teachers like Haji Mohammad Ibrahim Palijo, Ustad Mohammad Yousuf Punjabi, Haji Mohammad Talib Memon, all these teachers were wonderful teachers. When I went to Sujawal, I had first grounding in discipline the child can have.

As I said my father died when I was nine-year old. I didn't know what it meant to me. What change had come in my life. I couldn't understand what had happened. The skies had burst. Has the earth shaken? Everything had taken away from under my feet.

We had more than 3,000 acres of land. We had 500 to 600 buffaloes, similar number of cows, goats and sheep and two dozen horses. We had donkeys and camels. We used to sell camels. Our income at that time was more from the sale of cattle than from land - the non-barrage areas being irrigated through inundation, from Indus. We used to use the lands as cattle-farm grounds. During the monsoons when it rained, it rained torrentially, and I remember we used to sleep in the open. We had no electricity, we had no sophisticated lamps. I studied in the light of oil-fed lamps and candle sticks. There was a time when in Sujawal¹ we had some electricity then I used to sit under a street lamp and study. I loved it.

In our village, we had huge trees. Our village had been there for more than three or four hundred years. I belong, to Sayid family which is known as Dandi branch of Matiari Sayids. My great great grandfather had migrated - actually a number of other Sayids. In fact circumstances had conspired that they had to leave Dandi. Now it is a mound. It is about eight miles from my present village. My great grandfather Qadir Dino Shah, he came down to the place where we are now and it was a wonderful place on the canal called Moolchand in the outskirts of a forest, well-known in Sindh which is also called Moolchand were about mile and a half from there. Traditionally my grandparents from those days had been contractors of *Palla* fish from Kotri up to Ketri Bunder and my grandfather was known as the king of river Indus. He had friends in all the tribes along the rivers right from Sonda, Jherruk, Kotri to Sujawal, Thatta, on the other side Ghora Ban, Ketri Bunder and Shah Bunder. He was a well-known man and a tough rider. I also became a rider right from the beginning. Going to the school away six miles in the morning and coming back in the evening. On the way I remember there was no road. I used to pass through forest and my horse knew what route to take and I kept passing through shrubs and all kinds of plants and growth on the way: horse and I all the time rutting through bushes. We were guided by nothing except by the moon or by the stars, of course I think my sight was so sharp that I could mark a moving reptile from a distance. We could see jackals, running pigs, wild cats, wild voices of all kinds of animals, birds and trees I was never bothered or afraid by seeing these jackals or animals playing in the forests. You will be surprised to know that my mother and her sisters could kill snakes. There were almost 50 people of the village working for us every time. Amongst them some looking after horses, others attending to buffaloes, goats and sheep. My mother was so brave that if she saw some snake she would pursue it and kill it. And during the monsoons, snakes were all over, sometimes we used to kill two or three snakes in a single day. There were a lot of scorpions We were not afraid of scorpions.

¹ Sujawal got its name from its illustrious resident, Sujawal Khaskheli, who was of loyal servant of 19th century Sindh ruler Mir Fateh Ali Khan. According to books on history of Sujawal, the town has its beginnings in a small village known as Maanjar because of its wetlands. Sujawal has produced many illustrious personalities who have rendered valuable services for society. Sujawal got the status of a district on 12 October 2013. The new district comprises of Sujawal, Kharochan, Mirpur Bathoro, Jati and Shah Bander talukas. It is located at about 20 km west of Thatta on the road Badin to Karachi. *By compiler.*

When it rained we used to sleep in the huge open ground with thatch roof of our house which was spread over three or four acres of land. It was built in the old fashioned style, whose walls were lined on both sides with *Pucca* bricks but inside they had sun-baked bricks. This made the walls three or four feet thick. The entire house was more than fifteen or 20 feet high roof. There was 10 feet wide huge verandah, all round the living rooms. We four brothers and one sister used to have wonderful time in running around the house. When harvesting took place there were bullock carts, camels and people would come from all parts of the area and stocked rice on the brick-laid ground and then it was shifted to places where it was meant for.

My father took lot of tea. He was rather fond of tea, but our mother never allowed tea to us. I had no tea in my life till the age of 14, whereas I knew that my father would be sitting under a *neem* or huge tamarind, huge, absolutely huge, you cannot conceive. There were a large number of such trees. There was nothing other than shade of *neem* trees. When I came on holiday, I used to go and sit under one of them and take a book there I had a habit of reading. From 1939 to 1946 I think that there was no holiday in my village in which I failed to finish a book I always read a book of 250 to 300 pages a day.

In this I think I am lucky to have developed the habit of reading which increased my English vocabulary, phraseology and diction. I used to remember scores of words having taken them on a piece of paper. I was reminded of the words by Professor A. L. Shaikh when I joined D. J. Sindh College in my intermediate classes. Physics, chemistry and mathematics were my favorite subjects. He used to tease us and would say that you write your formulae on a piece of paper. He would ask us to write the formulae in a given time and ask for remembering them by keeping them before our eyes. And I remember that during my intermediate I had about 10,000 formulae on my finger-tips.

When I left Rohout after passing fifth standard in Sindhi, there began the time when I had to begin with English. I went to Sujawal where I was taken by my grandfather, Haji Abdur Rahim Shah who was brother of my grandmother and also grandmother of my wife. They both were sisters. He said to me now that you have finished your education here you better come I was to go to Sindh Maddrassah where my elder brothers were studying. They were studying in Sindh Maddrassah and Mr. Harrison was the principal there H. F. L. Harrison, whom I will describe later on, loved me.

Going to Sujawal was another stage of my life. My early schooling took place in Rahout but occasionally once or twice a year we would go to Sujawal on horsebacks, with women in Kajawas on the camel backs or on bullock carts. There were no roads, just about the pathways we could pass. Right up to 1940, we had no roads and sometimes when it rained I used to go on horseback to Tando Mohammad Khan or to Sonda or to Jungshahi to catch the train for Karachi. My father died at a very early age of 46 and my mother was very tough. She was a great disciplinarian. Before she got married at the

age of 16, she used to conduct classes for teaching of Quran and also Sindhi for the girls of Rahout, as if she had her own school. And when she got married her sister, my aunt, started conducting these classes.

In my childhood I suffered from the dangerous illness of smallpox. I was in a very serious condition. Everybody in my family members and the villagers probably thought that I will not survive. I used to lie down on a bed with sand spread over it. My aunt used to sleep with me when she knew that it can be dangerous for her but she would not bother. Hindu women used to come to our, house and read something, play-some dance and sing some hymns to scare away the *Maata* which was considered as retribution from the nature and devil to be overpowered and driven out Fifty percent population of Rahout was Hindus. They were very prosperous, very hard working. Hindus and Muslim used to live in a very peaceful manner. They exchanged greetings on special occasions. On such occasions Hindus would bring all kinds of sweets to us. I used to go to their temples, used to go to their houses and used to play with them. And same was the state when I migrated to Sujawal to join my middle school and my English education began. I had two wonderful teachers: one Mr. Mohammad Saleh Rahujs from Dadu and the other one was Mr. Sadhram. He later left, because he got some better offer from somewhere else. This was the stage when my mathematics became so strong that took me to clinch first class first position in mathematics in the whole of Bombay University from Sindh Maddresah. I'll come to it later. But I am proud of my strong mathematics and scientific knowledge.

I had wonderful friends at every place and stage of my education. For me these were hard and great days. I love close and sincere friends in every class and state of our community from the great and pious to ruffian and rascals. I was close to them and loved and adorned by them. At Madrrisah I had a great future and great opportunity to meet and grow under the guidance and patronage of Maulana Shams-ul-Haq Afghani, one of a famous scholars to be there with us for about 14 years. He left Maddresah Hashmia which was established by Syed Abdur Rahim Shah on the death of his brother, Syed Hashim Shah who died in 1918. He did not take a pie out of it. He gave away the whole property and its income to Maddresah Hashmia. We had about 200 to 250 students whose cloths, food and all expenses were borne by that trust and family.

The Maddresah was housed in a very attractive form of architecture engraved in delicate artistry. Mohammad Hashim Shah had begun its building in his lifetime but unfortunately it was completely one year after his death. Even today you can see the beauty of the chiseled roof of the house. You can see the huge pillars erected out of teak 18 to 20 feet high. You can see the entire roofing was done in wood, engraved with delicate artistry. In fact it is one of the best pieces of architecture. Except the mortar used, it is entirely wooden. There are few gerasters and doors and windows beautifully done in lattice wood. He had built the house so well that the canal, 30 feet wide was running under the house, for a distance of about 200 feet; and the government had

given him a special permission. Huge girders were laid over the canal over which the flooring was done for the house. That beautiful structure still stands. Somehow it became a Maddresah. There lived a famous man, Hafiz Mohammad Umar Kachhi who was a great scholar of Quran, Maulana Shams-ul-Haq Afghani and Maulvi Noor Mohammad Kachhi was a great disciple of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, whose simplicity was proverbial. Of course, he became a semi-politician and joined Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam. He and Mufti Mahmood became great friends.

In our family nobody went for a government service. I was the first one to go for a government post. My uncle Syed Ali Mohammad Shah, was a bar-at-law and contemporary of I. I. Kazi, Mirza Nadir Beg, Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri, Mr. Junejo of Larkana. Mr. Gochly was a great friend of his, who founded Servants of India Society and Mr. Cainbough. When I went to England in 1946, I had some addresses of my uncle's friends. My uncle died within two months of my father. My father died in pneumonia and accidentally his elder brother also died in pneumonia. A week or 10 days before he died, he called me to his bedside and told me that since my education at Rahout was over, he wanted to take me to Karachi where my elder brothers were studying. They were having their meals in first class, they used to travel in first class in rail. They would come in their own car from Tando Mohammad Khan to our village. We had built our own road from Tando Mohammad Khan to our village, just a dusty road not fit for a car which they had purchased in 1928.

In Sujawal, of course, I was under the patronage of my grandfather Haji Abdur Rahim Shah. I was put in charge of his cousin and sister-in-law, mother of Haji Hashim Shah's sister and widow, in the palatial house he had initially built for his first wife. It was so big that later on when we had to shift we came to a part of it and that part too was very big for us. In Sujawal, I began my connections with the rural boys. I was very fond of football.

My village became a centre place as my grandfather had a great influence. We were called Sayids of Dandhi and some of them started spreading out. Some of them went to Saeedpur Takkar. By genealogy we are Matiari Sayids who originally came from Matiari. Some of them first went to Sujawal including my grandfather and his cousins. Some settled down in Rahout and from there my father married.

My maternal grandfather was a tremendous man. He was not only a *zamindar* but was also a grower. He used to cultivate land himself.

In our village we had no games or any other entertainment. We used to go for on swimming, all around playing with catapults. That is why I can swim like a fish. Nobody taught me. Nobody taught me how to do it. We had a huge beautiful canal of about 10 or 15 feet deep. We used to get on the trees and jump into the canal 25 feet or 30 feet high. And on horsebacks, of course, we used to run to all places to attend some

marriage or any other reception. We had two dozen horses. Our parents maintained ponies and trained horses for my brothers and me. There used to be a gentleman Haji Isso, a nice old man, who used to cultivate our lands. The main crops were Bajra, rice. I myself used to work. I used to sow, I used to transplant. I used to join on the high watch-stands (*Paihas*) to ward off the birds or crows. We used to collect shrimps and small fish. There was no special fruit on our land because we had plenty of mangoes. We had huge garden of mangoes in which there were all kinds of trees but we had plenty of mangoes, dates and various, berries.

We were part of a country which was watered by inundation canals. We all the time depended upon the fluctuation of river water levels. Right from Attock and Mithankot and Sukkur to the sea it was all the river water which mattered. Though, at that time there was no Kotri barrage, but we had to depend on rain. There used to be an *Indus Bulletin* which was published by the government, and my father and grandfather always subscribed to this bulletin which gave the gauges of the river and the main canals right from the Attock onwards to the sea. This was a life that I lived and I think it was a perfect ideal life of a noble savage. As a cowboy I fell from horseback for more than a dozen times and not infrequently from buffaloes and donkeys. Even now my limbs are out of joint and they give me trouble now at this old age which remind me of the falls I had.

Part II.

As for the transport from village to village, it was by horses and bullock carts. For women it was Kajawa on the camels and the bullock carts. The place which we mostly went to was Sujawal where most of our family lived. I was also married at Sujawal to the daughter of a cousin of my father. My grandmother and wife's grandmother were sisters. One was the eldest sister of my grandfather Haji Abdur Rahim Shah while the other was the youngest which was married to Qadir Dino Shah.

Qadir Dino Shah, of course, was a very well-known man. Recently I read a British historian's book who had talked about him as the biggest landlord of Karachi district with a tremendous influence. Then we had our lands in our, village. Sujawal was about 35 miles from our village. Our village saw a period of transformation, as soon as the barrages, Kotri barrage was set up. The whole area became water-logged in which we grew only, dry crops before like *til*, or *Bajra* or other crops. We could not grow rice because it depended upon abundant water.

We were in Kotri Barrage inundated area. When it started functioning from 1947-1955. I had been in England. I went to England as an Indian in 1946 and, came, back as a Pakistani in 1949 and by then these barrages began to tell upon our lands. Sub-soil water table began to rise. The water, which earlier could be drawn from a depth of 40 feet, came up at about five feet or six feet. We were a non-perennial area but even then water began to take its toll. All our, houses fell on account of water-logging and salinity. The whole village, Qadir Dino Shah, became a mound. Later on some little, ground was salvaged and of course we also began to think to migrate.

I married in Sujawal and shifted to my in-laws in the house of Mohammad Ali Shah who was a cousin of my father. I lived with my father-in-law's house who loved me immensely. He had no child except his, daughter to whom I was married. My, wife Zaibunissa and I had grown together in the same house when we were children. Although we betrothed in 1935.

She was a lovely, girl, if I have to say it, the most beautiful and talented girl. She was educated in her house by Moulvi Haji Mahmood, a famous scholar of Sujawal. He was also the Pesh Imam of our main mosque in Sujawal which was built by my grandfather, Haji Abdur Rahim. He was a great pious person. He performed Haj for 18 times and sometimes he would go to perform one Haj and return after performing the second one. Moulvi Haji Mahmood was put in charge of my wife's education, for reading Quran and Sindhi. She was so fond of reading that when I went to Aligarh reading kept her amused and busy. She regularly would write long letters to me. I married after my first year of college in 1938. I had passed my matriculation examination in 1937. In 1938

when my result was still to be announced I got married. When I went to Aligarh my eldest daughter was born and my son was born later on, but he could not survive after 14 days. Later I had more children and had one son and four daughters.

I joined Sindh Madressah and D. J. Sindh College in 1937. I did my three standards of English at Sujawal, for the fourth I had to go to Sindh Madressah and live in the boarding house when the principal was an English man, Mr. H. F. T. Harrison.

We had wonderful teachers, some of the teachers ...². He was cousin of Ghulam Hussain Chagla I had so many friends in that Changla family, because Chagla was a friend, of my father. And my father being the President of Sindh Zamindar Association all the people used to come to his house in Karachi near the Pakistan Chowk, just adjacent to the Education Board Building, near D. J. Sindh College and the Parsi prayer (house) opposite. My first six months I spent in this house. Later for the better education, I thought I better go to the hostel, so I shifted to Wilson Muslim Hostel - Wilson was governor of Bombay in 1938.

Something about the life at Sindh Madressah. We were not only students from Sindh, of Balochistan, of Punjab but also from the Middle East and the Gulf states. I think there were around 50 students from the Gulf states and some Muslim students from Australia and East Africa. So many people had migrated from to Australia and took camels, red cows and other animals there. They sent their children for education to Sindh Madressah. And I know one of them was Firoz. He used to speak in Sindhi. He was born in Australia to Sindhi parents. After completion of their education they all went back to their countries.

I learnt to speak Arabic in Sindh Madressah from the Gulf students from Dubai, Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Yemen. There were about 50 boys from there. Sindh Madressah was the institution established in 1885 and it was founded by Hassan Ali Effendi. It happened to be that it completed its fifty years in 1935 and there I played a great part in being the chief monitor and chief prefect. I went for the collection of poor boys' fund with two boys, one Abdullah Sammo from Ubauro and the other, a Memon from Manjhand, Moosa, who later became the chief engineer of Kotri Barrage. A wonderful man. He was a friend of former politician G. M. Sayid.

My grandfather, when I went to Karachi in 1933 called G. M. Sayid to his house and told him drawing me close to him: "Here is this boy I am handing him over to you. You look after him. I am getting older and I don't know how long I am going to live" I had passed my matriculation with distinction and got a merit scholarship from the Bombay University. I stood first class first in mathematics. In the University that year (1937) some 55,000 students appeared for matriculation and only 5000 passed. And from

² These blanks were in original manuscript and are found throughout it. I have made no changes to it, *Compiler*.

Sindh. Madressah only 85 students appeared and out of these 85 only four passed: two of them were condoned. The examination was not so easy.

These examinations were conducted in D. J. Sindh college. Our teachers Mr. Nihal Chand and Haji Jarro, I especially remember. There were teachers from all the communities. K. S. Contractor, who became DPR and later principal of Sindh Madressah. His daughter Miss Contractor became head mistress of Mama Parsi school. She was born in that bungalow. And she used to tell that there are only two people born in that bungalow. The other one was my son, when I was living in that bungalow of the principal when I became the principal, of Sindh Muslim College my son was born there in 1951.

Sindh Madressah had a great influence on me. My English improved tremendously. I played the part of Portia in the Merchant of Venice in the drama staged as part of the Golden Jubilee celebration of the Sindh Madressah; I became secretary of the Union Club in which English language classes were taken and we were taught how to speak English. Marrison took special interest in me and he and I used to play chess. I was very fond of playing chess which I had learnt In Sujawal middle school.

It is very interesting to say that look at the life regulated my nature. We were 55 boys in the fifth class in Rahout and many of them I alone the English in Sujawal. We were about sixty boys in school in Sujawal and out of them only two left for further education from Sujawal. I and other friend of Punhoon Memon from Sujawal a friend of mine but he couldn't afford expenses of further education in Karachi. So he went to Junagadh where the education was free and Muslim students from Sindh were especially taken care of by the Nawab of Junagarh. There were hostels, they were given food, they were given every facility and so many boys from Sindh went to Junagadh college. This state rendered a lot of service to Sindh and Nawab was very good to students.

From my classmates at Sindh Maderessah, I had many friends but I don't know if anyone became some public figures. From Luwari. Pir family I had a friend Pir Ali Gohar, a great friend of mine who is now a businessman. Punhoon is still living but he is old, has become feeble but he could not pursue his life well. He tried to establish a rice-husking mill in Sujawal but couldn't succeed. He had some land and he lives on it. His children are, of course, well-placed. One of his sons I appointed as transport officer in charge of university transport after he had done his B.S.c., in the Sindh University when I became a vice chancellor. In Sujawal also out of these 60 boys none became public man or something. Couple of Hindus became teachers. The things have changed so fast from 1947. I left for England in 1946 on Government of India fellowship. Sujawal had a population of..... 50 to 60 percent of Hindus. Even today 40 percent of Sujawal population is Hindu. They were brilliant boys. I only remember one Mr. Sadhram, who was a Brahmin. He did his B.E. from NED Engineering College, and after that he

left for India where I learnt later that he became Chief Engineer in Kashmir and Harvana states.

In our family no one went for politics. I never thought of politics. As a teacher I never thought of. But we helped people. My grandfather helped Sheikh Abdul Majeed who succeeded and defeated Khan Bahadur Khair Bukhsh Leghari in the provincial assembly elections: Sheikh Abdul Majeed, of course, had the distinction of defeating Zulfikar All Bhutto's father.

Some of the famous men in our area then were Khan Bahadur Khair Mohammad Chandio, who was the father of Mohammad Yousuf Chandio. Yusuf was our classmate in Sindh Madressah, but didn't pass matriculation examination. Then became member of the provincial assembly, became a member of the National Assembly. He was a disciple of Bhutto Sahib, a great friend of ours. When he died, I looked after his brother and sons and also his nephews who were not prepared for education but I somehow managed to put them in Sindh Madressah and got them some education.

I joined D. J. Sindh College in 1937 after passing my matriculation from Bombay University with distinction in physics, chemistry and mathematics. I passed Intermediate in physics, chemistry and mathematics from D. J. college. Bhutani, the principal, when he retired came to Sindh Muslim College and started science classes at Sindh Muslim College. I remember Kewairamani, who used to teach mathematics. Most important was Professor A. L. Sheikh, who later on became the principal of D. J. Sindh college famous teacher of India. He loved me. He used to take classes in calculus and trigonometry. Then of course there was Belani and we had Advani, who later on became the principal of Jai Hind College, Bombay. There were so many other teachers, whose names I don't remember now, but I have mentioned few of them.

Advani was a teacher of English. Kewalramani and Belani in mathematics. Belani took our Algebra. And then we had a lecturer in D. J. College A. G. N. Kazi³, who passed the

³ Aftab Ghulam Nabi Kazi (6 November 1919 – 9 August 2016) was a Pakistani civil servant and a bureaucrat during the Cold War and during the post cold war. He started his career in the Indian Civil Service in 1944 and served as the Deputy Commissioner of Bihar and Orissa. After the partition of India, Kazi migrated to Pakistan and joined the Provincial Government of Sindh, and held positions such as Secretary of Finance and Secretary to the Governor. During the early 1960s, Kazi was Economic Minister in the Pakistan Embassy to the USA. After a brief stint as Additional Chief Secretary of West Pakistan, he was appointed Chairman of the Water and Power Development Authority. In that role, he was responsible for the completion of the Mangla Dam Project. In March 1969, he was appointed Secretary for Industries and Natural Resources and then a year later he became Finance Secretary, a post he held for over three years until his elevation as Secretary General. In 1973, Kazi became Secretary General Finance and Economic Coordination. Finance Minister, in July 1977 he was appointed Economic Advisor to the President. In 1978, Kazi was appointed as Governor of State Bank of Pakistan until 1986. The Pakistan State Bank, under Kazi, was characterized by excellent financial discipline in the banking sector coupled with good relations with the Federal Government. Kazi was the longest-serving civil servant in the history of Pakistan. As a leading civil servant, In 1993, he was appointed as the chairman Privatization Commission and was again given the status of a Federal Minister as Chief Executive of the Pakistan Investment Board. In 1994, Kazi retired from office, at the age

ICS examination. He was the son of Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Kazi⁴ who was DPR, a great friend of my grandfather. A. G. N. Kazi then started teaching also. He was trying to appear in ICS examination. He also took our, calculus and mathematics classes, for about a year. Subsequently, he passed his ICS examination and left D. J. College.

In D. J. Sindh College at that time I came across Allaama I. I. Kazi. It was indeed the first Muslim League conference took place in 1938, in Karachi where G. M. Syed, was the man in charge and president of Sindh Muslim League and Haji Abdullah Haroon who was a friend of my grandfather was the chairman of the reception committee and there they decided to found the Muslim Students Federation and the first branch of the institution was established. In 1938 in a conference presided over by Jinnah and I was the chairman of the reception committee and I read the welcome address. I wish I had the photographs. The news appeared at that time in *Daily Gazette* and in *Sindh Observer*. But I can't trace them out.

In a way I started my semi-public life as a student. I became a *khaksar* and went to all the camps with other *Khaksars*. Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri, Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur, and Shamsuddin Shah of Sukkur, and then Nawab Mohammad Daud of Tajpur, and of course Memon Abdur Rahim who was an engineer later on became secretary irrigation and works, in government of Sindh. He was also a member of the experts team that held talks with India on Indus Basin Water Treaty in Washington. I have to say so much about it later on. He the dirty part played by Punjab's engineers and Ghulam Mohammad, governor-general the Punjab chief engineer Hamid G. Moeenuddin, the leader of the delegation played They parted away the waters of the Punjab's river Beas, Sutlej and in the form of they had in the form of women, money and resources they were never bothered And one of the engineers actually said that during Mohammad Ali Chaudhry's prime ministership about that could, make all the money that could get from the United States and from India and have fun there by that time government of Pakistan should collapse. And when they came back the government had collapsed. And they had to play the game with Mohammad Ali Bogra and so with other prime ministers.

In Karachi, I developed friendship and intimacy with boys from all the communities Christians, the Parsis. Ardsher Kowsjee is a friend of mine I have known him for all these years. Nasernvajeer loved me like, his own child. Rather he was a friend of my grandfather. Similarly, Khan Bahadur Contractor, Mrs. Gul Minwala, established the Metropole Hotel. Avaris, I knew when they were very young. In the other communities,

of 75, and led a quiet retired life in Islamabad. He died on 9 August 2016 after a prolonged illness. At his death, he was among the last living members of the old Indian Civil Service. *By compiler.*

⁴ Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Kazi MBE (b: 1884 Naushero Feroze, d: 1955) was an educator in Sindh. He rose to the position of first Director of Public Instruction Sindh after remaining Educational Inspector Sindh in the Bombay Presidency. *By compiler.*

of course, Justice Reymond, Father Reymond, Justice Lobo, they were all known to me. Their children were studying with me. Mascarhenas, he became judge of the Sindh High Court, but he was a student there. Justice Mohammad Bachal and Kazi Khuda Buksh. I started my career with to which I will, came later. But Karachi gave me vast acquaintance with all the communities.

I went to Lahore twice to see Allama in Ichhra, in 1938 or 1939. After I left Karachi, something happened in our family. There were some intrigues, especially by women. Haji Abdur Rahim Shah's wife said no to do engineering in England. I was promised to be sent to England to do engineering. But this did not materialize. So in my anger, I left Karachi and went to Aligarh and joined political science. In 1939, I became a student of Muslim University Aligarh. Sir Sayed Sulaiman was the vice chancellor when I got the admission. But later on Dr. Ziauddin become the vice chancellor. But as a *Khaksar* there was the agitation going on in 1942 between the UP government and *Khaksaars* and Allama had declared a sort of war against and so I became *Salar-i-Idara* of Muslim University, Aligarh. I was always wearing a *Khaki* dress and always carrying a *belcha* with me and the boys were so afraid of me. The two noted functions of Aligarh I remember: one was the Introduction Night after the first admissions in which the elder boys collected money from the new comers. They got money from them by teasing them here and pushing them here and there and so on. So when they came to me I got up from my cot, and went out of my room. I took out the *belcha* in my hand and told them: Nobody is coming to me. As far 10 rupees are concerned, take it away but don't touch me. And I remember, Inam Khan who was the captain of the university's cricket team, who came from Jacobabad then became the appraiser in the customs, married a Parsi girl out of a love affair, he came and said for God's sake don't go nearer to him because he may cut somebody dead. The other night that I remember just in the England we had the rag in the university, we had the mud-rags in Aligarh. When the rains started heavily there was mud and water all the round. Suddenly, the boys got crazy and started throwing mud at each other. And the next day all newcomers in the all kinds of cold, sneezing, something in their ears, something in their eyes and some bruises through a fight here and fight there, that was the time at Aligarh.

Aligarh became little difficult for me because, after two months I got there, I got typhoid. Typhoid was very common in Aligarh. I had it not once, but twice. I was advised to take rest. With me in the room was a boy from Bengal, who died in that room. I was so afraid and my doctors later on to Karachi and one of them joined the Al-Shifa. He was Dr. Khan. They were afraid, but I was happy I was, smiling, because something has to happen. Typhoid ... me a big damage. All my hair had gone and I became very weak. In those days there were no medicines for typhoid. And they were to keep us on a cup of milk and next day the compounder of the hospital would come and ask whether I had passed my stools. If I replied, no, he would take out all his stuff for anemia. I would see that I had my stools. If not I would fold my hands and tell him to please leave me for half an hour and come after that I will give you the results.

Professor Halim was the pro-vice chancellor and through me we persuaded him and through Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, who was the education minister and a student of Aligarh where he played a rascal's part and he was rusticated. This rusticated boy of Aligarh was instrumental in the appointment of Professor Halim as vice, chancellor of Sindh University in 1946.

Sindh had separated and there was a new province so they thought that we should have a new university on the pattern of the Bombay University and it happened that Halim became the vice chancellor of Sindh University. Then there was, another teacher of mine who came to Karachi was Amir Hussain who became first principal of Sindh Muslim College in 1943 when I left Aligarh in 1943 and came here he was the principle. I later on became a lecturer. There was something very interesting. Both from and the mystery of life became clear to one. I came and joined as an apprentice from Kazi Khuda Bakhsh who was then the first public prosecutor of Sindh, the first Muslim public prosecutor. With me was Tufail Ali Rehman who became the chief justice of the Sindh High Court. I had done my Masters in political science under the guidance of Professor Habib and graduation in law.

Part III.

Kazi Khuda Bux, Z. A. Channa, who later became the judge of the high court, Tufail Ali. Abdur Rehman and also Mr. A. K. Brohi.

Later on after a month or so, my grandfather to whom I had not consulted about becoming a pleader, came to Karachi and asked me what I was doing? I said I have finished my MA and law. I told him that I had joined Kazi Khuda Bux and I thought I should be a pleader. He became very furious because he was a very religious person and told me that he did not want me to become a pleader and asked me to become a zamindar and cultivate land. "To become a pleader is to live a devil's life. I don't want you to become a pleader because as said in Sindhi that "*Uho sone ee ghoriyo jeko kan chhine*. (We don't want that gold which tears the ears). Please forget about becoming a pleader."

Suddenly in 1943, the Quaid-i-Azam had started the Sindh Muslim College. Pir Illahi Bux was put in charge. Pir Illiahi Bux and Kazi Khuda Bux came to my grandfather asking him that I should join Sindh Muslim College as a teacher. So I was appointed as an Assistant Professor on the salary of Rs 250. Of course I had the additional duty of the superintendent of the Muslim Hostel. We were soon to shift as the American army had occupied the Jinnah Courts⁵ in 1943 after war broke out in 1939. They occupied it till 1945 when the war came to an end.

In a way stay at Jinnah Courts played an important role in my life. It added to my income in the way that I had no money to pay as rent. It was a furnished flat. I had two servants at my disposal. Of course I had my own car. At Sindh Muslim College I became the first secretary of the teachers association. We organized a function for Quaid-i-Azam in 1945 when he came to Karachi and I welcomed him in Sindh Madressah. Sindh Muslim College was housed in Talpur House. And then we used to the facilities of Sindh Madressah. I remember in that meeting that Quad-i-Azam had addressed. We did not think that there would be many people in the house, so we had no loudspeaker arrangements, but the house was so full, that all the verandahs and balconies were so full that in a pin drop silence Quad-i-Azam was heard. Quaid-i-Azam used to speak slowly and he had a very feeble voice, but he was heard by everyone. All of the 4,000 people or so heard him very attentively. I remember, he mentionedhe spoke about. He was put two questions: one in 1942 and other in 1945. He referred to some books and he said: "Boys I will advise you to read Morley's 'Compromise'. Please read Morley's 'Compromise'. He was a liberal. He was brought up in traditions of James

⁵ Rangers 'temporarily' shifted their Head Quarters to Jinnah Courts in 1999 and are still occupying it. *By compiler.*

Stuart Mill and Banthaenm; and Quaid-i-Azam was liberal from every point of view. He was a secularist in every way. He used to smoking cigarette or a cigar. He used to drink. He knew he was drinking and everywhere he went he had his drink. He was a pious man in a way. I do not know whether he ever said his prayers. I had never seen him offering prayers except in public when he joined us in Aligarh on Friday prayers.

Muslim League conference was held in Maidan opposite Molvi Musafirkhana and of course there was a huge procession, where every kind of noise prevailed. But for the first time the Muslim Indian leaders had collected and I remember that as members of the reception committee we went to the City railway station All the leaders from the UP, Punjab, Bengal, CP would come. They wanted to see the sea. They would not imagine what was a sea look like. There were mountains and other things but they never had a chance to see the sea. Finally they were taken in bullock carts and cars to Keamari only to see the sea. I during my days also had the first chance to see and meet Maulana Abdul Kalani Azad. He came and said prayers with us in the Jinnah Courts Muslim mosque. He was a tremendous man. He was a great scholar. When he came to Karachi, I remember I went to see him at the station. As soon as he came out of the compartment, he said: "I went to see Allama Dr. Daudpota. Please arrange so that I should see him today or as early as possible." He went and saw Dr. Daudpota and they spent about three hours. And he acknowledge Dr. Daudpota as a great scholar. Dr Daudpota at that time was the DPR.

And in those days I developed friendship with Raja Sahib of Mehmoodabad and Mr. Noman Raja Mehmoodabad was the in charge of the Muslim. Students Federation and when I went to Aligarh, I put my younger brother under the guidance of Syed Suleman Nadvi in Lucknow as my grandfather had said that he should go through necessary education. And then I took him to Dr Zakir Hussain in Jamia Millia, Delhi, where he had the friendship of Fatehyab, another friend of his, the journalist leader, Mairaj Mohammad Khan. They became friends and then of course there he knew our Abdul Wahid Sindhi, who became father of Asif Jilani. They were living in the house of Syed Hussain Shah near Gazdar's House; near Garden.

Aligarh had a tremendous influence on me because I used to travel around. I saw the whole of India, Calcutta, Slyhet right up to Peshawar. I saw the whole of India from Kashmir to Madras. I saw the whole of central India, because I had student followers. During vacations I never came to my village and to my house, just for two weeks or so.

I had my journalistic experience when I was a student in Sindh Madressah. I became an assistant editor of *Bombay Chronicle* for two months when Syed Abdulla Barelavi was the editor. Then Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, in Dawn became a friend of mine. I came later on to join *Dawn* under the editorship of Mr. Joseph Pothan and I was there with him for about two months. That was in 1942 or 43 *Dawn* started as a fortnightly. I remember when I was sitting with the other editorial staff when Joseph Pothan said: "Except

Jinnah, give me a hundred thousand rupees, I will purchase every leader of India." And we had a laugh. Later on of course, it became a daily newspaper.

And Altaf Hussain came and took over. Altaf became a dear friend of mine. He used to come from New Chali to Muslim College and see me. We used to talk. One day there was a function and Begum Liaquat Ali was coming to preside over our annual function. During the function there I made some skeptical remarks about some rumors. Next day there was an editorial comments, in which it was stated that the principal of the Sindh Muslim College had said some unkind words about the journalists. Then, he acknowledged that we still have a lesson to new profession. They don't have that outlook. We recognize their difficulties and our weaknesses, but I expect⁶ to him that teachers too have a duty they are performing They are not up to the mark. So I think the journalists and teachers both have to learn a lot, and that is so. And after writing that editorial early in the morning, he phoned me up telling me that he wanted to see me at the office. He came and embraced me over the speech and Altaf and myself were together for two hours.

His niece married to a boy who was one of my favorite Nasir Haider, who later became Deputy General Manager of the PIA. He had such a look after. He was living on one lung which was cut due to cancer. Nasir Haider was a good debater. A very fine conversationist. He was excellent. He would stand up on the stage and with his mimickery he would make everybody laugh. The way he twisted his lips, the way he twisted his ears and eyes, no one could do. He was a great man. I arranged the marriage of this man to the niece of Altaf Hussain. Most of the time I was in Sindh Muslim College.

When Pakistan came into being, Sindh University had to be shifted to Hyderabad in 1953. It was here in Karachi for some time Karachi University came into being in 1953 Sindh Muslim College was so near that when Sindh University shifted, Karachi University had to get every circular to be sent abroad authenticated by me. And the colleges in the United States said that every certificate of recognition or a recommendation nature should be certified by Ghulam Mustafa Shah.

Sindh University was established in 1946. There was an act enacted by Pir Illahi Bux who was then chief minister. He also retained the portfolio of education minister. He was rally devoted. He started Sindh Muslim College at the instruction of Quaid-i-Azam He served Sindh Madressha. He was meticulous about the planning of the college I will give one instance of his role. In 1945 when Quaid-i-Azam came here, they established the college. They found difficulty in finances. And Sindh Medressah Board did not have enough funds. So they proposed that the college should be made a government college I related this in principal's papers and also in my quarterly. Before the speech in which I

⁶ Meaning: Believe or come to recognize (an opinion, explanation, etc.) as valid or correct. *By compiler.*

was present, the man who was looking after the whole affair. I took all the senior leaders and the Quaid to a dinner at Sindh Madressah principal's bungalow lawn. There, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Khan Bahadur Khuhro, G. M. Sayed, and every leader of Sindh, of course, they should have spoken to say that you are trying to make the Sindh Muslim College a government college.

To this the Quaid said "No, I will not allow Sindh Muslim College to remain a government college in London if the people think in terms of making Etton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge into government institutions, the people of England would revolt I will hate Sindh Muslim College as a government institution. If you can't run it, let me know and I will run it. I will not trust the government, not even of my government. Please, let it be a free institution.

When nationalization was taking place, I quoted this to Bhutto Sahib in 1972. I said for God's sake you may nationalize primary education, you may nationalize school education, but don't touch colleges. They will ruin the colleges, don't nationalize them. It was a great mistake to nationalize the colleges. It was wrong to nationalize the college when rowdiness and indiscipline erupted. That was the situation then. That is very unfortunate that those colleges which were producing the finest students, became dormant

If the martial law had not stopped the growth of youth in this country, people would have produced some great politicians and great thinkers in the country. Every martial law is considered as a massacre of youth. Every martial law I consider as a discontinuation of the life of the students. Every martial law I consider as a negation of intellectual activities a country and social deterioration and with every martial law our society has gone down, administration went down, our scholarship gone down, our decisions were never constant. They varied from day to day. During the One Unit there was change in administration; every minute, so much so that the teaching and teaching of administration in Pakistani schools is such that today, we do not have a history of Pakistan. Because there is nothing continuous. Smuggling institutions have been saved from 1947.

We had wonderful teachers, and very high educational standard, as such as Bombay University, and I have some instances. We had D. J. Sindh College, we had NED engineering colleges we had Shahani Law College, we had Sindh Muslim Law College, D. J. College, National College. In Hyderabad, we had CNS college in Shikarpur, to which I became a principal in 1950.

I did my government service very seriously. In 1942 when I was a teacher in Sindh Muslim College I was a superintendent of Jinnah Courts Muslim Hostel. My contacts varied. Students came there from all over Sindh. They would come and meet me. They recognized me as a teacher, as a good teacher. I was recognized a good writer and my

whole life was journalism. I became the editor of *Muslim Voice* of Pir Ali Mohammad Rashidi. From 1944 to 1946, I was the actual editor of the Muslim Voice, which was published both in Sindhi and English. He was only a nominal editor. I did the actual work. And so I think this goes to my credit. I ran the Muslim Voice for three years. I left it in 1946 when I went abroad for the education.

When I returned from Aligarh there I met some fellow teachers, especially Professor Aalim who later stayed on in India, and later on he also contested elections and became one of the contestants of vice president of India. He was also given a ticket by Janta party. He was a great scholar. He had a cousin Mir Faizi, who was a principal of Law College in Bombay, of course. A. B. Alim was not then. Then I had a great teacher Professor Hadi Hassan and Dr. Ziauddin. He advanced to start a medical college I was put in charge to look after when he was moving around. I was amazed that an old man of this age could walk on the fourth floor in Ranchore Line to meet Gazdar and he collected money from everybody. Professor Hadi Hassan, whenever he came here. He was a professor of Persian, the famous man who remembered Shakuntala by heart and he would play (any role). He went twice to Municipal Hall Karachi to play the part of Shakuntala. And amid all the Hindu professors, including ladies and gentlemen, in that small municipal hall were munching around and clapping and kissing him. He was a marvelous man. He loved me so much that once I fell sick. I was living in 166 SSEs, in Sir Sayed Hall. I had not seen him for a number of days. So one day I found a man crying: "Oh Mustafa, I weep and fall, I will commit suicide but don't fall sick." He came to my room. He blessed me and kissed me. He was a handsome man. Beautiful, well-dressed, in his usual uniform with *Sherwani* and *chust pajama* and a very tilted cap on his head. And I used to look after him in Karachi. He loved me like anything.

Among other teachers Professor Rasheed. He was my teacher in political science along with Professor Habib, who retired and came here. His son stayed away in Aligarh University. He died rather in difficult circumstances. I looked after him till the last.

And then Professor and Doctor Rafiq Ahmed Khan with whom I had nothing to do directly but he was a *Khaksar* and of course, here, our Professor Karar Hussain. He was a lecturer in Merrut. I knew him as a *Khaksar* when he came as a youth to Aligarh. I looked after Karar's children. His son Johar Hussain. When he was pursued by police during Ayub Khan's days he would come to me in Quetta to take refuge. When he was persecuted by Ayub Khan's police, he was hiding in my house in the Director of Education House in Quetta. Similarly, Meraj Mohammad Khan, he was being pursued by Ayub Khan's police, he was staying with me in the house of the Director of Education, Quetta. He was a wonderful student I helped him financially and otherwise in every way. I looked after his children even when he was sent to jail, in Bhutto Sahib's days and earlier. Whenever they were in trouble or behind the bars, his wife would come to my house and I looked after their children. Got them admission and every assistance that I could. I loved that boy with for whatever all. He was mischievous. A

good speaker. A good organizer, but later on, I don't know, he shifted too much and I think he lost his balance of the life.

There were few Muslim students in D. J. Sindh College from 2000 or 2500 students. I think we were only 152 or 200 Muslims. The rest were all Hindus. There were more Hindu girls than Muslim students. The Jinnah Courts Muslim Hostel then crowded, was established on the initiative of Mr. Leslie Wilson, who was the governor of Bombay. It was constructed entirely with the money collected from the *zamindars* of Sindh. Government did not spend a pie, except that they gave us the land for the hostel. The hostel was constructed by the contractor Khan Bahadur Allah Bux Soomro and he did not charge a single pie from the Board of Trustees of the Jinnah Courts Muslim Hostel. The entire cost of the construction was borne by Khan Bahadur Allah Bux Soomro. The first names of the Board of Trustees of Jinnah Courts Muslim Hostel were known as Leslie Wilson, collected by the Commissioner, who was the chairman of the Board of Trustees are there on the marble plaque in the Hostel. And one can easily read the names of Syed Miran Mohammad Shah, Syed Allahando Shah, my own aunt, Pir Ghulam Haider Shah's father. The money came for the college, Muslim Students College. But then there was a compromise with the D. J. Sindh College that no Muslim student should be refused admission to D. J. Sindh College. The result was that we had our skirmishes. We had our troubles between Hindu and Muslim students. Jinnah Sahib used to come to Jinnah Courts Muslim Hostel and give lectures at the Central Hall. Every time he came to Karachi he would spend half a day in the Jinnah Courts Muslim Hostel. And when in 1938 after Muslim League conference, we changed the name of the hostel. We students went up the Hostel's Gopi Hall, took away the name of Wilson and put the name of Jinnah Courts Muslim Hostel. It is we who did it in 1938. From then on it became Jinnah Courts. I tried my life to run it as public school but the cowards in our governments, cowards in our own People's Party, cowards like Qaim Ali Shah, cowards like Mirani, cowards in Abdullah Shah, I don't know there is something wrong with them. I tried to help them to take away Hindu Gymkhana back to the Hindus and they were prepared to give me and Shah Abdul Latif, Cultural Society, which we had established in 1972. But somehow the beautiful building we were able to save the Muslim Gymkhana with the help of Yousuf Haroon, Mahmood Haroon, and also Mr. Adam Ali Alavi. Mr Alavi was the secretary of the gymkhana and also the credit to serve Abdullah Haroon Gymkhana goes to Mr. Alavi. He was a wonderful man. He was a treasure of Sindh Muslim and Sindh Madressah Board for nearly 50 years and now a cousin of Hatim Alavi. Hatim Alavi's children were my students Mehr Alvi's wife came from Ceylon where I had gone for an official lecture tour for Muslim College and had seen Adam Alavi, who was a senator in Ceylonese government. Maisoona then she married to, Mehr.

Part IV.

I had to play a great part in the cultural life of Karachi. When I became Principal of Sindhi Muslim College I organized everything on a great scale. Here students came from all over. All the Muslim students being admitted came to Sindh Muslim College, especially the Science College where Mr. Bhuttani retired as principal of D. J. Science College became the principal of the science section of the Sindhi Muslim College. In 1944-45 Mr. Bhuttani was a great teacher. He was my teacher in physics in D. J. College. I had great respect for him. I knew him earlier because he was a Sufi. He used to live in the D. J. Sindh College's bungalow and I used to go there with the Sufis of Jhok Sharif and sit with him for hours. He used to come to us in Sijawal and used to go to Jhok Sharif to be at the *mazar* of Shah Inayat Shaheed.

I organized the first great Music Conference of Sindhi musicians in 1953 in Theosophical Hall and I remember Lady Haroon, Lady Hidayatullah and so many other well known ladies of all the communities came to us in that meeting and congratulated me for getting all the musicians in place right from Kankhkot and Jacobabad to Thanu Bola Khan, the *suranda walas*, the *dakawalas*, the *khartalwals* musicians from Thar. It was done entirely by me as Principal of the Sindhi Muslim College. I collected Rs. 150,000 for them to pay for their stay here. They were here for four days in the Theosophical Hall. At that time most of the cultural activities were organized at the Theosophical Hall. Mr. Daulat Mathani and some others are still alive. Mr. Gul Minwala, who was among the sponsors was in charge Theosophical Society, I think had a role for some time. He had a beard then of course he shaved off.

G. M. Syed started life semi-politically, he started his political life at the age of 18. At that time he was at the age when Karachi district had been divided and Dadu district was created. The result was that the entire area that belonged to him was separated from Karachi. Sann, Dadeja and Kotri went to Dadu district. He had no right to vote in Karachi district. So my grandfather passed over to him about 50 acres of land in Sijawal to make him a voter in Karachi district. And my grandfather helped him to become the President of the Karachi District Local Board for the first time. He used to be in stripped trousers and a black coat. He used to have a neck tie, sometimes a turban. He had a short stature and would move around and skip away. I first saw him in Sijawal in 1929, along with Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Syed Miran Mohammad Shah⁷, Syed Shah

⁷ Syed Miran Mohammad Shah was the second speaker of the Sindh Assembly before and after the independence of Pakistan. He was a Sindh member in the Bombay Legislative Assembly before Sindh became a province in 1936. After the accession of Sindh to Pakistan in 1947, he became the first speaker of the Sindh Assembly. He remained speaker of Sindh Legislative Assembly and Minister for the Government of Sindh. Miran Mohammad Shah also served as the first ambassador of Pakistan to Spain after the independence of Pakistan. *By compiler.*

Mohammad Shah from Thatta, Mohammad Usman Soomro and others who came for the condolence of my father's death with my grandfather. It is then I first saw Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, of course I saw him later on, when my grandfather was President of Sindh Zamindars Association. I saw him in our house here. Everybody came, Khanbahadur Maula Buksh, Khanbahadur..... all the Hindu leaders, Raibahadur Shevaram, Parsi leaders Kwasjees, R. B. A. Minawalas, R. B. Horewala, who was in Hyderabad of course, but they were friends here. Markers, they all came to my grandfather.

During the days of Britishers, Sijawal was the center of shooting of the migratory birds, which came there in winters especially and all the English administrators, of all the departments of revenue, forests and so on. They all came to Sujawal and they were looked after by my cousin Syed Mehar Ali Shah, who later on became the President of the District Local Board Karachi and also the Deputy Speaker of the West Pakistan Assembly in Lahore. He died later on of course.

I did not have any intention to go to politics. I was living a successful life as teacher. I became the first Muslim Principal in any college selected by the Sindh Public Service Commission. As a Principal of the Government College Shikarpur where Mazari was the Principal. When he retired I was appointed there.

I was President of the Karachi District School Board Schools, where my cousin Mehar Ali Shah was the President of the District Local Board. Before me the Chairman of District School Board was Mrs. Allana, Mr. G. Allana's wife, Piya Ali Allana's mother and I came after. Of course a joyful lady.

She looked after the School Board. When I left for England I resigned and someone came. In 1947, there took place the provincialisation of the education, and all the primary education entrusted to Local Boards was taken over by the provincial government. In 1947 Pir Illahi Baksh started scheme of compulsory primary education in Sindh. He introduced the scheme in some of the districts. One of them was Karachi district to be started in Liyari. But as soon as Pakistan came into existence they abolished it and I hold Mr. Hashim Raza responsible for abolishing it. He was the administrator of Karachi and he advised the government to abolish otherwise the compulsory education could not be pursued. He closed more than 200 Sindhi schools and made them available for the incoming population from India and the primary education in Sindh was absolutely ruined, with Sindhi teachers gone from all over Sindh after partition. Hindu teachers since had gone there was a vacuum. We had very few Sindhi Muslim teachers and suddenly we had Urdu and the result was that Urdu began to destroy itself. Urdu began to destroy Sindhi. Urdu still began to destroy English. Sindh was a center known for English education. English spoken by the Sindhis was a better English spoken in Bombay. Sindhi language was so suited for learning other languages. See a Sindhi boy can learn any language on the earth and

pronounce any word he wants in the way he wants and enunciate.⁸ And then Sindhi had the facility and the vocabulary and the, intonations which were very good to be used by the Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, the African, where any Sindhi can land. And the proof of this is that if you go to all over the world, whether you go to Gibraltar or Nigeria, or Morocco, or Cairo, you go to Hong Kong or Malaysia or Indonesia; Sindhis are the wonderful traders, in silks and especially gold and jewelry and, there they spoke Sindhi in the houses, scores of houses I visited and there they brought all the culture. In Shikarpur have Russian currency. I have seen the Russian artifacts in Shikarpur. Unfortunately in 1947, people came and destroyed the good things. In Hyderabad, beautiful houses in which glazed tiles were used in the washrooms, are, being used as kitchens. And I think a Hyderabad was completely destroyed by our brothers. There is famous saying that "all immigrant population". Never depend upon, the immigrant population till they become lovers of the soil. And they will always go in for money or possessions. As soon they become part of the soil and they love the ground and earth under their feet then they could be called patriotic. There is no patriotism in immigration populations. There is a famous saying and it is in the latest issue of the *Sindh Quarterly*. See the Karachi was a tough cosmopolitan city. Even the mayor was elected on rotation. The longest was Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta.⁹ It is known as a city built by Mr. Ranjeevji with a view to meeting the requirements of the 21st century. On partition on the peak of onslaught of the population, they led the beautification and prepare planning of Karachi. All the roads built before partition are still in existence while the new roads are gone. So far the development of the city is concerned I played my role. In fact I played it in the development of every city. Shikarpur was Hindu town in a sense that they collected money, made money, brought wealth from all over the world. Their houses full of things, their ornaments. They were known as the best jewelers, silk sellers all over the world. There were two communities of Hindus in Sindh: one were the Amils who were mostly in the government services, and the other Lohanas, who were mostly in trade.

And you will find Sindhi everywhere. Wherever I went I always found them. In Nigeria some friends took me to their houses. They spoke Sindhi. In similar way in Surinam, again in continent. I remember when some boys came to me in Hyderabad. They had been directed by someone there to see me. I was the Vice Chancellor of Sindh University in the early 1970s. They came from Surinam in South America to see their old houses and to meet their old friends and one of them came to me and said he wants to see so and so who was a barber in Hyderabad, was a friend of mine and I used to get my hair cut from him. The city of Hyderabad was so beautiful, called Paris of the east. The old areas were kept so clean and nice. There was regular removal of garbage, the

⁸ Meaning: Say or pronounce clearly. *By compiler.*

⁹ In 1918, Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta (7 January 1886 – 1 August 1952) a Parsi, was elected a councillor of the Karachi Municipal Corporation. He was soon elected the President of the Corporation. He served in that capacity for 12 years and become the first Mayor of the city. He transformed the city into a great and important metropolis in his years as local politician. *By compiler.*

drainage was so wonderful. I was a student of Sindh Madressah for four years and even if it rained dogs and cats in inches and feet, the whole water would disappear in a day. Never one would find any *nallah* or drain full. Even in the new construction in the Karachi, they did not take care of the natural flow of water. Most of the rain came from the hills and the Liyari river and other *nallahs* were not properly looked after. They started building right into the *nallahs*. For instance, in the Liaqiatabad and Nazimabad, water would collect and some of them even swim in the water. Not in days, but Karachi had 36 inches of rain in a day and I remember I had some American friends here. When they were coming out of the airport it was raining and when they were going back it was raining. So they said "O! My God! we have come to a country where it is rain all the time and we can't see anything." This must be remembered that average rainfall in Karachi is only five inches. But anyway Karachi was a very beautiful city.

Look at the Frere Hall. Look at the Gandhi Gardens. If you look at the Karachi Municipal Corporation building. It is a beautiful building you can see anywhere. The High Court of Sindh, the Jinnah Courts. The Sindh Assembly; stone was brought from Jaipur, Rajhastan stone was used in these buildings. Miran Mohammad Shah was the speaker of the Sindh Assembly. He said "I will have nothing but a beautiful, the best". And of course you know, what has happened. Now you have Tughlaq House. There you find nothing but dirt and everything.

From Aligarh I joined Sindh Muslim college and became a teacher. For the first time I became the patient of my own that I became semi-public man. By joining Sindh Muslim College, I became the Chairman of the District School Board. I was elected as the Chairman. I became familiar with some of the greatest men of Sindh and even outside. I brought in Maulana Mohammad Ali who was father-in-law of N. A. Farooqi who became Deputy Commissioner and Chief Secretary of Sindh and the Chief Secretary of the West Pakistan government during the one unit. He was a friend of mine. He was a Qadiani, a Lahori Qadiani. For a number of times Maulana Mohammad Ali father-in-law of N. A. Farooqi and Farooqi had come to me. Sindh Muslim college became a center of activities. Syed Suleman Nadvi, Maulana..... Every man of consequence and status and scholarship, who came to Karachi was invited by Sindh Muslim college and every ambassador here had visited the Sindh Muslim college personally and officially.

I was sitting in my Jinnah Courts Muslim Haster in September 1946, when I got a telegram from the Government of India. I didn't know, I had not applied. I was asked that I must get prepared and leave and join the ship on the 6th October in Bombay get all my papers, passport and foreign exchange in Bombay. I left Karachi on October 15 and went to Bombay where I stayed with a distant known Sayed who was very much interested in film industry. He was spotancies money and drunk all the time Sayed Qabool Shah or Sayed Maqbool Shah. I should provide his name (?). I stayed with him for about five or six days, before I got a ship for England. I met Jinnah Sahib last time there. He used to tell me. I won't tell you what relationship I had with him, but he used

to call me: "My dear boy" and it was he who had suggested to call Sahib, the boy that Sayed's relative had passed M.A. in law and at least he managed to get him and we are looking for a teacher in Sindh Muslim College. Professor Habib from Aligarh took Dr. Amir Hussain to see that he comes to the exams at the Sindh Muslim College. Emerson was the principal of the college at that time. That is how I joined Sindh Muslim College. The last time I saw Jinnah Sahib, I used to meet him in Delhi when there was *Dawn* and otherwise I had been to him as *Khaksar* to see him on behalf of Allama Mashraqi and he looked and said: "Are you here". I said, "Yes Sir, I have joined Muslim University Aligarh." He said: "Good," and then he did not agree to Allama's proposal and said until he does not join Muslim League, I cannot do anything for him. That is what was going on. So I didn't take any interest anymore. I had to leave Aligarh in 1943. And I had come home and I saw Jinnah Sahib in Bombay two days before I had to leave for England in 1946. To say farewell to him. He wished me well and I left his hands that day. Miss Jinnah liked me. Always recognized me. When I came back, she was the first phoned me to come over in 1949 at the Flag Staff House. I left as Indian in 1946 and came back as Pakistani in 1949.

In England I did my Masters in political science from Kings College and I went and joined Edberg College for a diploma course. So I was there for three years.

From England I came back by ship. I went by ship with five strange sprouts. I went in a ship that was a troops ship which was coming from Australia with about 8,000 soldiers, and we were about 2,000 men, women and children, English men and Indians all together in a huge bunker with beds on each place. Men, women all together. Two hundred in the same bunker, open bunker with layers of beds, four each. The next morning when we wanted to go to the bathroom, we suddenly found a roar of sound on the staircase. The ship was a four storied, a huge ship. It was a Summeria, owned by the Kuniard Whiteliner; the company that was running most of the ships in the Atlantic; extending over to Canada America and South America. This was a troops ship which was converted into a liner ship. We found them all naked with only towels in their hand and all naked. We civilians, men and women were caught in a mess, what to do. So we went and approached the captain and told him that please keep at least one of these bathrooms out of bounds, otherwise it would become difficult. And number of them, at least five or six of them would stand under the same shower, naked, completely I related, this to my professor later on, Professor Brian Stanely, my tutor and teacher, a great man; a great teacher, a great English man.

I related the measles test and passed, terrible experiences during the war. I had gone soon after the war had ended. The war ended in September 1945 and I was there in October 1946. I was there to notice war different. All, things which were known to be decent in England I would anticipate. Men and women were mixed. Here all under the sirens of bombs and were in the underground cells four hours together men women and children. The children being, born there, sick men and women being attended.

Somebody vomiting somebody dying somebody crying somebody weeping all these things happening and we were all at one and the same place. Same was the case of the rest of the London. The entire underground system was crowded with the people and nobody thought in terms of shame or anything which was taboo. Each and everything could be done and, people naked and half naked, and all those things which could be called English decency, had disappeared. In my own college, I could see from the boys room, girls in the girls common room were all without their clothes. In their own common room they never had any clothes. Worst to see when I found in the university rags; to how the three were there. They would sit in the open buses and some sort of platform, huge tailor. There would be all kinds of dresses, of all kinds of shapes. And in the rag, of course the university students get mad. They drink and do all kind of I never had any drinks throughout my life. I never had been in my life. Some of the biggest drinkers were my friends who would get drunk all the time. And of course the rag ball which is final of the rag in the institution. Lord Hustus, who was my rector. We wore all in black tie and tail. I used to be a fob, calif's count. I used to be one of the best dressed men on the campus.

In the England there was rationing when I had gone to England equipped with some of the finest clothes that Ramazan tailors had yet to stitch. I left to him and said to him that you may take all the clothes you want. Go and buy any clothes you want. In Karachi we can get all coats, overcoats or leather cutting, tone clothes, tone trousers, coats with leather blows and collars with leather. in England you can't buy any clothes. There was rationing all round. I had to take for my milk, eggs for my anything I had to go with my ration book. And I used to go of course, as a mischievous fellow. I made friends with one fellow named Mr. Derrick, who was in charge of the university stores. And then I would return my home with some eggs in my pocket. And some extra milk and butter in my another pocket. We used to live in Lucas and Time, which was in the north England, in the coldest part of England; just adjacent to Scotland. Off sea winds blew from Europe, from Norway and Scandinavia and Denmark. And I was just a tip I used to live at the bay, the most beautiful places in England's holiday resort. And on the Primadar I would put all the clothes like an Eskimo. And one month on that Primadar, when it was snowing came back and perspire. My landlady who was a wonderful lady. I stayed with her for three years, and she looked after me. She used to take all my clothes, wash them and prepare my meals. I used to have a butcher's license. I used to go in the woods, kill some of the rabbits and bring home. I would keep one and give the rest to her. This is the way I lived. I used to get up something around 6:30 in the morning, in snow, in sleek, rains till the coldest of England. 1947 is the history of England. I used to go 22 miles away to the King's college either by the train which was nearby or by a bus which would leave me little away from the college. So I would go by bus. With all the clothes on and shivering like anything, I would sit there. Normally there were few passengers. You could see the sun but it would still shiver. I remember when one English lady once remarked: "What even bright to my mind." But I think the sun had no place. I lived that life for three years at that place and I went round. It is a

very beautiful place and the biggest number of castles are in north England. I was near the Lake District. I went and lived in Celtic, the center of Lake District. For twice in my three years I and I think I won't forget my stay in Celtic. From there I went to South Europe, whenever I went I was well received.

Part V.

At Trinity's College I had a great institution in its names. When I went there, I hears that King's College Principal, one of the Principals of Sindh College was Mr. Morison; who a teacher in Aligarh, and after whom the Marriam Courts are known to the children of the school. He use to teach us English in Aligarh. Mariam left Aligarh and came to King's college, the duke of Nottingham, is the first Duke of the English Kingdom, a nice young boy nice who had a way of doing things. I really became a in dress and the way I behaved, the way I moved around, everywhere the people used to say it. I had my experience of speaking English. When I came from Bombay to Liverpool in 1946 after 17 days of sailing. That was a Sunday. And Sunday is a horrible day in England. The communication is so difficult. There is no direct train from Liverpool to New Castle and I had to change twice. I had taken from here all kinds of things with me at my head, a terrible luggage, blankets with from here which nobody needs. There was nobody here to advise we what to take and what to not to take. My clothes also were such a weight that what to do with them. But when I came down to the silt, then of course, I had to push to the city railway station, put them into a trolley and went up to where I had to. There I made a pries sitting. Due to Sunday there were no people around. We were only two there, as English were on holiday on Sunday. So he asked me: "Gentleman, where do you come from?" I said I come from India. Then he asked me whether I was visiting for the first time, to which I said yes. Then he asked me where I was going I said New Castle "so you are going to New Castle a place where people would be singing form their noses. Where they speak you would, think they are singing. If you get to a bus stop, you would think as if you are in a bush," O this and all this kind of things he was telling me. I knew something about the English geography very well so I told him how about the English spoken here. He said it is spoken this way.

Then I said what about Wales. Oh, the Walsh speak this way, he said. The I said what about Cannawel, he said they speak this way. In London is a cockney, you don't understand what do they say. Then I asked where the English is spoken, he said nobody speaks English in England it is we who receive English. Very interesting remark. He said it was we who spoke English.

I had interesting remarks as a student. It was part of my education that I should go and spend my time with principals and the institutions. So they selected institutions one with the ____ school with Professor Richardson as the head, I was amazed at the campus the school had it. It was a huge area of 150 acres. It had University and other buildings on. There were no servants there were no cooks, no, nothing. All the work was done by boys and girls. They lived in the same dormitories, in the same rooms. There were no separate rooms for girls, no separate rooms for boys. They cut their own

wood, they cooked their own food, clean up whole buildings except for the drivers of the trucks and lorries. There was no man in the whole institution. All the work done by the boys and girls. By fixed programs they laid their own furniture or take up any function within the premises of the institution. There, in these conditions I lived for 15 days. And during this I had wonderful discussions with Professor Richardson. Then I went and, stayed in Spensor Cook, a Sherbon School in South. The Principal was once a judge in UP. He had to pass sentences on confers movements which he did not like and he literally resigned and came away.

He said, I hate the British rule and its justice. He said, I had to send a power man to jail for nothing. He was a free person and could not be connected. So thought it better to leave. Being a Session Judge he came back and became the Principal of the college.

Sherpal School was very known for producing the personnel for army, navy and air force for the British armed forces. And there the Head Master told me, General Gracy, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, was the known student of Sherbon. I saw the courses being studied by the students of the armed forces of Britain. All the traclifinel things came from Sandhurst which were fought all over the world in its history. It had a beautiful museum; with all the paraphernalia. I lived with him in his house. We had a good time. His wife was a very tessitunu. Wouldn't talk much. She would sit by the fire place and write till mid-night and would keep knitting. The writing and knitting would remind me of the famous book *The Scarlet Letter* by Nathaniel Hawthorne, which is considered are of the first hundred books of the world, and in which he said nothing sits a woman more than the needle and the thread. She was a nice woman. The kind way she talked to me.

When I came to King's College I used to go to London on Easter and Christmas occasions. Moving around was quite cheap in those days. We can't realize and how cheap was England at that time. I used to get 33 pounds a month. My fees were directly passed by the Indian High Commission and then Pakistan High Commission directly to the college. But I had to bear my other expenses. My total expenses otherwise came to about 12 to 14 or 15 pounds. I saved the rest. The railway journey from New Castle to London cost me two and half pounds. The hotel I used to stay in London was famous for its name, near the Tarlatan Court Road, and a hull in the Bombay stores. It was a known earlier, quite family hotel. And it would be surprising to know that I met two of my finest friends and scholars in England. One New Zealand. It happened to be that Mr. Dunlop of New Zealand was scholar in London University. He used to teach at his home country but then he used to came to London and stay in this hotel. Its rent was two and half pounds a day and now it was more than 25 pounds. There I used to come down and write letters to G. M. Sayed, Din Mohammad Align in the *Alwaheed* Press, one day I found a gentleman who got up from his seat came and told me and said that I have been here for three days. I don't know how long you are going to stay, but I am going to stay for seven or eight days. My wife is with me. I like to know about you. I

have not seen you going out. So I told where I came from, what I was and so on. I told him that I was studying in King's College. And low and board, he told me that he was Mr. George Scott, the famous journalist of England, editor of *Glasgow Herald*. And with his wife, who became friend, even when, she was pretty old. I joined him in a science at Westminster Abbey. I joined them the Sciences at St. Paul Cathedral. I joined them Sciences wherever they wanted to go. I went through all the rituals of the prayers. I went on my knees. He took me to the Fleet Street Club. I have been all the known journalists who came there of course, he used to drink, while I would take some soft drinks, mostly the ginger ale; nothing else. We became great friends. And he was such a great journalist that he covered the negotiation of Churchill, Roosevelt, they met him all in Cairo and other North African places. There he gave me the story. He said one day I saw Churchill call all the generals and treat them as they were school children. He so roughly handled them that all general Avetiland, Montgomery they all were Shivering, and did not know how to talk to Churchill. We remained friends till he died. Then the other friend he took me to where I became friend with his friends Mr. Malcolm Magrech. Malcolm Magrech had a history. He was the Principal of St. Williams Fort College, Calcutta. The design from there he came to England and became the editor of *Punch*. By design he became a journalist and remained there for many years. He later became a freelance journalist and write here and there. He was the master of the English Language of those times. He dominated Oxford he dominated Cambridge, he dominated the entire English literacy Society. We again joined at the investiture ceremony of Eisenhower, the president of the United States. I was in the United States, he was in the United States. We used to work together. I used to tease him and I think for the way he wrote about the queen of England. He used to say: "Ghulam Mustafa Shah, we all Englishmen make money and spend at the expense of the sovereign." I said money you are earning from the United States and spend for our defense.

He came to Pakistan twice. He came in 1954, and there in 1957. I took him to Dr. Daudpota and then on a tour of the West Pakistan. Dr. Daudpota, myself and Magrach. Then we had a trip of East Pakistan. Dr. Mahmood Hussain was the Vice Chancellor of Dhaka university and with him we went in the famous boat reserved for Queen Elizabeth which was reserved for the Governor of East Pakistan and there we were given this boat along with the crew. We had wonderful time on this boat. Lady Henderson was the name of the boat. We were in the company of Ali Ashraf who was the head of the Bengali Academy. He was also the professor of English here at Karachi University.

We for about 10 days Dr. Daudpota, myself and Dr. Magrach, Ali Ashraf, Dr Mahmood Hussain were on this boat Lady Henderson, and we developed what Magrach used to call "a disciple-master relationship." Our friendship lasted till his death, in November 1966. I was there in England when he died. What a wonderful man. He had the control

over the entire English society, respected by everybody. He was given pages and pages after his death.

In my life some of the men I remember after whose friendship I am proved. My teachers, my people connected with my institutions, the people with whom I met in various stages of life. I went to the United States in on lectures in 1953 on the invitation of the. U. S. Education Foundation John David Lee Foundation for a year. I met Dr. Thomson; a negro, who was the secretary of the John David Lee Foundation. He was the president of the Fisk University in Tennessee. It happened to be that I went to United States my centre for Kentucky. Kentucky is the state in United States well known for three or four things. Kentucky, colonel, Kentucky horses, beautiful women and Kentucky bourbon whiskey. And of course, the fifth thing Kentucky Derby. Like the English Derby, known in the world is the Kentucky Derby. I saw this Derby twice. In United States I had a friend Professor Wallace. A Scholar. Professor of political science in the University of Columbia, New York and there I met Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, who was teaching there. There I also met, again of course, because he was teaching at the Sindh Muslim College and I sent him abroad for studies, Professor Mukhtar who became the first director of the Institute of Business Administration in University of Karachi. Then I met Dr. Decker. Dr. Decker was the President of the University of Kansas city, Missouri. This was the University where Liaquat Ali Khan was given the honorary degree of law when he visited United States. I lived in the house of Dr. Austin Block. The University was under the presidentship of Professor Jefferson. Dr. Block had a brother, who was a doctor while, the other brother doctor was at the Vanderbilt University, Tennessee. Dr. Block's uncle was the Admiral of U. S. Navy. I also went there. He had small children whom I loved. They had my deductions in dollars, from the salary I received from the Foundation. And that accumulated. And when I left I authorized them to draw that money and give it to the children of Admiral. I was paid very well. I was getting about 1200 dollars a week, then in 1953.

I found the United States as much as I could. Then I told the American Express, who was the affect. I asked them whatever the, money I got here please book me for entire Europe, right from Helsinki, Stockholm down to Spain, Italy and so on; all by air, except the two towns I would like to go by trains one from Paris to Spain, Lisbon and the train used to be turbo. And there I met Iqbal Akhund who was secretary to the ambassador who was Syed Miran Mohammad Shah. The other train journey was from Zurich to Rome. It was a wonderful time, so I think all my money, I spent either on books or the travel. On my way I traveled to Toronto, Ottawa. I took Dr. Mukhtar with me to attend a course in Columbia University and we flew to Prestico, in Scotland, Glasgow. There I converted air tickets into train tickets. I went to King's College University in New Castle and then in London. Dr. Mukhtar joined me and stayed with me for three day in the house of the Mrs. Clark, the lady in whose house I had stayed when I was a student. Dr. Mukhtar was a learned man and good friend of friend. I also made friends when I was invited at the University of American University Beirut. There I also met the

first United Nations President, Dr. Charles Plealick. He was a professor of philosophy of this university then and a wonderful man.

My life took me a scout took me to Mr. Abdul Hayee, Suleman Abdul Hayee, adviser on political affairs, to General Najeeb of Egypt and also to General Abdul Nasir. We became friends and then we met at Lagos, Nigeria I have seen the countries of the world, from Cargo and Zaire upto the Mediterranean Sea, I have seen all these countries. The entire African coast. The Nigeria Zambia, Dukan in Severgal, Algeria, Libya, Tunis, Egypt, I loved these places.

During my friends, scholars. I should. say here. In the Frontier. Mr. Abdul Hashim who become the Vice Chancellor or Peshawar University, a long time friend since we were students in 1946 in England. He was doing his Masters in mathematics and I was doing political science. He was in London and I was in King's college New Castle. I had a friend, a great friend, of course a great friend of mine Hisamuddin Rashdi, Professor Hamid Ahmed Khan younger brother of the famous leader Zafar Ali Khan. I had a friend in Punjab, Ghulam Rasool Mahar. He was a friend of Ali Mohammad Rashdi. Dr. Rafiq Ahmed Khan, Principal Ziauddin College, Maulvi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, a poet and a writer. I remember when interesting I was DPR of Punjab, Maulvi Ghulam. Mustafa Tabasum came to me with Khadija Khanum and her daughter to condone some mischief they had committed in the Government Girls College, Lahore, a well known college. Anyway, from that day I got a letter from Justice Munir, the first Chief Justice of Pakistan. All over Punjab I thank I had been known quite well. I moved out as much as possible with my wife.

I am glad I started my life, with the service as a teacher in Sindh Muslim College in 1943. there Dr. Amir Hussain Siddiqui was the Principal of the college who was a teacher of mine when I came from Aligarh. I Started Sindh Muslim College if we could the number of years that I went on deputation, in England was for 19 years from 1943 to 1961 when I went back to government service. I was appointed by the government of Sindh on my return from England as a professor in Government College of Hyderabad. From the Sindh Madresah Board requisitioned my services from the Government of Sindh to become the Principal of Sindh Muslim college. Then for a start while Government of Sindh promoted me to class I, and by the became the Principal of Government College Shikarpur. Mr. Avais Principal of the Shikarpur College had retired this gave me a chance to be closer to some of my oldest friends. Allah Bukhsh Shujra, Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Fateh Ali..... was also there . I found the Shikarpur college in a mess. Water logging and Sanity had destroyed every building there. I asked Ghulam Nabi Khan who was warping. Qazi Ghulam Mustafa was the Deputy Commissioner in Sukkur, so was father of Hamid Sindhi And for the first time the government put a ban on the cultivation of rice with half a mile from the city. And I used to. Actually from my bungalow to the college and my office I had raised three feet high pillar, one and half foot in width and I used to put my feet over them and reach

my office for a distance of 200 yards. I am glad the government took a decision, put a ban on the rice cultivation around the college and this was one of the oldest colleges of Sindh. Dr. Sahib who was a great scholar of Shah Jo Risalo, Philologist, lieynist and a writer was the Deputy Commissioner of Shikarpur at that time, who had laid the foundation stone of the C & S College, Shikarpur. I was in Shikarpur for a short while living in miserable conditions, bitten by mosquitoes; not in hundreds and thousands but by millions. I used to read and sleep in mosquito nets. This is how I spent my days in Shikarpur. Then again my services were requisitioned by Sindh Madressah Board and I came back.

Then I continued to work for Sindh Muslim College, except the period of 1943 to 1946 when I went to England for education. In 1949 I came back and was sent to Government College of Hyderabad. Then I came to Shikarpur. Then I was requisitioned by Sindh Madressah Board. Mr. Gazdar himself had gone to the education minister and tell him that let him take over the Sindh Muslim College. My association with Sindh Muslim College continued. An I am proved of this when at the end when I left Sindh Muslim College I was very honored by confusing on me the life membership of the Sindh Madressah Board, the only instance in the history of the Board from 1885, in which some great men played their part.

Sindh Muslim College became the best reputation of my life. I worked hard and worked very hard. Raised it to a degree college in science and a degree college in Commerce. I had the love and affection of every than known in Sindh. Nobody would refuse me anything. There was nobody who hated me. I was among Hindus, Muslims in Sindh Muslim College. Some tries I would go for cooperative teaching in D. J. College working from Sindh Muslim College to the D. J. College and take my post graduate classes D. J. as Sindh Muslim College had not yet become a post graduate college.

Then of course UNICCO was established and as I said earlier it happened to be that the president of the United Nations, Dr. Charles Malick, Professor of the University of Beirut a philosopher and a friend of mine and I went to United States and bought, that famous book "*What life has taught me*" which is a collection of the writings of the 50 famous scholars, professional, teachers, journalists, public men, all over the world. The book fascinated me and I learnt from it many things in the same way as I have learnt from life.

Life has also taught me a lot and this is what the book is about. I would like everybody to read two books; one is *What life has taught me* and *Compromise* by John Money which was recommended by Quaid-e-Azam and also My association with the American writers which when I joined in 1953 when I went on lecture tours of the United States. These include John Havelian.....the U S Education Great Foundation.

In Sindh Muslim College I was not only a teacher but as an administrator, the senior most man in the education ministry in the whole Pakistan. I established reputation more or less, as science-public man. Whatever I said, the opinion, I expressed everywhere the men in authority be the Liaquat Ali Khan, Khuhro, Kazi Fazullah Ayub Khan. If I said something which they didn't like they, did not give me any rebuttal. They did not snub me, they did not stop me from saying so, they had yet expressed their opinion contrary to what I have said but they never stopped me from, saying what do I have to say or snubbed me for what I have done. Thank God I enjoyed that reputation. Later on when I became closer (Known) to Ayub Khan I became Director of Education Quetta.

Sindh Muslim College was the foundation of my reputation as a teacher, as well as administrator. Institution which I joined the beginning of 1943 had 36 students and were 12 members of teaching staff, but it grew and when I left, it had a strength of 7500 students. And three degree colleges under me; Sindh Muslim Science College, Commerce College and arts college.

I have had some very interesting experiences in Sindh Muslim College. Martial Law was declared when I was the principal, on midnight between, 7th and 8th October, 1958. I had then shifted from the principal's bungalow of Sindh Muslim College to my residence at Sindhi Muslim Housing Society. At about 11:30 or 11:45, I found Mr. Gazdar, the President of the Board, Hussan Ali Abdur Rehman was the Secretary of the Board, a brigadier of the army and two colonels came to me seeking my permission to occupy the Principal's room as an office because that was the only place there was a telephone, there was no telephone near about, Sindh Muslim College was the only college which had a telephone. And also to occupy the, students common room which I had built with great effort. Our boys needed because where they went to classes and their teachers were present, they were busy but when these was a free period there was no place to stand. So the first I did when I became the Principal of the College in 1949, I requested Gazdar Sahib to gave a common room for boys at once. It was to be an expensive affair. I must have a common room. I had promised with the boys on the very address. I had made to the boys more than 2,000 students then, I told them that the first thing I am going to do is to give you a common room. Then you can leave me free stop making noise there and exercise your livings or whatever you like in your common room. I can also come and, join you and your friends, whatever they are there was no canteen in the college so they had to go to outside to all kinds of places hotel or restaurants. So I stopped and started the canteen and all the students of all the colleges in the Vicinity, the D. J. Sindh college, the NED Engineering college, all these would come and get some tea in that educational atmosphere. The man who was put in charge was a man was a very interesting looking man, slightly cooked, very clever, very.... .O Makoo was the name and a very poor man.

I allowed him without calling in very specialists to come and open a canteen. I said you do it and charge the students a very reasonable amount. It was the cheapest restaurant in the whole area. Some boys would like to have *shami kababs* or potato chips or something *daal* or whatever the liked, for those who stayed at the college could get things at cheap prices. And of course the college as not the same when I left if in 1961 for Lahore as Director of Education the Sindh Muslim College had been divided into three college buildings with three separate Principals – Science, Arts and Commerce. And I left the Sindh Muslim College in the hands of a very fine gentleman who was with me, moved with me in 1936. Professor A. S. Kohati who was my teacher in Sindh Madressah. Then he came and joined Sindh Muslim College when I had gone abroad, as a teacher in civics, teaching civics and political science and when I came back I found him doing so well that I put him in charge of extra-curricular activities in the games and other things in Sindh Muslim College. He was assisted by Professor A. M. Farid who later on became the Principal of the college when Mr. Kohati died. I left Sindh Muslim College in very safe and trained hands. As I said he was my teacher he was my Vice Principal for quite long time.

My reputation standing and personality as Principal in Sindh Muslim College stood by me where ever I went. When I was transferred to Lahore my name had already gone there before I took over as Director of Education, Lahore. Kalabagh was the Governor and it happened to be that I belong to a *zamindar* and you can call a prosper our family. Kalabagh used to come with Ayub Khan for *Shikar* in Sujawal with my cousin Syed Mehar Ali Shah. I never went of course, for shooting but I did join them in boats where ever they went. But I never put a gun in my hands. I look a violent man but I have never been violent. I am a very non-violent man. I am glad that my reputation as Principal, as a teacher, stood by me wherever I went in my carrier of nearly 19 years I never massed a class so long I was in the Sindh Muslim College I never took one day's casual leave in 19 years. I gave in even over time I would sit late in the nights and wake up in the early morning and go to the college so much so that later on Dr. Mahmood Hussain, Vice Chancellor of Dhaka University and Karachi University when I wrote a book on Britishers in the Sub-continent and I asked him to write a forward to it he has said in that book that Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah and Sindh Muslim College are one and the same thing "*Man to shudam too man to shuddi.*" It was very fine tribute I am glad that I had the cooperation of my students. If I said no to them they knew I mean no. I would accept their presentation. And they knew where they stood and I knew where I stood. What was theirs I never denied them. If I had to help somebody from my pocket I would. Some of those boys I am not to name them who joined politics, were absolutely pecunious. There was nothing in their pockets. I had to pay their fees. There was a deluge of Students from India between 1950 and 1954 and I had to take care of all these boys. This was the only college open for the boys coming from India after partition. And for the arts, science and commerce I had to collect funds and then helped boys, gave them books, their clothes. One of them became Vice Chancellor of the Karachi University and came to me and told me; "Sir. I am what I am on account of you." One of

them became professor of Medicine, Dow Medical College and told me: "Sir, If you would not, have helped me I would not have been what I am." But there are boys I can name one, Mairaj Mohammad Khan whom I helped all the years he had been there, finance him in all ways, because his brother, Minhaj Burna who became contemporary of my brother in Jamia Millia Delhi. I never thought in terms of subordination to somebody. When I went with reasonable proposal to president Muhammad Hashim Gazdar who was actually the Vice President of the National Assembly and he was the longest serving person. He was a wonderful man. He was an engineer, but he would look after the affairs of Sindh Madressah Board. People may talk anything about him, ending up other thing. You may, talk about crowding port trust, but I think in Sindh Madresah affairs he was absolutely meticulous, genuine in the matter administration. As Director of Education, I liked books. Wherever I went to a school I went to its library. I wanted to have it colored. I found in the office of the DPS one of the richest librarians in Punjab there some of the rooms had never been open after partition. Mr. N. M. Khan who was chief, commissioner, here in Karachi when Karachi was separate from Sindh, he was a friend of mine and we became very close later on. He started his Punjab Literacy Society in Lahore, and I gave him all the Punjabi and Gurmukhi books lying in two rooms lying there. And I took down the whole stock, putting the names of every book names of the authors and their dates of publication. I helped him in the translate of the Holy Quran in Punjabi. N. M. Khan was the Chief Commissioner of the Pakistan Boy Scouts Association and after his death I followed, him, then I was deputy additional, commissioner. I followed him as National Scouts Commissioner of Pakistan for over ten years.

Part VI.

In public institutes wherever I went I had always close contacts with teachers. I never forgot that I was a teacher even when I was the Director. My predecessor never came out of their offices and gone into their rooms. They never gone to the library. The librarian at Punjab told me that I was the first DPI who had gone to the library. And I am proved to have done a bit of me. It happened to be that time there were very fine people who were my friends. There was the commissioner of Lahore, Mr. Mukhtar Masood, Deputy Commissioner was Mr. Feteah Mahmood Bhuregial whom I knew when he was a child in Aligarh. His father was a teacher in Aligarh and they held me in a great esteem, because in Punjab especially in 1966-67, it was a very difficult time. The way I did certain things I did. I would only mention a few things, I don't want to say that it was a special privilege to me, because it was the only way to solve the issue.

Bhutto had resigned from his ministership after the failure of talks with Ayub Khan in Tashkent. And he had started his party and agitation from 1966. I was Director of Education Hyderabad and somehow some minister like Bucha and Kirmani objected on my being in Hyderabad. So I was immediately transferred from Hyderabad to Lahore. In Hyderabad when I took over in early 1966, I found there were 350 posts of teachers lying vacant in colleges of the province. They were not filled. There was a ban on them. I knew if these posts were not filled the boys will continue to roam all round and probably create all sorts of disciplinary and other problems. I immediately issued orders to fill the 50 posts of teachers. The secretary then, was Mr. M. A. Latif, a Pathan, a very nice man. By then General Moosa had taken over as Governor of West Pakistan. So he said, "this is against rules. You have appointed so many people and you don't have authority to do it, you did not seek permission." I said "why don't you see all these boys in the streets and out of the classrooms. I couldn't stand this. In Sindh Muslim college I wouldn't all a single boy outside make noise. And now all these boys are without education And they have paid their fees. And you refer the matter to the Governor"

Now this correspondence went on between me and the education secretary Latif and even Moosa. And by the time I was transferred to Lahore; I found more than 700 vacancies of teachers in various colleges of Punjab. I immediately issued advertisements and invited applications and all the fit people I could get. I appointed teachers right from Dera Gazi Khan up to Kasur to Gujranwala both men and women, ladies and gentlemen. So this Mr. Latif got with and said to me, "You are going to get me dismissed. Your first problem of appointing 50 teachers has not get solved and you have created another problem." I said I am going to put the ease to you. You put your note on it and we are going to take it to the Governor and see him. So he fixed up a time. I prepared a note and went to see him. There I told him: "Here is Bhutto with

thousands of people living around the street of Lahore. Your police can't control them, here I find Bhutto agitating, newspapers all are writing. The University of Punjab is closed now I don't want colleges to be closed. I want boys to be in classrooms not in the streets. This is the only way, your reputations may reputation, government's reputation all are at stake. We have the boys Schools are not yet closed. The colleges must remain open." I knew General Moosa very well because he had land just adjacent to mine in Bulri Sharif and I used to occasionally see him. When I finished, he looked at Latif and I remember, he told him in Urdu. "*Theek To Kehta Hai*." That's is the way he spoke. He finally condoned and I was free. Latif gave his sigh of relief. I continued from 1967 to 1969 when I became the Vice Chancellor.

When there was disintegration of the one unit I had to go out to all the provinces Yahya Khan had restored and I went to Karachi as a director but soon. I was made Vice Chancellor of Sindh University in 1969.

I had established, myself at Sindh Muslim College which they followed in seeding me to look after the Sindh University, which was in chaos. I don't want to have said any derogatory about my predecessors but one of them was referred to me by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto the then Governor of Sindh, as "Look hear, here is the Vice Chancellor, who leaves his office and comes to me at my office at Karachi whenever the students make any noise. How can a Vice Chancellor control a university which is in Hyderabad. I can't control the university as Chief Minister. It is the Vice Chancellor. How can I allow such a Vice Chancellor. Please God's Sake, go and take over as a Vice Chancellor. For a short time I had resigned when it was the martial law. Rehman Gul was the governor. Before me there was another gentleman, who had given in writing, to the government that no buildings could be put up on the campus of this university, Jamshoro and no trees grow on this soil. And I remember the Chief Secretary Agha Afzal, the Chief Secretary in the Government of West Pakistan when Air Marshal Noor Khan was the then governor of West Pakistan, who appointed me as Vice Chancellor and Agha Afzal the Chief Secretary called me and said "I am sorry, I am said that your predecessor of the university was not willing to see you at the university. Any way, he asked what do you want me to do so that we issue orders. I said I want some money, because there is no money. And he gave 30 lakh of rupees and I came around with money with my back ground of reputation and started, working, and I worked very hard in the university. Ninety six thousand trees were there. Only university's water was used for these trees whereas all the trees came from outside free. Mumtaz Bhutto created a forest division for the university which was 31 sq. miles in area and we started planting trees. And I am glad the university today gives a riverside scenes. The buildings that I put, I would later talk about it and the circumstances under which the university was brought up. I think I should say something about it.

It was easy to control the university because it was the good will on which I depended. I had the integrity which people respected. I had my literary activities and respect which

I commanded as principal and social pressure playing my part in raising the lives of boys. I had so many teachers in the university at that time who were my old students. The general public in Sindh loved me where ever I went, for the first time after I took over, Mr. Jan Mohammad Jamali President of the Sindhi Primary Teachers Association came to me to address the primary teachers of Karachi. This was my first real good written speech in Sindhi. All along I had been speaking in English. My education was in English. I was returned from England. As Director of Education I always spoke English. My notes were in English. So I hardly could read Urdu and-hardly write Sindhi. This was the first speech which was read, and later printed and reprinted by the Sindhi Adabi Board. I addressed more than four thousand teachers present at the Basant Hall Hyderabad. I got my speech printed and gave copy to each one of them. That speech was on the profession of teaching, importance of teaching, the nature of the responsibilities of a teacher my own responsibilities as a Vice Chancellor. And I saw for the first time the teachers started giving the slogan of "Ustadi-Azam", as they called me. Then of course I had a taste in public speaking. I went all round the Sindh in major districts and collected secondary and primary teachers, for meetings and addressed, and I became very very close to the teachers committees. And wherever I went my photographs appeared in newspapers and people would know that Ghulam Mustafa Shah was going coming or whatever it was. All over Sindh people knew Ghulam Mustafa Shah I am proud of having done this service. And I think I was rewarded so well for the respect I get.

At the university all the Vice Chancellors kept a distance with students. They would not go to the students. They were never told what their responsibilities were. I immediately got into the construction work. I got two hostels for girls and boys a dinning hall a canteen. I had the administration building built. By that time. I brought Agha Khan to lay the Foundation stone of the huge library building one can see there. They saw with their own eyes that what I was doing. I used to go on the horseback to look at the university grounds. For the first time the university had roads. I built all these roads and name the roads. I. I. Kazi was a very talented man. They had put him in a grave in one of the university corners, and I got his mausoleum built. University did not pay a pie except the water. I collected money from outside. It was not the university money with which it was built. The only man who paid me any money was Mr. A. K. Brohi who became the custodian of the Kazi Sahib's property and the books, and I think Kazi Sahibs property in England left about 3,600 pounds, which went to Brohi. Kazi Sahib had some money, here in Hyderabad went to him. He sold Kazi Sahibs house in Hyderabad and that money also came to him. Kazi Sahib had left some money with Dr. Halepota who returned that money and in way that money did not came to me. The only money which came from Kazi Sahibs funds was some 75,000 rupees or so which Brohi gave me and I remember, that he gave me a cheque on Iqbal Library Branch of Habib Bank near Islamia College, and I went to collect from there. But I spent 250,000 rupees or more on his mausoleum on which the greatest help was given to me by my engineering/consultant in the university Zeheeruddin Pathan and by Dr. Ghulam

Mustafa venerated teacher of the university, a real sufi. And I asked him that I need the money for the Kazi Sahib's mausoleum. I asked the consultant to get the Ayat of Holy Quran written inside the Kazi Sahib's mausoleum. These were chiseled by a man, who I think took a year before he could finish. These are placed inside the dome of the mausoleum. From my own point of view I think I respected Kazi Sahib. He wrote the first letter that anybody got in Sindh from England when I came back in 1949, was the year when Allama write to me. Which has been reproduced in the last issue of my *Sindh Quarterly*. I was responsible for bringing the Kazi Sahib as the Vice Chancellor in the university when I was the principal of Sindh Muslim College.

I was the member of the University Syndicate. At that time Qazi Fazlullah Ubaidullah¹⁰ was the Chief Minister and Pirzada Abdus Sattar was the minister in the central government. They got the agreement from Ghulam Mohammad because Pirzada was close to Ghulam Mohammad. In 1951 Kazi Sahib came here and became the Vice Chancellor of the Karachi University in that year. In 1953 Sindh University was shifted from Karachi to Hyderabad. Kazi Sahib of course knew him from 1938 when I was a student in the Leslie Hostel. He used to come and deliver Friday lectures and general talks in the mosque of the hostel and we Muslim Students loved him. It is through then. Now I had developed so many, friends during these days from 1938 when I was in D. J. College. My contacts spread all over Sindh and with the students coming from the Middle East countries. There I found that I was building for myself a future. In my education carrier I had some very delicate moments. I don't know whether I had related this earlier but. I was talking about martial law and I was talking about Gazdar and Saliya coming to me to my house. On the 7th of October early in the morning at 10 O'clock Syed Wajid Ali Shah who was a friend of Iskandar Mirza the Chairman of Ali Automobiles, I had paid him for a Ford pickup. He came to me at about 10 O'clock and said "For God's sake you don't have to pay me any money now. Go and take away that vehicle." I was wondering that why he was in such great hurry. And at night when martial law was proclaimed and everything was sealed. I knew that probably Wajid Ali Shah knew that such thing was coming. He was a great friend of Iskander Mirza and he and Iskander Mirza would work all kinds of activities, play bridge, play cards, and Wajid Ali Shah would see to that Iskander Mirza had won. And won in terms of lacs of rupees. He used to tell me the results. And this was very saddening. That is why I think he must have known that martial law was coming and I should take away the vehicle, because all business might be closed.

Now when these people, the President of the Board, Secretary of the Board, Brigadiers and others came down to my office and wanted my office where they could control the area, I told them don't do it for God's sake. If you are going to do it you are going to commit a mistake. If some boys start yelling and abusing you and take at the top of the

¹⁰ Qazi Fazlullah Ubaidullah remained Chief Minister of Sindh from May 8, 1950 through March 24, 1951. By Compiler.

building or throw anything from the gutters, or from the lavatories on you, are you going to shoot them? This is a wrong place for the army to be in. Keep the army away from the boys because you must remember this that boys can be the biggest headache for you. You take away your tents to the YMCA or to the Burns Gardens and put them there so that you are away from the boys. And I am glad they did it. They took me to General Haque Nawaz, who was the martial law administrator. He was an old student of Sindh Madressah. His father was a *jammadar* in police in Jacobabad. I sat down and talked to them by saying: "You are not doing a reasonable thing Why invite trouble where the boys are not doing anything why force them to create trouble for you." I am glad he understood it and said: "I think, you are right." So they put the entire army in YMCA, in tents and the Burns gardens open place near Sindh Muslim College. So my roads were free. These were beautiful huge roads, free for anybody to move. So the boys were free to play with and there was no occasion to come in contact with the soldiers or with the officers or the generals. And I told them don't occupy the office of the principal. Nearly four or five thousand people came to my office on pass in front of my office every day and if they don't see the principal in the office, where will they go to find the principal. Principal must be in the college and the time if this college is to remain in disciplined and manageable conditions. And if you take that, you will be taking away the place they respect and are afraid of. And there will be no place I will go and there is no place they should go. Don't create a trouble for yourself, I am doing it in your interest, not in my interest. And also that you doing stop boys shooting. And thank God they understood and the other instance I gave you my taking law into my own hands by appointing teachers but the governor condoned my action, because I am very genuine, very sincere in doing things. During the course of my being in Sindh Muslim College I achieved many things I had always my association with the university of Karachi. But then I had friends abroad like Mr. Malcom Madriga Gorge Scott, who was a great journalist and teacher, I always respected teachers and kept close contacts with them.

When I went to United States I found it to my honor. The American English was entirely different. I found most of the teachers who came from abroad on those who had recently migrated from Europe. Migrations were taking place from Europe and other, places on a large scale. When I went there in 1953 for the first time, scores of teaches had spread out, teachers professors senior men who were persecuted from Europe who had gone through the honors of war, who had seen what Hitler had done to these people from Poland which was tensely devastated. Czechoslovakia, Germany, from there all these teachers had come. Their English was handy English. They were speaking little bit of their own vernaculars and in English their pronunciations were different. They were wonderful scholars. They had their reputations, including Einstein. People who had their origin in Europe, had come back. I toured the United States a number of universities, which were very important universities. University of Columbia, New York, University of Ithaca, University of Kentucky, University of Vanderbilt University Tennessee, University of Missouri Kansas City, University of Chicago, Arizona

Roosevelt School and Swans School Kansas. I present my country at the universities I saw. I traveled by train, I traveled by air, by bus, I had sufficient funds, I was very well paid by the Foundation which was led by a famous man and U. S. Ambassador in the UN. Then his Funds were transferred by his son. The chairman of the Foundation was a negro Dr. Williams and he had personally come to receive me at the airport. Then of course, those were many Pakistanis going abroad. I had no contact with Pakistani embassy, but I had a lot of contact with Mr. Isphani when he was Pakistan's Ambassador in England I knew him; he knew me from the Sindh Muslim College. We had worked together as trustees of Quaid-i-Azam Trust after Quaid-i-Azam died. So was with Tufail Ali Abdur Rahman; when he was the principal of the Sindh Muslim Law College.

My life as a teacher, I worked with confidence. In every field of education I worked with confidence. My discipline was known all over. And rather interesting incident as Director of Education Karachi I had a little bit with the Education Secretary, who was Mr. Qadri. I knew him very well when we was in Aligarh. I was in 16 SSC while he was living in something 17 SSC. They were fed up of me because I was a *Khaksar*. I was sitting in my office near Bolton Market. I was in my office when my district education officer Mr. Shakoor wanted to come to me. He was very fond of eating pan with his mouth not with a lot of salvia. I never thought of it. He came to the office with pan in his mouth When I saw it, I bayed my fist onto the table and shouted: "Shakoor," and he at once platted out the entire savior into my office and spread everything an my table. I had laugh when I saw this. Funny thing of my district education officer. More or less, I got it washed. I told him to get out. All the officers rushed to my office however nobody could say anything for they knew it that I don't like things for taking granted.

I knew Mr. Shah Hussain, a famous student leader. He studied in Sindh Muslim College, then he joined commerce, and stayed in these colleges for six to seven years in one college. Then he went to Islamia College. He joined classes there I don't know what he studied there, but he became a leader of Karachi Students. I am sorry to victim him that way. Then there was Sayed Saeed Hassan who became a member of the Sindh Assembly. Then also Mr. Kazi who also became minister in Ms. Benazir's government; who was also a leader of students. He was a very fine student. I initiated a new college in Nazimabad. Then I also started a girls college there, first girls college in Nazimabad, in the portion of the boys college after I persuaded Akhtar Huain the then education minister. He was governor of West Pakistan then education minister. He was a student of Aligarh.

He persuaded me that I had a huge ground for the girls college, where the present Sir Sayed Girls college is located. Its first principal was Mrs.____. The Khatoon Pakistan School was practically laid by Miss. Jinnah, on my persuasion. She loved me very much.

I worked very hard for the promotion of education wherever I had to do, even I said no to Mr. Bhutto to carry out his decisions and he could not rebut with me. I became Vice Chancellor when ____ Khan was the governor, and there was martial law. He appointed me. And then there was General Riaz who was martial law administrator of Sindh and Balochistan. Because of my relationship with his uncle who was a ____ in Sujwal, his niece was the wife of a son of Kazi Ghulam Mustafa who was a deputy collector. For what a great I had done for the university; they extended all cooperation they could. The only difficulty I faced from Mr. Nusrat Hussain who was the commissioner of Hyderabad Division then Mr. Yousuf who was also the commissioner of Hyderabad. They were in the pockets of Nawab Muzaffar of Hyderabad who was the greatest mischief maker of Hyderabad. And so was Mr. Masroor Hussain, who have said in the meeting of the deputy commissioners to review law and orders. He called Nawab Muzaffar and make him sit throughout the proceedings and said that here is the gentleman who is going to be the Chief Minister of Sindh. Now Muzaffar, I knew him very well. He was my class fellow in Aligrah. But he was playing a dirty part in Hyderabad. All the riots that were taking place were investigated by him. And that time Mumtaz Bhutto had become the Chief Minister and after he placed the Sindhi Language Bill, that initialed tremendous riots in the whole of Sindh.....

Then I came to my contribution towards Sindhi literature. I am glad I have a bigger contribution I remember of Sindhi Adabi Board. It was initially established in 1957-58, G. M. Sayed was its member, Miran Mohammad Shah was its Secretary.