

**SINDH MUSLIM LEAGUE
IN PROVINCIAL POLITICS,
1937-1947**



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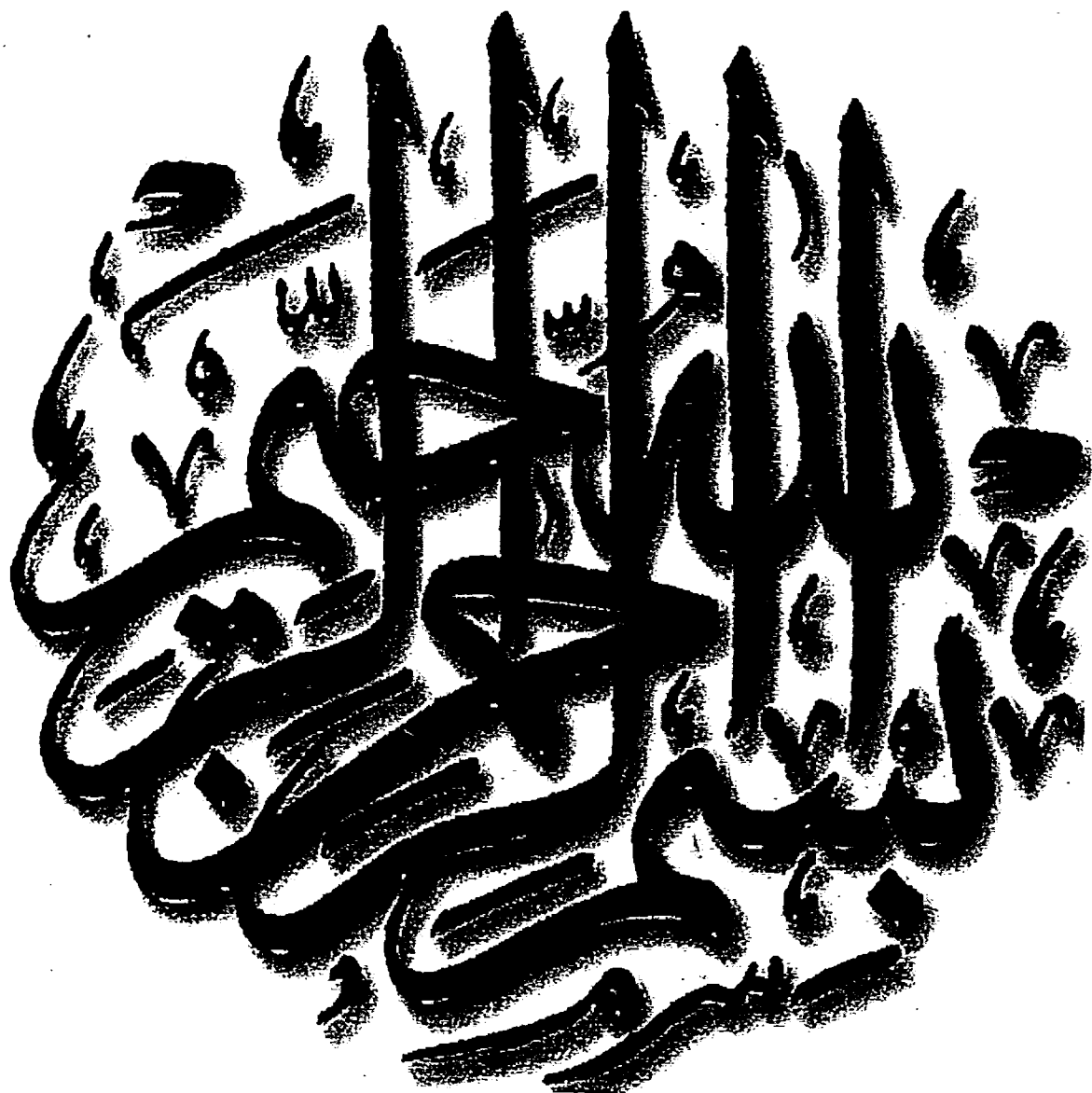


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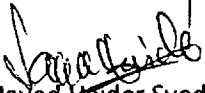
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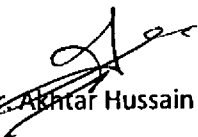
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To

**My husband
Abdul Bashir**

ABSTRACT

“The Sindh Muslim League in Provincial Politics, 1937-1947,” is a study on the formation and working of Muslim League in Sindh. The purpose of this study is to understand and analyze the Sindh Muslim League’s role in the struggle for Pakistan. The political situations of Sindh presented distinct objectives of different parties during the Movement of Pakistan so the study of relations of different political personalities with each other under the banner of Muslim League is very important. Through this study, those factors have been analyzed which proved that Sindh Muslim League was active for the demand for Pakistan and how Muslim League was able to improve its position despite severe opposition from the other parties after the defeated in elections of 1936-37.

After separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency the Muslim politicians formed the ministries in Sindh and they enjoyed power through out. The Muslim League was gaining popularity among the masses and branches of Muslim League were being established all over the Sindh, but their personal differences led to instability. Every group was taking their own benefits. Objectives of different parties and groups even personalities were varied with each other. Some time their pro-Pakistani sentiments were subjugated by their personal interests.

Sindh was greatly influenced by these religious and other groups. Sindh Provincial Muslim League was working during 1937-47 under the influence of different groups. Muslims due to their educational and economical deprivation were a submissive class of Sindh. In this research we have discussed the social, economic and educational conditions and political background of Sindh since the British conquest. The impacts of separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency and other communal issues are also discussed in it.

Sindh was a Muslim majority province and played major role in the Pakistan Movement. The first regular session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi in December 1907. Sindh had been at front of all Muslim majority provinces in demand for Pakistan. Although SPML experienced considerable difficulties during the freedom struggle and it was defeated in elections of 1936-37, but after elections, it was reorganized and played significant role. A resolution passed in 1938 Karachi Session by SPML, was adopted in Lahore Resolution (1940). Sindh Provincial Assembly also passed a resolution for the establishment of Pakistan, in both cases the SPML was a pioneer organization.

All these developments would be carefully considered and authentically evaluated in the coming pages.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIML	All-India Muslim League.
AIMLCC	All-India Muslim League Central Committee.
AINC	All Indian National Congress.
BPML	Bombay Presidency Muslim League.
DG	<i>Daily Gazette.</i>
DHP	Doulat Haroon Papers.
F	File (Archives).
KB	Khan Bahadur.
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province.
NDC	National Documentation Centre.
NIHCR	National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
PWD	Public Works Department.
QAP	Quaid-i-Azam Papers.
SHC	Shamsul Hassan Collection.
SPML	Sindh Provincial Muslim League.
SPA	Secret Police Abstracts.
SPMLC	Sindh Provincial Muslim League Council.

GLOSSARY

<i>Babul- Islam</i>	Gate way of Islam.
<i>Baloch</i>	Name of a tribe settled in Balochistan, some of whose off shoots are settled in Sindh.
<i>Darbar</i>	A court held in British Period to honour prominent Indians.
<i>Darul-Harb</i>	Place of War.
<i>Fatwa</i>	A religious decree.
<i>Hanuman Mandir</i>	Name of Hindu Temple, dedicated to Hindu monkey god, <i>Hanuman</i> .
<i>Hari</i>	Cultivators having no land of their own.
<i>Hijrat</i>	Migration of people to distant places for religious purpose.
<i>Lakh</i>	One hundred thousand, written as 100,000.
<i>Makatib and Madaris</i>	Institutions for religious and other learnings
<i>Manzil Gah</i>	Name of a Mosque located at Sukkur.
<i>Masjid</i>	Mosque
<i>Matuari</i>	A prominent sub- group of Sindhi <i>Sadat</i> .
<i>Mawlana</i>	A Muslim Scholar learned in the Qur'an and other religious text.
<i>Mawlwi</i>	A religious person who teaches the Qur'an and performs other religious obligations.
<i>Memon</i>	A Muslim merchant community.
<i>Om Mandi</i>	A name of Hindu welfare institute for women.
<i>Panchayat</i>	A council of wise and responsible members of society called in to settle disputes.
<i>Pir</i>	Spiritual and religious guide or saint.
<i>Rais</i>	A term used by the Baloch who were settled in Sindh to denote tribal chief.

<i>Raj</i>	Rule
<i>Sadat</i>	Descendants of the Prophet Muhammad(SAW)
<i>Salasil</i>	Spiritual chains.
<i>Sardar</i>	Chief
<i>Satyagraha</i>	A non-violent campaign of civil disobedience.
<i>Sayyid</i>	One who traces his ancestry to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW).
<i>Sheikh</i>	A title given in Sindh to a person converted to Islam.
<i>Taluka</i>	A smaller revenue unit of district. Sub division of district.
<i>Tehrik Reshmi Rumal</i>	Silk Letter Movement. It was a movement, in which silk handkerchief was used for secret communication.
<i>Ulama</i>	Religious teachers and Islamic theologians.
<i>Wadero</i>	A Sindhi term used for Sindhi landlords possessing extensive properties
<i>Zamindar and Jagirdar</i>	Landowners

INTRODUCTION

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the War of Independence and down fall of the Mughal Empire in the Sub-continent by the British. During this period a political triangle among the Muslims, Hindus and British appeared in the Indian Sub-continent. British blamed the Muslims for the 1857 uprising, so they became the victim of British revenge. The Muslims were denied the the right of equal oppertunities and were deprived of their rightful position in the administration. On the other side, Hindus were enjoying privileges and taking benefits from ruling class. The British administrative writers started discovering and encouraging the Hindu culture and civilization to counter the strong historical Muslim cultural impacts on the sub-continent. Consequently the socio-political and financial status of the Hindus became very strong as compared to Muslims. The Muslims were exposed to a bitter condition. Their financial and educational profiles were badly affected by the policies of the British. The Hindus quickly formed and organized a political platform named "All Indian National Congress" (AINC) in 1885 and claimed it as the sole representative of all Indian communities.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) took initiative for the Muslim education but he was against Muslim participation in politics. He tried to solve the misunderstandings about the Muslims in British mind. For this purpose he wrote the *Risalah Asbab-i-Bghawat-i- Hind*, but it was not enough for the Muslim recovery. Thus the Muslims of Indian sub-continent could not achieve their right place immediately. However, with the constant efforts of Sir Sayyid and his associates a generation of young Muslims especially educated in Aligarh,

contributed a lot at the beginning of the twentieth century. The new century was full of revolutionary political developments in India and England. The Labour Party swept the elections of 1905 and Lord Morley the father of Liberalism took the charge of the Secretary of State for India. Previously Lord Curzone, an expert in Indian affairs, had launched very powerful changes i.e, the division of Punjab (1901) and Bengal (1905) which created political stir in Indian public opinion. Beforehand the Utar Pardesh (U.P) Government had striked hard at Urdu in 1900 and the successors of Sir Sayyid, Mohsin ul-Mulk and Viqar ul- Mulk gave an alert response on formation of Urdu Defense Association in 1900 and putting efforts for the political awakening of the Muslim public opinion.

Especially, in 1905 reaction of Hindus on the division of Bengal was the turning point for the Muslim politics. They felt the need of a political platform, a political party, named All India Muslim League (AIML) which was formed in December 1906, two months before, in October a Muslim deputation had met the Viceroy, Lord Minto and put the demand of separate electorates for the Muslims. The scheme of separate electorates aroused Hindu antagonism. The ensuing couple of years (1906-09) were full of political activity of both the Hindus and the Muslims. Both were fighting for their rights in connection with the Reform Scheme, resulting in the AIML victory in getting their goal through the Minto-Morley Reforms (1909). In 1909 on introduction of Minto-Morley Reforms, the Congress recorded its disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion. Muslims of the Indian sub-continent felt that they possessed a separate identity but Hindus wanted to dominate on them. So the Muslims became politically active under the banner of the AIML, which was in better position in the Muslim minority provinces like U.P., Assam etc. Although the AIML's position was not strong almost in all the provinces of the sub-continent in elections of 1936-

37, but It won a fair number of Muslim seats, only it was in Sindh and the Punjab where it was in worst position. The Muslim League could not get even a single seat in Sindh.

Sindh which was Muslim majority province and had lost its sovereignty and autonomy for the first time in the history when the British made it a part of Bombay Presidency in 1847, after it was annexed in 1843. Sindh is being freedom loving Muslims contributed to struggle for independence from British subjugation. In 1880 Sindh Sabha was formed, even before the formation of the AINC for ventilating the public grievances. The different communities Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians worked together in this organization. This platform was used to aware the public for the administrative and social issues through articles, memorandums, meetings and discussions. This Sabha got presentation in the Karachi Municipal Corporation and Bombay Council. In the beginning, prominent literary and social personalities were associated with the Sabha like Diwan Koomal, Chendanmal Dayaram Gidumal, Rai Badruddin, Hussan Ali Effandi, Fathali Serai Thari Khan etc. They stressed to improve administrative machinery through news papers which were run by Sabha. Rai Bahadur Effandi started an educational institution named *Muslim Madrasah-tul-Islam* with the co-operation of the Government. Hence, due to all activities which were continued in all communities, Sindhi educated class was being prepared for the challenges of future.

The Sindhi Hindus especially participated in the Congress politics. In 1905 when the British announced the partition of Bengal, the Congress stood against it and started *Swadeshi* movement. Like rest of the sub- continent, this movement was popular in Sindh as well. During this movement poets and journalists went from village to village for propagation of *Swadeshi* agenda. Grand

processions and meetings were organized against partition and literary activities were also continued. Patriotic songs and dramas in Sindhi were written by famous writers, like Lalchand, Tolaram and others. In 1909 nationalist leaders and journalists were showing strict behaviour through publications like Sindhi language pamphlet entitled *Swadeshi Struggle and Lokmanya Tilak Thoughts*. When the Government increased its restrictions; the revolutionaries showed the extremist attitude particularly in Bengal and generally in whole of the Indian sub-continent. In 1910, Acharya Kripalani, Kaka Kalelkar, Gidwani and others set up the *Brahmacharya Ashram* in Hyderabad. Sindh which was the centre of such activities and shelter for Indian revolutionaries like Ras Behari Bose, Hansraj wireless, Kaka Kalelker and Lokmanya Tilak's co-workers. Gidwani and other Hindus collected funds for promotion of these activities.

Silk Letter Movement was started under the leader ship of Sindhi Muslims. It was chalked out and letters were intercepted by the Government with the help of few Hindu traitors who informed the British hence the area may not go under the planned Muslim rule again. So many leaders were arrested by the Government. Mawlana Ubaidullah Sindhi (1875-1944) studied the socialist system and had become its supporter and wanted it to be implemented in India with some modifications. He had even framed the Indian constitution on those lines, with socialism, secularism, democracy as its main principles. He published it in English and Urdu booklets from Istanbul, which was banned by the British Government. Mawlana also formed the branch of AINC in 1922 at Kabul. In 1939 he returned to Sindh during the Allah Bux ministry, formed his own party named Jamuna Narbada Sindh Sagar Party with branches at Karachi, Lahore and Delhi. Through this platform he wanted to propagate his progressive socio-economic thoughts.

During the period from 1919-1924, Khilafat and non-cooperation movements were flourishing against the British in whole of India. In Sindh Muslims and Hindus stood shoulder to shoulder. Although Sindh Provincial Muslim League (SPML) had been formed in 1917 but it was not in strong position, it was influenced by *Pir-s* of Sindh. So every where in Sindh, Khilafat Committees were formed and conferences were held. Sheikh Abdul Majid (1889-1978) had played very important role in Khilafat Movement, but Hindu-Muslim unity was ended against the British Imperialism when Gandhi (1869-1948) announced his withdrawal to the movement as a result of an incident of violence at *Chowri Chaura* in February 1922. British took advantage of this and inflamed Hindu-Muslim hostilities. Elite politicians joined the Congress. It was the time when the Muslims were struggling for separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency whereas the Hindus were opposing the movement hence their majority may not converted in to minority. Hindus were afraid about their supermacy in trade. After a long struggle Separation of Sindh from Bombay legally approved by British Government in 1934 and finally on 1 April 1936 Sindh became a separate province. But unfortunately the elections which were held in 1936 Muslim League got only 46% vote. Some others like Ulama group which had cooperated with the Muslim League before the elections, left it and joined the Congress in 1937. However, a Muslim ministry was formed in Sindh, The Congress and United Party were sitting on the opposition benches, but Sindh Assembly was working under the influence of Hindu leaders, Hindus had great effects on the decision of Muslim ministers but it was the story of behind the curtain. Sindh then became a pawn on the Congress and the League chessboards. In the course of Muslim ministry they tried to change the mind of common people and created new spirit in them. In fact through their visit of whole Sindh, they wanted to develop the League image

among the common people as a party to convey the message that it was the party struggling for prosperity of the province. Although, Muslim ministry was formed, but it could not prove it self, representative of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League (SPML). However, later on, the same Muslim Leaders played major role as Muslim League Politics.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah reorganized the Muslim League and he realized that ground had not been prepared and conditions will not in fevour of the Muslim League. However Jinnah tried to build up the League gradually in Sindh through the net work of the party organization. He had a clear vision that a firmly rooted, tightly-knit organization would be successful in Sindh and it would be possible to establish an effective and stable ministry. Therefore, after the separation of Sindh from Bombay and election of 1936-37, Muslim leaders changed their track, joined the League and had become active in the struggle for Pakistan. A Resolution was passed in Sindh Assembly in 1938 by Ghulam Murtaza Sayyid (1904-1995). He had realized the importance of the Muslim national cause and was in forefront of Pakistan movement in Sindh. Allah Bux and other worth mentioning leaders renounced their title of Khan Bahadur as a protest against Government's repressive policy but only Allah Bux was punished. He was dismissed by the Governor as the Chief Minister of Sindh on October 1942 and was murdered on 14 may 1943. Initially Ayub Khuhro accused for his murder. Those were the most crucial days for the Muslims of Sindh even though at the same time the nation was stirred with the Gandhi's slogan of Quit India. Different sections of society were divided into different groups. Even the Martial Law sentences of whipping did not discourage young men from defying government, many *Hur* leaders and a peasant woman, Mai Bakhtawar was martyred in their struggle against the British mutual rule. Ali Ahmad Brohi and three other Muslim

youths Muhammad Amin Khoso, Aslam Achzakai and Barkat Ali Azad had joined the Quit India Movement and suffered imprisonment. The Above incidents indicate the course of political development continuing in Sind. Before the separation from Bombay Presidency it was a Muslim minority province. After separation it was turned into a Muslim majority province and played important role for the demand of Pakistan. Role of Muslim League was the most important for the freedom struggle. The Hindus and Muslims nations both wanted freedom, goal was same but aims were different. The Muslim League played undeniable role for the political growth of Muslims in Sindh.

After separation, Sindh was the Muslim majority province and was the part of the Pakistan scheme. But unfortunately the *Pir*-s and landlords were playing the role of King Makers. They were politically dominant and every one of them was supporting any of the political leader like Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah (1897-1948) was supported by Mir groups and G.M.Sayyid was enjoying the support of whole Sayyid group. In 1936, different small political parties of Muslims emerged in political frame like Sindh Azad Party led by Abdul Majid Sindhi, Sindh United Party of Abdullah Haroon(1872-1942), and Ghulam Husain Hidaytullah was leading the Sindh Muslim Party. These political parties participated in the elections of 1937. But in elections, Provincial Muslim League was in weaker position and had to make its alliance with the Sindh Azad Party. Even then it could not win a single seat in the elections of 1937. Sindhi Muslim leaders had always been divided over the strategy for attaining the rights of their community. However, political situation of that time had claimed unity of the leading Muslim leaders, to join the Muslim League. In 1938 a Muslim League session was organized in Karachi and many Sindhi politicians formally joined the Muslim League. It may be a result of Congress chauvinism which it was employing through the "Muslim

Mass Contact Movement” and its refusal to take Muslims into confidence and sharing power with them its rule. The same situation emerged in the other Muslim majority provinces and the Lucknow Session of the AIML (1938) resulted in submission of the leadership of the Punjab Unionist under Sir Sikandar Hayat (b.1892 d.1942, Bengal under Maulvi Fazlul Haq (1873-962) and Assam under Saadullah before Jinnah.

G.M.Sayyid was very active in Sindh politics and was president of the SPML (1943-45) Sayyid was himself leader of a strong faction of Sindhi Muslim public opinion and carried his own strong likings and dislikings. He wanted to exclude his political opponents naturally but at that time the AIML was at a much stronger footing, obviously the central organization declined to go along with the personal agenda of Sindh League President resulting in his rebellion and the parting of the ways. He was ignored in elections of 1945-46 which was deciding the fate of Pakistan. These elections had greatly affected Sindh politics. That time Provincial League and AIML had broken their links on the issue of nomination of candidates. Most Sindhi politicians had changed their loyalties and compromised their stands for the sake of gaining political power. According to some critics’ views, they had their own interests for acquiring power. They gave attention and importance to their personal benefits rather than political ideals or parties. For this purpose they had even made alliance with Hindu parties.

After having an over view of Sindh politics, the role of Muslim leaders in the demand for Pakistan can easily be assessed. And how they faced the opponent elements in the Muslim League? Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency announced under the India Act 1935 but formally in 1936, Sindh acquired status as a province with its own Legislative Assembly. The Sindhi politicians continued to attempt to get freedom from British imperialism and

established contacts with the Indian freedom movement. They met with Indian Muslims and made their claim for a separate state consisting of those areas where Muslims were in majority. A resolution was passed for separate homeland in 1938 from Sindh platform whereas the AIML passed Lahore Resolution (23 March 1940) for a separate Muslim territory in 1940. Within India, the Sindh Legislative Assembly was the first Provincial Assembly to adopt Lahore Resolution in March 1943. Sindh played vital and an integral role in assuring the success of the Muslim League which lead to the formation of Pakistan.

This study is an analysis of the role of Muslim League during 1937-47 under the influence of different groups and impacts of separation on the Sindh politics. It will be assessed how Muslim League encountered the Hindu attitude? Historical canvas shows in the election of 1937, that Muslim League was not organize and could not achieve a single seat in the province of Sindh but after the separation of Sindh from Bombay, Muslim League emerged as a strong party in the province. It will also be assessed that how the Sindh Muslim League and Sindh Provincial Assembly played important role in the demand for Pakistan?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The role of Sindh Muslim League in the British Indian politics has been discussed by almost all eminent historians, working on the Pakistan Movement. Provincial activities have been discussed by some writers, but some have adjusted the Muslim League's efforts with in the whole movement for Pakistan. Provincial issues have also been addressed in certain studies. The role of Muslim League under the influence of different groups like *Mir-s*, *Pir-s* and *Sayyids*, and impacts of separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency and its impacts on provincial politics have not been addressed in any study sufficiently and separately.

Dr. Muhammad Qasim Soomro's *Muslim Politics in Sindh(1938-1947)*¹ covers the Muslim struggle in connection with last decade of Pakistan movement. He used as much Urdu and Sindhi sources in original documents, newspapers, and files for his study but he could not consult some major primary sources i.e Shamsul Hassan Collection. Sayyid Shamsul Hassan (1885-1981) preserved extensive documents which have considerable importance for the historical knowledge. Shamsul Hassan collection which was declassified after his study which is based on his M.Phil thesis done in History from Quaid-i- Azam University in 1989. He has discussed the whole politics of the province in hardly 150 pages and half of his study is about Muslim League's struggle. He did not discuss influence of other groups on the party struggle. Present study has started one year before and its issues are different from Soomro's study. He did not discuss Muslim League's efforts in detail.

Dr.Muhammad Qasim Soomro and Dr. Muhammad Lakho's edited and compiled *Sindh: Glimpes into Modern History*². This book consists on proceedings of the Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi International Confrence on History of Sindh 1843-1999. It has divided in five sections, named Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi, British Period, Contemporary Period, Historiography and Archaeology. All sections based on the research papers of prominent scholars. All papers cover different aspects of Sindh's history. Second section covers the different activities during the British Period. In this section touched the verity of political subjects in different Scholarly papers.

Allen Keith Jones's *Politics in Sindh, 1907-1940: Muslim Identity and the Demand for Pakistan*³. This book covers thirty years of the Sindhi politics and traces the history of the Muslim League in Sindh from its earliest stages. This book partly answers the question as to why Sindh, an overwhelming

Muslim majority province, felt it had to join the Muslim League, an exclusive Muslim party and why it supported the extreme position of a separate state for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent. Jones has also discussed the background of twentieth century politics in Sindh and brings out the factors that led to the demand for the separate Muslim State in India in the 1938 conference.

Abdul Jabbar Abid Laghari has written *Tehrik-i- Azadi main Sindh ka Kirdar (1921-1947)*⁴ *Maa Sindh Ki Bombay Saay aliydgi*, deals with the Sindhi Muslims' role in the freedom movement. He discusses the role of women, elite class, students as well as the minorities like Hindus, but very briefly. He gives an overview of almost all the Sindhi leadership of that time. The time frame of this study is also different from the present study.

G.M.Sayed's *Struggle For New Sind*⁵ a narrative work on the provincial autonomy in Sind. This book covers a decade of 1937-1947. Although it is not an autobiography but writer shares his views on different political issues of the decade. He has depicted things how he has seen them whether others may be seeing them in different manners. He portrayed whole political situation but preffers his view rather than others.

Hamida Khuhro herself an outstanding historian has also written a book on her father's (Muhammad Ayub Khuhro) contribution in Separation of Sindh from Bombay Published by NIHCR Islamabad. Her edited work; *Documents on Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency*⁶ is collection of prominent personalities' writings. It consists of eighteen essays, related directly or indirectly with the separation of Sindh. Some essays are related to future and analysis the Sindh situation from different aspects like if Sindh amalgamates with Blochistan and other historical documents.

Hamida Khuhro's edited work, *Sindh Through the Centuries*⁷ based on proceedings on international seminar held in Karachi, 1975 by the Department of Cultural Government of Sindh. This book has grasped the political government, as the political background of Sindh at the time of British conquest. In this collection the early period of the Muslim conquest has been discussed with a short historical background of freedom struggle. In this study has been discussed the Sindhis' victimization by the British administrative policies. This study deals with long period and broader issues.

Hamida Khuhro's *The Making of Modern Sindh*⁸ deals with the Sindh's present and past situation and possibilities of future scopes. It shows the significance if Sindh has developed according to British decisions which were vitally to effect the social and economic development of country.

Ian Talbot's *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*⁹ mainly deals with the growth of the Muslim League in North-Western and North-Eastern India, it covers ten crucial years of Indian freedom movement. It aims to reveal how the Muslim League overcomes its earlier weakness in the major center of Muslim population during the period of 1937-47. In this book out sets out to shed fresh light on the league growth in Muslim majority areas during decade which preceded the creation of Pakistan.

Khalid Shamsul- Hasan edited *Sindh's Fight for Pakistan*¹⁰ is based on Shamsul Hasan collection. Through this we know what happened before June 1947 and it is based upon the available records in the form of letters and correspondence. This book also gives an overview of the Muslim struggle in Pakistan movement.

Muhammad Laiq Zardari's *History of Sindh VOL.I: British Period(1843-1936)*¹¹ mainly covers the the period after British annexed sindh. As historical

background Sindh has discussed the under the Talpurs and *Mir*-s before British Raj. All major crises, pacts among the British and Muslims and incidents during 1843-1936 has discussed in this study but not in detail.

Mubarak Ali's edited work *Sindh Observed*¹² is consist on selected articles of the Journal of Sindh Historical Society. These articles throw light on ancient and modern period of Sindh. These articles are produce after hard work and painstaking research of eminent scholars and wellknown historians. Through this collection reader can easily analyze progress and political situation of Sindh ancient to modern period.

Ijaz-ul-Haq Qudusi's *Tareekh-i- Sindh*¹³ 3VOLS covers the whole history of Sindh. This study has started to advent of Arabs in Sindh for the preaching of Islam. He has discussed the Arab conquest of Sindh. The third volume of this study about the advent of British in eighteenth century for trade and after then for military aims. This study also covers the whole political situation of Sindh during the twentieth century. All political movements has discussed in this study. This study is not focused on activities of any single party or movement. Main objective of this study has to provide basic and important informations of Sindh so it fulfills its objective.

Sindh throughout the years was struggling for the freedom. Muslim League's role was very important in the struggle for of Pakistan; Objectives of different parties were varied with each other. It was not easier to guess that they were fighting for power or freedom. *Pir*-s and saints in Sindh acted as mediators between Government and society. Their influence in politics was very notable and political parties depend on them. This aspect is not discussed in all above mentioned studies. Thus in the present study influence of this main group of Sindh will be discussed.

SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE

The time frame of this study is 1937-47 and it covers the Muslim struggle for their interests in Sindh. This time period is politically very important in case of Pakistan demand. Sindh was more active in politics than any other Muslim majority province, and hence fully aware to the importance of separate Muslim identity. Through this study, those factors have been analyzed which proved that SPML was active for the demand of Pakistan and thought provoking questions would be answered about the politics of the SPML. Different studies covered different aspects of Sindh politics; but no one could grasp the whole struggle of Muslim League in the period under question. Sindh was in the forefront of the struggle for Pakistan and its efforts joined with the All India Muslim League were very important.

In the present situation of the province, turmoil, sense of insecurity and threat to the integrity of Pakistan is disturbing every sensible person. It is the responsibility of intellectuals to be aware to the upcoming dangers which might be dangerous for the national unity, and threaten the future of Pakistan. It may be possible only by highlighting the actual prevailing situation in the period of the freedom struggle for Pakistan and the threats which the Indian Muslims were facing. The role of Sindh Muslim League during 1937-47 led the community towards the formation of Pakistan, is very important to be evaluated in this context.

FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCES

Muslim League played major and important role in the politics in case of Pakistan. Its branches were present in the province. This study has dealt with the SPML's role for this reason word 'Muslim League' is used for the Assembly Party.

The word 'separation' is used in connection with separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency, the word 'opposition' or 'opposition parties' has also been used for the anti Muslim League elements. All individuals who were involved in politics whether in favour or against the Muslim League, are termed as the 'political elite'. Abbreviations have been used for the party names.

METHODOLOGY

In this study descriptive and analytical approach has been adopted for this study. The research relies on the published, personal records of the concerned persons and different analytical works. Shamsul-Hasan Collection, Sind VOL I, II, III, IV, V and VIII is used for the facts. These volumes contain the original office record of the All India Muslim League. These documents are available in different research collections but I have used the Library of National Institute of Historical and Cultural research Islamabad.

National Archive, Islamabad and National Documentation Centre, Islamabad have been consulted for the data collection. Available sources on the Sindh's role towards demand for Pakistan are quite valuable. Most of the records are focused on the political struggle as whole community and provide the contradictory information on different issues, so each account has been handled very carefully. The study is constructed on the political values. Newspapers, concerned with the specific period have consulted. One of the important newspapers '*The Sind Gazette*' is available with the Newspapers collection of the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad. Articles, critical views, columns, etc have been consulted for the indepth study and authentic research biographies of the prominent leaders have also been consulted.

The National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad, the Central and Seminar (Department of History) Libraries of Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad and Library of Punjab University Lahore has also been consulted during the research. The most important Collection at Lahore is the Punjab Public Library with a rich collection of newspapers has also been scanned.

ORGANIZATION

The study is divided into three Chapters; chapter 1 addresses the political, economical, and social conditions of Sindh. Influences of *Pir*-s and other elites of Sindh in politics have also been focused; formation of the Muslim League, its activities, achievements and relations with other political parties with special reference to Sindh interests, particularly the separation of Sindh from Bombay have been discussed.

In Chapter 2, Muslim League's status during the elections of 1936-37, the political activities, reorganization of Muslim League in Sind, impacts of Lahore Resolution of 1940 on the Sindh provincial politics and responses and influences of different groups on different issues will be analyzed.

In Chapter 3, role of Muslim League as powerful political party, Muslim League's efforts in the elections 1946 and its struggle regarding the demand and creation of Pakistan have been analyzed. It has consisted on the Muslim League's role in transfer of power, relation with other communities. Conclusion is related to the arguments of the whole study and will consist of the final findings.

NOTES

¹Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh (1938-1947)*(Hyderabad: Sindh University Press, 1989).

²_____,ed. *Sindh: Glimpses into Modern History*(Jamshoro: University of Sind, 2008).

³Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh, 1907-1940: Muslim Identity and the Demand for Pakistan*(New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁴Jabbar Abid Laghari, *Tehrik-i- Azadi Main Sindh ka Kirdar 1921-1947: maa Sindh Ki Bombay Saay Alaidgi*(Hyderabad: Rehabber United Publication, 1992).

⁵G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind: A Brief Narrative of the Working of Provincial Autonomy in Sind During a Decade of 1937-1947*(Karachi: Sindh Observer Press, 1949).

⁶Hamida Khuhro, ed, *Documents on Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*, vol I (Islamabad: National Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, Islamic University,, 1982).

⁷_____,ed. *Sind Through the Centuries*(London: Oxford University Press. 1981).

⁸_____, *The Making of Modern Sind: British Policy and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1978).

⁹Ian Talbot *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988).

¹⁰Khalid Shamsul-Hasan ed. *Sindhi Fight for Pakistan* (Karachi: Shamsul-Hasan Foundation, 1992).

¹¹Muhammad Laiq Zardari, *History of Sindh vol I (British Period)*. (Islamabad:National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1996).

¹²Mubarak Ali, ed. *Sindh Observed: Selection from the Journal of Sindh Historical Society*(Lahore: Gautam Publishers, 1993).

¹³Qudusi, Ijaz-ul-Haq. *Tareikh-i- Sindh*, 3vols (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1995).

CHAPTER 1

SINDH AS A PART OF BOMBAY PRESIDENCY AND ITS SEPARATION MOVEMENT

Sindh has been a land of ancient civilizations, *Sufia*, saints and *Pir-s*. The geo-political history of the area proves that its boundaries kept changing and various families ruled this region.¹ It kept absorbing colours of different cultures and civilizations. It has a great commercial and political importance. Geographically, Sindh is located on the western part of Indian sub-continent. The broad valley of the Indus is bordered in the East by the Thar Desert and in the West by the Kohistan range of mountains which culminate into Balochistan. Its trade routes were considered significant for the Indian sub-continent. Some cities of Sindh like Sukkur and Shikarpur were junctions of major routes to all directions linking with the East². It enjoyed independence for most of its history³. It always had its own governor and retained regional autonomy. Its rulers, whether they were independent or representatives of an imperial Government, were guided in their actions, mainly by local force and pressure⁴ and they were set their directions according to the circumstances.

Muhammad Bin Qasim came in Sindh in 712 and conquered it. The Arab conquest proved a turning point in the history of Sindh as it originated the long term religious developments⁵ in the entire region. It had welcomed Islam and its message, in this way Muslims turned in to majority. However, it was not the over nightly process. Arab had not tried to change basic social structure of Sindhi society. Arabs neither came there as missionaries, nor they took interest in conversion of masses to Islam. Although common people of Sindh were gradually influenced by Arabs and they embraced Islam, while a few local chiefs

were converted to Islam in order to preserve their political power. Muslims conquest of the Sindh was motivated mainly by economic reasons⁶. Western trade with the East had been started in 1600 when British were looking for new markets and territories for trade. Till the beginning of seventeenth century, British interest in Sindh was commercial. In 1607 the East India Company, instructed their officials to extend their commercial activities in Sindh⁷. British commercial activities in Sindh started in 1635 and extended during the period of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1627-1658). British established a factory at Thatta in 1635⁸. But it could not run so long and unfavorable conditions caused closure of the factory in 1662.

The British restarted their trade activities in 1758 with the permission of Ghulam Shah Kalhoru, the ruler of Sindh⁹. He was succeeded by Sarfraz Khan Kalhoru who somehow got suspicious of the activities of British. He ordered the closure of the British factory and trade setup in 1771. By the end of the eighteenth century, Napoleon's (1769-1821) intension to occupy the eastern British colonies created fear among the British. They foresaw Napoleon entering into the Indian sub-continent from the western side (Balochistan and Sindh). Their fear grew further when they learnt that Tippu Sultan (1750-1799), the ruler of Maysore had written a letter to Napoleon seeking his help against the British. Commercial activities of British were restarted in 1799 with the establishment of two more factories at Karachi and Thatta. However, the factories were a farce. At the end of eighteenth century British had not intrested in trade only. The British changed their policies now their real aim was to occupy Sindh. Gradually their involvement in the political matters of the region increased. In 1799, the Talpur *Amir* of Sindh ordered the British residents to leave Sindh¹⁰ and their factories were again closed.

However, the advent of the nineteenth century was very crucial for the British. Having relieved of Tippu Sultan in 1799, they had to enter Sindh and the suburbs to counter Napoleon who had captured Egypt concluded to push the British out of South Asia. Accordingly a treaty was signed between the British and *Amir* of Sindh in 1809 for free and uncontrolled navigation in river Indus. Apparently, it seemed that the treaty was aimed at commercial activities only. Whereas the British were actually, exploring the Indus for future military objectives¹¹. In 1831, Alexander Burnes (1805-41) visited Sindh to survey the river. Ahsindhi saint predicted, "The mischief is done, you have seen our river' Alas; Sind is now lost".¹²

During the First Afghan War (1839-42), the British army marched through Sindh. General Sir Charles Napier (1782-1853) defeated the Talpur in the battle of Miani and Dubba¹³ in February 1843¹⁴ and was accupied after great slaughter. In these wars 5,000 Sindhi and Baloch soliders were killed. Only 256 British soldiers were killed in these wars. Regarding the conquest of Sindh, Sir Charles Napier wrote "we have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, a very advantageous, useful and human piece of rascality, it will be".¹⁵ Charles Napier ruled over Sindh for almost four years. During his rule Sindh had a separate status with Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur being its major districts. British headquarters shifted from Hyderabad to Karachi in the period of Napier, he ruled with the help of the *Mir*-s. Napier did not bring any major change in basic administrative structure because *Mir*-s ensured their loyalties with the British government. Napier built forts and garrisons, which were necessary to mount a second offensive on Afghanistan (1878-1880).

In 1847, when Sindh became a part of Bombay presidency, a commissioner was appointed by the British Government which became an

important and a powerful post¹⁶. Sindh was formally annexed to the Bombay presidency as a non regulation province hence losing its identity. This was the first time ever that Sindh, a province which always had a governor¹⁷ of its own, had lost its autonomy. The Muslims as a community¹⁸ happened to be a submissive class under the influence of *Pir-s* and big landowners. Despite this, people of Sindh fully contributed in the struggle for freedom from the British. The British undertook development works like laying railway tracks, primarily for their own benefits and military purposes. Before annexation of Sindh, the *Amir-s* were very tolerant and liberal. Hindus and Muslims lived together under *Amir-s* rule as they were equally generous towards Hindus and Muslims. Napier himself said that the Hindus of Sindh had been treated well for ages.¹⁹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MUSLIMS IN SINDH

The British annexation in 1843 initiated an era of changes in whole of the Sindh. Being a part of Bombay presidency, Sindh was not a Muslim majority province. However, the area which formed part of Sindh before 1843 had a Muslim majority. In 1901 there were 4 million Muslims in Bombay Presidency, half of them lived in Sindh and remained scattered through out the presidency. In the beginning of the third decade of twentieth century, Sindhi's population was around 3,887,077. Out of this entire population, 82 percent comprised of rural population, whereas the remaining 18 percent was settled in towns and urban areas.²⁰ Most of the Sindhi people belonged to Jat, Sammat and Sumro (soomro) tribes.²¹ Sindh was a Muslim majority province. Among the minorities, Hindus had the highest number. Following table shows the population comparison:

Table of Hindu-Muslim population comparison

Year	Total population	Muslim population	Muslim percentage	Hindu population	Hindu percentage
1881	2,417,057	1,887,204	78.08%	395,079	12.62%
1891	2,875,100	2,215,147	77.05%	567,536	19.74%
1901	3,210,910	2,446,489	76.19%	751,252	23.40%
1911	3,513,435	2,639,929	75.14%	837,887	23.85%
1921	3,279,377	2,406,023	73.37%	841,267	25.65%
1931	3,887,071	2,830,800	72.83%	1,015,225	26.12%
1941	4,535,008	3,208,325	70.75%	1,229,926	27.12%

Abdul Jabbar Abid Laghari, *Tehrik-i - Azadi main Sindh ka kirdar 1921-1947* maa : *Sindh ki Bombay Presidency say Aliydg*. (Hyderabad: Rehber United Publication, 1992), 7.

Till census of 1881 Hindus were enrolled as religious Sikh and Nanak Shahi but after 1881 they started their enrollment as Hindu,²² so their percentage had increased. According to the table, Muslim population was increasing but due to Hindus startegy Muslim's percentage was gradually decreasing. But Still Muslims had reasonable majority in Sindh. However, Muslims were a submissive and deprived class of the society. Most of them were peasants (*Harri-s*). They did not participate in the activities which could have raised their life style and position in the society. On the other hand, the Hindus were a minority group of the province but Hindu community of Sindh had sufficiently progressed under the British rule.²³ In course of the British period, Sindhi Hindus had become land owners after implementation of new land laws in 1866. Hindu moneylenders gained power during the period of 1866 to 1892. Almost 1771 Hindus became land owners²⁴. The British weakened the Muslimh *jagirdars*' strength and Muslim nationalism to promote Sindhi nationalism; on the other hand, they facilitated the conversion of Hindus to Christianity, mainly to achieve their missionary aims.²⁵ According to a survey report of 1929, eighty-seven percent Muslimh *jagirdar-s* were loan defaulters.²⁶ The Hindu community mostly lived in urban areas and small villages²⁷ whereas Muslim population

mostly lived in villages and far flung areas.²⁸ They were deprived of their rights. New converters to Islam, residing in urban areas were called *Ansari* and *Sheikh-s*. *Memons* were Cutchi Hindus, who embraced Islam and migrated to Sindh in seventeenth century. Hindus were properly organized through their *Panchayat-s* and were always ready to defend their interests.²⁹ Muslim of Sindh did not know how to protect their rights and interests. Muslim elites were *jagirdar-s* who had no interest in social and political rights of their community. They were only interested in making more and more money. However the Hindu leadership was more organized and shrewd than the Muslims.³⁰

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

When the British annexed Sindh, the Talpurs were not distinguished for their efforts to encourage education amongst the population of Sindh. Even under the rule of Bombay presidency, the Muslims' educational condition remained very poor. In connection of Muslims' education, M. A Khuhro(1901-80) wrote about the behaviour of the Government of Bombay:

The attitude of Bombay towards our primary as well as secondary education was discouraging. A study of statistics will show that Muslims of Sind who form 3/4 of the whole population did not have even primary education. We have not been given our fair share of educational attention.³¹

Hindu community had higher percentage of literacy rate than Muslims. In 1853, a school was opened in Karachi for the modern education to meet the needs of the time but Muslims did not take interest in modern education. Muslims intention towards English education was not satisfactory. According to Education Commission Report of 1882, 475 students enrolled in colleges and 5731 were enrolled in high schools which were established in Bombay (that time Sindh was part of Bombay Presidency) but only seven students in colleges and 118 in high schools were Muslims. Muslims were rather inclined towards

religious education. Hundreds of boys and girls recited Qur'an in village's mosques and remained away from modern education and hence unacquainted with the spirit of the teachings of Islam. The Muslims usually discouraged their children to join Hindu educational institutions by branding it against the religion. This thought prevailed in the entire sub-continent including Sindh. Literary societies, on religious basis were formed in Bengal and Aligarh. In this regards, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Nawab Abdul Latif Khan (1829-93) and Sayyid Amir Ali (1849-1928) greatly inspired the Muslims to join the modern educational institutions.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan took initiative for Muslim education but Sindhi Muslims did not show any interest. The *jagirdar-s* were not ready to give up their lavish life and *Harri-s* continued to remain a submissive class of society. The poor economical conditions of the Muslims of Sindh took them away from the enlightenment of the modern education. According to a survey report carried out in 1901, literacy rate among the Muslims was only 0.1%. That too was because of the literate Punjabi and Afghan settlers in Sindh³² otherwise the local population was totally illiterate. Hassan Ali Effendi established Sindh Mohammedan Association on 16 March 1884 at Karachi³³. The membership of the Association was cramped to *zamindar-s* and *jagirdar-s* only. The formation of this association was a result of British policies, particularly aimed to transfer the agricultural lands from Muslim landlords to Hindu money lenders. This association had considerable impact in persuading the Muslim youth to attain western education. It also worked for agricultural and employment interests of Muslim community. It played an active role till the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency. The new British policy regarding education introduced a new type of education replacing the old *Makatib* and *Madaris*.³⁴ These new types

of schools were not the demand of Muslim community and were confined to urban centers only. These schools attracted Hindus who in past had traditionally remained clerks and functionaries of the Muslim regimes. The schools formed by British Government imparted western education.³⁵ Schools were opened for other communities too, like Parsi School started in Karachi in early twentieth century.³⁶ The Muslims were shy of joining these schools due to the prevailing prejudices among Muslims against the western education. Muslim elites felt the need for new type of schools. So Hassan Ali Effendi established "*Sind Madrassah-tul-Islam*" in 1885. Lord Dufferin inaugurated its new building in Karachi.³⁷

Within one year, its three more branches were established in Sukkur, Jaccobabad and Shikarpur. In addition to the Sindh Mohammedan Association, Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri (1881-1924) also formed "Sind Zamindar Association" which worked for the benefits of the agriculturalists. It addressed issues like adjustment and assessment of rates and legislation regarding land alienation. Sindh Provincial Conference which held in to being in 1908 had more liberal point of view than Mohammedan Association.³⁸ Sindh Educational Conference and Sindh Sabha were important organizations which attracted the Muslims in those days. But all these efforts were not enough to remove the Muslims' educational deprivation. In 1914 Muslims' literacy rate was 24 per thousand, 2.4 percent which was very low as compared to the Hindus. Among Hindus 333 people per thousand were educated, meaning that 33 percent. This adversely poor educational condition remained till 1933-34. In 1937, only one Muslim student completed his graduation and in 1938, merely 15 students out of 120 passed and in the year of 1939, no Muslim student appeared for graduation and Master's degrees.³⁹ Sir Shafi(1869-1932), during the Round Table

Conferences,⁴⁰ gave a statement on Sindh educational condition, explaining that Sindh had been part of Bombay Presidency for almost hundred years but till that time no University had been established in Sindh for Higher Education. Education Committee was appointed to carryout analysis of the educational development. According to the Agzalary's Report Bombay Government had no interest in the educational development of this region, therefore no regular educational grant was allocated.⁴¹

PIR-S OF SINDH

The history of Sindh is attached with *Sufia*, saints and *pir*-s. They had great influence in the region. In rural areas *Pir*-s were very popular and enjoyed special status. Different *Salasil* like *Suharwardiyyah*, *Chishtiyyah*, *Qadariyyah* and *Naqashbandiyyah* flourished in Sindh.⁴² The role of *Sufia* and saints was institutionalized gradually.⁴³ Different tribes were attached with particular *silsila*. The role of *pir*-s was that of a link between different groups of Sindhi society. They were descendants of the *Sufia* saints who had brought Islam to Sindh. *Sadat* were also part of Sindhi society. *Sadat* of Sindh can be divided in to two main categories *Hasani* and *Hussaini*. *Hussaini Sadat* were divided two more branches, The *Matiari* and the *Lakiari*.⁴⁴ These two branches became more influential and gradually they became landowners and religious teachers.⁴⁵ They lived in villages where common people respected them as *pir*-s or saints. Rulers wanted their co-operation in ensuring the smooth running of their administration.⁴⁶ At the time of British conquest of Sindh, *pir*-s had a different status. The British identified that instead of *pir*-s, the land owners with little religious orientation had much greater influence over the masses⁴⁷. The British tried to win the full support of this class by recognizing their *jagir*-s which they

possessed before the British conquest of Sindh.⁴⁸ The main purpose of doing this was to collect revenue for the British Government and to create allies. British also awarded the leading *zamindar-s*, *wadero-s* and tribal *sardar-s* with titles and swords in recognition of their loyalty.⁴⁹ *Pir-s* contributed an important role in spreading the influence of Muslim League in Sindh. *Pir-s* were candidates for Muslim League tickets. The League gave ticket to Ali Muhammad Mari for the elections 1945-46 who became Assembly member from Shahdadpur Taluka. He was Muslim worker and his selection was on the basis of his recognition as a religious guide within the community,⁵⁰ whereas some other members involved in politics were also *Pir-s*.

The British always tried to run the political system with the local collaboration. British faced two crises with the involvement of the *Pir-s* during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, first the *Hur* Movement of 1890s and secondly, the Khilafat Movement. *Pir-s* played a prominent role in Khilafat Movement in 1920.⁵¹ *Pir-s* although played a role as mediators between Government and the society. However, they felt the pressure of community because they were socially and economically fully dependent on their disciples. During the Khilafat Movement many *Pir-s* of Sindh came together on the common platform to protest against British policy. They showed their concern in the better interest of the Indian community.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

After the down fall of Mughal dynasty and capture of India by the British, political canvas of Indian sub-continent was changed. In the beginning of the twentieth century, political changes came to the Indian sub-continent which directly affected the Muslims. Feudal system in rural areas, influence of *pir-s*,

Sadat, economical and political domination of Hindus greatly effected the political development of the Sindhi Muslims.⁵² Political awareness created a concept of unity among the Muslims.

Minto-Morley introduced constitutional reforms in India in 1909. In these reforms, right of separate electorates was accepted but no direct representation was accorded to the general public. After these reforms, when elected representatives from Sindh, reached in Bombay Council, formed a pressure group to raise their voice in the Bombay Legislative Council. The reforms did not please the Hindus who continued their activities against the Muslims. First movement under the leader ship of Sindhi Muslims was Silk Letter Movement. Mawlana Ubaidullah Sindhi and Abdul Majid Sindhi were active members of this movement. After a while with the Hindu treason the Government came to know about this movement.

Accordingly, for the freedom of the country, an ambitious, high-powered interim government was established with the Hindu-Muslims coalition. For the working of interim government a council of armed forces and ministers was nominated under the supervision and charge of Mawlana Mohamood Hassan. Office bearers of this council were Mehendra Pertab as the President; Mawlana Barkatullah (1854-1927) as Prime Minister, Mawlana Ubaidullah Sindhi Minister of State and Mawlana Muhammad Hassan was Commander-in-chief having twelve Generals, Colonels and Majors under his command.⁵³ This interim government adopted these main points:

1. Revolutionary environment should be created with the Hindu-Muslim coalition.
2. Religious scholars and intellectuals and young generation should resist the government.
3. Close and sticky relations should be established with, Japan, China, Burma, Indonesia, France and America, may be a proposal for attack prepared.

4. To make sure that The Hindus and Muslims would have equal rights in Constitution of the interim government.
5. To established secret centers in Kabul, Ankara, Istanbul and Berlin for the prepration of future action plans and army recruitment.
6. To try established relations with Germany and Russia and make allies.
7. It was planned that Turkey may attack on India through Afghanistan by way of Quetta, Kalat, Khyber and Ogi.
8. Date of foreign attack and internal rebilion had fixed 19 February 1917.⁵⁴

The interim government wanted to establish relations with Turkey and Russia. For this purpose a letter was written to Muhamood Hassan in Mecca. The letter was written on a silk handkerchief. When letter was just ready to be dispatched, it was captured by the British soldiers. Sir Michael who discovered the silk letter observed, "It was August 1916, that we got information of the silk letter plot and were able to nip it in bud... The silk letters which were the key to the whole mystery fell into my hands in a curious way". Letters were legible and written neatly on yellow silk handkerchiefs. Mohammad Mian's letter mentioned the previous arrival of the Germans, the staying of the Turks, but without work, the escape of students, the circulation of the Ghalib Nama, formation of a provisional government and the projected formation of an Army of God which was to draw recruits from India and to bring about an alliance among Islamic rulers. Mahamud Hassan was to convey all these particulars to the Ottoman Government. The whole information conveyed by the silk letter had rendered certain precautions admissible and these have been taken.⁵⁵

Second decade of the twentieth century brought the changes in whole world. Through the First World War British were afraid of the Russians' expansion in the Central Asia and felt dangers for the safety of the Indian North West Frontier Province. Turk Ottomans Empire was the center of Muslim

religious sentiments and emotions. It was British policy to boost and strengthen the Ottoman Empire against Russia, they adopted a tricky stance during World War I which was to gain the favour of Indian Muslims. They raised the slogan of British, fighting for the "Arab Nationalism", for Arab autonomy and Arab freedom from Turks"⁵⁶ Turks and Germans were allies, so the Turks stood with the Germany at War. Due to this decision of Ottomans, the British obtained *fatwa* against Ottoman Empire from some religious scholars in Sindh like Maulana Faizul-Karim who were loyal to the British Government against the Khilafat Movement (1919-1924). This *fatwa*, signed by 95 scholars, was titled *Tahqiq-ul- Khilafat*. In this *fatwa* they tried to prove that Khilafat Movement is against Islam.⁵⁷ But majority of Muslims in Indian sub-continent showed great respect and relationship with Ottoman Empire. Keeping in mind this affiliation the British promised that they will keep integral position of Turk Empire intact and protect the holy places. "Its territories would not be distributed among the Allied Powers as war booty".⁵⁸ Defeat of Germany and his allies was very painful for the Muslims of India because Ottoman Empire was weak. British forgot their promises and decided to divide Turkish territory among their Allies. The people of Indian sub-continent felt Ottoman caliphate endangered. They started efforts to stop British from dividing This Empire. All India Muslim Conference was held at Lucknow and the 17th October 1919 was declared as the Khilafat Restoration Day.

Sindh supported Khilafat Movement strongly and organized Sindh Provincial Khilafat Committee under the president ship of Seth Abdullah Haroon. First Khilafat Conference was held in Delhi on 23 November 1919. Religious and political workers participated in this conference from all over India. Hindus were also invited by the Muslims to attend the conference.⁵⁹ Sindh

representatives attending the Conference belonged to all walks of life like Mawlana Taj Mahmood Amroti (1857-1929) as religious scholar, Pir Turab Ali Shah as a traditional *Pir*, Seth Abdullah Haroon as a representative of traders and young politician, Sheikh Abdul Aziz and barrister Jan Muhammad Junejo (1876-1948) a wealthy land owner. This participation showed the unification of different classes on its cause. It was the best example of the personal influence of the religious and political leaders in Sindh. Hindu community marched hand in hand with Muslims. Gandhi was also present in the conference and proposed a non-cooperation movement for pressurizing the British regarding the survival of Khilafat in Turkey. From 1919 onwards India experienced turmoil like strikes, shutdowns, *Satyagraha*, processions and protests.

A resolution was passed in the special session of the Congress for the non-cooperation program. Ali Brothers and Gandhi toured all over the country. They visited Sukkur in 1920 and shared the idea of non-cooperation with the local leadership of Sukkur.⁶⁰ Khilafat Conference session was held in Jacobabad under the president ship of Mawlana Taj Mahmud Amroti in May 1920. Jan Muhammad Junejo (1888-1921) and other land lords attended this meeting. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri announced that he would not pay tax to the government.⁶¹ His speech inspired a large number of people. Jan Muhammad Junejo surrendered his law degree to Britain and resigned from the membership of Municipal Committee Larkana. Other landowners and social, religious workers also surrendered their titles, refused to pay taxes and participated in full spirit.

The British officials, in order to subdue the Khilafat activities, organized a sabotage operation. Abdul Qadir was appointed for this task. Three important personalities of Sindh persuaded for the cooperation of Nawab Amir

Ali Lahori, Shahnawaz Bhutto(1888-1957) and Ghulam Muhammad Isran. Anti Khilafat *ulama* played their role and started preaching in front of meeting place, they wanted to prove their loyalties with government. Haji Abdullah Haroon, Dr. Sheikh Noor Muhammad, Sheikh Abdul Majid and Mawlana Muhammad Sadiq had arranged a special meeting in Bombay in May 1920 regarding non-cooperation movement program. In 1920 protest had reached its peak. Khilafat Conference was held under the president ship of Pir Turab Ali Shah. A telegram was sent to the political secretary to Government of Bombay informing him that almost 25,000 Muslims of Sindh were ready to migrate to Afghanistan. Muslim *ulama* issued a *fatwa* declaring India as *Darul-Harb*. The *Hijrat* Movement was thus launched and 20,000 Muslims left their native place under the guidance of Junejo (Rais-ul- Muhajreen) and marched towards Afghanistan.⁶² This movement was the mile stone for the Muslims political awareness.

ORGANIZATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

The AIML was formed in 1906 when the Muslims seriously felt the need of a political platform. It was a central organization of the Indian Muslims. Its branches had been established in other provinces. Although the SPML was officially formed in 1917, thus the League came to Sindh very early because the first session of the AIML was held in Karachi in 1907. People of Sindh were aware of it as a political party which would represent all the Muslims of Indian sub-continent. But in earlier period of the AIML, no branch of it could be established here. However, Bombay Provincial Muslim League (BPML) existed as combined representative of Sindh and Bombay Muslims. Popularity graph of the AIML was very low in Sindh due to many reasons but it acquired its position and identity very soon in Sindh. First reason for its low popularity was that the

League leadership had two different schools of thought, moderate group and extremist group against Government. The AIML was a political platform and a new institution as compared to AINC. Its growth would be possible if it carried on its work passionately and in the specific, quiet and calm way which was the features of the political methods in Sindh. It would grow into a most powerful and effective manner and become political force.⁶³

Second reason, which was undermining the League's establishment in Sindh, was that, when the membership of the Central committee of the AIML was determined, some areas emerged with a strong representation like Punjab, Bengal, Assam, Agra and Awadh whereas Sindh and Balochistan were weaker representatives. Sindh was part of Bombay Presidency when the AIML was established so representation of Sindh in the All India Muslim League Central Committee (AIMLCC) was not mentioned separately. According to the rules and regulations of the AIML, provincial quota of the League members in the AIMLCC was fixed on the basis of their population. In light of these rules, the representation of Sindh in the AIMLCC was less than Bombay. Total combined representation was forty having thirty from Bombay and ten from Sindh. The educational status of Sindh was also very low and most of them were peasants having extremely weak economic conditions. This situation raised a question how AIML could claim as an All India Muslim organization. In AIMLCC this proportion was respectively 3:1. The number of members of the AIML from different provinces is laid down as under:

Number of members of the AIML from different Provinces	
Province	Maximum Number of Members in the AIML
Agra 45 and Awadh 25	70
Punjab	70
Bombay including Sindh (Bombay 30, Sindh 10)	40

NWFP including Balochistan (NWFP10, Balochistan 5)	15
Madras	25
East Bengal and Assam	70
West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	70
Burma	10
Berar and Central Provinces including Ajmer	10
British subjects residing in Indian states and other Parts including residents of any of the Indian state who were exempted by AIML under article 3 ⁶⁴	15

Riaz Ahmad, *All India Muslim League and Creation of Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2006), 233.

Once again, an initiative was taken to arrange a League branch in Sindh after a gap of four years. Hafizullah Shahabuddin wrote a letter to the AIML Secretary Lucknow on 4 February 1912,⁶⁵ with reference to Agha Khan's (1875-1958) desire about the formation of League branch. Agha Khan was former President of the League branch. Central League replied while enclosing the rules and regulations with pleasure but no word of affiliation was attached. On 1 November 1917, a meeting of Muslim community was held at the Khaliqdina Hall.⁶⁶ In this meeting Provincial Muslim League for Sindh was formed and named as Sindh Provincial Muslim League (SPML). Following members were appointed as office bearers:

Yousufali Alibhoy	President
Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri	Vice President
Ghulam Ali G. Chagla (1871-1950)	Honorary Secretary
Haji Abdulla Haroon	Joint Secretary

Sixty-eight members were enrolled as members of the League.⁶⁷ Rules, regulations, aims and objectives were same as the Central League. After the establishment, Honorary Secretary Ghulam Ali G. Chagla wrote to the central League for early affiliation with it.⁶⁸ That time Central League had passed no resolution regarding affiliation and proposed to put up the matter before the next Council for a formal resolution on the issue.⁶⁹

Sindh Muslim League was reorganized in February 1920 at Karachi. Bhurgri was member of Bombay Legislative Council and active in promoting the League cause not only in Sindh but in Bombay as well. He was selected as President in the fifteenth session of the AIML held at Lucknow in 1923.⁷⁰ He was working for the political awareness of the Muslim community. After his death in 1924, League activities came to an end.⁷¹ During the period of Khilafat Movement, the SPML was not active and did not participate in any agitation and worked under the shadow of Khilafat Movement. Till 1924 it was weak.⁷² Khilafat Movement ended in 1924 and then Muslims turned towards the Muslim League. On 10 February 1925⁷³ a meeting of SPML was held under the presidentship of Dr. Noor Muhammad. Prominent Muslims from different groups of community attended the meeting. Many resolutions were passed and the revival of Muslim League was done. Muslim League was revived with new hopes.⁷⁴ In meeting, Sindhi representation was present, a prominent leader, Sir Abdullah Haroon, could not attend the session due to his mother's illness but he showed his affiliation with the League through telegram, in which he hoped that 'Musalmans of different shades or political opinion would join together on the common platform of the Muslim League for the uplift of the Musalmans'.⁷⁵ Sheikh Abdul Majid, Kazi Abdul-Rahman and several other leaders made speeches in favour of revival of the League in Sindh. Revival of Muslim League was the starting point of separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency.

SEPARATION OF SINDH FROM BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

After the annexation of Sindh in 1843, Sindh became a part of Bombay Presidency in 1847. Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency was the major issue of the Sindh politics till 1936. This question rose at every platform and proved that Sindh had nothing common with the Bombay Presidency.

According to Chachnama before the advent of Arabs Sindh was divided in four provinces for the administration.⁷⁶ Its historical boundaries were extended on East to Kashmir and the West to Makran, on the North of Sindh to the mountains of Kardan(Kurrdo kay Pahar) and shores of the ocean and Debal on its South.⁷⁷

Apart from geographical differences, Sindh had cultural differences; Sayyid Miran Muhammad Shah(1889-1963) said on the separation of Sindh “The mode of life, dress and habits of the people are entirely different to those of the presidency. They are more akin to Balochistan and the Punjab than to Presidency”.⁷⁸ Sindhi language is spoken in Sindh only. It had not been adopted in Presidency or any other region of the sub-continent. Sindhi language possessed a vast treasure of literature specially poetry.⁷⁹

After annexation all the affairs of Sindh were in the hands of British.⁸⁰ General Napier was its first Governor. His appointment was a violation of friendship treaty of 1809 between English and the Talpur *Mir-s*.⁸¹ British Government ignored this violation because the annexation accomplished their lust and thirst of expansion. The British Governor General in India did not want to give provincial status to Sindh and wanted to replace the office of Governor with Commissioner. Under the Act of 1868, R.K.Pringle was appointed the Commissioner of Sindh and government powers were transferred to him. He was an experienced and trained officer.

The Hindus and Muslims were equally eager for the independent status of the province. The most important issue of the Muslim politics started in the beginning of the twentieth century was the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency.⁸² It was infact the political awakening and reorganization of Muslim rights.

After World War I, Sir Edwin Montague (1879-1924), the Secretary of State for India came to India in 1917 for the assessment of constitutional requirements of Indian people. Organizations, Sindh Mohammedan Association and Sindh Provincial Conference put up their points of view regarding the separate status of the province.⁸³ "The constitutional reforms of 1919 did not concede any autonomy for Sind".⁸⁴ Montague wrote in his diary. "The interesting part of the discussion occurred when we came face to face as the Separation of Sind".⁸⁵

The Sindh Provincial Conference which came on behalf of the Congress and Muslim League scheme wanted the abolition of the Commissioner of Sindh pending the creation of special province. They did not want a special province at present because of expenses. The Sindh Mohammedan Association wanted Sindh to be separated as soon as possible. Meanwhile the commissioner elaborated that Sindh gave more funds to Bombay than Bombay gave to Sindh.⁸⁶ Rather than accepting the above, the autonomy of Sindh was totally neglected under the constitutional reforms of 1919. Bombay Government did not keep separate budget or accounts for Sindh.⁸⁷

In 1917 Edwin Montagu visited Karachi at that time Central National Mohammedan Association raised the question of Separation of Sindh.⁸⁸ When separation issue was discussed with Montagu, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah (1879-1948) and other leaders of Sindh were present. Not only the Sindhi leadership but leaders from other provinces also supported the issue. For instance Sir Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932) from Punjab advocated this issue.⁸⁹ The Muslims experienced the dominating attitude of the Hindus in every field of development even in the Khilafat movement which was purely Muslims issue, but the

Congress leaders had been dictating the Muslim leaders. Apparently they were the well wishers of Muslims but at the back stage they were playing another game. For instance when Gandhi was talking about the boycott of educational institution, at the same time a Hindu university was being inaugurated.

Abdul Majid Sindhi moved this resolution in the All India Muslim League session in 1925.⁹⁰ Later on Quaid-i-Azam recognized the importance of this resolution and added it in his demands in 1929 which were known as Fourteen Points⁹¹. The AIML session of December 1925 passed a resolution stating that the AIML is of the opinion that Sindh should be separated from Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate and independent province.⁹² The resolution was moved by Mawlwi Rafiuddin.⁹³ Attachment of Sindh with the Bombay Presidency was just to gain the political benefit especially for the non-Muslims. But its separation was not merely a political issue, but had strong geo-cultural and social justifications. Through out its history, Sindh had never been linked with the South by sea. Her strength laid in her natural economic affinities'.⁹⁴ Distance between Sindh and Bombay was about 800 miles,⁹⁵ both areas had different climatic conditions. Ayub Khuhro wrote in *The Story of Sufferings of Sind*:

Cut off from the rest of Bombay presidency by the desert or by the sea, Sind differed widely from it in physical features and climate as well as in language, dress and customs of people⁹⁶

Internal development of Sindh was neglected. Basic facilities of education and communication were not provided. The administrative officials' used to visit Sindh occasionally. For instance "The Governor of Bombay visited three weeks a year, the finance member two days, revenue member three days, minister of local Government four days and the Education minister for one week a year".⁹⁷

Sindh experienced economically and politically worst conditions and was being treated very badly in all walks of life. Bombay was preferred in all developments. H.H. the Agha Khan gave an account about the state affairs and portray the picture of the province in his biography.

Sindh had been neglected in matters like communication, roads and internal development, but an administrative center from which it was far distant and with which its only connections were by sea or across to territories of princely states.⁹⁸

No serious efforts were made to develop the province except the construction of the Barrage (1923-1932). "Sindh has continued as step child of the Presidency".⁹⁹ G.M. Sayyid argued in his book, *Struggle for New Sind*, "Sindh failed to cultivate political consciousness and stir public opinion not due to its own fault but due to the negligence from which it had suffered at the hands of the people of Bombay Presidency".

On 3 and 4 November 1917 a memorandum addressed to the Secretary of the State for India Edwin Samuel Montagu and Lord Chelmsford who was Viceroy and Governor General of India (1916-1921), by Special Sindh Provincial Conference. In this memorandum the whole situation of Sindh was explained and claimed that the arrangements of the province politically, economically, socially and ethnically were wrong. Administrative problems had been increased.¹⁰⁰ The Muslim population mostly lived in villages and far flung areas. However, Hindus lived in urban areas, their educational and economical conditions were better than the Muslims.¹⁰¹

Ayub Khuhro and Abdullah Haroon arranged meeting of Muslim elites at the residence of His Highness the Mir of Khairpur and invited Jinnah for the case for the Separation of Sindh from Bombay could be put before him. Both Leaders preceded the case forcefully and demanded the autonomy for Sindh in the constitutional reforms to be given by the British.¹⁰²

In 1913 Hindus supported the Separation and in 1917 Sindh was constituted in to a separate Congress province,¹⁰³ every political party and political leader recorded protest against it. In 1913 the demand was put from the platform of the annual session of the Congress held in Karachi. A leading Hindu Congress man who had close association with Bhurgri put the case of Separation.¹⁰⁴ Hindu community and leadership agreed. Sindh should be separated due to geographical and ethnological reasons. A Congress leader Harchandre Vishindas (1862-1928) spoke in his opening address at Karachi session in 1913, "The province possesses several geographical and ethnological characteristics which gave her hallmarks of a self-contained territorial unit."¹⁰⁵ This movement stimulated Indian politics and almost all political parties moved resolutions on their platforms in its favour. Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, who was very anxious for this cause, moved a resolution from the platform of the AIML in 1925 and it was adopted formally. The resolution was justified by the arguments as reflected from the following statement:

Whereas there is no ground, ethnological, geographical or other wise for the inclusion of Sind with the Presidency of Bombay and the inclusion in the highest degree detrimental to the best interest of the people of Sind and the development of that part of India, the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted in to separate providence.¹⁰⁶

Sheikh Abdul Majid, K.B Khuhro, Ali Mohammad Rashidi(1905-1987), Miran Shah(1889-1963) and Jetmal Parsram(1885-1948) were most prominent leaders who played an important role in movement for Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency.¹⁰⁷

In 1924, Quaid-i-Azam formed a committee of Muslim legislators under his own leadership and drew up a memorandum of Muslim demands. The Separation of Sindh was one of them.¹⁰⁸ In the session of AIML held at Alighrah

on 30 December 1925 Mawlwi Ahmad and Gul Muhammad Khan proposed resolution in favour of Separation.¹⁰⁹

On March 1927, a meeting of the AIML Council was held at Delhi, twenty-seven members attended this meeting and Quaid-i-Azam presided over this meeting. The members agreed on issue of separation of Sindh from Bombay¹¹⁰

Annual session of the AIML held at Calcutta in December 1927 passed a resolution that "Sindh should be separated from Bombay. The draft resolution stated that "the Muslims will not agree to joint electorate unless Sindh is actually constituted in to separate province".¹¹¹ The resolution had proved this fact that seven crore Muslims of India are in favour of this demand, "that Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency and constituted as a separate and autonomous province".¹¹² This demand was included in Quaid-i-Azam's Fourteen Points as first one.

HINDU COMMUNITY AND SEPARATION MOVEMENT

In the beginning, Hindu community supported the Separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency; Hindus accepted the proposal of separation from Bombay on different political platforms.¹¹³ Jamshed N.R.Mehta (1886-1952) wrote:

We must develop Sind and only way is to take the matters in our hand. The main road to freedom is the right education of children and adults. we shall never be able to do this when joined with other parts of the Bombay presidency.¹¹⁴

After Nahru Report the issue of separation of Sindh from Bombay had discussed in All Parties Confrence, Hindus felt that if the Sindh was separated from Bombay, the affairs of separated area would be handed over to Muslims and their economic position would be suffered. In the beginning, Hindus were in

favour of Separation. With the passage of time, not only Hindus but some other elites of Sindh also opposed the separation. Their objections were based on financial weakness of Sindh and absence of political consciousness in Sindh. In response to the Delhi Muslim Proposals passed on 15 May 1927, All India Congress Committee meeting was held to consider the important question of Hindu Muslim unity. Sri Navas Iyenger(1874-1941) asserted:

The conference had no more important subject to deal with the question of Hindu Muslim unity and after years of trouble and strife at last it is possible to see a ray of light. The Delhi proposals represented the earnest desire of Muslims to compromise with Hindus, what ever theoretical objections their might be, the proposals offered a basis for what might be regarded as a safe compromise for the present and as leading ultimately to perfect Nationalism."¹¹⁵

When people of Sindh became aware from the demand of Separation, two groups from Sindh community emerged on the scene, one in favour and the other against it. Veromal Bejraj, Prof Chablani, Dewan Hiranata, Khaim Singh and Gobind Ram were in favour of Separation.¹¹⁶ Jamshed Mehta published a booklet in favour of separation in which he wrote "we will never accept the attachment of Sind with Bombay. We are able to solve the financial problems of Sind on our own. Sind must be separated. Once this done we will under take development in the fields of education and wealth for the people of Sind".¹¹⁷

SINDH HINDU-MUSLIM PACT

On 20 March 1927 a meeting of the AIML Council held under the presidentship of Jinnah at Delhi decided upon the following suggestions:

- Autonomy of province Sindh remain and its boudries should sustain as like in its history and separation from Bombay should not deny.
- Frontier and Balochistan should enjoy the freedom.
- In Muslim majority provinces, Bengal and Punjab representation should be given according to the population.
- 1/3 Muslim representation must be in central legislature.

Quaid-i-Azam issued a statement which was known as Delhi proposal in which he demanded the Separation and stated that Sindh should be separated from Bombay Presidency and constituted in to separate province.¹¹⁸

On 17 July 1928 the prominent Hindu, Muslim and Parsi representatives of Sindh entered into a pact ordinarily known as the Sindh Hindu-Muslim Pact. Twenty-eight leaders from three different communities agreed these clauses of pact which read as:

We hereby declare that (i) the introduction of joint electorates and the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency should be effected simultaneously (ii) The province of Sind (so constituted) shall enjoy full measure of provincial autonomy as shall be accorded to other major provinces of India and further it shall not be attached to any other province; (iii) as regards the feasibility of separation from the financial point of view, we shall cut our coat according to our cloth.¹¹⁹

All members of the pact were not only politicians but they belonged to intellectuals group of that time and Muslim leaders who fixed the signatures on this pact were agreed upon the establishment of the SPML.¹²⁰

According to this pact Hindus and Muslims were bound to give the same concessions to minorities as to the majority group.¹²¹ *Al-Wahid*, a Sindhi newspaper played key role for this movement to pass it to every village and town of Sindh. Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi appreciated this pact with these words in this newspaper "Thank God! Hindu leaders of Sind were showing favourable trends towards the Separation".¹²²

The Hindu press started to support the separation movement. The *Sind Observer* published an editorial:

The Hindu opinion on the issue believed that constitution of Sind in to separate province would stimulate in a variety of ways the growth of the province. It also said that the tendency of Indian Nationalism was towards the development of a distinct type of provincial patriotism. The industrial, irrigational and commercial development of the province has been ignored because Sind is treated as nobody's child.¹²³

The Sindh Mohammedan Association wanted Sindh separated as soon as possible.¹²⁴ A memorandum was drawn by the Sindh Mohammedans Association and submitted to the Royal Statutory Commission on Indian reforms in November 1928:

The province of Sind has absolutely nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. The union based neither on ethnological, geographical, linguistic, agriculture nor any other sound consideration. A mere accident that it was the army of the Bombay that conquered Sind is responsible for this un natural arrangement. Our province has suffered very much on this account. Educationally, economically, politically and socially we are far behind the presidency. Even the development of the port has been impeded on account of the jealousy of the Bombay harbour. Looking to these and several other circumstances, this Association strongly urges that the province of Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and gives its on executive and legislative machinery. This is the demand of the majority of Sind population, which includes Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, business people belonging to different communities and a large section of broad minded Hindus. The entire Muslim India is also in the favour of the proposal and even the Indian National Congress has recognized the justice of this demand.¹²⁵

Simon Commission has recognized the fact that Sindh is totally different from the Bombay Presidency. According to Commission, "In its life and civilization, Sind is more allied to Iraq or Arabia than to India."¹²⁶ Simon Commission suggested in its report, Separation would be possible if the financial and administrative facts were in favour of Separation. The AIML Conference which was held at Dehli on 31 December 1928 and 1 January 1929 presided over by the H.H. Agha Khan passed a resolution unanimously:

whereas on ethnological, linguistic, geographical and administrative grounds the Sind Province had no affinity whatever with the rest of the Presidency, its un conditional constitution into a separate province, possessing its own separate legislative and administrative machinery on the same lines as in other provinces of India was essential in the interests of its people. The Hindu minority in Sind may be given adequate and effective representation, in excess of their propagation in the population, as may be given to Musalmans in the provinces in which they constitute a minority population¹²⁷

After the failure of Simon Commission, British Government scheduled a series of Round Table Conferences for the solution of constitutional problems. First Round Table Conference began in London on 12 November 1930. Separation of Sindh was an important issue which was discussed. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Sir Ghulam Hussain represented Sindh, Sir Ghulam Hussain said:

It is an interest of the inhabitants of Sind that Sind should be separated from Bombay. It is admitted by all that it is racially, geographically and linguistically a separate province; the experience, manners, culture and mode of life of Sind are quite different from those of the Sind and Bombay Presidency altogether.¹²⁸

Jinnah was present in the conference; he said "Sind was already separated administratively and judicially. It was linked to Bombay only on paper".¹²⁹

Shah Nawaz Bhutto was very shrewd man who had ability of management of local affairs. He elaborated the differences of Sindh and the Bombay Presidency. On 9 January 1931 sub-committee of Indian Round Table Conference No IX, attached a note of Separation of Sindh circulated on the request of Shah Nawaz Bhutto.¹³⁰ In his note he agreed:

Sind is neglected both by the Government of Bombay and by the chosen representatives of the peoples of the Presidency. The latter do not understand the problems of Sind – and they can hardly be expected to understand them- and so take little or no interest in the affairs of Sind, except to oppose all schemes for expenditure on the development of Sind. With the backing of this nature, Government too neglects Sind. They are most unsympathetic in the administration of their land revenue policy in Sind. Education, roads and communications, medical aid, in fact, all the nation-building departments in Sind are starved.¹³¹

He further added his comments in defense of separation.

This demand should be considered as the demand of Sindhis and not as communal question. When this question was taken up by the Muslim League, in my public speech at Hyderabad, presiding over the meeting of ten thousand people, I protested and ...Said, "it was not fair to us at all ... because it was not minority demand; but it was a demand by the Sindhis".¹³²

During the First All India Round Table Conference was held at London from 12 November 1930 to 19 January 1931 a Sub committee was formed on the question of "constituting Sindh as separated province".¹³³ Prominent Sindhi leadership also formed members of facts committee. The Sub Committee was following: Earl Russell, the Marquis of Zetland, The Marquis of Reading, H. H. The Agha Khan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah. Abdul Qaiyum, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan, Sardar Sampuran Singh, M. R. Jaykar, Dr. B.S. Moonje, Raja Nerendera Nath, C.Y Chintamani , B.V. Jadhau, H.P. Moudei, and Sir Hubert Carr Sir Phiroze Sethna.¹³⁴

All Sindhi leaders consented on Separation. Muslim League was not in strong position in Sindh but League leader Abdullah Haroon as President of Sindh Provincial Muslim League projected forcefully this issue. With the efforts of Sindhi leaders this issue spread all over the India. This issue was discussed in every the session of AIML, after 1925 till its acceptance. Generally Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and Haji Abdullah Haroon as representatives of Sindh in the Annual sessions of the AIML demanded the Sindh Separation from Bombay.

This demand was supported by the All India Muslim League because it was essential for the improvement of the Sindhi Muslims. Due to the Sindhi leaders' efforts, British Government was very well aware of the desire of whole Muslim community. British Government acknowledged and announced the decision in the Indian Constitutional Reforms of 1935 in the following words:

The date on which under sub-section (1) of Section two hundred and eighty nine of the Act, Sind is to be separated from the Presidency of Bombay and form a Governor's province, shall be the first day of April, nineteen hundred and thirty six.¹³⁵

On 1st April 1936, it became autonomous province having a legislative Assembly. Legislative Assembly being composed of 60 members and first session of Assembly held on 27 April 1936.

SUMMARY

Sindh was annexed by British in 1843. In the period of Napier, it was administrated as separate province but in 1847, it lost its autonomy and was merged in to the Bombay Presidency. It was totally different from the Presidency, 800 miles away. Its cultural values, language and geographical boundaries were not in favour of this merger; however British had done it for their own benefits. The administration arrangements were not satisfactory, a Commissioner was appointed and his powers were equal to the Governor. Muslims were in the worst condition. They were economically and socially deprived, crushed by the *jagirdar*-s and landowners, their educational condition was very poor. Landowners and *Jigirdar*-s were not interested in their Muslim education. Politically they were not aware of their rights. Their political activities revolved around the religious issues, for instance; they participated in Khilafat Movement warmly. Muslims of Sindh were under the influence of *Pir*-s. But on the other hand, this situation was favourable for the Hindus. The Hindu trade and commerce flourished under the British Raj. Politically Hindus were more organized as compared to Muslims.

The Muslims raised a question of separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency the first time in 1912, but having no any political platform. They had realized the importance of separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency. From the Muslim political platform this demand was raised in 1917. During the Khilafat Movement, separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency did not reach

at height. However, when Khilafat Movement ended then Muslims turned to their demand of separation. Muslim League was revived in Sindh and the SPML was formed in 1917. The new leadership of the Muslims worked for this issue with passion and achieved their goal and Sindh was made a separate province from 1 April 1936 under the India Act of 1935. It was first political victory of Muslim leaders.

NOTES

- ¹Maneac Pithawalla, *Physical and Economic Geography of Sind* (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adbi Board, 1976), 17.
- ²*Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire* VOL XXII(London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1908), 396.
- ³Khuhro, Hamida, ed *Documents On Separation of Sind From Bombay Presidency* VOL I(Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982), xix.
- ⁴Ibid.
- ⁵Sarah F.D Ansari, *Sufi saint and state power: The pirs of Sind,1843-1947*(New York,Cambridge University Press, 1922), 14.
- ⁶Ibid.
- ⁷Muhammad Laiq Zardari, *History of Sindh* vol I (*British Period*) (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1996), 11.
- ⁸Thatta was the chief trading center that time. Lahri Bandar was its main port. British enter in Sindh with desire to keep up the supply of cotton cloth for London market. See for details Hamida Khuhro,*The Making of Modern Sindh* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 196.
- ⁹Zardari, *History of Sindh* vol I, 12.
- ¹⁰Ibid.
- ¹¹E.B.Eastwick, *A Glance at Sind before Napier*(London: Oxford Univeristy Press), 246.
- ¹²Ibid., 247.
- ¹³Maini located nearly six kilometers far from Hyderabad and Dabu near Mirpur Khas.
- ¹⁴Sayed Razi Wasti, *Muslim Struggle for Freedom in British India* (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Press, 1993), 330.
- ¹⁵*The Gazetteer of West Pakistan: the former Province of Sind* (including the Khairpur State)(Lahore: 1968), 183.
- ¹⁶Hamida Khuhro, ed. *Documents* vol I, Xix.
- ¹⁷Ibid.,
- ¹⁸S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and The Birth of Pakistan* (1858-1951) (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1965), 342.
- ¹⁹*History of the Freedom Movement Vol II 1831-1905 part I* (Karachi:Pakistan Historical Society, 1960), 71.
- ²⁰H.T. Lambrick, comp.*Census of India, 1941, Vol Xii Sind*, (Delhi:Manger of Publications,1942), 2.
- ²¹Sadik Ali Ansari, *A Short Sketch Historical and Traditional of the Musalman Races Founding in Sind, Balochistan and Afghanistan* (Karachi:Sind Government Press, 1954), 1.
- ²²Abdul Jabbar Abid Laghari, *Tehrik-i - Azadi main Sindh ka kirdar1921-1947 maa :Sindh ki Bombay Presidency say Aliydg*(Hyderabad:Rehaber United Publication,1992), 7.
- ²³Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, *The All India Muslim League: A History of the Growth And Consolidation of Political Organization*,(Bahawalpur:Ilham Publishers,1988), 31.
- ²⁴Shahzad Manzar, *Sindh Kay Nassli Masaail*(Lahore:Ficction House, 1994), 31.
- ²⁵P.E. Robert, *History of British India*(London:Oxford University Press, 1962), 361.
- ²⁶V.F. Agaif, *Sindh Tariekh kay Ainay Main*(Karachi:Maktibah Daniyal, 1989), 135.
- ²⁷K.F.Yousuf, ed. *Politics and Policies of Quaid-i-Azam* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1994), 182.
- ²⁸Qadeeruddin Ahmad, *Pakistan: Fact And Fallacies*(Karachi Royal Book Company, 1979), 81.
- ²⁹K.F.Yousuf,ed *Politics and Policies of Quaid-i Azam*, 183.
- ³⁰Ibid., 183.
- ³¹Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947* (Hyderabad: Sindhi University Press, 1989), 6.
- ³²E. H. Aiktken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (Karachi: 1907), 338-39.
- ³³Hamida Khuhro, ed, *Sind Through The Centuries*(London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 174.
- ³⁴K.F.Yousuf, ed, *Politics And Policies of Quaid-i-Azam*, 177.
- ³⁵Ghazanfar Ali Khan, "Educational Conditions of Indian Muslims During 19th Century" *Pakistan Historical Society*, January-March 2004.
- ³⁶Pakistan Post printed a stamp and the picture of this school printed on it.
- ³⁷S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and The Birth of Pakistan*, 313.

- ³⁸Hamida Khuhro, ed. *Sindh Through The Centuries*, 174.
- ³⁹Shahzad, Manzar. *Sindh Kay Nassli Masaail*, 35.
- ⁴⁰Round Table Conferences were held during 1930-32 in London for discussion on future development and constitutional reform of Indian Sub-continent. Because the AIML and Congress rejected the Simon Commission.
- ⁴¹Zardari, *History of Sindh* Vol I, 109.
- ⁴²Sarah F.D Ansari, *Sufi saint and state power*, 20.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*, 23.
- ⁴⁴Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh, 1907- 1940: Muslim Identity And The Demand For Pakistan*(NewYork:Oxford University Press, 2002), 5.
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶Sarah F.D Ansari, *Sufi saint and state power*, 29.
- ⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 38.
- ⁴⁸Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 5.
- ⁴⁹*Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰Shamsul Hasan Collection, Sind Vol VIII, A letter, written by Pir Muhabullah Shah Rashdi, Sajjada Nashin Pir Janduwalla to M.A Jinnah, 21 October 1946, 78.
- ⁵¹Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics And The Pakistan Movement* (NewYork:Oxford University Press 1988), 34.
- ⁵²Muhammad Qasim Soomro, ed. *Sindh: Glimpses into Modern History* (Jamshoro: University of Sindh, 2008), 213.
- ⁵³Zardari, *History of Sindh* Vol I, 72.
- ⁵⁴Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani, *Tahrik-i- Reshmi Rumal* (Lahore: Agha Amir, Hussain, Classic, 1966), 159.
- ⁵⁵Shafiq Ali Khan, *Two Nation Theory* (Hyderabad: Markaz Shir-o-Adab, 1973), 508.
- ⁵⁶K.K Aziz, *Britain and Muslim India*(London: Heinemann, 1963), 96.
- ⁵⁷Mohammad Fazal Karim, *Tahqiq-ul-Khilafat*, (Karachi:Daily Gazette Press, n.d).
- ⁵⁸G.Allana, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: The Story of Naton*(Lahore: Ferozesons Ltd, 1967), 144-145.
- ⁵⁹Khalid Bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1968), 47.
- ⁶⁰Shaikh Abdul Razzaque, *Sukkur: Past and Present*(Sukkur: Writer Guild Sub- Region, 1962), 155.
- ⁶¹Zardari, *History of Sindh* Vol I, 91.
- ⁶²B.N. Panday, *The Break up of British India*(London: Macmillan, 1969), 120.
- ⁶³Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh, 1907- 1940*, 9.
- ⁶⁴Article 3 concerned with membership rules and regulation see Raiz Ahmad, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan: A Chronology (1906-1947)*(Islamabad: NIHCR, 2006), 228.
- ⁶⁵MLP, vol 241(Islamabad: Archives), 1.
- ⁶⁶An official letter written by Ghulamali G.Chagla H. Secretary of SPML to Secretary AIML, MLP. File of Sind Provincial League VOL 241 13 archives Islamabad. According to MLP File of Sind Provincial League, p 13, 14 date of formation of SPML is different however, further details are same according to it date is 1 April 1917.
- ⁶⁷MLP VOL 241(Islamabad: Archives), 13.
- ⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 13.
- ⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 14.
- ⁷⁰Raiz Ahmad, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan*, 28.
- ⁷¹Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 15.
- ⁷²B. N. Pandey, *The break up of British India*(London: Macmillan, 1969), 124.
- ⁷³Muhammad Qasim Soomro has given this date 10 February 1924 in *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*
- ⁷⁴A correspondence: Secretary SPML to AIML, 22 February 1925. MLP File of Sind Provincial League VOL 241(Islamabad: Archives), 30.
- ⁷⁵see for detail Report of meeting of SPML which was held in Hyderabad (Sindh) MLP File of Sind Provincial League vol 241 (Islamabad: Archives) 31.
- ⁷⁶Ali Kufi, *Fathah nama Sindh* Urdu trans Akhtar Rizvi (Hyderabad:Sindh Adbi Board, 1963), 18-19. *Fathah nama Sindh* Known as *Chuchnama* is a well known historical book on Sindh. Now its English version is available which is translated by Mirza Kalichbeg
- ⁷⁷"*A Story of Suffering of Sind: A Case for the Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*" by Muhammad Ayub Khuhro

- ⁷⁸Ibid.
- ⁷⁹*The Royal Statutory Commission on Indian Reforms: Minute of Dissent* by Sayyid Miran Muhammad Shah, November, 1928
- ⁸⁰Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan*: book I to IV, (Karachi:Oxford University Press, 1967), 104.
- ⁸¹Ibid., 103.
- ⁸²Hamida Khuhro, ed. *Sind Through The Centuries*, 175.
- ⁸³Ibid., 174.
- ⁸⁴Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics* (Karachi: Ferozsons (pvt) Ltd, 1998) 89.
- ⁸⁵Quoted by Hamida Khuhro in *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*, 89.
- ⁸⁶Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*, 89-90
- ⁸⁷Ibid., 93.
- ⁸⁸Syed Razi Wasti, *Muslim Struggle for Freedom in British India*, 331.
- ⁸⁹Ibid.
- ⁹⁰S.M.Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and The Birth of Pakistan*, 342.
- ⁹¹Ibid.,
- ⁹²Sayyid Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed. *Foundations of Pakistan* vol.II, Resolution No XIII (Karachi:1970), 73.
- ⁹³Gul Muhammad was the first leader from the punjab who spoke in the favour of resolution from the Muslim League plat-form, Sir shafi's discussion was not from a political platform.
- ⁹⁴Zardari, *History of Sindh* Vol I, 107.
- ⁹⁵Khuhro, Hamida, ed. *Documents*, 204.
- ⁹⁶Zardari, *History of Sindh* vol I, 107,108.
- ⁹⁷Ibid., 109.
- ⁹⁸Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*, 6.
- ⁹⁹*The Royal Statutory Commission on Indian Reforms: Minute of Dissent* by Sayyid Miran Muhammad Shah, November, 1928.
- ¹⁰⁰Whole text of the memorandum is given in the *Documents on Separation of Sind From The Bombay Presidency* ed, Hamida Khuhro Vol. I.
- ¹⁰¹Ghazanfar Ali Khan. "Educational Conditions of Indian Muslims During 19th Century" *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.Karachi: Vol LII January-March 2004.
- ¹⁰²Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*: 87.
- ¹⁰³Syed Razi Wasti, *Muslim Struggle for Freedom in British India*, 331.
- ¹⁰⁴Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*: 89.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶Zardari, *History of Sindh* vol I, 114.
- ¹⁰⁷G.M. Sayyid, *The Struggle for New Sind*, 3.
- ¹⁰⁸Zardari, *History of Sindh* vol I, 115.
- ¹⁰⁹Shariffuddin Pirzada *Foundation of Pakistan* vol II, 73.
- ¹¹⁰Riaz Ahmad, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan*, 37.
- ¹¹¹Rafique Afzal, *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i- Azam*(Lahore:Punjab University Press, 1966), 306.
- ¹¹²Shariffuddin Pirzada *Foundation of Pakistan* vol II. 119.
- ¹¹³Riaz Ahmad, *All India Muslim League and the Creation of Pakistan*, 32.
- ¹¹⁴Hamida Khuhro, ed. *Documents*, vol I, 25.
- ¹¹⁵Ibid., xxxi.
- ¹¹⁶Zardari, *History of Sindh* vol I, 114.
- ¹¹⁷Ibid., 115.
- ¹¹⁸M. Rafique Afzal, *Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-i-Azam*, 251.
- ¹¹⁹M.A.Khuhro, "A Story of Suffrings of Sind" 47.
- ¹²⁰Members of different communities signed this pact, from Hindu community Naraindas Anandji Beacher, Sawami Govind Anand, K.Punniah (Editor of *Sind Observer*), T.K.Jeswani (Editor *NewTimes*), Tara Chand, Tikamdas Wadhwal, Ram. B.Motwani, Rijhumalk Kunba Singh(chairman Larkana Municipality), Pirbhudas Talani, Messrs Basant Ram and Arjandas, Messrs Kishan Das and Jam Rai, Pamanbas, Ram Chand, Jethmal Purs Ram (Editor *Sind Herald*), Prof. Jhamat Mal, Lal Chand Jagtiani, Vishno Sharma (Editor *Hindu Jati*), Gopaldas Lekhray(Editor *Parkash*) Muslim members of the Pact were following who signed the pact; Abdool Haroon, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Hatim Alvi, Haji Mir Muhammad Baluch, Abdul Jabbar(Baratilan), Dr Sheikh Noor Muhammad, Allah Bux(Editor *Al-Waheed*), Kazi Abdul

Qayoom, Parsi community members also signed the pact named; Jamshed N. R. Mehta (President Karachi Municipality), K. Sidhva.

¹²¹ Zardari, *History of Sindh* vol I, 116.

¹²² Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh (1938-1947)* 14.

¹²³ M.A. Khuhro, *A Convincing Case for Separation of Sind*, 3.

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¹²⁵ See for detail Hamidah Khuhro, ed. *Documents*, Vol 1, 38-47.

¹²⁶ "A Story of Sufferings of Sind, by Muhammad Ayub Khuhro.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 50-51.

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¹²⁹ Ibid., 3,4.

¹³⁰ IQR Q/RTC/30 (Islamabad: NDC).

¹³¹ Whole text of Shah Nawaz's arguments in Round Table Conferences, appendix II.

¹³² *Indian Round Table Conference: The Question of Constituting Sind as a Separate Province*, (Karachi: 1979), 18,19.

¹³³ Syed Razi Wasti, *Muslim Struggle for Freedom in British India*, 340.

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CHAPTER 2

MUSLIM LEAGUE TOWARDS POWER

The separation movement of Sindh from Bombay Presidency succeeded and Sindh was set up as a separate province, resulting in the energies of Muslim nation as majority. Subsequently the Muslims from the province took the lead in the struggle which ended in the establishment of Pakistan. In the following pages their efforts in this direction and creation other developments will be assessed.

ELECTIONS OF 1936-37

After separation, the British Government announced elections. At the time of separation total Muhammadan population in Sindh was 2830,800. According to the Communal Award the Muslims had to apportion thirty-three seats for Muhammadan constituencies among the eight districts of Sindh and per seat population was 85,714.

Number of seats due on population basis and allotted to each district

Districts	Muhammadan Population	Seats Due	Alloted Seats
Karachi	417,576	4.86	5
Dadu	286,839	3.35	3
Upper Sind Forntier	234,086	2.73	3
Larkana	367,524	4.28	4
Sukkur	440,127	5.13	5
Nawabshah	377,746	4.41	5
Hyderabad	460,920	5.38	5
Thar Parker	245,964	2.86	3

Source: Micro film Q/IDC/29 Acc. No, 4517 (Islamabad: NDC), 1.

The Hindus who formed 27 percent of the population were given 40 percent presentation in Sindh Legislative Assembly which had a total strength of 60. Neither the Muslim League nor any other party had a firm position or popularity in the masses yet. Being fully aware of this difficulty, Muslim leaders made plan

to achieve the goal of achieving strong position for the Muslims in Sindh politics. The Sindhi Muslim leader's point of view emphasized upon the following three points.

1. To form a party and prepare its program for the purpose of running the Government on real democratic lines.
2. To decide whether the said party be attached to an All India organization or be made independent.
3. To decide whether the said party be formed on communal non communal lines.¹

In 1936 after declaration of separation of Sindh from Bombay, British Government announced elections in Indian sub-continent. For the future planning, a meeting of prominent Muslim leaders was held at G.M Sayyid's house in Muslim Colony, Karachi under the Chairmanship of Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah. A Plan² for preliminary work was drawn and sent to the Hindu leaders but Congress members did not show any response because they had decided to associate with AIC.³ After this attempt, Muslim leaders decided to form a Party on the non communal basis and for the time being it should have no affiliation with any All India Party.⁴ After this, another meeting was held at the house of Abdullah Haroon, but Sir Shah Nawaz and Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah did not participate.⁵ In this meeting a resolution was tabled for the formation of a party on the lines of Unionist Party of the Punjab and a constitution was drafted for the new proposed party. Almost all representatives of the Muslim groups were present there. A few Hindus were also present like R. B. Hotchand Chandumal, Rewachand Thadhani, Dingo Thandhani etc.⁶

Quaid-i-Azam visited Karachi in 1936 as an AIML leader, met all prominent leaders and representatives of different influential groups of Muslims like *Sadat*, *Mir-s* and others.⁷ He tried to persuade them to support the League and advised them to contest elections on the League ticket but most of the Sindhi Muslim leaders were not convinced to participate in elections on League ticket.

Quaid's efforts did not succeed.⁸ During his stay, Hatim Alavi arranged a dinner in Quaid-i-Azam's honour. Leading Muslim leaders did not agree to allow their names included in the list of hosts.⁹ Prominent Muslim elites like Abdullah Haroon etc contested it on their own. Abdul Majid Sindhi Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah and Khuhro contested elections from their own parties and groups. Abdul Majid Sindhi although agreed with his point of view but he did not support League practically.

In elections there were three main parties representing the Muslims of Sindh:

Ghulam Hussian Hidaytullah and Khuhro	Muslim Democratic Political Party
Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi	Sindh Azad Party
Abdullah Haroon and Shah Nawaz Bhutto	Sindh United Party

The Sindh Azad Party of Abdul Majid Sindhi which was shaped in 1932 at Karachi to contest the elections of 1936-37, prepared its political ground and issued a pamphlet in which Muslims were asked to give vote to the party for the prosperity and progress of the provincial autonomy. The Sindh United Party claimed, it would wide open to both the Muslims and Hindus.

The Muslim League too participated in the elections and under its resolution which was passed on 12 April 1936, it was emphasized that:

The provincial scheme of the constitution be utilized for what is worth in spite of the objectionable features contained therein¹⁰

The AIML came out with an election manifesto which was not much different from Congress manifesto. In manifesto it was stated:

The main principles on which we expect our representatives in various legislatures to work will be (1) that the present provincial constitution and the proposed central constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic full self-government and (2) that representatives of the Muslim League in the various legislations will utilize the legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for uplift of the people in various spheres of national life. The Muslim League party must be formed as a corollary so long as separate electorates exist but there will be free co-

operation with any group or groups whose aims and ideas are approximately the same as those of the League party'.¹¹

That time League did not set up candidates in all provinces. In whole of India allocation of seats and results of elections were as follows:

ALLOCATION OF SEATS AND ELECTION RESULTS OF 1936-37

Provinces	Total number of seats	Total numbers of Muslim seats	Numbers of seats won by League	Numbers of seats won by other Muslim groups
Madras	215	28	11	17
Bombay	175	29	20	9
U.P.	288	64	27	37
Punjab	175	84	01	83
Bihar	152	39	NIL	39
Bengal	250	117	42	77
N.W.F.P	50	36	NIL	36
Assam	108	34	09	25
Sind	60	36	NIL	36
Orissa	60	04	NIL	04
C.P.	112	14	NIL	14
Total	1585	485	108	377

Source: Y.B. Mathur, *The Growth of Muslim Politics in India* (Lahore Mustafa Waheed, 1980), 176.

Muslim League lost the elections of 1937 almost all over the India. After separation, at the beginning of 1937 organization of League was started as strong Muslim representative party. Firstly Council members of the AIML showed that Sindhi quota¹² was full,¹³ but half of the members of Council left the League after the elections and the formation of first ministry. Kazi Khuda Bukhsh, Gazdar, Alvi and Sheikh Abdul Majid were members of the council of AIML in 1937¹⁴. This defeat was fruitful in the sense of learning and handling the freedom movement in future. These elections were mark of new destiny. Its results set the final goal for the League and beginning for securing the honourable place. Congress scored an impressive victory in these elections but Muslim League could not achieve victory even in Sindh which was Muslim majority province. As

the result of 1937 elections, Muslim League was unable to prove its claim of the sole representative party of Muslims. The Muslim League was in weak position although after separation it was Muslim majority province.

The results of elections clearly revealed that Muslim League did not have majority and its position was not strong even in the Muslim majority provinces. Mostly the Muslim candidates returned on independent seats. Political situation of India regarding the results of elections 1937 had shown the Congress was more popular than Muslim League. Muslim League's victory was limited. The AIML could win only 108 seats out of 485 reserved seats for Muslims in all provinces.¹⁵ In Sindh it could not win even a single seat.¹⁶ The new Sindh Legislative Assembly consisted of 60 members; the party position is given in the table below:

OFFICIAL RESULTS OF ELECTIONS 1936-37 OF SINDH

Muslim United Party	Non-Congress Hindu	Hidaytullah Party	Congress Party	Europeans	Independent Muslims
17	14	16	08	03	02

Source: Micro Film, Acc. No, 4392 LP&J/8/648(Islamabad: National Documentation Center), 2.

The out come of 1937 elections revealed the dominance of the rural elites and *pir-s*. In nine Muslim constituencies *Sadat* and *pir-s* were elected. Abdullah Haroon was defeated by an independent candidate, Khan Sahib Allah Bukhsh, while Shah Nawaz Bhutto was defeated by Abdul Majid Sindhi from Larkana.¹⁷ Ayub Khuhro was contesting from his own constituency, Larkana Taluka. He was hopeful to win with out facing any difficulty.¹⁸ Due to the defeat of two leaders, the party was demoralized although Party claimed eighteen supporters but the real strength was only twelve.¹⁹ The United Party under the leader ship of Khan Bahdur Allah Bux sat on the opposition benches with

strength of 22 members, the following ideas were declared to guide in their future political activities and functions:

- (1) To criticize Government for the development of the province,
- (2) To work for the political awareness of the people of Sind. To keep an eye on the Government officials.
- (3) To point out weaknesses of Government and to suggest remedies for them.²⁰

The Governor of Sindh addressing the members declared:

This is the last occasion on which you will be called to exercise your function as members of Governor Advisory Council which was set up under the order-in-Council, which provided for temporary Government of this province, during the period which was to elapse between Act of severance and coming in to operational force of provincial autonomy under the new Government of India Act 1935...already your successors, who will play greater part on ampler stage are gathering in the wings of the theatre and in a short time the curtain will rise in the new constitution.²¹

FIRST MUSLIM MINISTRY

On 22 March 1937, Sir Lancelot Graham inducted Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah as the Premier of Sindh. In this situation invitation to Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah to form the cabinet was undemocratic because his position was insignificant with only three members support;²² but the Governor was in favour of him. Gobindram brought the favour of Hindu community and through Mir Bandeh Ali, Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah achieved Baloch bloc support. He got the Hindu favour on the promise of two seats of ministry²³ and Bhojsingh was elected as speaker.²⁴ Now, out of 36 members, 24 Muslims and twelve Hindus were supporting him. He had support of the Mir group also. Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur was leader of the Mir group and ally of Muslim League group. Before elections, Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah offered him a ministry. First cabinet was formed and the following portfolios were allocated:

Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah

Chief Minister:

Mukhi Gobindram
Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur

Finance, Interior, Political Affairs
and General Administration
Police and PWD
Revenue

Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah Ministry was made on the basis of Governor's choice. He was the man who proved himself best for authorities because the position of the provincial ministers under the Act of 1935 was certainly superior to those of the ministers under the Act of 1919. All the departments were under the minister's charge. Without minister's guidance Governor could not smoothly run the administration.²⁵ Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah realized that he needed to increase the ranks of his party; otherwise his ministry would face defeat.²⁶ According to circumstance, the need for support of the United Party was essential. For this purpose Pir Sahib Shahibzade Abdul Sattar Jan Sarhindi(1907-74) played the role and with keen eye resolved the matter.²⁷ The agreement had been drawn between Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah and the Sindh United Party. According to this agreement, the Ministry was bounded of the suggestions and guidance of the working committee in the legislation and other principle and policy matters.²⁸ This agreement proved very fruitful and its results were satisfactory. The main issues had been resolved like:

- (1) Exemption of grazing fees from revenue lands.
- (2) Reduction of grazing fees in forests,
- (3) Recovery of *Taccavi* loans on easy installments and reduction and in some cases exemption of over due interest accrued thereon.²⁹

Despite of above three issues, nomination on Local Bodies, Commissioner and the Collector was also abolished through this agreement.³⁰

Opposition party leaders observed that they needed more ministries for the legislation. As a result in a meeting of cabinet members Khan Bahadur Allah Bux(1897-1943), Khuhro and Nichaldas, C.Vazirani's(1889-1948) names were

recommended for the ministry. When this recommendation was received, Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah called a meeting of the Sindh United Party and the party officially approved the decision of only two ministers. Nomination of Ayub Khuhro was rejected.³¹ After this decision when Budget session was started in March 1938 the Congress and the Hindu independent groups broke the coalition cabinet which was established with the confidence of Hindu independent group and Congress fell off. Instability of first ministry indicated the weakness of Muslim unity and association with personal interests of different groups.

In all this game G.M. Sayyid played central role. He accepted his responsibility and share for the pulling down of Sir Ghulam Hussain's Ministry.³² Now Ghulam Hussain organized Government in efficient way. Allies were sincere with him and had been working hard. By then his cabinet member Mukhi Gobindram resigned due to his private reasons. Hindu group had strong desire for appointment of Nichaldas, C.Vazirani, as minister in place of Gobind.³³ But Sir Ghulam Hussain preferred Dr. Hamandas Wadhwani, and this decision had taken the shed of opinion of Muslim League allies of his party. Another striking point aroused which made Hindu group angry when Speaker of the Sindh Assembly Bhoj Singh passed away and Muslim candidate Sayyid Miran M.D. Shah was elected as the new speaker.³⁴ Hindu public opinion aroused against Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah's ministry and the following three questions were raised in bringing it in to discredit amongst the Hindus:

1. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah had failed to fulfill the needs of time; he could not take immediate and speedy initiatives with broad vision for the reconstruction of the province.

2. Officials were not under his control because they did not like his old mentality and lacked broad vision. His efforts for the provincial autonomy were not sufficient. So progress towards the provincial autonomy was almost lacking.³⁵

Now the coalition Government was going to shatter. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah was facing problems from his own allies; agitation had been started by Hindu groups against him. Accordingly he was unable to retain coalition, "Officials had not yet shed off their old mentality of the bureaucratic times."³⁶ As a Premier, he was failed to control the civil bureaucracy who had vast powers under the non democratic British rule and it created hindrances in the matters of legislation. The ministers and Governor also supported them.

ALLAH BUX MINISTRY

Allah Bux Soomro formed the new ministry as a parliamentary leader of the Sindh United Party and opposition leader of the Assembly. He formed a cabinet with the help of G.M. Sayyid, Ali Muhammad Rashidi and Pir Ellahi Bakhsh (1897-1975). Out of thirty five Assembly members, only seven members were supporting Allah Bux. Allah Bux took charge as Premier on 23 March 1938. He was very hopeful that he would be able to run the province efficiently. He was well aware with the problems of the province and was ambitious for the welfare of the masses. He undertook following measures:

1. He eliminate the old system of *darbars*.
2. He brought to an end the rights of Commissioners and Collectors about chair system.
3. Local bodies system comprising of selected members was also closed down.
4. Agriculture sector was developed and reforms were introduced for the peasants who were the suppressed and deprived class of society.

Allah Bux invited Mawlana Ubaidullah Sindhi to Sindh. When the ministerial changes took place in Sindh, Abdullah Haroon was not present in

Karachi. Although during an interview to the *Sind Observer*, he welcomed the coalition of Sindhi leaders and said that unity and cooperation of all the communities with each other is very essential for the improvement of the Muslim conditions and the concrete measures should be taken for the betterment of masses.³⁷ In a press statement, Abdullah Haroon described the League's point of view and stated that the AIML is working for the unity of Muslims and awareness of the masses.³⁸

In spite of all these steps, Allah Bux faced many problems. For instance, a clash started between the Governor and his administration. He was under pressure of the Hindu community and the Sindh United Party was also creating problems for him. Therefore he was not able to run his ministry smoothly. Gazdar (1898-1968) identified provincial issues, political issues, Governor's interference and division of major appointments etc, as major cause which off unbalanced the Allah Bux's cabinet. He requested the AIML for help regarding the solution of the Sindhi Muslims problems. He suggested the center to pass a resolution and requested the Governor and Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah to help the Muslims. Muslims wanted to initiate alienation and money lending bills and matters relating to Muslim education. He argued that all above bills were moved in proceedings of Sindh Legislative Assembly in August 1937.³⁹ But ministry and governor favoured the Hindus under an agreement, so all important portfolios were in the hands of Hindus, therefore the power balance tilted in their favour.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF SINDH PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

Abdul Majid Sindhi noted that Sindhis wanted to form a League branch immediately. Before elections of 1936-37, Quaid could not succeed to unite the Muslim leaders under the banner of the AIML but now responsibility of

organizing the League in Sindh was taken up by Majid. Following members were elected

Abdul Majid Sindhi	President
Abdullah Haroon	Vice president
G. Allana	Secretary
Hassan Ali	Treasurer

A working committee was also formed with twenty members. Gazdar and Miran Muhammad Shah were members of the working committee.⁴⁰ Quaid-i-Azam wanted to establish a branch of the League firmly. He analyzed the situation of Sindh and realized that the AIML had treated Sindh as backward region which, inspite of the Muslim majority had played into the hands of the Hindus.⁴¹ He also blamed the Sindhi leaders that their internal differences were the only reason of the instability of Muslim ministry.⁴²

Quaid-i-Azam decided to visit Sindh and to re-organize the League. Abdullah Haroon and other leaders were also struggling for the strengthening of the AIML in the province. Till third week of April 1938, League branches had been established in almost every district of Sindh including Tharparker, Sukkur, Jaccobabad, Nawabshah, and Larkana⁴³. Khuhro and Kazi Fazlullah (1902-87) used the same methods which they had successfully used during the Khilafat committee's formation by raising the slogan "Islam in danger".⁴⁴ Abdullah Haroon advised Quaid-i-Azam that the time was not suitable for his visit. He wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam to explain the political situation of Sindh. He wrote that Abdul Majid Sindhi was also trying to organize the AIML branches in different districts but at the same time he kept a hostile attitude towards the ministry. Therefore, at some places where Sheikh Abdul Majid went for establishment of the League branches, hostile demonstrations took place and people hoisted him with black flags. In Dhoro Noro, a town in Thar Parkar,

people reacted very badly.⁴⁵ The feelings of the people ran so high that police force was called to maintain law and order. Congress and Jamiet-ul-Ulama-i-Hind were also active against the League.⁴⁶ Abdul Majid Sindhi knew that this reaction is temporary and it would bring best results in future.⁴⁷ Abdul Majid explained in the press statement that in the area of Dhoro Noro, ten more branches has been established.⁴⁸ It was a fact that reaction against the League was seen in areas which were inclined towards the ministry. But League leadership's hostile attitude towards the ministerial party affected the party position. Abdullah Haroon informed Quaid-i-Azam the whole situation.⁴⁹ Fund for the League's activities and for the establishment of the League branches was an issue on which Majid and Haroon had differences. Haroon wanted to invite voluntary help of friends from all over Sindh but Majid agreed on ten rupees contribution of each one who was in favour of the League. Majid wanted to collect funds from the workers of the League only.⁵⁰

On the matter of establishment of League branches, Haroon wanted that League be established in Karachi first but Majid's point of view was that rural establishment would be most fruitful.⁵¹ Despite differences, establishment of League branches continued. Till July 1938 League branches had been established in whole of the Sindh. The Urban and rural enrolled membership indicated the support, eighty-eight percent turn out was expected from the rural sector.⁵²

THE SINDH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE 1938

At the time of separation, it was decided that Sindh would pay the construction charges of Sukkur Barrage to the Centre up to fifty years but Centre demanded the amount immediately. The Governor forced the ministry for the payment. On the issue of revenue assessments, two groups developed. The

Officials of Sindh supported the Government and other groups represented the political parties. Allah Bux was in a very critical situation. His cabinet supported the Government in this situation. G.M. Sayyid who played the key role for Allah Bux ministry, parted ways from Allah Bux and turned towards the League. Many other fellows like Khair Shah and Muhammad Shah of Nawab Shah and Haider Shah(1895-d.?) of the Tharparker also turned towards the League.⁵³ A conference was held in Sultan Kot, Sukkur district at the end of July 1938. Almost four thousand participants attended the conference from all over the Sindh. Conference was continued for three days. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah first Premier of Sindh joined the League.⁵⁴ Majid and Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah also announced that they will support Allah Bux ministry if Allah Bux considered Muslim League as a solid party. In response to this conference, Allah Bux and his group promised to support the AIML programs and would form solid and united Muslim League party in the Sindh Assembly.⁵⁵ This conference was very successful which the result of League's efforts of six months. Many resolutions were passed in the conference which "contained a Sindhi theme, reflecting the continuing preoccupation of the Sindhi Leaguers with provincial concerns."⁵⁶

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, Abdullah Haroon and G.M Sayyid wanted to form Muslim League ministry in Sindh. A Provincial Conference was called in October at Karachi. Quaid-Azam was invited to preside over the Conference. Before Conference many meetings were held in various parts of Karachi, for encouragement of the Muslims to attend the up coming Conference. During these meetings spokesmen discussed the burning issues of Sindh like the failure of the ministry, Land Alienation and Debt Conciliation Bills.

On 8 September 1938 a meeting was held at Nawabad which was presided over by Abdullah Haroon. Another meeting was also held at Jhuna

Market. A large number of people attended these meetings. On 12 September the largest meeting was held in Karachi. Yousaf Haroon and Ali Muhammad Rashidi spoke against the Congress and the Sindh Muslim ministry.⁵⁷

In another meeting, Haroon claimed that separation of Sindh had been achieved by the largest efforts and the AIML had put this idea before others.⁵⁸ These meetings were arranged for the motivation of the Muslims to attend the provincial conference. So the Muslim's response was remarkable.⁵⁹

Quaid-i-Azam arrived in Karachi by a special train. Haroon received him as Chairman of the reception committee. Sindhi leaders welcomed Quaid-i-Azam along with a three miles long procession of the volunteer National Guards. The *Sind Observer* which was anti League newspaper described Quaid-i-Azam arrival just like a "princes might well envy".⁶⁰ Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Mawlwi Fazal-al-Haq and many other famous leaders from all over India attended the conference.⁶¹ Abdullah Haroon stated in his speech:

We have nearly arrived at an agreement that if no agreement is reached soon it will be impossible to save India and from being divided in to Hindu India and Muslim India placed under separate federations.⁶²

His opinion seemed to be continuity of Allama Iqbal's Allahabad Address (1930). Haroon further explained that Muslim ministry was under the opinion of the Congress party. The Hindu Mahasabha and Congress both were willing to deprive Sindhi Muslims of ministry.⁶³ Quaid-i-Azam stressed unity and proper organization of Muslims in his speech. He realized the Muslims of Sindh had their responsibility to work for the prosperity and progress of Sindh. Quaid-i-Azam claimed the AIML as the only party which could protect the Muslim rights in India. He appealed to the Muslims to join the League and strengthen it.⁶⁴ Many resolutions were adopted. The conference passed twenty one resolutions, ten concerning with all India and eleven based on Sindhi problems.⁶⁵ A resolution

entitled Communal Settlement was passed. In this resolution first time Muslim organizations supported a two nation ideology.⁶⁶

This conference therefore recommended to All India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslim majority provinces, Muslim Indian states and areas habituated by a majority of Muslims may attain full independence in the form of a federation of their own with permission to admit any other Muslim state beyond the Indian frontiers to join the federation and with such safe guards for non Muslim minorities as may be conceded to the Muslim minorities in the non Muslim federation of India.⁶⁷

Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, in his address stated that:

If the Congress did not concede Muslim rights Muslims would have no alternative but to fall back upon the Pakistan Scheme and that nothing would prevent Muslims from Karachi to Calcutta to march to their own self determination.⁶⁸

Quaid-i-Azam tried to unite all groups of Muslim leaders. He gathered view points of different leaders when they met him. All leaders desired to have unity among them. K.B. Allah Bux, Pir Ellahi Bukhsh with seven members, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah with his group of thirteen members, Mir Bande Ali, the leader of the Baloch group with seven members, and G.M. Sayyid with six members assured Quaid-i-Azam of their fullest support for the unity. An agreement was prepared after sharing views with all groups and was signed by K.B. Allah Bux.⁶⁹ It was decided that a meeting will be held on 12 October 1938. All leaders reached in time but only Allah Bux was not present there. He backed out of the agreement⁷⁰ and said that he and his fellows would join hands with the others if all others ensured him he would be selected as the Prime Minister. It was very critical situation. The Congress was also active and certainly it was not the desire of Congress that League should attain power and get strength in the province.⁷¹

After long discussions and separate meetings with several leaders Quaid-i-Azam decided that K.B. Allah Bux's conditions should be accepted in

the long run benefits of the party but, even then, Allah Bux did not join the Muslim League. Twenty seven members joined the League and united on the League program and accepted the Allah Bux unreasonable conditions for the unity and benefit of the Muslims at every cost.⁷²

The Muslim League Assembly party was established in Sindh and League leader Abdullah Haroon was firmly convinced on "that is the only solution of problem but we must prepare the ground for it".⁷³ He wrote a letter His Highness the Agha Khan who was in London. Abdullah wrote the whole situation and invited him in India to lead them to final goal, he wrote:

Your Highness the time has come when you should once again visit India and give us a leader. In no case can we trust the Congress and the Hindus. We are seriously considering the possibility of having a separate federation of Muslim states and provinces.⁷⁴

H.H. Agha Khan replied him:

We would also welcome a possible solution if your League was likely to advocate Pakistan as the final policy of the Muslims. If so the public opinion is prepared gradually the better.⁷⁵

The AIML was fully active in the province. Quaid-i-Azam was happy to see that ML established a parliamentary party in Sindh Legislative Assembly and Muslim majority in Sindh would be helpful to run the policy and program of the AIML⁷⁶

In Sindh Assembly the ML was an opposition party. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah was leader of opposition and Mir Bande Ali was deputy leader. K.B. Allah Bux, with the support of Governor Graham, started efforts for breaking Muslim League party and he succeeded. He increased his cabinet from three to six. Before, the Governor and K.B. Allah Bux had rejected the idea to increase the cabinet in 1938,⁷⁷ but now it was just only for his own benefit. His action was not supporting Muslim League cause. K.B. Allah Bux had been

working against the League only for the protection of his own ministry; his plan was chalked out in the budget session. When budget session started in March 1939 and G.M. Sayyid moved a resolution of vote for no confidence but only seven members were with him.⁷⁸ During this session another issue, Om Mandi Affair was depicting the Congress mentality. Congress had taken benefits through this issue and internal differences of the League Assembly party and non communal party of Allah Bux distorted the Muslim confidence. After the Om Mandi Affairs, a new problem which aroused disappointment among the Muslims was the approval of the Hanuman Mandir. The Hindus held huge demonstrations and threatened the Government that they will take further actions and create law and order situation unless the Government agreed with them. Government accepted their demands. Although the Hindu demand was not valid and genuine but Muslim ministry took care of their religious sentiments and accepted it as minority community needs.⁷⁹

MASJID MANZIL GAH DISPUTE (SUKKUR 1939)

The Masjid Manzil Gah was situated near the bank of Indus at Sukkur. The mosque was built by Sayyid Mir Masoom Shah who was the Governor of Sindh during the rule of Akbar the Great (1542-1605). Mosque had a separate complex. After the annexation of Sindh, this complex was used as an office in disregard to the sentiments of the Muslim population. After some time the complex was turned in to residential quarters for civil and military officers who were posted at Sukkur. The Muslims wanted the restoration of mosque. The demand of restoration of the mosque was started in the second decade of the twentieth century.⁸⁰ In 1920 Muslims had sent enormous petitions and appealed for the restoration but all their efforts and struggles failed to produce any result.⁸¹

On the arrival of the Simon Commission, Muslims of Sukkur made a special point to get a commitment that Masjid Manzil Gah should be handed over to the Muslims since it is was their religious right. In 1932 Muslims got a little achievement when government permitted them to construct a wall around the mosque.⁸²

During the Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah ministry this demand was put forward before him but he was a shrewd politician and he knew how to delay this issue because the Hindus were against this demand. Majority of the urban population of the Sukkur consisted of Hindus.⁸³ In October 1938 at the Provincial Muslim Conference, this matter aroused again for the complete restoration of mosque, a resolution was passed by the SPML in which they demanded that the mosque be handed over to the Muslims.⁸⁴ After the Om Mandi Affairs and Hunoman Mandir issue, the Muslims thought that now Muslim ministry was in power, certainly being a Muslim, their sympathies would be with the Muslims. So the Muslims of the Sukkur renewed their demand. Although, this matter was started as religious issue but it turned in to a political one and was treated at the communal status. Hindus were concerned with its settlement. In early 1939, the Sukkur district branch of the AIML passed a resolution and forwarded it to the SPML for discussing the question of Mosque with Government.⁸⁵ A Sub-Committee was established under the leader ship of Khuhro, leader of the opposition in the Sindh Legislative Assembly. According to the people of Sukkur, they trusted on Khuhro due to his efficiency in 1930 for the people of Sukkur.⁸⁶

The Muslims of Sindh approached the SPML, being a major Muslim political organization in the Sindh. Abdullah Haroon as president of the SPML Working Committee went to Sukkur for the judgment of response of community.

He got positive response from different towns and various Muslims non political groups and parties. Haroon announced the SPML support at the meeting in Sukkur had on 19 May 1939.⁸⁷ Haroon and Khuhro met with Chief Minister and asked for the restoration of the Mosque. That time the SPML first time officially took in hand the Manzil Gah dispute.⁸⁸ Allah Bux wanted to solve the problem but the pressure of other parties and groups was so high that he could not take any action immediately but ensured them to settle the issue.⁸⁹

The Hindu community was deeply concerned with the issue and after the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency, feelings of insecurity aroused within the Hindu community. They thought that through this issue, the Muslims wanted to prove their dominion and control. Other than this reason, exactly in front of Masjid Manzil Gah, a Hindu Shrine and monastery stood in the middle of Indus River which became a favourite place of their religious activities. The Hindus did not want restoration of the Mosque, so Hindus opposed strongly and appealed to the Government that the building of complex should remain under the government control.⁹⁰

The SPML was active in exerting more pressure on the Government and appointed a Restoration Committee. The first meeting of the committee held on 22 and 23 July under the presidentship of Khuhro. Haroon, the Chairman of the committee, was not present there. A numbers of resolutions were called regarding Manzil Gah restoration:

1. The Muslim members of the Assembly will not support Allah Bux ministry.
2. Assembly was asked to press that they should withdraw Government support.

3. Through out the province, 18 August was declared as Manzil Gah Day. On this day meetings and demonstrations would be held in every district, town and taluka for the awareness of people of Sindh.
4. It was decided that every member of the committee must obey the decision, other wise he will not be elected in future.
5. If the ministry did not recognize and accept the Muslim demand, the SPML would start a movement of civil disobedience or *satyagraha* on 1 October 1939.

The Sindhi Muslim leaders felt that Muslim masses were emotional for the restoration of the mosque, so they planned to start the movement. On 27 August a meeting was held at Sukkur and committee of action was formed.⁹¹ To seek the sanction of the AIML, this plan was sent to centre. G.M. Sayyid opposed this action and stated that The Manzil Gah dispute was initially a religious question and therefore this matter should be left to Jamiat-ul-Ulama, as, in his opinion, the AIML should be restricted to its activities to political matters only.⁹²

Hindu community and the Congress were in their common opposition to the SPML. Certainly the failurer of Muslim demands would affect on the prestige of the SPML and the AIML both would expose. The League's popularity and fame in the Muslim masses of the province was weak. It was also likely that in consequence of the refusal of the ministry to accede to the Muslim demand, the Muslim League might be compelled to force matters to head by deciding upon direct action which was bound to affect the position of the AIML, and therefore, if the provincial League insisted upon taking up the Manzil Gah question it must take the League High Command into confidence and all matter should be disscused with the high command. G.M. Sayyid wrote a letter to Quaid-i-Azam for the advice on this situation. It was much defined letter in which he discussed the future of League, writing "As the repercussions of the solution of the Manzil

Gah Mosque, dispute will vitally affect the future of League in Sind for all the time to come".⁹³

In September 1939 resolution called for the commencement of *Satyagraha*. Haroon and Khuhro invited Allah Bux in Sukkar for the final decision before starting movement. Leaders talked to him but dispute could not be settled. As a result, the decision for the movement could not be taken in time. However, volunteers from all over the Sindh reached Sukkur. Two thousand volunteers reached there on the second day. "Through out this long period of grim tussle lasting fully forty eight days be it said to the credit of the Muslims that they behaved with exemplary self restrain so that not a single untoward incident took place at Sukkur".⁹⁴

On the third day Muslims occupied the mosque building⁹⁵ and announced that the movement would continue till the achievement of their demand. When the SPML started *Satyagraha* on 1 October 1939, Sayyid's and League view point was same rather than other differences. Although, in the beginning of the movement, G.M. Sayyid was against it, when the movement reached at high noon, he turned back and decided he would start a hunger strike at the door step of ministers and their supporters.⁹⁶ Before his hunger strike, Government took steps to finish the whole agitation.

The Hindu Association of Sukkur, Hindu Mahasbha and *Hindu Panchayat* opposed the restoration of Manzil Gah. AIC was also involved in this activity.⁹⁷ As the result of Hindu pressure Government took action and prominent Muslim leaders were arrested under an ordinance. Muslim volunteers who were in the building were thrown out with power. Government tried to settle unusual tactics, Jails became full and there was no food to feed the prisoners. Thus Allah Bux took a decision to release the volunteers of *Satyagraha* because in this way

he could control the Muslim sentiments and emotions. However, his efforts were not enough. "Muslims were even more determined to keep the mosque until the Government officially conceded their claim."⁹⁸ This situation created great agitation. Governor gave powers to local authorities to arrest the people without any warrant. Police opened fire in course of agitation. Twenty people were killed and twenty three injured.⁹⁹ The Governor explained his action in a letter to the Viceroy. He claimed that this action was necessary for the maintenance of law and order situation.

The Manzil Gah dispute and struggle for the restoration affected whole politics of Sindh as well as the Hindu Muslim relations to reach high peak of bitterness. Many incidents of violence and lawlessness occurred in and around Sukkur. Several people lost their lives.¹⁰⁰ In the Sukkur riots, till December 1939, in Sukkur and the adjoining districts 141 Hindus and 17 Muslims were killed¹⁰¹ and in district Sukkur too, Hindus were killed more than Muslims. Fifty-seven Hindus were killed and nine injured as against only one Muslim was killed and one injured. In the Sukkur town, fifteen Muslims were killed and four injured whereas nineteen Hindus were killed and six injured.¹⁰² The Hindus accused the Muslim ministry for the Sukkur riots and its failure to maintain law and order and the Muslims blamed Allah Bux that his efforts were not sufficient and based on sincerity. Allah Bux's position was in very critical situation. G.M. Sayyid was against Allah Bux, he started efforts to bring down his ministry. After the Sukkur communal riots Hindus supporters of Allah Bux resigned from his cabinet and sat on opposition benches.

The Federation of the *Sindh Panchayat* appointed a Committee to negotiate with Allah Bux group and the SPML. Hindu Committee proclaimed that they would join such party which provided safety, security, and accept the

responsibility for safe guard of their rights.¹⁰³ Main issues of negotiation were following:

1. A tribunal was appointed for the inquiry of causes of the Sukkur riots and Muslims' claimed that the Manzil Gah was a mosque at the time of construction. Compensantrny amont
2. Payment of damages to the victims and sufferer of Sukkur riots.
3. Non-interference with the procedure of law so far the cases of Sukkur riots were concerned.
4. The percentage of Communal representation should be identifiable in all services.
5. Satisfactory measures for the sefty of life and property in the upset districts.¹⁰⁴

The Working Committee of SPML tried to involve the AIML to investigate the issue. Haroon likely wanted an inquiry in to the Manzil Gah because the Congress had undertaken one and wanted to neutralize its influence on the Sindh Government but Quaid-i-Azam refused because this hot action was not accepted by the AIML. The SPML Working Committee had not taken permission from the central authority.¹⁰⁵

This agitation increased the following of the SPML and party obtained popularity in the province and common people became close to its aim but Allah Bux lost his influence. According to Justice E. Weston Report, this dipute was the real and important cause of Sukkur riots. Weston accused Hindus for this entire problem.¹⁰⁶ Because after inquiry, it was proved that building was actually Mosque at that time when it was captured.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile, the Second World War was declared on 3rd September 1939. On the same day Viceroy of India Linlithgow officially announced that India was at War.¹⁰⁸ The decision of Viceroy was taken individually and he did not take any political party or leader into confidence. However, the latteron the Viceroy

after negotiations with fifty political leaders who had different approaches and opinions, like Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru, Rajendra Parshad, Sardar Patel, Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and some others on 16 October 1939 gave a public statement on the question of freedom of India.¹⁰⁹ He gave the reference of assurance of the British Government in the Act of 1935 that the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of the Dominion status¹¹⁰ but in his statement he admitted that it would be done when the time came for the modification in the Indian Act of 1935.¹¹¹ As the consequence of the Viceroy's response, the Congress party decided, its ministers should submit their resignations. In course of Congress ministry rule, the Muslims' identity, rights and liberties were ignored. Congress ministries created bitter situation for the Muslims and period of their rule looks like 'Hindu Raj'. So the resignation of Congress ministries brought blessings for the Muslims. Thus AIML announced the Day of Deliverance all over the India on 22 December 1939.¹¹²

In Sindh, this day was celebrated warmly and the instructions of Quaid-i-Azam were welcomed. Abdullah Haroon arranged a meeting in Khaliqdina Hall Karachi. Many meetings were held in other cities of Sindh also. In every meeting no confidence on Sindh ministry was expressed.¹¹³

MIR BANDEH ALI'S MINISTRY

G.M. Sayyid formed a new party named as Sindh Nationalist Party and made an agreement on his twenty-one points manifesto with the Hindus.¹¹⁴ Allah Bux failed to save his Government. On 18 March 1940 the Government was formed with Hindu Muslim coalition under Mir Bandeh Ali as the premier. Selection of Mir Bandeh Ali was not on merit. Both the communities could not satisfy with each other and Bandeh Ali's Ministry, so this settlement proved

temporary. This coalition was made on the bases of Sindhi nationalism. Four Muslims two Hindus were included in the new cabinet. Nichaldas Vazarani had been member of former ministry and Gokaldas was a landlord and merchant belonging to Larkana. He was from the Bhai Bund section of the party. Ayub Khuhro, G. M. Sayyid and Abdul Majid Sindhi were Muslim members of this cabinet. Coalition was not the new experiment for the ministry but the joint agreement was not favourable for the League power. So this Hindu-Muslim coalition distorted the League position. Haroon did not leave his pervious attachment, but when new ministry had taken over the office then the President of the SPML released a press statement as significant office approval to the new ministry.¹¹⁵

Regarding ministry making genral public view was deliberated in the *Daily Gazette* editorial, which stated "people in Sind looked upon the possessions of the ministry as it appears a patch work affair simply to gain office."¹¹⁶ Governor Graham was very pleased with this temporary settlement and satisfied with Mir Bendah Ali's selection as premier but he was not expecting his longer tenure. He wrote to the Viceroy "I have no confidence that the Mir ministry will be long lasting"¹¹⁷ Through this change, G. M. Sayyid and his fellows wanted to achieve communal harmony in Sindh but it could not be possible because Mir Bandeh Ali's efforts were not sufficient.¹¹⁸ In his opening address, Mir Bandeh Ali declared that he would refer a Bill in the Assembly to introduce the principal of joint electorates in municipal elections in Sindh.¹¹⁹ First time this bill was introduced by Allah Bux Government. Mir Bendah Ali's Government acted quickly as its first priority and on 1 April 1940 it became a law. On this quick action of passing the joint electorates, the League organization was very surprised. Haroon accused himself for this development, and thought that his

absence from Sindh gave this opportunity to the ruling party to attain higher status over political development in Sindh.¹²⁰ During the period Haroon was not present in Sindh, he was at Lahore and active in framing the famous Lahore Resolution. Khuhro, Abdul Majid Sindhi and G.M. Sayyid belonged to the League but now they were part of the Government. This Bill was continuously conflicted and Haroon kept up this issue with the AIML's policy however, other members of the League supported the joint electorates for the communal peace.

LAHORE RESOLUTION AND SINDH PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE

On 23 March 1940 in the twenty seventh session of AIML a resolution was passed which is known as the Lahore Resolution. It was finalised in the light of Abdullah Haroon's memorandum which was presented to the Quaid-i-Azam in February 1940.¹²¹ So with the help of the Hindu press labelled it as Pakistan Resolution since February 1940. Quaid-i-Azam adopted Abdullah Haroon's memorandum when he was drafting the resolution with eminent leader of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan on 21 March 1940. Nineteen delegates participated from Sindh. Abdullah Haroon and other first line leadership of the SPML were seated on the dais. Abdullah Haroon supported the resolution and stated that:

It was well known fact that the Muslims came to India through Sind. The Sind Muslims were the first to meet this question which was now before the League. In 1938, the AIML passed a resolution for establishing 'independent State' in the sub-continent. Since then various constitutional schemes had been formed and now being examined by a command that it was the duty of the Muslims to pass it without any hitch.¹²²

After Lahore Session, Haroon returned to Sindh with on aim to bring members of Sindh League and their views in a line on the electorate issue. Many meetings of the SPML and Working Council were held and gradually the League took a hard line position that reflected influence of Haroon on these meetings

confirming the Pakistan Resolution. The SPML also denoted the concept of joint electorates; however the Council of the SPML passed a lengthy resolution which concluded as:

The Council is confident that the Sind Assembly Nationalist Party will run the administration of the province in such a manner that the legitimate and fundamental rights of all communities in the province are fully protected and every section of the population enjoys the fullest measure of the sense of security.¹²³

Meetings were more influential, one significant portion of the resolution was included as a concession to Haroon's point of view which read.

The Council is also of the view that 4 out of 21 conditions, on the basis of which the new Government has been created, are such that unless suitable modifications are made in them, there will be difficulties in the achievements in the fullest measure of the purposes of re-establishment of communal peace and harmony which, the council understands, is the real object behind the new arrangement.¹²⁴

The resolution was debated for six hours and at the end it was passed unanimously. Haroon continued to show some influence but soon he came to know that League's organization was on decline rather than improving. The SPML came under increasing attacks of the press and the League had to face eclipse in its prestige when news reached Sindh of Allah Bux's Presidentship in Delhi Conference.

In this situation Haroon tried to exploit the Manzil Gah issue for the benefit of League and to confirm League's policy and discipline. In late May He wrote a letter to the ministers on discussing different issue but ministers ignored the letter. Haroon as the president of the SPML suggested, that the ministers should resign as they had betrayed the party but this motion was defeated thus ministers again emerged victorious in the second confrontation with Haroon that showed again the dominating influence of ministers.¹²⁵ Haroon found himself isolated politically, within his party, as Haroon was defeated but political support had to allow ministers to pursue their own course. He called the meetings of the

party to spread the League message of Pakistan among Sindh rural masses and different plans were chalked out to be launched in various parts of Sindh.

Many factors affected the functioning of the ministry. The tenuous nature of the League ministers' support worked to compound the ministry and increased inabilities. Absence of one clear and definite program of Government and the lack to operate and low spirit among the ministers further weakened the ministry. New initiatives were taken as establishment of a Board of Industrial Development and the University of Sindh. Thus the ministers exposed their lack of experience and knowledge in the running of Government. Protests began in one form or the other. Hindus protested the legislation, that ministry program designed to benefit the rural masses, nor did the Muslims remained silent and criticized the ministry. Sayyid was a member of Bandeh Ali' cabinet he explained.

The Muslims felt resentful firstly as a result of the misery consequent upon the Sukkur riots, which though we (the League Ministers) did our best to mitigate, could not be sufficiently relieved by us and secondly, because of the mass persecution launched by certain officers under Chapter VIII of the criminal code.¹²⁶

This criticism caused to weaken the ministry further and it was unable to mule the continuing sense of fear and insecurity in the province. Several crimes and murders reached a climax in July with them. Abd-ur- Raheem son of Pir Bharchundi Shrief was suspected involved in a murder.¹²⁷ Thus with a weak ministry the troubles remained the same and it was thought that the communal peace would not be restored until Government's final judgment on the Manzil Gah mosque was revealed

By the end of the summer of 1940, the Mir ministry was not at all in a secure position. It continued without its definite purpose and direction. Due to its

failure to solve communal problems, politicians began to revolt, agitate and a scheme for a change in the ministry was started. Thus once again politics in Sindh turned in to instability and uncertainty.

The Hindus were dissatisfied and scorned with the SPML. They registered their protest that they had not gained any benefit from present ministry. The Congress group of the assembly was very pleased to this proposal; SPML. However, could not provide legal protection to Pir Bharchundi whom they regarded as major threat to their security in the Sukkur region.¹²⁸ The Hindus scorned on the changes in the ministry, now they withdrew their support.

The Provincial Muslim League was displeased with ministry too. Accordingly the SPML Working Committee arranged a meeting on 4 October and strictly opposed the policies of the Hindu parties which were responsible for the failure of any Muslim ministry to support the deprived Muslims.¹²⁹ Both communities, Hindus and Muslims were resentful with the Government. Politically Sindh was running towards instability, response of both communities towards unity and communal peace was dead. The AIC was also being attached with the matters of Sindh. Gandhi sent a message to Abdullah Haroon, offered his help in nourishment of the communal harmony in Sindh.¹³⁰ The Muslims disunity was the major obstacle in the way of political stability in Sindh.¹³¹ That time it was necessary for Muslim masses to politically organize themselves for the new challenges and Muslim leadership would unite them on the political platform particularly after the Lahore Resolution.

First of all in this weaker ministry, G.M. Sayyid, Education Minister tried to make a united front in the Assembly. He approached former Chief Minister Allah Bux, to join them. He offered him a seat in the cabinet.¹³² In his view point if he would achieve a success in the form of strong united block in the

Assembly then League will be in better position to work for the development of the poor Muslim masses. But Allah Bux imposed certain conditions which only showed his selfishness, He demanded Mir Bandeh Ali surrender in his favour and Ayub Khuhro's resignation from the ministry. In fact he was trying to secure himself through this agreement.¹³³ G.M. Sayyid met Abdul Majid Sindhi and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, the General Secretary of SPML and discussed the proposal and conditions of Allah Bux to join them. Abdul Majid agreed with G.M. Sayyid to resign in order to bring in Allah Bux.¹³⁴

The Congress President Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad visited in Sindh in November 1940 and met all Hindu leaders of the Congress group and the Muslim leadership. Azad's efforts were focused on return of Allah Bux in the ministry as premier. A meeting was arranged at the Chief Minister's house, Azad was present there. He proposed for the lasting solidarity of Allah Bux to join the ministry and gave two seats in the cabinet to the existing ministry members. Congress members insisted Allah Bux to be resolute to join the ministry unless he was made the Chief Minister. After long discussions both groups persuaded to give two seats to Allah Bux group and question of Prime Ministership would be decided by a majority decision of the Muslim members themselves.¹³⁵ They informed Abdullah Haroon, the president of the SPML of their decision but Abdullah Haroon was against this decision and asked them for more debate. Allah Bux was not fully agreed with it, he announced that Hidaytullah would join cabinet first, and then after Mir Bandeh Ali resignation, he would join the ministry, but G.M. Sayyid and Nichaldas convinced him to join the cabinet with out any delay. The terms and conditions of agreement were drafted and signed by G.M. Sayyid, Khuhro, Allah Bux and Nichaldas, this pact was announced as Azad Pact.¹³⁶ Terms of the agreement were following:

1. Abdul Majid or G.M. Sayyid would resign from the ministry and Allah Bux will occupy this vacate seat.
2. Till 15 February, Mir Bandeh Ali would resign and Hidaytullah would join the cabinet, then Assembly members would elect the Chief Minister.
3. If Mir did not submit his resignation then rest of the cabinet members would vacate seat for him.¹³⁷

Haroon reached back when agreement had been drafted. He declared the pact invalid and issued a press statement on 21 November 1940, in which he explained that the constitutional position is very clear. The SPML as such has not authorized any individual to represent it in these negotiations therefore, the SPML as an organization stands committed to nothing unless a specific decision is taken from the Sindh League Council.¹³⁸ He stressed upon the Central League's confidence and claimed that permission was essential for any action. Haroon invited the ministers for the discussion on the Azad Pact but ministers could not attend the meeting due to Governor's interruption. Sayyid wanted to explain to Haroon, the terms of agreement but he could not do so.¹³⁹ Sayyid was very confused since his decision of resignation was against the clear instructions of the President of the SPML.¹⁴⁰ However he submitted his resignation on 22 November to the Governor which was accepted.¹⁴¹ The Governor of Sindh declared it, most important event of 1940, and Abul Kalam Azad emerged as the hero of this political development.¹⁴² A joint parliamentary advisory council was formed for the assistance of the Governor in legislation and other matters. The Council was formed with following members:

Mir Bandeh Ali Khan	Chairman
G. M. Sayyid	Secretary
Ayub Khuhro	Muslim member
Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi	"
Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	"
Pir Allah Bux	"

M.H.Gazdar	"
Newandram	Hindu member
Nichaldas	"
R.S. Gokaldas	"
R.K Sidwa	"
Naraindas Bechar	"
Dr. Choithram	"
Fraser	European

and one from Hindu independents.¹⁴³

An agreement was signed for the Hindu Muslim unity. All tasks which enclosed in an agreement were which council's responsibility. The League's prestige was affected due to Sayyid's decision.¹⁴⁴ Next day he issued another statement; "It is my opinion that the present attempt to change the ministry will defeat its own purpose, I therefore, appeal to all concerned to give the Mir Ministry sufficient time to implement and complete the program they have undertaken."¹⁴⁵ A statement was also issued on 23 November 1940 in the continuity of the previous day statement, he declaring:

I find that a new situation has been forced on the League organization due to recent changes in the cabinet by means of secret agreement and without the League as an organization having been taken in to confidence. Now in the new situation are involved vital matters of principal and discipline. I am trying to meet this situation in a manner which is compatible with the prestige of the Indian Musalmans and their organization on the one hand and with the requirements of this province on the other hand till the position is wholly clarified and the procedure I have adopted is gone through. I hope all the Muslim Leaguers in Sind will observe patience and will indulge in no demonstrative activities.¹⁴⁶

This situation of the Muslim members of Assembly caused a division into two groups; G.M. Sayyid, Majid and Khuhro at one side, on the other hand Allah Bux went on dictating his own terms to the Ministries.¹⁴⁷ Abdullah Haroon was very touchy to the prestige of the League, he requested Quaid-i-Azam to visit Sindh and solve the Ministerial problem.

On 16 December 1940, Quaid-i-Azam came to Karachi for few days. During his stay, he observed the SPML activities in the province. He judged that all the politicians have desired to gain power; their real interest was not in the enhancement of the building of the League's influence in the province. Quaid-i-Azam mainly emphasized during course of his visit to organize the AIML in all over the Indian sub-continent.¹⁴⁸ The Hindu press expressed these views: "arrival of Quaid-i-Azam is only concerned with Azad Pact."¹⁴⁹ Quaid-i-Azam, after taking views of various people, concluded that conditions of this agreement were not in favour of the SPML, so in the continuing situation, it was not possible for SPML to act according to the pact. Quaid-i-Azam also suggested new elections but the Governor Graham rejected this demand. He argued that there was not enough time, before the budget session it would not be possible. Quaid-i-Azam advised that ministers should abide by the directions of the SPML. He set up the SPML Organizing Committee. Total strength of the Organizing Committee comprised on eight members with G.M. Sayyid as its Chairman.¹⁵⁰ However, Quaid-i-Azam left Karachi at the end of December 1940 with out giving any final decision of ministerial problem.¹⁵¹ A meeting of members of advisory Council was arranged on 29 January 1941. Several speeches were delivered in the meeting by the Congress representatives and Allah Bux, all of them stressed on the unity and completion of agreement clauses.¹⁵² Congress member asked that Mir ministry should retain the remaining period of the Assembly, in connection of this argument they quoted a reference of previous agreement in which their 21 points were accepted. In course of this meeting a decision was concluded that the Congress party and Hindu independent party behaved false and unreliable manners, they talked about the joint electorate and

decided to oppose the joint electorates.¹⁵³ Mir Bandeh Ali refused to resign. He claimed that he had not fixed his signatures on the agreement.¹⁵⁴

Quaid-i-Azam replied Abdul Majid Sindhi "I am quite convinced that the present move if carried will be a discredit to the League and we cannot allow two individuals to pass off as League ministers and exploit the name of the AIML without any party behind them in the Assembly which could be responsible to the provincial League".¹⁵⁵ On 2 February 1941, Quaid-i-Azam wrote a letter to Abdullah Haroon, he advised him that "it will be far more honorable to sit on the opposition benches than to be dictated by a few individuals."¹⁵⁶ According to the situation if any member disobeys the League's rule just for the ministership and makes any secret agreement, the Council of AIML should cancel his party membership and disciplinary action must be taken against him. Finally Quaid-i-Azam issued a statement on the situation of Sindh ministry on the request of Abdullah Haroon for the future advice and guidance. Quaid-i-Azam declared on 8 February 1941:

If Mir Bandeh Ali, Khuhro and Majid, Sayyid and yourself stand united and work as comrades and as a team you will retrieve the prestige and reputation of the AIML and very soon you will find that all the oppositions and difficulties have melted away. Mir Bandeh Ali, Sheikh Majid, Khuhro and Sayyid have given me their definite assurance that they will do so and I am sure that you all and other leaders put your hands together and pull yourself out from this quagmire and rehabilitate the prestige and the reputation of the All India Muslim League of Sindh.¹⁵⁷

Quaid-i-Azam also wrote a letter to Mir Bandeh Ali. After discussion all aspects of Sindh ministry, Quaid-i-Azam gave him clear advice that "it will be most disastrous for you and for the party that you now represent the provincial Muslim League Sindh and all India Muslim League to depart from the advice that I have already given, viz, that the present ministry should continue."¹⁵⁸

A meeting of the AIML organizing Committee was held at Sann district Dadu, Sindh on 22 February 1941.¹⁵⁹ During this meeting different issues were discussed concerning the Party and it was further discussed to secure the Lahore Resolution. G.M. Sayyid tried to persuade the leadership of the AIML for immediate solution of the sensitive ministerial issues. Thus in course of the time, main emphasis of leadership was on the formation of new ministry. Meetings, between League Organizing Committee and the members of Azad Pact and other politicians were continued from time to time, officially or un-officially. Thus stage had been prepared before the budget session of the legislative assembly. The Congress party moved the no-confidence motion, and Allah Bux with two other Hindu ministers left the ministerial benches, now Mir Bande Ali lost his majority and offered his resignation. K.B Allah Bux came back again as premier, with the firm support of the Congress.¹⁶⁰ The ministry included Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, Pir Elahi Bakhsh and Pirzada Abdul Sattar.¹⁶¹ After this development a public meeting was called at Khaliqdina Hall in Karachi,¹⁶² Ministers of the League pointed out that political awareness and education of masses was necessary for the organization of the League. G.M. Sayyid expanded the activities of organizing committee and made a plan for the interaction between masses and the provincial League. In this connection A tour of whole Sindh was arranged. "The SPML connected with the Muslim masses and planted deep in to their hearts their ambitions, programs and message of hope for the future".¹⁶³ During this tour the branches of League were reorganized in every district. In the reorganization of the League branches every section of the society played a role. League's importance was also aroused with the help of press.¹⁶⁴ According to the annual report of the SPML for 1943-1944 numbers of branches were increased representatives and members increased as well.

List of Branches, Members and Representatives in Districts

Name of District	Number of Branches		Number of Representatives		Number of Members	
	1943	1944	1943	1944	1943	1944
Hyderabad	36	33	128	438	11976	40654
Tharparkar	168	272	366	703	32791	66549
Larkana	11	12	20	24	2070	2457
Nawabshah	84	53	150	154	15031	15495
Dadu	62	55	56	59	6356	6456
Jacobabad	13	20	14	54	1686	3902
Karachi	21	17	34	36	3033	3472
Sukkur	65	26	476	149	46005	13500
Karachi City	14	59	35	250	3675	24733
Total	474	547	1279	1865	122623	177118

Source: SHC Sindh: 1:24.

The *Pir*-s of Sindh has been involved in the campaign of League establishment. For instance Pir Abdul Sattar Jan Sirhindi was the member of the League organizing committee, Pir Ghulam Murtaza Sirhindi of Malir took on the responsibility for forming the primary branches of the League.¹⁶⁵ In Nawabshah district all office bearers of League were *Pir*-s.¹⁶⁶ The *Pir*-s had very honourable place in the community and the people of Sindh gave them respect, so without involvement of the *Pir*-s, League establishment all over the Sindh was not possible.

SUMMARY

In Sindh affairs separation had been the major issue after the Khilafat movement. Muslim struggle for separation was started in the second decade of twentieth century. Muslim politicians participated actively and raised the question of separation at every platform. The AIML supported it. Every Muslim leader declared it only political need of the British, and stressed on the point that separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency was necessary for the Muslims socio-political and financial development. After a long struggle Muslims succeeded in April 1936 and Sindh was declared as separate province.

After separation, the elections were the matter of prestige for the Muslims. However, at that time Muslim League was not in a strong position. Not a single prominent politician contested the elections on the League ticket. Muslim leaders were not united on one platform; all leaders were divided in different groups and had formed their own parties, but any party had no strong vote bank. Muslim League was not popular in the masses. So it completely collapsed but Governor of Sindh invited the Muslims to form a government. Sindh was one of the only province in which Muslim ministry was formed. Unfortunately, Muslim leadership was not united and Muslim ministry had continuously in trouble. But the Masjid Manzil Gah Movement was a test for the League leaders. They stood firmly for the Masjid Manzil Gah cause and gave sacrifices. As result they succeeded to boost of its populrity and promoting the party ranks and files among the masses.

NOTES

¹G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind, A Brief Narrative of the Working of Provincial Autonomy in Sind During a Decade of 1937-1947*, (Karachi: Sindh Observer Press, 1949), 4.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Muslim premiers of the Punjab, Assam and Bengal decided to abide by the policy of AIML on all India matters.

⁵G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 4.

⁶Ibid., 5.

⁷Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tareikh*, *Sindh: Maslah Khodh Mukhtari ka Aaghaz* (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Press, 1994), 63.

⁸Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947, 1947* (Hyderabad: Sindh University Press, 1989), 31.

⁹Allen, Keith Jones. *Politics in Sindh, 1907- 1940: Muslim Identity And The Demand For Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 47.

¹⁰Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from May 1924 to December 1936, Delhi, 1944., 67.

¹¹Y.B. Mathur, *The Growth of Muslim Politics in India*, (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed, 1980), 175.

¹²According to the League constitution of 1932, in the Annual Session of the League nineteen members of the council from Provincial League and ten from the Central League

¹³Allen, Keith Jones. *Politics in Sindh*, 92.

¹⁴Ibid., 92., *List Of The Members Of The Concil Of The All India Muslim Leagu* has given in Appendix, VI

¹⁵Allen, Keith Jones. *Politics in Sindh*, 90.

¹⁶Ahmad Hasan Danni, *World Scholars on Quad-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam's University Press, 1979), 180.

¹⁷Muhammad Qassim Soomro, ed. *Sindh: Glimpses into Modern History*. (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 2008), 215.

¹⁸Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*. (Karachi: Ferozesons(pvt) Ltd, 1998) 140.

¹⁹Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 88.

²⁰G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 6.

²¹The *Daily Gazette* (Karachi: 5 March 1937).

²²G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 5. According to the G.M. Sayyid result was as follow Sindh United Party 22, Congress Party 7, Muslim Political Party 3, Azad Party 3, Independent Hindu 2, Sind Hindu Mahasabha 11, Independent Muslims 9 and Labour won 1 seat.

²³Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*., 32.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵R. R. Sethi, *Constitutional History of India*., 149.

²⁶G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*., 7.

²⁷Ibid., 7.

²⁸Khadim Hussain Soomro, *Allah Bux Soomro: Apostle of secular harmony*. (Karachi: Sain Publisheres, 2002) 27.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 7.

³¹Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tareikh*, 65.

³²G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 10.

³³Ibid., 8.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Khadim Hussain Soomro, *Allah Bux Soomro*., 28.

³⁶G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*., 9.

³⁷F1054 *Sind Observer* 17 April 1938.

³⁸The *Daily Gazette* (Karachi: 24 April 1938), 9.

³⁹proceedings of the Sind Legislative Assembly, August 1937

⁴⁰Allen, Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 97.

⁴¹Ibid.

- 110.
- ⁴²Ibid.
- ⁴³Ibid., 98.
- ⁴⁴*the Daily Gazette*, 24 April 1938.
- ⁴⁵Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 98.
- ⁴⁶QAP, F 612 (Islamabad: National Archives) 2.
- ⁴⁷QAP F 16 Majid to Quaid-i-Azam, 17 May 1938 (Islamabad: National Archives), 109-
- ⁴⁸*The Daily Gazette* 17 May 1938.
- ⁴⁹QAP F 612, 4 May 1938. Haroon to Quaid-i-Azam (Islamabad: National Archives),
- ⁵⁰QAP F 274 Haroon to Majid, 18 June 1938. and Majid to Quaid-i-Azam 17 May 1938.
- ⁵¹Ibid.
- ⁵²Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 101.
- ⁵³Ibid.
- ⁵⁴QAP F 16 (Islamabad: National Archives).
- ⁵⁵Ibid.
- ⁵⁶Allen, Keith Jones. *Politics in Sindh*, 100.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., 114.
- ⁵⁸That time Abdul Majid was in the fold of the League so Haroon claimed. Abdul Majid Sindhi was the first person who raised the separation issue.
- ⁵⁹G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 24.
- ⁶⁰Ibid.
- ⁶¹Ibid.
- ⁶²Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 116.
- ⁶³Ibid.
- ⁶⁴MLP and QAP (Islamabad: National Archives).
- ⁶⁵SPML conference report, 22 official versions of the Conference in the Rashidi Report, MLP, SPML Conference 1938, VOL. 242 Khaliq to Liaquat Ali Khan, 4 March 1939, 10.
- ⁶⁶See for detail full text of resolution G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement Historic Documents*, 193-96. Full text of Resolution given in appendix IV
- ⁶⁷Z .H. Zaidi, *Aspect of the Development of Muslim League Policy, 1937-47*.
- ⁶⁸Sayyid Sharifuddin Pirzada, *The Pakistan Resolution and the Historic Lahore Session*. (Karachi 1968), 9.
- ⁶⁹Jamil-ud-Jamil Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah* (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1942, reprint 1968), 50., The Terms of the agreement has been given in Appendix IV.
- ⁷⁰QAP, Press Statements of Quaid-i-Azam F 1022 (Islamabad: National Archives).
- ⁷¹Ibid., 69
- ⁷²Ibid., 68.
- ⁷³K.F. Yousuf, ed. *Pakistan Resolution Revisited* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1990), 133.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., 135-36.
- ⁷⁵Main Ahmad Shah, Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon: A Biography, Karachi, n.d.
- ⁷⁶Ashique Hussain Batalvi, *Hamari Quomi Jud-o- Juhd: January 1940- December 1942* (Lahore: Pakistan Times Press, 1975), 155.
- ⁷⁷G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*.
- ⁷⁸Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tareekh*, 71.
- ⁷⁹G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 31.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., 32.
- ⁸¹Hamida Khuhro, "Masjid Manzilgah, 1939-40. Test Case for Hindu-Muslim Relations in Sind". Karachi: A Journal of Asian Studies Vol 32 February Part I, 1998, 52.
- ⁸²Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*, 53.
- ⁸³Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*, 170.
- ⁸⁴Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*, 53.
- ⁸⁵Hamida Khuhro, "Masjid Manzilgah, 53-54.
- ⁸⁶Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*, 170.
- ⁸⁷Ibid., 134.
- ⁸⁸QAP F 460 letter of G.M. Sayyid to Quaid-i-Azam (Islamabad: Archives)
- ⁸⁹G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 33.
- ⁹⁰IOR, Linlithgow Papers Mss Eur F125/96. Grahm to Linlithgow; 4 January 1940. 1.
- ⁹¹Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*, 54.
- ⁹²G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 33.
- ⁹³QAP F 460 letter of G.M. Sayyid to Quaid-i-Azam (Islamabad: National Archives).

- ⁹⁴G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 36.
- ⁹⁵Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 136.
- ⁹⁶G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 36.
- ⁹⁷Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tareekh*, 74.
- ⁹⁸Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 136.
- ⁹⁹Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tareekh*, 74.
- ¹⁰⁰Hamida Khuhro, "*Masjid Manzilgah*", 73.
- ¹⁰¹Nasreen Afzal, *Manzilgah Mosque, Sukkur: Communal Riots*, Pakistan Historical Society Journal, October- December 2004, 97.
- ¹⁰²IQR, Linlithgow Papers, MSS Eur F125/95, Graham to Linlithgow, No 124, 22 December 1939, 163.
- ¹⁰³G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 47.
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- ¹¹¹Ibid.
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- ¹¹³Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*, 57.
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- ¹¹⁵Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh, 1907-1940*, 148.
- ¹¹⁶Ibid., 171.
- ¹¹⁷IQR, Linlithgow Papers, MSS, Eur F125/96, Graham to Linlithgow, No 70, 1.
- ¹¹⁸G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 53.
- ¹¹⁹*the Daily Gazette*, 27 March 1940
- ¹²⁰Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 150.
- ¹²¹Sayyid Sharifuddin Pirzada, *The Pakistan Resolution and Historic Session*, 45.
- ¹²²Ibid.
- ¹²³QAP F 580 Resolutions of the Council Meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League 22 April 1940. 32-34
- ¹²⁴Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 192.
- ¹²⁵Ibid., 153.
- ¹²⁶G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 58-9.
- ¹²⁷OR, Linlithgow Papers, F 125/97, Graham to Linlithgow, No.75, 27 July 1940, 129.
- ¹²⁸Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 156.
- ¹²⁹Ibid.
- ¹³⁰QAP, F No 274 Gandhi to Haroon, 12 October 1940, 122.
- ¹³¹G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 67-69.
- ¹³²Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 156.
- ¹³³G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 70.
- ¹³⁴Ibid., 69.
- ¹³⁵Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh*, 158.
- ¹³⁶G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 73.
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- ¹³⁹G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 69-70.
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- ¹⁴²LVP&J5\256.
- ¹⁴³G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 71. This advisory council consist on four ministers two members from each party, one european and one labour.
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- ¹⁴⁶Ibid., 178.
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- ¹⁵⁴See for detail Majid Sindhi's letter to Jinnah regarding the political situation of Sindh, in Appendix, V.
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- ¹⁵⁸DHP, Jinnah's letter to Bande Ali, 19 February 1941; Doulat Haroon Hidaytullah, *Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon*, 184. , Press statement of Quaid-i-Azam On 19 February 1941, QAP, F 1022, 14.
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- ¹⁶²G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 76.
- ¹⁶³Shamsul Hasan Collection. Sind: Vol 1(Islamabad: NIHCR.), 3.
- ¹⁶⁴G.M. Sayyid demanded well known book entitled, 'Pakistan aur Hindustan' for its free distribution enabling to raise the importance of organization of political party on the strong basis for Muslim demand for Pakistan QAP, F460, National Archives Islamabad, 73.
- ¹⁶⁵Sayyid to Quaid-i-Azam, n. d., QAP, F460, 66, QAP; F248 38. 73.
- ¹⁶⁶Sarah F.D Ansari, *Sufi saint and state power*, 120.

CHAPTER 3

POWER POLITICS AMONG MUSLIMS OF SINDH

After the incident of Manzil Gah the SPML was continuously struggling for its height and to achieve its goal gradually. The year of 1940 was the rising year of the AIML and for SPML also. Political situation was crucial and Muslim leadership in Sindh was divided. Ministerial changes were so rapid, after the elections of 1937 till 1940 three premiers had experienced, and year of 1941 was witnessed a new premier on the political stage.

ALLAH BUX AGAIN AS PREMIER

Allah Bux became Premier second time on 7 March 1941 with following ministers Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, Ray Sahib Gokaldas, Pir Elahi Bukhsh, and Pirzada Abdul Sattar. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah was the supporter of the AIML, but he joined with Allah Bux. As a first task *Jagirdar's* Bill was moved in the Assembly. The Bill had been moved for an amendment to the land revenue code before, This Bill was introduced in the Assembly for amendment during the Mir ministry but now Bande Ali was on the opposition benches. Therefore, the SPML opposed the bill. Only G. M. Sayyid from League group favoured this Bill. A memorandum was tendered to Quaid-i-Azam by *Mukkadum-s* and *Harri-s* of Sindh in which this act of the SPML members of the Assembly was strongly condemned and an appeal was made not to repeal or amend the Act V 1941. *Mukkadum-s* and *Harri-s* warned the central leadership that it will affect the future of the League.¹ Assembly passed the Bill. Allah Bux won the hearts of farmers during the flood in upper Sindh. He supervised the

flood relief activities. These steps brought him popular with the common people. British had adopted 'to divide and rule' policy but Allah Bux tried to overcome the communal issues.

Before the establishment of the British rule in Sindh, *Pir-s* were very influential in the Sindhi society but during the British Raj, the *Pir-s* changed their policy and restricted their activities only to the religious and spiritual matters. However, Pir Hezbollah had involved himself in other activities also. He was accused of the murder of his nephew but had received no sentence or punishment by the Government. He was most popular in the masses, on the basis of religious attachment, his followers who were organized by the title of *Hurr*, were ready for any task to be ordered by their master. Waryam, the *Khalifah* of Pir Hezbollah, was the leader of the *Hurr* group.² The group was involved in creating the law and order situation. Pir and his fellows were watched over strictly by the Government, as a result, in 1870 clash aroused between administration and the *Hurr-s*. During 1890s, the *Hurr* activities threatened the stability of local administration. *Hurr's* activities had taken a form of rebellion. After the death of Pir Hezbollah, his son Pir Ali Gohar forbade his *murid-s* (*Hurr-s*) to unlawful activities. *Hurr-s* were divided in two groups, one group was involved unlawful activities under the leadership of Waryam and the other the Pir Ali Gohar group was co-operating with administration for the peace of province. Administration took benefit of this situation and snubbed this rebellion with iron hands.³

After about seventy years of their first uprising the *Hurr-s*, were re-organised and created the law and order situation in all over the Sindh during the late 1941. When a religious leader Pir Pagaro (Sibghatullah Shah)⁴ relieved from jail, during his presion period he met many criminals and political presioners,

due to his experiences of different jails after relieving he had become worst enemy of the British. This agitation was set down by revenue department because this department continued its taxes which were over ruled.⁵ "Sibghatullah's actions had come to worry the British considerably. British wanted to control the situation and re-establish the balance of power in the region. During the premier ship of the Allah Bux, Pir Pagaro was arrested by the orders of the Governor Hugh Dow, but the new governor of the Sindh. Dow was shrewd than Lancelot Graham. He asked Pir to live in Karachi and not in the forest. Pir Pagaro agreed and shifted Karachi in the Mir Khuda Bakhsh's bungalow. In October 1941 he left Karachi with out permission of the authorities. At the same time incidents of murder and dacoit were raised in the Khairpur and Sanghar at a larger scale than usual. The Governor ordered to arrest the Pir, the Pir was arrested on the allegation of organizing a revolutionary movement against the British Government. The British Government blamed Pir Pagaro for his contacts with the Rashid Ali of Iraq as well as the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem;⁶ both were known as Nazi German agents. *Hurr-s* started a movement against the Governor's orders, and started the violent protests across the Sindh. Allah Bux tried to restore the law and order situation in the province but could not succeed. The *Hurr-s* claimed that Allah Bux had become premier for the second time with the support of Pir Pagaro, but he did not take measures for safety of the Pir. The British's activities turned in to cruelty. Bombardment of Pir Pagaro's house was an example of this strict action. Martial Law was imposed in some parts of Sindh. The whole province was in panic situation. Administration had created problems for the common people under the Martial law, courts and Special tribunals. Four hundred *Hurr-s* were arrested during the movement by the Martial Law authorities.

When the World War II broke out in 1939, Government of India declared war with out any consent of the people of region and their representatives. Major political parties showed reaction in the form of withdrawal of co-operation. The Congress ministries resigned in all the provinces they ruled. Sindh was the Muslim majority province but without Congress support, existence of Allah Bux ministry was not possible. The Congress members of ministry resigned at the orders of Gandhi. Allah Bux joined the National Defense Council. Quaid-i-Azam asked him for his resignation because the invitation had not come through the party.⁷ Although Abul Kalam Azad wired the provincial Congress, to continued Allah Bux' support, according to Sindh situation and his membership of the Defense Council was not objectionable according to the AINC.⁸ The SPML carried out hostile propaganda against Allah Bux and all the unpleasant results of the Martial Law were put down to his account.⁹ The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution, and declared its "entire disapproval of ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and suspension of the human spirit".¹⁰ The Congress also started agitation against Government. Allah Bux was supported by the Congress in the assembly when he became a premier and now in his short ministerial period Congress turned against him due to communal reasons. Thus for the sake of Congress sympathies, Allah Bux renounced the title of Khan Bahadar, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy. "I beg to inform, your Excellency. That I have decided to the renounced both the honours I hold from the British Government, as I feel I can't, consistently with my views and convictions retain any longer".¹¹ When this letter was published then the Governor of Sindh, Hugh Dow, ordered Allah Bux to his resignation. The premier of Sindh was not a first person who had denounced his title. Many other

examples were present, no one was punished by the Government but in the case of Allah Bux, the Governor Hugh took hard action and in October 1942 Allah Bux ministry was dismissed. In his written orders said "as you are no more enjoying the confidence of the Governor you are no more a Premier"¹².

RISE OF HIDAYTULLAH

Governor invited Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, for formation of the new ministry. This news was published almost in all newspapers on front page because this step of the Governor was unconstitutional and undemocratic. In the Assembly, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was the opposition leader and formation of ministry was his right whereas Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah had not a single member in his support, before it, in 1937 Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah was called upon by the Governor Lancelot Graham to form the ministry, when he had strength of only three members. He was an experienced politician and loyal with the Government. Alternative should have been formed under the leadership of the League. The Governor neglected the largest opposition party and its leadership. G.M. Sayyid criticized Governor's decision, but Sir Hugh Dow invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah and entrusted him with the task of forming a new ministry. This was a highly arbitrary and undemocratic step'.¹³ Resignation of the Allah Bux can be proved favourable step for the Muslim League in connection with the formation of durable ministry under the banner of the SPML if Governor had called up Ayub Khuhro to form cabinet. Khuhro criticized this decision in the capacity of leader of the largest opposition party, "he argued he should have been invited to form a cabinet"¹⁴

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah started negotiations with the SPML Assembly Party. He promised for some ministries, on this invitation the SPML

members had different views and were divided in to two groups, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and G. M. Sayyid were on one side and wanted to join the ministry whereas Abdul Majid Sindhi and his followers were on the other side and they had rejected Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah's offer. Central leadership of the AIML was also against the former group. But Khuhro and G.M., Sayyid succeeded to win the favour of the Council of Provincial League and Working Committee. Yousuf Haroon informed central League leadership about the ministerial development in Sindh through telegram. Quaid-i-Azam sent two telegrams consecutively in which he wrote;

League can not join Ghulam Hussain ministry. our agreeing from coalition with Muslim individuals or group will destroy fundamental principles of League policy. If Khuhro Muslim leader can not form ministry in coalition non-Muslims only honourable course continue in opposition. Nothing prevents you support any ministry so long they follow League policy serve Muslim interests. Can not believe public opinion expect us for getting three ministerships sacrifice Fundamental principles destroy League prestige credit under slogans capturing power special conditions province bogey cry other wise Allah Bux becoming powerful. G. Hussain. Ministry will be puppet ministry like Allah Bux precarious.¹⁵

Through his telegrams, the Quaid-i-Azam gave clear views and decision. The AIML Working Committee endorsed resolution in which it was decided that Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah will stick to a policy and program of the SPML. A program was prepared for the ministry according to the following points;

1. The League Assembly Party and Provincial Working Committee would supervise and controle the ministry.
2. Tenancy Bill, Money lenders Bill and Land Alienation Bill would be moved in the Assembly and passed.
3. The extraordinary powers given to the authorities in curbing the *Hurr* would be controlled; the persecution of innocent people would be stopped. The *Hurr*-s kept a tight rein under the Martial Law but area would be reduced to only that track where the *Hurr*-s actually operate.

4. Anti-corruption officer would be appointed for the solution of corruption problems.¹⁶

The Decisions were sent to Quaid-i-Azam on 18 October 1942 and he answered it on 19 October 1942 and did not accept the decision with reference to the resolution number twenty second, of October 1939. According to that resolution, the Party was bound to Quaid-i-Azam's final decision. In this situation, Abdul Majid Sindhi resigned his post of secretary ship, and Khuhro and G. M. Sayyid; Hashim Gazdar joined the Ghulam Hussain Ministry. The SPML arranged meetings in different districts regarding the favour of Hidaytullah's ministry. Meetings were held in Dadu District on 1 January, on 10 January in Karachi and Thatta Districts in which expressing faith in Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan Scheme; and also support to the present ministry were dominant.¹⁷ Hidaytullah and Hindu Independent Party were united on these conditions that the ministry would not pass any law which might affect Hindus. The Revenue department would be under the Hindu member and a strict policy would be adopted against the *Hurr-sss*. But the first condition in this regard was ignored. At last Ghulam Hussain was able to form ministry. His ministry consisted of six members.

Premier Sir G.H. Hidaytullah	Treasury
Muhammad Ayub Khuhro	Revenue
Muhammad Hashim Gazdar	Administration
Pir Ellahi Bukhsh	Education
Dr. Humandas	Health and agriculture
Roy Sahib Gokaldas	PWD

The AIML Working Committee condemned this act of prominent leadership. After the formation of ministry, Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah assured his loyalty with the AIML:

As the Sind Provincial Muslim League premier of Sind, I assure you that it will be my constant endeavor to uphold the ideals of the All India Muslim League, and to carry out its

policy and program whenever an opportunity presented it self, Mr. Allah Bux, in his capacity as premier of Sind, did not fail to be little to All India Muslim League and all that I stood for. The impression that he sought to create was that Sind Muslims were opposed to the League. I shall endeavour, and I hope to succeed to counter act the mischief done by him, by adding the voice of Sind in support of the demands of the All India Muslim League.¹⁸

The AIML Working Committee formed a special committee for the analysis of the whole situation.¹⁹ Nawab Ismail Khan (1886-1958), Sir Nazim-ud-din (1894-1964), Choudhary Khaliquzzaman (1889-1973) and Qazi Muhammad Isa (1910-1976) were the members of this committee. All members of the committee arrived at Karachi and analyzed the problem and decided that Assembly should continue its working under Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, because he had joined the League and some other eminent politicians and members had also increased the party strength. Latter on, due to this decision which was taken by the special committee, many others Muslim members of Assembly joined the League. Party strength was raised to 29 out of 36 Muslim members. When on the budget session of the Assembly was started on 3 March 1943, then Allah Bux did not join the session, 27 members were present in the Assembly Session out of 60. G. M. Sayyid moved a resolution supporting the demand for Pakistan. In the resolution was stated that:

No constitution shall be acceptable to them [Indian Muslims] that will place the Muslims under a central Government dominated by another nation as in order to be able to play their part freely on their own distinct lines in the order of things to come. It is necessary for them [Indian Muslims] to have independent national states of their own and hence any attempt to subject the Muslims of India under one central Government is bound to result in civil war with grave unhappy consequences.²⁰

This resolution was unanimously approved with the support of 24 members. The Hindu ministers opposed the resolution, and walked out.²¹ Quit India movement was at its climax and many Hindu leaders were in the jail, so League had clear majority in the Assembly.²² Thus the Sindh Legislative

Assembly was pioneer in supporting the Pakistan Resolution. The Hindu reaction on the resolution was very strict. Nichaldas and Vizirani stated that, this resolution only shows the Muslim sentiments, in this proposal Hindu's interests are missing and Hindu members should leave the house.²³ Responding to this call seven Hindu members left the Assembly.

During the Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah ministry League had become very popular with in the masses. The provincial League Government asserted that 99 percent of the Sindh Muslims were with the League. There had undoubtedly been a great expansion of League membership in Sindh the Governor admitted the growing popularity this feature in his correspondence, since the discomfiture of Allah Bux".²⁴ The SPML was gaining power, because the resolution was the voice of every Muslim, new branches of League were being formed in the remote areas and the Muslim leaders urging the people to join the AIML.²⁵ Meanwhile, an issue had lived between the members of League organization which was about the president ship of League Working Committee. Khuhro was working as acting president and he wished its continuity on the permanent basis, he joined the Ghulam Hussain ministry as a revenue minister. Ministerial influence might be affected on the function of Working Committee. On the 23 April, agitation had started between Khuhro and G. M. Sayyid and till June it was not decided that who will be new president of the provincial League. Meanwhile, on the 14 May a sad incident happened in the province. Allah Bux was murdered and the event was so important that the Quaid had to come himself to the province to take view and resolve the alarming political situation. Quaid-i-Azam came in Karachi in early June 1943, before arrival at Karachi he met Mir Bande Ali in Hyderabad who was engaged there on his personal *Jagir* matters. At Karachi Ghulam.Hussain Hidaytullah welcomed Quaid-i-Azam, he

stayed at the residence of Yousuf Haroon. On the 7 and 8 June he met three SPML ministers and made a decision on this issue that no minister should be elected as office-bearer of the SPML. It was further decided that G.M. Sayyid, MLA, be elected president of the SPML.²⁶ In the meeting of 13 June other office-bearers were elected: G.M. Sayyid, as President, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur and K.B.Ghulam Muhammad Khan Isran, vice presidents, Yousaf Abdullah Haroon, as secretary, whereas M.A.Khuhro, MLA, and G. Allana appointed as joint secretaries and Mahmood Abdullah Haroon (b.1920) as treasurer.²⁷

Due to murder of Allah Bux, a seat was vacated in the Sindh Assembly. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah nominated K.B.Nazim-ud-din for this bye- election but in the opinion of the SPML office-bearers, this nomination was not suitable against K.B. Haji Moula Bux who was the non Leaguer candidate and had a very strong position. K.B. Sadhayo was, therefore, unanimously nominated as League candidate.²⁸ During this election, the SPML worked very hard for the League position in the province. Members of the SPML and MLA toured all over the constituency and participated in this campaign. The SPML Shikarpur organized various meetings and carried on street propaganda locally and far-flung areas from 11 to 17 August. They urged the people to vote for the SPML candidate. Because this election was not only for the vacant seat, but in fact, it would show the League popularity graph. Pir Ghulam Mujiadid enhanced its value and said "Hindu did not want the Muslims to unite". He also remarked that "such nation as the Germans and the British could do nothing if the Muslims are united".²⁹ After a very tough competition K.B. Sadhayo was able to defeat his rival K.B. Haji Moula Bux, and seated in the Assembly.

After this by-election, *Jagirdar* members of the Assembly were pressing the Government to repeal the *Jagirdar's* Act which had been passed during the Allah Bux ministry. *Zamindar* members of the Assembly wanted to make a united front with the *Jagirdar-s* for the strength of their issue. Abdul Majid Sindhi and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi were not satisfied with the performance of Ministry on this issue. Abdul Majid Sindhi had resigned membership of the League Assembly Party and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi advised G. M. Sayyid also to resign from the League but G. M. Sayyid ignored his advice and prepared him self for the 31 session of the AIML. On 24 December 1943 Annual session of the AIML was held at Karachi, Quaid-i-Azam was President of this session. A huge numbers of the people attended this meeting having 90,000 souls gathered. Political personalities attended the session from all over the India. Presentation of all provinces was there. G.M. Sayyid addressed the session in the capacity of Chairman of the Reception Committee; he welcomed all the participants and said:

I welcome you all to the land of Sindhu. By Sindhu I mean that part of the Asiatic Continent which is situated on the borders of River Indus and its tributaries. Through out the ages, Sind and Hind were considered as separate entities, and Sind included Kashmir, N.W.F.P., the Punjab, the Baluchistan and the present province of Sind. But as time went on, the name began to connote lesser and lesser tract till now it is assigned only to that part of land which is watered by the tail of this great river. Today, again fully aware of this fact we are moving to weld together those different parts into the harmonious whole and the new proposed name Pakistan connotes the same old Sindhu land.³⁰

In his address he appreciated the efforts of the Muslims of India and stressed on the practical work for the demand of Pakistan. He addressed all communities of Sindh and said "I again appeal to my non Muslim countrymen specially, that they should join us and help us to free our land and make it independent."³¹ After this Session, G.M. Sayyid became popular and no doubt,

the SPML reached at high noon of its popularity. In the annual elections of the SPML which was held on 14 March 1944, G. M. Sayyid was elected President of the SPML for the new term on the basis of previous progress and efficiency; most of the former members of the Council were also re-elected. Ghulam Haider Shah was selected as the General Secretary. Meanwhile G.M. Sayyid felt disappointment with the Ghulam Hussain Ministry and conflicts raised between them. G.M. Sayyid was not satisfied with the performance of Hidaytullah as the premier of Sindh. G.M. Sayyid claimed that Ghulam Hussain had not followed the rules and regulations of the SPML.

In June 1944 G.M. Sayyid visited Peshawar and attended the meeting of the Committee of the action and got first hand knowledge of the working of the League Ministry. After the tour he came back and as a president of the SPMLWC, a meeting which was held on the 17 July 1944 in the Khalidina Hall, Karachi where sixty-seven members were present.³² A resolution was passed demanding the resignation of the Ministry. The resolution was communicated to Quaid-i-Azam through telegram. Quaid replied, the matter should be sorted out after the discussion in the Parliamentary Board and Central Working Committee Council meetings.³³ Quaid's decision was not according to the desire of the President of SPMLWC and after the meeting of AIML Working Committee whole matter was discussed with G. M. Sayyid and Gulam Hussain Hidaytullah in the presence of Ayub Khuhro.³⁴ It was decided that ministry will work under the Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board and the SPML will support the ministry. According to the AIML constitution, ministries are answerable to the Parliamentary Party.³⁵ Apparently Ministry problems were solved but confrontation between Quaid-i-Azam and Sayyid had started. In the mind of G.

M. Sayyid it fixed was that the High Command of the party will not make decision against the Sindh Ministry in any case.³⁶

In September 1944 during the hearing of Allah Bux murderer case, Ayub Khuhro was accused for the murder.³⁷ Situation had become worst when Ayub Khuhro was arrested. Ayub Khuhro who was revenue minister resigned from the ministry and the Governor accepted his resignation.³⁸ After his resignation Sayyid Group proposed the name of Sayyid Muhammad Ali Shah for the vacant seat, whereas Mir Group was in favour of Mir Ahmad Ali and some others supported Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur. The SPML suggested to the premier that the vacant seat should not be filled with out discussion of the Party members, but Premier, included Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur in his cabinet on 13 November 1944 with out any consultation with other members of Assembly. Sir Roger Thomas was also appointed as an additional minister.³⁹ Sir Roger Thomas was not an Assembly member. Quaid-i-Azam took action on this appointment because it was not in favour of the AIML. After discussion, Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah agreed to revoke the appointment of Sir Roger Thomas as the new additional minister.⁴⁰ A seat had become vacant again in Shikarpur constituency due the death of an Assembly member. A conflict had started for this seat among all groups of the SPML, every one wanted power, so Sindh Ministry was again put in trouble. In a press statement G. M. Sayyid said: "Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah is responsible for lowering the prestige of the Muslim League in Sind by his multifarious activities".⁴¹ Mir Ghulam Ali arranged a meeting for settlement of the conflicts among the Sayyid and Hidaytullah but G. M. Sayyid was not willing for this. He remarked about Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah that he was "notorious unprincipled gentleman".⁴²

Quaid-i-Azam also tried to make a settlement to which Hidaytullah agreed because his ministry was at the risk, but nothing positive came from G. M. Sayyid side. However, after a hard struggle Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah was successful to form a League cabinet with the help of G. M. Sayyid. In the new cabinet two members were Hindus in the total of six on 13 March 1945. By the end of March, Sayyid demanded to accede the number of cabinet members, in April Abdul Majid Sindhi joined the Muslim League again, it was very tough time for Hidaytullah. Meanwhile Second World War ended and the British Government was forced to announce the election program especially on the demand of Jinnah after his arguments and stand in the Simla Conference (1945).

ELECTIONS OF 1945-46

On 21 August 1945 Lord Wavell (1883-1950), the Governor General and Viceroy of the India, announced the elections program for the central and provincial legislatures which had been postponed due to the War. The War was ended and the Labour Party came in to power on 10 July 1945 in Great Britain. Lord Wavell after discussion with the newly formed Labour Party Government in London came back in India on 18 September 1945 and addressed the people of India through broadcast:

It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body, and a preliminary step they have authorized me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussion with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals continued in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable.⁴³

First of all, AIML took decision to participate in the elections⁴⁴ and announced its decision on 15 July 1945. Elections of 1946 had indicated strife and trends of post independent politics of whole India. In the elections of 1937, the AIML was weak in its position, and had not been well organized all over the

India, but in 1946 Quaid-i-Azam had declared the League as the only authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims of India.⁴⁵ Coming elections were very important for the League. Sharifuddin Pirzada argues that it was the time to fulfill the condition "of ascertaining the mind of the eight crore of Muslims", laid for Pakistan by Gandhi on behalf of Congress in 1940.⁴⁶ It was highly significant to reinforce the position of League over the issue of Pakistan, especially in the Muslim majority province like Sindh and was part of the Pakistan Scheme. In Sindh, ML could not win a single seat during the elections of 1937 but a Muslim ministry was established after the elections. With the passage of time the Muslim League gained power and popularity. Although it was not able to sweep the internal factions and rivalries within the ML, prominent leaders who were enjoying the powers, were divided into different groups pursuing their personal political agendas.

Sindh was rural, less developed and an agricultural region. The communication amongst the people was very weak as the developed towns and cities were far from the rest of the agricultural and desert areas. Similarly the opportunities for development and seeking urban ways and education were also limited. The rural population was virtually under control of big landowners and *Pir-s* that enjoyed significant influence over the *Hari-s*.⁴⁷ Coming election's results were depending upon the popularity and efficiency of the party candidates. The different groups of landlords and sections of *Pir-s* had conflicting interests which revealed in the politics as well, especially after the separation of Sindh from Bombay and the beginning of power struggle for getting seats in the Assembly. Most of the members of Sindh Provincial Assembly joined League for their own interests. They had no ideological attachment with

the party or with the idea of Pakistan. So nominations for the election candidates were very difficult task for the League administration.

G. M. Sayyid was in the favour of an autonomous separate Sindh. On some occasions Quaid-i-Azam and scheme of Pakistan were openly criticized by him.⁴⁸ These differences were matured with the passage of time and created serious difficulties for the ML during the crucial elections of 1945-46. Quaid-i-Azam appealed to Muslims on 30 August 1945 that the selection of the candidates should be on merit and he declared, for the honour and prestige of the AIML best candidates should send up. A first class team should become front which will work in the various legislations with sincerity for the welfare of the people and to maintain prestige of the AIML.⁴⁹ The AIML established Parliamentary Boards on the provincial and central levels for nomination of the election candidates. It was decided that the SPML boards would be responsible for the final selection of the official candidates from amongst all the applicants, in case of any applicant had objection about the selection of any other member and rejection of himself and felt dissatisfaction on the decision of Parliamentary board, he would have a right to appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board. A tribunal would assess all the problems and take decisions.⁵⁰ Three members of the Central Parliamentary Board, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Liaquat Ali Khan and Nawab Ismail Khan were selected by Quaid-i-Azam. In Sindh, G.M. Sayyid, as president of the SPML, set up the Provincial Parliamentary Board. In addition to of G.M. Sayyid, Sayyid Khair Shah, Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan and Sayyid Mohammad Ali Shah (of Nawabshah) were the members of the Board.⁵¹ In the Legislative Assembly most of seats were captured by the big *Jagirdar*-s and *Zamindar*-s, Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah ministry had been running with the support of *Mir*-s and *Jagirdar*-s. G. M. Sayyid was the leader of the Sayyid group

and traditionally against the *Zamindar-s* and *Jagirdar-s*. He tried to protect the rights of the *Harri-s* community which was the most oppressed in Sindh.⁵²

On the election issue, confrontation had started among the Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah and Sayyid. Hidaytullah was not satisfied with the performance of Parliamentary Board. Quaid-i-Azam was personally concerned on the political situation of Sindh. At various occasions he showed his keen interest to reduce the differences between different factions. According to the situation in September 1945, Parliamentary Board was reconstituted at the advice of Quaid-i-Azam. Therefore, by 1945, there were practically two Leagues in Sindh, one dominated by ministers and led by Hidaytullah and the other was led by G. M. Sayyid. Both groups tried to control the provincial party. The newly constituted Board consisted on seven members, three from the Sayyid group and four from other group. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, G.M. Sayyid, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Pir Ellahi Bux, M.A Khuhro, Sayyid Khair Shah and Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan were the members of this Board.⁵³ Seven member Parliamentary Board headed by Sayyid had the responsibility of issuing the League ticket, accordingly the Board invited applications for the tickets. Thirty applications were received for the thirty seats. A meeting of the Board members was held for the selection of candidates on 1 October 1945. It was decided that selection would be only on merit. Loyalty, public popularity, strong position for the success, academic qualification and six month membership of League were the primary measures of merit.⁵⁴ But the Board could not decide for the selection of candidates. The Sayyid group charged that the ministerial group was taking advantages of their powers and as a protest it walked out of the meeting.⁵⁵ Finally it was decided that the AIML Central Parliamentary Board will perform this duty. Twenty seven candidates were selected for the election. The AIML

Central Parliamentary Board faced opposition from all provincial branches particularly from the SPML. On 14 October 1945, G.M. Sayyid called a meeting of SPMLWC. He moved a resolution demanding formation of a committee for selection of the candidates to award the tickets for all constituencies but the Central Parliamentary Board refused his demand and the members of the Central Parliamentary Board took decision on their own, without consulting the suggested advisory committee. The split however, continued and Hidaytullah along with Khuhro was issued tickets at their own will.

Occasionally the dispute was settled by members of Central Parliamentary Board as it happened in the case of the constituency where Hidaytullah had issued ticket to his own son and Sayyid to his own candidate. G. M. Sayyid informed the Central Parliamentary Board about all matter of nomination and tickets. The Hussain Imam (1897-1985) Enquiry was held by Central Parliamentary Board. Nawab Ismail Khan, Naeabzada Laiquat Ali Khan and Hussain Imam arrived Karachi for the investigation of all conflicts⁵⁶ However, when Sayyid faced much trouble by the Ministerial group, he took action and adjourned the committee. This action was considered unconstitutional by the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board. Sayyid was constantly creating problems for the central organization. He convened the meeting of the Provincial League Council and denounced the decision of Central Parliamentary Board. Two ministers Pir Ellahi Bux and Gazdar were in the camp of Sayyid, he asked Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah to remove Khuhro from the ministry, but Hidaytullah was well aware of the Sayyid's designs. He denied the proposal putting himself and his ministry in danger.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the leaders had launched their election campaign all over the Sindh. Sayyid, during his tour had been canvassing for Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi.⁵⁸ Sayyid's tussle had been

started with the AIML and he was working against the central organization under cloak of president of SPML. Sayyid and some other League members were working against those other candidates who were contested elections on League's ticket.⁵⁹ Pir Qurban Ali Shah from Naushahro Taluka, Sayyid Muhammad Ali Shah, the minister of PWD and League nominee from Taluka Kandiaro, Sayyid Hussan Bux from Moro-Sakrand Taluka, Sayyid Khair Shah, from Taluka Nawabshah Sinshoro, district Nawabshah were all the League nominees but unfortunately working against Seth Yousaf Haroon, with all their sources and influences who was League nominee and getting popularity.⁶⁰ Yousaf was becoming popular than Gazdar. Yousaf and Khuhro were in one camp and Gazdar had joined the Sayyid group.⁶¹

Meanwhile to resolve the differences, G.M. Sayyid went to visit of Quaid-i-Azam but the differences could not be resolved since the earlier had his own interests and personal agenda because Quaid being a democrat and a constitutionist had certain principal to follow and take care of his party's future in his mind. G.M. Sayyid's statement after the meeting reflected the relation between both leaders; he said "we had reached the parting of our ways".⁶² According to the circumstances, it was expected that Sayyid's differences would not be settled. G. M. Sayyid's tussle had been started with the Quaid-i-Azam at personal level. This conflict was not only on the selection of the candidates but it was deep rooted on the basis of principles of League Party. Both leaders had different ideologies and their attitude on different issues had shown their sentiments. Quaid-i-Azam was fighting for the cause of Pakistan and G.M was painting on small canvas. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi, who was in the Sayyid's pole revolted against the Central Muslim League. As a result, Sayyid's group selected their own candidates to contest the elections. Quaid-i- Azam appealed to

the Muslims "to sink their differences as the elections were Muslim League's crucial test."⁶³ Although, sincer Party members tried for reconciliation between Sayyid and to high command. Prominent leaders of other provinces were also involved, but all efforts had failed. Sindhi leader ship reported the Sayyid's group activities against the interests of Muslim League. In this connection, central command issued a notice to Rashidi and Sayyid questioning for their activities against candidates of League.⁶⁴ Sayyid and Rashidi ignored these explanation notices and continued their activities. At that time Sayyid was the member of the SPMLWC and in the contemporary situation it was not possible to remove him. He continuously denied the AIML rules, so he decided to resign from the membership of SPMLWC. He was disappointed with the League's Central leadership and not expecting the favourable results for himself as the member of the League. He challenged the high command and announced to fight against the League; according to *Sind Observer* he wanted "self determination to establish a Sindhi Pakistan with out interference from the League high command".⁶⁵ Muslim League was facing lack of funds and dedicated workers; in this situation Sayyid's desire was direct threat to its position and the cause of Pakistan. Sayyid propagated against the demand of Pakistan. He expressed that Pakistan was not for the poor but for *Jagirdar-s* and *Zamindar-s*.

In the last weak of December 1945, Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan came to Sindh, and analyzed the whole situation again. Sayyid seemed to be a Congress man. In the opinion of Liaquat Ali Khan Sayyid was working against the AIML and not abiding by the party rules and discipline.⁶⁶ Qazi Isa also accused him and stated that "Sayyid was indulging in grossest untruths".⁶⁷ The Action Committee took disciplinary action against the Sayyid and removed him from the office of the President of SPML.⁶⁸ Finally a month later he was

expelled from the AIML membership in January 1946.⁶⁹ G. M. Sayyid along with other ten members was expelled for contesting elections against the official candidates of Muslim League. Ayub Khuhro got a chance in as the result of this expulsion. M. H. Gazdar was asked to take charge of the SPML office. However, G. M. Sayyid's expulsion was not solution of all the problems of the SPML. During the provincial elections, Khuhro has proved himself as equal rival force to Hidaytullah. The ML fought elections on a very weak position. Moreover, Congress increased its links with the non League groups like *Ahrar*, the *Momins*, the *Shia* Conference and Jamiet-ul-Ulama.⁷⁰ G. M. Sayyid formed Progressive Muslim League after the parting of way with the SPML and decided to contest the election at its own under the banner of progressive League.

The Elections of 1945-46 were a test for the two leading parties, the ML and the Congress. During elections, the Congress party stood united and disciplined but The ML presented a pathetic scene of internal difference in Sindh. Quaid-i-Azam advised the Muslim electorates that every vote in favour of the ML candidate would be vote for Pakistan and every vote against the League meant Hindu Raj.⁷¹ Quaid-i-Azam and other prominent leaders claimed that Muslims were a nation according to any definition of nationalism. The election campaign of Muslim League was directed towards Unity of Muslims and the Congress directed towards Unity of India as well but in Sindh G. M. Sayyid raised the slogan of Sindhi nationalism. It was very serious position and dangerous for Muslim League and Pakistan cause. The *Akhand Bharat* propaganda was at climax all over the Indian sub-continent and Congress workers were crying *Jai Hind* whereas *Lay kay rahaingay Pakistan* was the slogan of Muslims. But a little force in Sindh was destroying the prestige of the

ML and demand of Pakistan. League had divided into different groups.⁷² Almost every leader of the League was fighting for his own benefits.

For the election, funds collection was a main issue. The SPML did not launch such an appeal for funds since 1942 but now she required money to contest the elections not only in provinces but in center as well.⁷³ Quaid-i-Azam gave special attention to the fund raising and explained that without money elections could not be contested. Funds should be collected in each province. Quaid-i-Azam's strategy was clear that:

The central funds and the central organization will function independently and separately. Therefore, the provincial organizations will in each province function separately, collect their funds and manage them.⁷⁴

In the elections of 1946 the AIML got memorable victory all over the Sub-continent. The AIML won 74.7 percent votes in the Muslim constituencies. Its performance was remarkable, even in the Punjab where Unionists were in power were defeated badly by the League.⁷⁵ In Madras, Bombay and Bengal, League got remarkable success but in Sindh, situation was not satisfactory. Main reason of this situation was the personal interests of leaders and lack of integrity with the cause of Pakistan. They did not stick firmly to the movement of Pakistan although Sindh was the part and leader of Pakistan scheme. Apparently, leaders had been showing their affiliation with the freedom movement but movement was being over shadowed by their own benefits. In Sindh, ML got support of 58.9 percent of the votes polled in Muslim constituencies and won 28 seats only. It could not prove its majority. For the elections of January 1946, Sayyid contested under the banner of Progressive League in all 60 Sindh Assembly seats. Sayyid group got only four seats in the provincial assembly of Sindh.⁷⁶ G.M. Sayyid was elected unopposed in his constituency. In the

elections, ten candidates out of thirty-five Muslim seats of the Assembly were elected unopposed. Hashim Gazdar was also included in this list. Elections for remaining fifty seats were contested on 21 January and polling was continued for five or six days. There were a number of seats which G. M. Sayyid group lost by a narrow margin of votes.⁷⁷ Results of elections were as under

Muslim League	28
Congress	21
Progressive League	04
Nationalist Muslims	03
Europeans	03
Labour	01

After elections, party position was very crucial. No single party was able to form Government. On 30 January G. M. Sayyid said, in spite of differences with the League High Command, "I am true Leagueir and have firm faith on the League rules and regulations and its goals".⁷⁸ Hashim Gazdar went to Dehli with the formula of reconciliation between Sayyid and League High Command but Sayyid's conditional attachment was not acceptable for the High Command of Muslim League. Sayyid demanded ministry for his group members. So this effort failed. On the other side, Congress had won 21 seats and needed a help of another group to strengthen its position. Sardar Patel (1875-1950) contacted the Sayyid and made alliance with him according to his conditions. Actually, this step of the Congress was not in the favour of Sayyid and for its own position either but the Congress leadership was well aware of the reality that it could not form Government but through this action they tried to shalter Muslim unity and to attack strength of the League.⁷⁹

The Nationalist Muslims, under the leader ship of Haji Moula Bukhsh were able to secure three seats. In this situation, no any single party was able to

command the clear majority in the new Assembly. Sayyid group tried to get favour of the Congress and Nationalist Muslims for the coalition. Sayyid group joined hands with the Congress and nationalist Muslims and formed a coalition comprising of twenty-nine members by preventing a Muslim League ministry. The Congress was in favour of an all party's Government but League was not ready to form alliance with the Sayyid group. On 7 February 1946 Muslim League Assembly Party chose Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah as the leader of the house and Ayub Khuhro as deputy leader in the presence of the Liaquat Ali Khan, honourable Secretary of the AIML. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah claimed to have sufficient strength for cabinet formation if he was called for and said that some members of Assembly had already been in his pocket.⁸⁰ Francis Moudie invited Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah for the formation of the Government on 8 February, and the same day Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah announced three names, K.B. Khuhro, Pir Ellahi Bux and K.B. Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur as his cabinet members. After taking the Oath Hidaytullah invited the Congress as a coalition party but the Leader of the Congress, Gansham Jeatah Nand wrote a letter to him declaring it unconstitutional action that League members should formed a Government. Now Congress stood with the Sayyid and he demanded that Hidaytullah should leave his chair in the favour of Sayyid.⁸¹ G.M. Sayyid also declared this invitation by the Governor to Hidaytullah for the Government formation was totally unconstitutional step.⁸²

Congress and Sayyid as coalition Leader did not accept the Muslim League's offer. On 11 February, in the public meeting at Karachi, Liaquat Ali Khan said that although Congress always ignored the AIML and Muslim rights but AIML as a representative of majority and Government party will feel its responsibilities and fulfilled its responsibilities. So it was invited for joining the

cabinet as minority but Congress wanted Hindu Raj with the help of a few selfish Muslims.⁸³ Before his speech, in the Assembly, G. M. Sayyid issued "no confidence movement notice" against Muslim League cabinet. Consequently the League cabinet was in danger and it was possible that during the budget session some other members might join the Sayyid' group. So Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah took a notice and described G.M Sayyid's position and asked Sayyid as Congress leaders wanted the place in the Muslim majority province. When the budget session did start the Sayyid group moved the vote of confidence against the ministry.⁸⁴ But no confidence motion was defeated by 30 votes against 29. The European members had supported the ministerial party. Situation turned over when just before the end of session Mir Bandah Ali Khan Talpur announced his revolt against his party.⁸⁵ Before the budget session nine conditions were published.

The British Prime Minister Attlee announced that a commission would be sent to India soon for the negotiations with the local leaders on the matter of new constitution and formation of new executive council. The British Cabinet Mission reached Delhi on 24 March 1946. Mission met all local leaders. G. M. Sayyid was also called in Delhi as opposition leader of the Sindh Assembly. Prolonged discussions continued between the Cabinet members, the Muslim League and the Congress leaders as well. But at the result of major parties of India could not reach to the solution and the Cabinet Mission put forward its own formula. The Cabinet Mission and Lord Wavell issued a joint statement on 16 May 1946. As regards the constitution-making machinery this formula gave better conditions and safe guards provided to the minorities but it was based on Indian Union and the idea of Pakistan was rejected completely. Through this

Mission the British wanted to save the Indian unity. Congress rejected the Cabinet Mission proposal on the grouping of provinces, but Quaid-i-Azam accepted it.⁸⁶ G.M. Sayyid argued in his book:

It becomes crystal-clear where the League politics of blind communalism were leading to. In the name of the Muslim nation, the fundamental interests of overwhelmingly Muslim-majority province were going to be ruthlessly thrown to the winds.⁸⁷

Muslim League members agreed on this point that some solution on the lines of the Cabinet Mission proposals and the statement of 16 May would be worked out for a free India. Ali Muhammad Rashidi and Vizarani were firm that Sindhi Muslims will not agree on proposed grouping by the Cabinet Mission.⁸⁸ On 6 June 1946, Central Muslim League working committee officially accepted the Cabinet Mission proposals. After two weeks of this action, the Sindh Assembly meeting was announced for the elections of Legislative Assembly which were to be held on 11 July and at the same time no-confidence motion notice was given by G. M. Sayyid against the Hidaytullah ministry. As a result of his conspiracy, before the session, K.B. Haji Fazal Muhammad Laghari and Sardar Bahadar Khan Khuso resigned from League and met with Sayyid's group.⁸⁹ Another member of the ministerial party, Ali Muhammad was sick at the Mari Missouri. During the session no-confidence motion could not be processed. However, G. M. Sayyid claimed his coalition party was in power and a chance for formation of Government should be given to him. Two days later Sayyid sent a token of thirty-one signatures to the Governor asking for convincing another session of the Assembly. Meanwhile, K.B. Haji Fazal Muhammad Laghari once again re-joined the League and majority of Sayyid group was decreased. However, it maintained thirty against twenty-six official party. The Governor promised to call the Assembly Session after the Ramadan

and thus Sindh Assembly met again on 5 September to pass the supplementary demands.⁹⁰ Sayyid was not satisfied on this promise and he wanted immediate action. So he wrote a letter to the Viceroy and Lord Pethick Lawrence requesting them to interfere in the internal situation of Sindh and demanded orders for the Governor to call the Assembly Session before 2 August. In this situation Governor Moudy took safe way and went to Ziarat on three weeks leave.⁹¹

On 17 July, the provincial minister of revenue suggested a solution of this political turmoil. According to his proposal, new elections were the only solution for the ministerial stability in the province; otherwise ministry would be changed day to day.⁹² On 5 September, session started but Sayyid Miran Muhammad Shah, Speaker of the Assembly and other four ministers placed their resignations. It was a planning of the Hidaytullah for adjournment of the session. Meanwhile, Sayyid insisted for the resignation of the ministry. On 9 September the Governor accepted resignations of Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Pir Ellahi Bux, Pirzada Abdul Sattar and Mir Bandeh Ali. In the session of 10 September, the Deputy Speaker, Miss Jethi Sipahimalani also announced her resignation. In this situation, the Governor had no any other solution except dissolving Assembly. On 19 September 1946, after observation of all circumstances and keeping in view all these clashes, Governor took decision and dissolved the Assembly. The Governor announced fresh elections to be held on 2 December 1946 in Sindh. Caretaker Government was formed under the leadership of the Hidaytullah. In the caretaker Government, almost the members of the previous assembly and belonging to the ministerial group were included.

The new elections were a ray of hope for the Muslim League. Sindh was an important province and the electoral victory in this province would strengthen the position of party on the national political scene and in the demand for

Pakistan. The Students and masses were involved and political alliances were also formed with the *pir-s* and leading Muslim landowners of the province. The masses were attracted with the slogans of Pakistan. But in the matter of issuing tickets, administration faced same problems which were experienced before. The SPML invited fresh applications for the candidates. Mir Bandeh Ali and Sayyid Noor Muhammad Shah, who had violated the Muslim League discipline, were nominated once again but Mir Maqbool who was the loyal member of the League turned down in favour of the Anwar Hussain who was son of Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah.⁹³ Sayyid group nominated sixteen candidates. Quaid-i-Azam visited Karachi. He stayed at the Khuhro's house. During his stay, he met Party members and advised them again that the all Muslim voters endorsement should in favour of the League's candidates for the cause of Pakistan.⁹⁴

On 2 December 1946 polling started and continued for one week. The Results were announced on 13 December and Party position was as under:⁹⁵

Muslim League	35
Congress	19
Sayyid group	02
Europeans	03
Independent Hindu	01

The election results proved the popularity of the League amongst the masses and the success of political unions and alliances. G.M. Sayyid was defeated by Qazi Muhammad Akbar (1911-79). According to the press, it was the result of his egotism⁹⁶ but Sayyid challenged the election results and accused that official machinery was used in favour of League. He blamed that, some officials posted on key posts who induced the people to give bogus votes during visits of the polling stations. Ballot boxes were placed on the disposal of the League candidates. Through these allegations, Sayyid wanted to defend his

defeated position. On the other hand it was unfavourable step against the new coming Government.

After the official declaration of results on 23 December 1946, the SPML meeting was held at the residence of Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur. Party leadership was divided into two groups under Ayub Khuhro and Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah; both had a desire to become leader of the House. Quaid-i-Azam decided after the one to one meeting with both the group leaders that Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah will form the Government. Subsequently on 3 January 1947, party unanimously elected Hidaytullah as leader, Ayub Khuhro, deputy Leader and Hasham Gazdar as secretary. The new cabinet comprised:

Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah	Finance and Services
Mir Bandeh Ali	Law and Order
Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur	Food and Health
Pirzada Abdul sattar	Revenue
Pir Ellahi Bux	Education
Ayub Khuhro	Development

All developments accrued in the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam, therefore every one accepted it. After elections and formation of ministry pending events moved swiftly like, Sindh University Bill which was moved and accepted, service quota was announced on the basis of population, i.e, Muslims 70 percent and Hindus 30 percent. For the formation of constitution a committee was formed and bounded for the report with in two months.⁹⁷

THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN

Meanwhile, the Prime minister of England, Attlee made his famous declaration on 20 February 1947. It was the essence of the plan of British Government. In his statement, he criticized the situation of instability and

announced the 3 June 1948 plan as a transfer of power program to the responsible Indians.⁹⁸

Lord Mountbatten was appointed for the implementation of transfer of power program. He reached New Delhi on 24 March 1947 and declared that he would complete the task of transfer of power to the Indian authorities within the next few months. In all over the India, situation was very tense. The Muslim League was determined with the demand for Pakistan but unfortunately it did not know details of 3 June Plan. Obviously Sindhi leadership was also unaware because proposal of 3 June was not discussed with the League Central leadership, even Quaid-i-Azam was not taken into confidence of the plan. This Plan was announced on 2 June and no time was given for discussion. However, secret negotiations continued with between Nehru and Sardar Patel. the "Kitchen Cabinet" of the Viceroy.⁹⁹ The Mountbatten plan was published. It was stated that transfer of power according to the people of India and desire of British Government was most important. It was made clear that the policy of the British Government towards Indian states remained unchanged. It would be according to declaration of 12 May 1946. Soon the scheme of provincial independence was closed when Mountbatten and Gandhi met at Simla and compromised on an agreement, "Hindustan will never be divided into more than two halves".¹⁰⁰ After this agreement, Muslims had reached near the goal. Abdul Sattar said that "we have to prepare for the transfer of power. Sind was known as Bab-ul-Islam in Indian subcontinent now it will be Bab-ul-Pakistan".¹⁰¹

The Independence Bill was presented before British Parliament on 4 July and was passed on 18 July 1947. The High Command of AIML accepted 3 June Plan on 9 June and Congress on 15 June, 1947 as well.¹⁰² On 11 June 1947, The Education minister of Sindh Pir Ellahi Bux invited the traders and

industrialists to come to Karachi, declaring that Government of Sindh would fulfill the needs of traders and provide all facilities; they will not face any problem and difficulty regarding their business. He ensured them, "they would establish their industries in those buildings which would be provided by the Government of Sind".¹⁰³ It was very positive step in favour of development of newly born State.

On 23 June the SPMLWC arranged a meeting under the president ship of Yousuf Haroon. In this meeting Ayub Khuhro moved a resolution that members of Sindh Assembly will give vote for Pakistan. He said it will be beneficial and constructive for Sindh, particularly when Karachi will become capital of Pakistan.¹⁰⁴ This resolution was passed unanimously. A special session of the Sindh Legislative Assembly was held on 26 June 1947 to vote for making decision for the future of province. Whether, the Sindh would be participated in the existing Indian Assembly or in new Assembly consisting of representatives from those provinces coming to Pakistan. ML had a majority of 35 out of 57 Indian members. The number of members who voted for the joining new Assembly was 33.¹⁰⁵ European members have no right of vote on this specific event.

On 20 February 1946 it was announced that the transfer of power will occur on June 1948 but now, a new earlier date of departure for British was announced as 15 August 1947. Just seventy-two days were given to civil servants and politicians for future arrangements.¹⁰⁶ It was very short time for the establishment and construction of new set up. In this brief period the entire transfer of power of two states was to be completed, regarding division of assets and the Army. A full team of bureaucrats for the administrative structure were

needed; all the divisions were a great task which had to be done with in approximately nine weeks.

Sindh was remaining as it had been in British India, no changes had occurred in its boundaries and it remained territorially intact. Muslim League was already in power in Sindh. It was only province which had Muslim ministry. According to situation Karachi was the first option as capital of Pakistan. Karachi was the cosmopolitan city having a well-established business infrastructure. Its port, trade and commerce were its pride, in addition to other sources it had a harbour and an airport which could be proved best for transportation.¹⁰⁷ Obviously it was best choice for the capital of the new state of Pakistan.

In 1947 Hindu were majority community of Karachi city¹⁰⁸ and now it was preparing to be the capital of Muslim state of 'Pakistan'. Karachi was densely populated city; its population had increased in size to nearly 400,000 till 1947. Last few years were full of turmoil. Second World War continued during 1939-1945 and due to War exigencies new buildings for the Government offices had not been constructed. Seven thousand officials and their families were expected in this city as administration staff.¹⁰⁹ When Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah was in Delhi, he agreed that temporary capital of Pakistan should be in Karachi and suggested that due to shortage of buildings Provincial Government will shift to Hyderabad. His suggestion was not applicable. In Hyderabad reasonable accommodation was not available for the officials, so it was decided that both Federal and Provincial Governments must function at Karachi.

It was more complicated, two Governments in one city could not maintain law and order situation in an efficient way. The Sindh League ministry

offered to house the Pakistan Central Government. The Governor's house, the Provincial Assembly and handful of other buildings of the Sindh Government were ready to be given up by the Sindh Government.¹¹⁰

In this situation, preparation of Karachi as capital was a great task. That time Ayub Khuhro was Premier of Sindh and Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah was nominated as the Governor of Sindh. Pir Ellahi Bux, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur and Qazi Fazalullah were in his cabinet.¹¹¹ Ayub Khuhro was facing difficulties in his responsibilities of the post-War development of his province. He decided that the open spaces of Artillery Maidan, the Sindh Chief Court building and the Sindh Assembly building would be used for the official's offices and the residencital buildings and the Secretariat of Provincial Government should also be given to central Government. The Provincial Government office had been moved to the Napier Barracks and N.J.V. High School on Bunder Road. Due to shortage of space Khuhro shared his house with the officers for residential or secretarial purposes. Ayub Khuhro vacated his house for the Prime minister of Pakistan and moved himself to another smaller house. The Sindh Government House was arranged for the Governor General of Pakistan. Sindh Legislative Assembly Chamber was to be given over to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.¹¹²

As the result of hard work of the Muslim League ministry and hospitality of Sindhi people, city was ready for the new beginnings; Quaid-i-Azam arrived at Karachi on 7 August 1947. The People of Sindh received him warmly and welcomed open heartedly. First meeting of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held on 11 August 1947. In the Assembly building distinguished visitors, press members and diplomats were present. Quaid-i-Azam delivered his first speech. On 13 August 1947 Lord and Lady Mountbatten

arrived at Karachi for the formal ceremony of Transfer of Power. Next morning, on 14 August 1947 a simple, impressive and glorious ceremony was arranged in the Sindh Assembly Chambers. The Ceremony ended in an hour and Pakistan emerged as an independent state but it was not an end of the struggle and hard work rather it was beginning of new era of nation building a huge task and challenge for the largest Muslim state of the globe.

SUMMARY

The Second World War ended over in 1945, Lord Wavel announced elections of provincial and Central Assemblies to be held in 1946. During this period differences arose among the Muslim leaders and mainly Muslim League divided in two main groups in Sindh. Sayyid was expelled from Muslim League due to his arrogance and refusal to obey the verdict of the AIML. He made a progressive group and another was also active namely the Parliamentary League Group. Both the groups were interested in exercising of powers in the province. During the election campaign slogan of Pakistan, for the establishment of Islamic Government and safety of Islam was used by the AIML. In Sindh elections were practiced twice, first time in January 1946 and secondly in December 1946. In the earlier elections of 1946, ML won 27 seats and secondly in the second course it bagged thirty-five seats in the Assembly out of the sixty members. It was miraculous success as compared to elections 1937 when ML could not win even a single seat. In this remarkable success all Muslim leaders played important role rather than they were opponent or friends. They joined hands together and opponents gave energy and challengen to urge them for the achievement of goal. When on 3 June, British gave a plan of independence; once again Sindh was in front line, in the Pakistan movement which it shared during the session of Sindh

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Provincial Assembly. to vote in favour of Pakistan and its final inclusion in Pakistan. It was the Karachi which hoasted, Quaid-i-Azam and the other leaders and workers of the AIML migrating from the other side of the border. The promise as a whole sacrificed, contributed and shared its sources, space and every thing for the establishment of world's largest Muslim empire, the future state of Pakistan.

Notes

- ¹Shamsul Hasan Collection, Sind: vol I (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research), 3.
- ²Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tariekh*, Sindh Maslah Khodh Mukhtari ka Aaghaz (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Press, 1994), 46.
- ³Ibid., 47.
- ⁴Sibghatullah Shah, Pir Pagaro lived in Pir-Jo-Goth near the Khairpur. Pir of Jando stayed in Hala taulka near Sayyidabad. This family has produced more saints, scholars and politicians than any other family in Sindh. It has greatest numbers of followers in the province.
- ⁵Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tariekh*, 80.
- ⁶G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 84.
- ⁷Richard Symonds, *The Making Of Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation), 68.
- ⁸Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tariekh*, 81.
- ⁹(LPI&JS/258) (Islamabad: Archives)
- ¹⁰H.H. Dodwell, ed, *The Cambridge History of India: The Indian Empire 1858-1918* Vol 6, (New Delhi: S. Chand Company (Pvt) LTD), 822.
- ¹¹Khadim Hussain Soomro, *Allah Bux Soomro, Apostle of Secular Harmony* (Karachi: Sain Publishers, 2002), 146.
- ¹²(LPI&JS/258) Islamabad: Archives
- ¹³G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 89.
- ¹⁴Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*, 207.
- ¹⁵G.M Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 90.
- ¹⁶Ibid., 92.
- ¹⁷Riaz Ahmad, ed, *The Sindh Muslim League 1940-1947: Secret Police Abstracts*, weekly Intelligence Summary week ending report 16 January 1943, 88.
- ¹⁸QAP, F 286 (Islamabad: National Archives), 3.
- ¹⁹Ibid., 5.
- ²⁰K.F. Yusuf, ed, *Pakistan Resolution Revisited*, 198-199.
- ²¹Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tariekh*, 87.
- ²²Ibid.
- ²³Muhammad Qasim Soomro, *Muslim Politics in Sindh 1938-1947*, 66.
- ²⁴Sir H. Dow to the Marquis of Linlithgow *Transfer of Power* Vol III, 685.
- ²⁵Riaz Ahmad, *Sindh Secret Police Abstracts* Week ending report 2 January 1943 Nawab Shah Muslim League in the public meeting K.B. Muhammad Ayub khuhro Pir Muhammad Moshiri and Allah Obhayao made speeches in favor of League, 88.
- ²⁶Riaz Ahmad, *Sindh Secret Police Abstracts*, Weekly ending report 12 June 1943, 99.
- ²⁷Ibid.
- ²⁸G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 99.
- ²⁹Riaz Ahmad, *Sindh Secret Police Abstracts*, Weekly ending report 28 August 1943, 109.
- ³⁰See address of G. M. Sayyid to the 31 session of All India Muslim League: Karachi Session, December 1943.
- ³¹*Daily Gazette*, Karachi: 25 December 1943.
- ³²SHC Vol I (Islamabad: NIHCR), 54(3).
- ³³Ibid., 54(5).
- ³⁴*The Sind Observer*, Sunday, August 6, 1944.
- ³⁵*The Daily Gazette*, 9 August 1944.
- ³⁶G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 112.
- ³⁷Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*, 250.
- ³⁸SHC, Sind: Vol II (Islamabad: NIHCR), 8.
- ³⁹SHC, Sind: Vol III (Islamabad: NIHCR), 70.
- ⁴⁰Ibid.
- ⁴¹*The Sind Observer*, Wednesday 10 January 1945.
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- ⁵³G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind* 140.
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- ⁵⁵Ibid. Sho Kuwajima, *Muslim, Nationalism and the Partition*, 49.
- ⁵⁶G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 143.
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- ⁷⁰Aziz.K.K. the partition of Indian and emergence of Pakistan(Delhi: Kanti Publications, 1990),237.
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- ⁸²Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siaysi Tareikh*, 153.
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- ⁸⁵Ibid., 172.
- ⁸⁶*Dawn* 1946
- ⁸⁷G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind*, 174.
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- ⁹⁰Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siaysi Tareikh*, 165.
- ⁹¹Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*, 300.
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- ⁹³G.M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sind* , 178.
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- ⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 180.
- ⁹⁹Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammad Ayub Khuhro*, 303.
- ¹⁰⁰Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siaysi Tareikh*, 180.
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- ¹⁰³*The Eastern Times*(Lahore:14 June,1947).
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- ¹⁰⁹Sarah Ansari, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strif in Sindh: 1947-1962*(New york,Oxford University Press, 2005), 49.
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CONCLUSION

Under the domination of British Raj, the hundred year's history of the Sindh can be divided into two periods. First period as the social and political backwardness, second, as the period of political awareness. In 1843, the British Raj dominated the Sindh from military point of view. British did not pay any attention to the social and economic development of the poor people and deprived peasantry class. They made the *Mir-s*, *Pir-s*, *Sadat* and Land owners, their power. The British facilitate them with relaxations and awarded with titles. As a result of Landowners started to favor every legal and illegal step of British, in order to get favors from them. *Pir-s*, *Mir-s*, landowners and British Government were the need of each other and both used the peasants and poor people of Sindh for their own purposes.

After making Sindh a part of Bombay Presidency, the door of development was completely closed for the Muslims in this area. Under the Bombay Presidency, some improvement steps were taken e.g. the repairing and development of flood canals, establishment of English schools and laid down the railway line. But British rule harmed the Muslim landowners and slowly and steadily, Hindus started to take the place of Muslim landowners. At first, Hindus just dominated on the trade activities they had not right of the ownership of land but during Commissioner Raj, from British, Hindus also started to get these rights. Muslims were consciously neglected in every field of life. They were kept deprived of favors. Hindus got the opportunity to flourish and they occupied the lands and powers,¹ Due to these privileges whenever a movement was started in different periods to separate Sindh from Bombay Presidency and join it to

Punjab, the Hindus opposed it. The long term results of all steps in British Raj, were only in favor of Britain.

The British interested in Sindh due to two main reasons, first reason was 'River Sindh' through which they could flourish their trade and the second reason was that this area was a way to reach Afghanistan. In seventeenth century British came in Sindh as trader but gradually, they changed their trade activities in to political activities and at last occupied not only the Sindh but the Whole Indian sub-continent. The putting down of railway line was also an important part of second attack on Afghanistan. British wanted to use land of Sindh as military base for attack on Afghanistan. In 1887, the suggestion of joining Sindh to Punjab was rejected just because the British ready for second attack on Afghanistan.

The age of awareness started in the whole sub-continent since 1905. The protest of Hindus, on the division of Bengal, forced the Muslims to make their own political party for the protection of their rights. Although the first procession of AIML was conducted in Sindh but in this session there were only the representatives of rich and landowners. Sindhi elite class was workers of its early period. Sindh was the part of the Bombay Presidency. So the BPML was established in its early period. Sindh had not a separate branch in the second decade of twentieth century. Sindhi people started efforts for its organization in 1912. In the beginning the SPML was not affiliated formally and officially by AIML and it was not active.

Khilafat Movement was the point of political awareness in Sindh. Most of the Sindhi leaders, who played active role in the movement of Pakistan, started their political journey to this point. During Khilafat movement Muslims

experienced the Hindu mentality again, firstly on the division of Bengal and secondly when Gandhi, who was very active during the movement, suddenly separated himself from the movement.

The separation of Sindh from Bombay Movement started in 1925. It was the second big issue in the history of Sindh after annexation. Before it, *Hur* Movement had given tough time to British. All leaders of Sindh took part in this movement. The regrettable thing was that till then, the Sindhi leaders were not united as a Party. The SPML did not prove it as a representative party of Muslims. Prominent leaders like Majid, Haroon and G.M. Sayyid took part on their own. However, the only reason which looks for the success of this movement was that all Muslim leaders had same 'Mission of Separation'. They were individually standing for the same purpose with the unanimous support of Sindhi Muslim community. Almost after the struggle of ten years, under the Act of 1935 gave a status of separate province to Sindh. Obviously it was beneficial for the Muslim community but its significance was not limited.

This movement has great importance in all Indian politics. Impact of this movement can be seen on whole period of freedom struggle. Through this movement Sindh entered in main stream of politics. This movement was the first step towards the achievement of Pakistan. During the movement no any harsh demonstration appeared on the bases of specifically Sindh Separation from Bombay issue, through dialogue achieved the goal. After the cancellation of Bengal division it was very surprised success when ever Hindu community had felt its dangerous effect on their trade benefits and political powers as well. The most important benefit of the separation of Sindh was that in spite of being an economic power Hindus were weakened socially and their majority was changed

into minority. Hindus opposed it fully and in the beginning, the distinctive Muslim leaders like Shah Nawaz Bhutto also opposed it.² KB Ayub Khuhro presented the problems of Muslims, in the way, through a pamphlet, which excited the movement more.

After separation of Sindh from Bombay, elections of 1936-37 were held. That time Muslim League was not organized in proper manners. In these elections the SPML could not appear as a prominent and leading Muslim party in Sindh. Sindhi leaders individually took part in election and none of the provincial leaders took part in elections on the Muslim League party ticket. All political parties based on personalities. The situation was just against the proclamation of the AIML as the representative party of all the Muslims. Although Muslim representatives got success but they couldn't make a strong Government. After separation, Sindhi Muslim community participated in elections actively because new power holders would be included in the new cabinet. All elected members were traditional elites, landowners, religious leaders and tribal chiefs. As the outcome of the elections could not change the political scenario.³

After elections, Muslim League could not get a single seat in Sindh. However, Governor invited Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah to form Ministry, he did it but soon due to absence of unity among Muslim members of Assembly and desire of power, ministry could not be run for long time. Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah had to taken the help of Hindus. The Sindh United Party was making unity with Congress. The Muslims were weak and Hindus affected the ministry. First Muslim ministry dissolved and Allah Bux came in front and formed coalition ministry. Sindh was a province where Muslim ministry established after election but due to disunity and fight of Muslim leaders for powers, created

conflicts between them. If the Muslims would have fought elections on the ticket of Muslim League, according to the suggestion of the Quaid-i-Azam then SPML would have been in a strong position in the Assembly and would not have needed the help of Hindus.

Sindhi leaders were also feeling the political affects of Hindus in the region. They felt the need unity among Muslims. So Muslim League was organized. Quaid-i-Azam played important role in this process.⁴ He came to Karachi and tried to unite the Sindhi leadership under the banner of Muslim League. An agreement was made among the leaders. As a result of Quaid's efforts Muslim League Party was established in the Sindh legislative Assembly.⁵ Allah Bux returned back to agreement because he was an opportunist politician, wanted only premiership and was not sincere with the party matters and prestige of ML. He refused to come under the flag of ML. That time Muslims should unite themselves as strong political bloc and rejected the Hindu leadership involvement but they become divided and weak. Ministry was relied on Hindu support. Muslims were in weak position. "First two years of the cabinet, Government saw a period which witnessed Sindhi Muslims at their lowest, weakest and most divided state".⁶

Before elections, Muslim League was never so strong but failure in elections was great lesson for them. During next period the SPML was gained power among the masses and branches of ML were established in all over the Sindh. The SPML started its struggle for freedom under the flag of AIML. In 1938 a resolution for separate state presented from the platform of the SPML. The SPML gave a shape of this demand in the conference held at Karachi in October 1938. In this conference it was suggested that the AIML should develop

a plan of Constitution for the attainment of full independence. First of all the SPML used the word 'Nation' for the Muslims and demanded basic constitution for the separation. This resolution of SPML provided the out line for the Lahore Resolution.

The SPML had to follow all rules and regulations of the AIML. Quaid-i-Azam guided it on different issues. For all activities done through the SPML, the permission of central Muslim League was required. If the permission was not taken in any matter, then central Muslim League did not take responsibility e.g. during the agitation of the Masjid Manzil Gah, the *satyagraha* step was taken without permission; Central League remained silent about it. Masjid Manzil Gah dispute was a religious matter; it was turned in to political issue. During this dispute, Muslim League touched the heart of the Muslims and used the slogan 'Islam in Danger'. All the prominent Sindhi leaders were in the forefront; through their aggressive speeches they made it a communal and political issue. In Sind, this was the first large scale communal issue between both Hindus and Muslims. Before this issue social contacts and relations between both communities were settled but after this their many years old relations were changed in to enmity. The outcome of Manzil Gah issue was very tragic not only for the common Hindu and Muslims but in political scenario as well. During the agitation, Sindhi League leadership like Majid Sindhi, Khuhro, and G.M. Sayyid made their position strong among masses.

Sindhi Muslim leaders always supported the cause of Muslim League. In the year of 1943, it proved when the AIML Conference held at Karachi successfully. G.M. Sayyid addressed as president of the SPMLC. In this Session again proved Sindhi leaders firmly attached with the cause of League.

The differences between the Sindhi leaders were, however, undermining the position of the ministry. A loyalty of some leaders was undoubted like Abdullah Haroon, who always firmly attached with League and its policies, he was committed for the cause of Muslim League and Pakistan but the other Muslim leaders were not devoted to the ideology of Pakistan. After 1942, major differences arose between Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah and G. M. Sayyid the president of the SPML. Conflict between two leaders gradually increased and at last a resolution passed against the Muslim League ministry by the SPML. In this resolution criticized the policies of ministry and called upon to resign. Although G.M. Sayyid was very active politician and his efforts for the demand of Pakistan admirable but its fact that he always preferred his own benefits, his inclusion in any party and then separation was just due to his benefits.

During the period of elections of 1945-46 developed more differences between Quaid-i-Azam and G. M. Sayyid. G.M. Sayyid was expelled from League. He contested in elections as progressive group Leader. G.M. Sayyid now promoted Sindhi Nationalism which would have affected on the league cause and demand for Pakistan. During the elections 1945-46 the manifesto of the League could be defined simply. Muslim of whole India are a nation and separate state(Pakistan) is the only sensible solution of the Indian problem but The election result was to show that Muslim League was hot favorite all over the region. On February 1946, ministry formed the under the Premiership of Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah. Khuhro had his eyes on the office of chief Minister. Other groups and Congress moved No-confidence motion and created problems for ministry. Muslim League reorganized. As a member of organizing committee G.M. Sayyid was active in the establishment of League but now he was expelled, so Liaquat Ali Khan established

new organizing Committee under the head ship of Gazdar and Yousuf, by the end of the March, the League membership reached at 48,500 on the other side G.M. Sayyid attempted bitter attacks on Quaid-i-Azam and League. He was planting the Sindhi nationalism through his views: "Sind Should have nothing to do with Punjab. It should become a separate sovereign state"⁷

Internal affairs of Sindh ministry were not in better condition. According to the situation Governor dissolved the ministry and elections held again and elections result were favorable for the League in January 1946 it obtained 60 percent vote but now it obtained 83.9 percent vote. It was great achievement for the League. Ayub Khuhro had support of twenty-five members out of thirty-five, so he was able to premiership, but Quaid-i-Azam's decision was in favor of Hidaytullah. Just three weeks before establishment of Pakistan Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah nominated as provincial Governor Ayub Khuhro became Chief Minister and he formed his cabinet with four Ministers.

After the elections 1946, other Muslim leaders tried to join the Muslim League. Quaid welcomed all of them and said "I welcome every Musalman and earnestly appeal him to join the League. The Muslim League has no malice, nor can such a great organization even be vindictive or revengeful."⁸ In October 1942, the SPML was enabled to form a full-fledged ML Ministry in Sindh. It was the beginning of strength of Muslim League which proved as result of election 1946 and continued until 1947.

The SPML played a leading role for the demand for Pakistan, since the first session of the AIML to acceptance of 3 June 1947 plan. When on 3 June 1947 British Government announced a plan for partition of Hindustan and Pakistan. In the special session of the SPML on 20 June 1947, Sindh was the first

province to vote for its inclusion in the Pakistan. Sindh provincial Muslim league has the honor to scarify their offices and building for the new Government of Pakistan. Constituent Assembly first time met at Karachi in 1947.

NOTES

¹Zahid Choudhry, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Tareekh: Sindh Maslah Khodh Mukhtari Ka Aaghaz* (Lahore: Mustafa Waheed Press, 1994), 196.

²Ibid., 56.

³Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh, 1907-1940: Muslim Identity and the Demand for Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 181.

⁴Jamil-ud-Jamil Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah* (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1942), 64.

⁵Ibid., 65.

⁶Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sindh, 1907- 1940*, 183.

⁷Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and Pakistan Movement: The Growth of the Muslim League in The North-West and North-East India 1937-47* (Karachi: Oxford University Press 1988), 53.

⁸Jamil-ud-Jamil Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1942, reprint 1968), 195.

APPENDIX I

Biographical sketches

Abdali , Ahmad shah: b.1722; rose to command an abdali cavalry group under Nadir shah Durrani of Persia and on letter's assassination ,elected as shah (king), 1743-73; Invaded India nine time,!747-69;defeated maratha confederacy ,1761, d.1773.

Agha khan III, His highness sir sultan Muhammad shah: b.1875; head of the ismaili Muslims ; led the deputation of the Indian Muslims to lord minto, viceroy in 1906 to ask for separate electorates for the Indian Muslims; permanent president of the muslim league 1906-13 ; president of the Muslim conference 1928-29 ; chairman of the british Indian delegation at the Indian round table conference at the joint parliamentary committee on Indian constitutional reforms 1932-33 ; led the Indian delegation to the assembly of the league of nation 1932,1934-37 ; only Asian to be elected as president , league of nations assembly in 1937; d.1958.

Ali, choudhry rahmat: b.1867 admitted at Emmanuel college, Cambridge 1931; popularized Pakistan idea; coined the name 'pakistan' for a separate homeland in India, 1933; visited Pakistan 1948; d. 1951.

Alvi Hatim: b. 20 October 1889; educ. Karachi; Member of Karachi Municipality 1927; later elected its President for three years; Mayor, 1938-39.

Auckland, Lord: Governor- General of India 1936-42; took step for the promotion of the Science education among the Indians; Suppressed Padshah Begum of Oudh 1837; deposed the Nawab of Karnal and annexed his state to the British Indian Empire; entered in to the first Anglo-Afghan War 1838-42; was called and succeeded by Lord Ellenborough.

Azad Maulana Abul Kalam: b. 1889; educ. Privately in Arabic and oriental studies; founder editor of *Al Hilal* 1912; took a leading part in Khalifat Movement 1920-21; converted to Congress view point and exhorted Muslims to join it; supported Delhi Muslim proposals 1927-28 and Nehru Report 1928-29; opposed the Jinnah's fourteen points 1929; President Indian National Congress 1939-46; stood for a composite Indian nation and opposed Pakistan demand; Education Minister in Interim Government 1946-47, and in the Indian Cabinet 1947-58; d.22 February 1958.

Bentinck. Lord William Cavendish: First to the Governors- General of India 1833-35; came to India as a Governor of Madras; concluded commercial treaties with Amirs of Sindh opening up the Indus navigation by the British; concluded treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab 1831; initiated the ill conceived policy which brought about the tragedy of the First Afghan War 1838-42 and to the annexation of Sindh; established Calcutta Medical College 1835.

Bhurgari, Ghulam Muhammad: b. 1881; educ. Aligarh and London; General Secretary, Indian National Congress 1918; participated in Home Role Movement 1919; Member Council of State 1921-22; resigned in protest against British attitude towards Turkey and Khilafat 1922; President of Muslim League Lucknow Session 1923 where he forecast the concept of a non- Western International Organization; d. 9 March, 1924.

Bhutto, Sir Shah Nawaz Khan: b. 1888; educ. Sindh; representative of Sind Zamindars in Bombay Legeslative Council Delhi first non-official President Larkana District Board 1920- 34; Chairman Provincial Committee to assist Sir

John Simon's Statutory Commission 1928; delegate to Indian Round Table Conference London 1930-34; Minister Government of Bombay 1934-36; Chief Advisor to Governor of Sindh 1937; Chairman Public Service Commission for Bombay and Sindh 1937-46, Chief Minister Junagarh State 1947; d. November 19, 1957.

Burnes, Sir Alexander: b. 1805 entered the Company's military service at the age of 16; made mark as a diplomat and sent on mission to Rājā Singh 1830; sent to travel through Afghanistan, Bokhara and Persia; Political agent at Kabul under Sir W.H. Macnaghten 1839; but on November 2, 1840 the Afghan mob rose; assassinated in Kabul 1841.

Chagla, Ghulam Ali: b.1871; matric in 1892 from Sindh Madrassah Chairman of Standing Committee of Sindh Madrassah Board; attended Karachi session of the Indian National Congress 1913, and Member of Reception Committee; President Karachi Municipality 1921; d. June 26, 1950.

Chelmsford, Lord; Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1916-21; framed Indo-British policy 1917; framed Indian Constitutional Reforms with Montague 1918; finalized the Government of India Act 1919.

Cripps, Sir Richard Stafford: b. 1889; Ambassador to Moscow 1940; Member War Cabinet 1942-45; Minister of Economic Affairs 1947; Chancellor of Exchequer 1947-50; sent to India to effect a peaceful settlement of the Indian political and constitutional problems; again sent to India as Member of Cabinet Mission to India which formulated the Cabinet Plan 1946; chief negotiator with the Congress and the Muslim League; d. 1952.

Fazal Haq, Mowlvi Abul Kasim: b. 1873; Member Bengal Legislative Council 1913, Secretary Bengal Provincial Muslim League 1913-16; President Muslim League 1918; Education Minister Bengal 1924; Founder Krishka Proja Party; Delegate Indian Round Table Conference 1930-32; Mayor of Calcutta 1935; Member Indian Legislative Assembly 1935; Member Bengal Legislative Assembly 1937-47; Chief Minister 1937-43; Advocate General East Bengal 1948-52; Founder Krishka Sramik Party 1953; Member East Bengal Legislative Assembly 1954; Central Interior Minister 1955-56; Governor East Pakistan 1956-58; d. 1962.

Gazdar, Muhammad Hasim: b. 1893; Founder Sindh United Party 1937; President Karachi City Muslim League 1939-42; Member Muslim League Council 1938, Vice President Sindh Provincial League 1941-43, Mayor of Karachi 1941-42; Member Bombay Legislative Council 1933-36; Member Sindh Legislative Assembly 1937; Member Pakistan Constituent Assembly 1947; d. 1968.

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand: b. 1869; popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi; Secretary of Indian National Congress 1894; emigrated 1894-1917 due to campaign of Indian indentured Labour; Gandhi's settlement in South Africa 1914; organized Cow- Protection work; preached ahimsa; called for general strike over Rowlett Bill 1919; stressed Hindu- Muslim unity to fight the British as President Home Rule League 1920; Khilafat and non- cooperation movement 1920-22; for Congress President ship for the 2nd term 1939; talks with Sir Stafford on H.M.G's offer 1942; conceived and led Quit India Movement 1942; talks with Jinnah 1944; welcomed Cabinet Mission Plan 1946; assassinated 1948.

Huroon, Haji Sir Abdullah: b. 1872; joined Indian National Congress 1917; President Sindh Provincial Khilafat Committee 1919-24; President Sindh Provincial Muslim League 1920-1939. Member Bombay Legislative Council

1923; demanded separation of Sindh at Muslim Conference Aligarh 1925; founder Sindh United Party 1936; organized Muslim League Conference in Sindh under the partition of India in to two federations 1938; d. May 26, 1942.

Haroon, Yousaf Abdullah; b. 1917; leader Sindh Muslim League National Guard 1939; Mayor of Karachi 1944; General Secretary Sindh Provincial Muslim League 1942, President 1944-48; Chief Minister of Sindh 1949-50; Federal Minister 1951.

Hidayatullah, Ghulam Hussain: b. 1897; educ. Karachi and Bombay ; Vice President Huderabad Municipal Committee 1904; Member of Bombay Legislative Council 1912; Minister Bombay Government 1921-28; Bombay Executive Council 1928-35; Delegate Indian Round Table Conference London 1930-31; Chief Minister Sindh 1937; Member Sindh Legislative Assembly 1937-47; Governor of Sindh 1947-48; d. 1948.

Hussain, Main Sir Fazil : b. 1877; Barrister of the Lahore High Court ; Minister in the Punjab Government 1931-30 with short interruptions; Founder Member Punjab Unionist Party 1923-36; Education Member of Viceroy's Executive Council 1930-35; d. 1936.

Illahi, Bakhsh: b. 1897; educ. Aligarh; join the Khalifat Movement during his education; join the Muslim League 1942; Chief Minister of Sindh 1948; d.1975.

Imam, Sayyid Hussain: b. 1897; educ. Patna and England ; called to the Bar 1892; judge Calcutta High Court 1912-16; President Congress Special Session Bombay 1918; delegate to Conference of Turkish Peace Treaty London 1921; participated in agitation against Simon Commission 1927; d. 1985.

Iqbal, Sir Muhammad: b. 1877; poet, philosopher; Member of the Punjab Legislative Council 1926; President of the Muslim League 1930 and of the Muslim Conference 1932; delegate to the second and third session of the Indian Round Table Conference 1931-32; d. 1938.

Isphani, Mirza Abul Hassan : b. 1902; educ. Cambridge; called to the bar 1924; Member Calcutta Corporation 1933; Member Bengal Legislative Assembly 1937-46; Member Pakistan Constituent Assembly 1947; Ambassador in the United States 1947; Minister Government of Pakistan 1954-55; d. 1981.

Jethumal, Parsram: b. 1885 in Hyderabad; known as teacher, writer, poet and journalist; founder of Home Rule League and Hari Party in Sindh; sentence for the writing of against Govrnment Poliecies; He supported Muslim stand; d. 1948.

Jinnah, Muhammad Ali: b. 1876; educ. Karachi; called to the Bar in London 1896; Member Imperial Legislative Council 1910; join Muslim League 1913; President Muslim League 1916, 1920, 1934-48; President Home Rule League 1917-20 delegate Indian Round Table Conference 1930-31; President Constituent Assembly 1947-48; Governor General of Pakistan 1947-48; d. 1948.

Junejo, Muhammad: b. 1888; educ. Karachi and England; turned as Barraster in 1915; joined Sindh Muslim League 1917; leaded Khilafat Movement in Sindh 1920; d. 1921.

Khalliquzzaman, Choudhry: b. 1889; educ. Lucknow and Aligarh; Member Legislative Assembly 1930; Member Muslim League Parliamentary Board 1936, 1943; Member U.P. Assembly 1937, 1946; Leader of Opposition U.P. Assembly; Member Muslim League Working Committee 1938; seconded Lahore Resolution 1940; Leader Muslim League Party in Indian Constituent Assembly and pledged loyalty to Indian Union on behalf of Muslims 1947;

Governor East Pakistan 1942-43; ambassador to Indonesia and Philippines 1954; President Convention Muslim League 1962-63; d. 1973.

Khan, Liaquat Ali Khan: b. 1895; educ. Aligarh, Allahabad, Oxford; called to the Bar 1922; Member U.P. Legislative Council 1926-40; Member Indian Legislative Assembly 1940-47; Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party 1943-47; General Secretary Muslim League 1936-47; Member Interim Government 1946-47; Prime Minister of Pakistan 1947-51; President Pakistan Muslim League 1950-51; assassinated 1951.

Khan, Muhammad Ismail: b. 1886; educ. Cambridge and London; Member Muslim League Council 1910; Member Legislative Council 1924-26; President All Parties Muslim Conference 1930; Vice Chancellor Muslim University Aligarh 1934-35, 1947-48; remained in India after partition; d. 1958.

Khan, Raja Ghazanfar Ali: b. 1895; educ. Lahore; Member Indian Legislative Assembly 1923; Minister Alwar State, 1927; Member Council of State 1933-37; Member Punjab Government 1937-44; Member Interim Government 1946-47; Federal Minister 1947-48; Ambassador to Iran 1948; High Commissioner to India 1954; d. 1963.

Khan, Sir Sayyid Ahmad: b. 1817; began his career in the service of the British in 1837; retired from Government service 1876; remained loyal to the British during the War of independence in 1857; founder Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College Aligarh 1876; Member Education Commission 1882; Member Public Service Commission 1886; d. 1898.

Khuhro, Muhammad Ayub: b. 1901; educ. Larkana, Bombay; Member Bombay Legislative Council 1924-36; Vice President Sindh Azad Conference and Sindh Muslim Association 1928-35 and Sindh Administrative Committee 1933-34; gave evidence before joint Parliamentary Select Committee on Indian Reforms at London; Member Legislative Assembly and Leader of the opposition 1939-40; Minister Sindh Government 1940-41, again 1942-44; Deputy Premier of Sindh 1946-47; Sindh Premier 1947-48, 1951, 1954-55; Member Pakistan Constituent Assembly 1955; Minister West Pakistan 1955; Central Defence Minister 1958; President Sindh Muslim League 1958; defeated in 1970 elections; d. 1980.

Lyenger, Sri Navas: b. 1874 in Madras; educ. 1898; he published *Swaraj Constitution* 1927; active as Congress member; Presided over session 1926;

Mehta, Jamshed N. R: b. 1886; Member Karachi Municipal Committee 1915, then President and continued till 1933; nominated on Bombay Legislative Council for amending the Karachi Municipal Committee Act 1933; Member Sindh Assembly 1931; d. 1952.

Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab: b. 1837; served in Nizam's Government Hyderabad Deccan 1874-93; President Muslim Educational Conference annual session 1893, 1896; Secretary MAO College Aligarh 1898-1907; organized Urdu Defence Association 1901; founder Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Urdu 1902; Joint Secretary Muslim League 1906-07; d. 1907.

Montague, Edwin Samuel: b. 1879; Liberal Member Parliament 1906-22; introduced Government of India Act 1919; Secretary of State for India 1917-22; resigned 1922; d. 1924.

Napier, Sir Charles James: b. 1782; a British General and Statesman; after a Military career in Europe given the command of the Indo-British Army in Sindh 1843; won the battle of Miani and Dubba 1843; Administered Sindh autocratically till 1847; d. 1853.

Nehru, Pundit Jawaharlal: b. 1889; educ. Harrow and Cambridge; Secretary Home Rule League 1918; Member Congress Committee 1918; participated in non-cooperation and Khilafat movement 1921-22; General Secretary Congress 1928, President 1929-30, 1936, 1947; Member Interim Government 1946-47; Prime Minister of India 1947-64; d. 1964.

Outram, Sir James: b. 1803; came to India as a cadet 1919; sent to Khandesh where recruited from Bhils a light infantry corps for checking outrages and plunder by local robbers 1825; political agent Gujrat 1835-38; political agent in Sindh 1839; retired 1860; d. 1863.

Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai: b. 1875; educ. London; Member Congress Working Committee 1935-42; threatened Muslims with civil war on their demand for Pakistan 1946; fanned communal strike at Merrut Congress 1946; Member Interim Government 1946-47 Deputy Prime Minister of India 1947-50; d. 1950.

Pethick, Lawrence, Sir Frederick William: b. 1871; British Secretary of State for India and Burma 1945-47; President Cabinet Mission 1946; designed to bridge Hindu-Muslim differences over India's future constitution; prominent in women suffrage movement in Great Britain 1904-12; defeated Churchill 1923; d. 1961.

Pirzada, Abdul Sattar: b. 1907; educ. Bombay, London; political career started in 1934 as a member of Sukkur Municipality; elected Member of Sindh Legislative Assembly in 1937; joined the Ghulam Hussain Ministry as Chief Parliamentary Secretary, Minister Sindh Government 1941-43, 1946, 47; Federal Minister 1947-54; d. 1974.

Rashidi, Pir Ali Muhammad : b. 1905; Editor Sindh Observer, Karachi ; President Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference; Minister Government of Sindh 1955-56; Leader Pakistan Press delegation to India 1950; Ambassador to Philippines 1957; d. 1987.

Rashdi, Sayyid Hussamuddin: b. 1911; before partition remained associated with various newspapers as editor; after independence he worked, edited and compiled about forty books on the history of Sindh in Urdu , Persian and Sindhi languages; he has also left several research articles in the above said three languages; d. 1982.

Shafi, Sir Muhammad: b. 1869; educ. Lahore, London; called to the Bar 1892; President of the Muslim League 1913 ; Member of viceroy's Council 1919-24, delegate to the first two sessions of Indian Round Table Conference 1930-31; d. 1932.

Shah, Sayyid Miran Muhammad : b. 1889; Member Bombay Legislative Council 1928, re-elected 1933; Member Constitutional Commission for Indian Reforms under Sir John Simon 1928-29; Speaker Sindh Legislative Assembly 1938-48; Member Indian Defence Council 1943; Chairman Karachi Improvement Trust 1945; Minister Sindh Government 1948-52; Ambassador to Spain 1952-53; d. 1963.

Simon, Sir John: b. 1873; Chairman Indian Statutory Commission 1927-30; Delegate to Indian Round Table Conference 1932; Member joint Parliamentary Committee Indian Constitution Reforms 1934; Foreign Secretary 1931-35; Chancellor of Exchequer 1937-40; Lord Chancellor 1940-45; d. 1954.

Sindhi, Mawlana Ubaidullah: b. 1872; embraced Islam at the age of 16; educ. Deoband; went to Sindh on completion education; one of the leaders involved in ' Silk Letter conspiracy' ; went to Kabul 1915-22; visited Turkey 1922-36, Hejaz 1926-39, Moscow 1927; returned to India 1939; d. 1944.

Sindhi, Shaikh Abdul Majeed : b. 1889; educ. Karachi; embraced Islam in early life; Political Adviser and editor of Daily Al-Amin 1914; played active role in Silk Letter Conspiracy 1916, and later in the Khilafat Movement; a leading advocate of the Separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency in 1920s and 1930s ; President of Sindh Muslim All Pakistan Jamiat Sindh Branch 1953; opposed one unit Scheme 1954; supported Fatima Jinnah in President elections against Ayub Khan 1964-65; d. 1978.

Singh, Maharaja Ranjit : b. 1780; founder of Sikh Kingdom in the Punjab; occupied Lahore 1799; Ludhiana 1807; entered in to a perpetual friendship with the British 1809; captured Kangra 1811, Attock 1813; sheltered the fugitive Afghan King Shah Shuja and secured from him the celebrated Koh-i-Noor 1814; captured Multan 1818, Kashmir 1819; reduced Peshawar to dependency 1823; also coveted Sindh; renewed perpetual friendship treaty 1831; d. 1839.

Soomro, Allah Bakhsh, K.B: b. 1900; educ. Shikarpur; Businessman and *Zamindar* 1916; Member of Bombay Legislative Council ; Returned to a seat in Sindh Assembly and became Chief Minister 1938; regained Chief Minister ship 1941; dismissed 1942; assassinated, May 1943.

Soomro, Haji Moula Bakhsh: b. 1903; educated under the guidance of his father; took part in the politics under the guidance of his elder brother Allah Bakhsh Soomro 1942; affiliated with Government of Sindh 1942-47; remained in the Cabinets of H. S. Suharwardy and Malik Feroze Khan Noon 1958; elected Member of National Assembly 1970; Adviser and Minister in Zia regime and after some time resigned; d. 1989.

Sayyid, Ghulam Murtaza known as G. M. Sayyid; b. 1904; Member Sindh United Party; Member All India Muslim League Working Committee 1935; Member Sindh Legislative Assembly 1937; Secretary Sind Awami Party; President Sindh Provincial Muslim League, Introduced Pakistan Resolution in Sindh Assembly 1943; Chairman Reception Committee Muslim League, Karachi Session 1943; Member Muslim League Action Committee 1943 ; launched a campaign for boycott of Hindu goods 1943; quitted the League 1945; launched Progressive Muslim League 1945; Member Sindh Assembly 1946; Chief, Sindh Awami Party 1957; defeated in Sindh Provincial election 1953; organized Sindh United Front 1970; Chief "*Jiye Sindh Movement*" after separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971. d. 1995.

Talpur, Mir Bande Ali: Educ. Aligarh and Cambridge; Landlord of Hyderabad Deputy Leader of the League Party in 1938; Premier of Sindh in 1940-41.

Talpur, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan: b. 1909; educ. Hyderabad, Aligarh and Bombay; Member Sindh Legislative Assembly 1937, 1946; Parliamentary Secretary, Sindh Government 1937-43; Federal Minister 1954-55; d. 1963.

Tiwana, Sir Khizer Hayat Khan: b. 1900; educ. Lahore; Premier 1942; Commissioned in Army 1918; Punjab Minister 1937-42; Premier 1942; attended Simla Conference 1945; fought 1945-46 elections as Unionist Chief ; Punjab Premier 1946-47 as head of the Coalition Government 1946-47; d. 1975.

Vishindas, Harchandre: b. 1862; educ. Bombay and Karachi; L.L.B 1885; a businessman of Karachi; Member of Municipality Karachi 1888-1899 and its President 1911-21 attended first session of Indian National Congress 1913; continued attending various sessions of Congress up to 1918; President Taluka Local Board of Kotri; d. 1928.

Viqar-al Mulik, Nawab: b. 1841; Member Scientific Society 1865; Judicial Minister Hyderabad Deccan 1878; worked to revive Mohammedan Anglo Oriental Defence Association 1901; Member Simla deputation to Lord Minto 1906; d. 1917.

Wavell, Field Marshal Lord: b. 1883; educ. Manchester College and Sandhurst; joined the British Army; Viceroy and Governor General of India 1941-47; d. 1950.

Wazirani, Nihchaldas: b. 1889; Member Sindh Assembly 1937; Minister Allah Bux Ministry 1938; Member Sindh Assembly 1946; migrated to India 1948.

APPENDIX II

NAMES OF THOSE RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHO SIGNED THE *FATWA-I- KHILAFAT*.

Published in the form of Pamphlet "*Tahqiq-ul-Khilafat*"

1. Sayed Muhammad Shah Mardan Shah, Pir of Pagaro, heir to the Shrine of Pir Jo- Goth, Kingri.
2. Muhammad Saleh Shah Afandi Alqadri-ul- Gellani-Al Hussaini, Al- Hussaini Shrine of Ranipur.
3. Pir Khamiso Shah Al-Gellani, Alqadri, Al Hussani, Al Hussaini shrine Gambat Shareef.
4. Makhdoom Zaheer-ud-Din, heir of shrine of Hala New.
5. Abdullah Ghulam Mujadid Sarhindi.
6. Pir Allah Yar Shah, shrine Hashim Shah Matiari.
7. Pir Ali Muzafar Shah, Kingri Taluka Rohri.
8. Syed Ali Madid Shah of Ranipur.
9. Pir Syed Muhammad Zaheer-ud-Din of Karachi.
10. Abdul Kareem, Darus, Sadar Bazar, Karachi.
11. Faqeer Gul Muhammad, Teacher, Latifia Madrassa, Hyderabad.
12. Abdul Aziz, Hyderabad.
13. Muhammad Sadeeq Khalifa Madrassa-tul- Islam, Latifia Faqeer- Jo-Pir, Hyderabad.
14. Syed Saleh Shah, Pesh Imam, Masjid Tando Wai Muhammad, Hyderabad.
15. Faqeer Shafi Muhammad Kazi, Hala New.
16. Kazi Ibrahim Shah, Hyderabad Sind.
17. Taj Muhammad Ibn Al-Haj Muhammad Yusuf, Madrassah Mazhar-ul-Oloom, Hala New.
18. Kazi Shah Muhammad, Hala Old.
19. Khalifa Muhammad s/o Khalifa Abdul Latif, Madrassah Hala New.
20. Faqeer Allah Rakhio Abassi, Madrassah Mohammadia, Hala New.
21. Muhammad Moin-ud-Din Kazi, Teacher, Madrassah Masjid Kaka, Hala New.
22. Kazi Faqeer Lal Muhammad, Teacher, Madrassah Matiari.
23. Kazi Faqeer Muhammad Fazal, Matiari.
24. Kazi Faqeer Abdul Rehman, Matiari.
25. Maulvi Pir Muhammad, Tando Qaisar, Hyderabad.
26. Maulvi Haji Muhammad Sadiq s/o Maulvi Mian Abdul Rauf Morai, Pesh Imam,, Jamia Masjid, Nawabshah.
27. Faqeer Mahmood Gani, heir of Patt, District Dadu.
28. Faqeer Muhammad Saleh, heir of the Shrine of Fazal Ellahi, Patt Dadu.
29. Pir Syed Wali Muhammad Shah, heir of the Shrine of Kalandar Shahbaz, Sehwan.
30. Khosh Muhammad Shah, Tharoshah District, Nawabshah.
31. Faqeer Muhammad Ehsan, Patt District Dadu.
32. Ghulam Rasool, Mehrab Pur District Nawabshah.
33. Imam-ud-Din Shah Tilahi, Taluka Dokri, District Larkana.
34. Habibullah s/o Makhdoom Mureedullah, Patt District Dadu.
35. Pir Muhammad Muihudin, village Boot Serai, Taluka Mehar.
36. Shah Dooran Shah Mahiudin Shah, Boot Serai, Mehar District, Dadu.
37. Pir Ali Shah, Shahbad, Taluka Larkana.
38. Ali Muhammad Qadri, heir of Qadria, Larkana.
39. Maulvi Abdul Qader, Masu Dero, Taluka Rato Dero, District Larkana.
40. Faqeer Khosh Muhammad, Mero Khan District, Larkana.
41. Maulvi Abdullah, Bangul Dero.
42. Faqeer Imam Bukhsh, Rato Daro, District Larkana.

43. Din Muhammad, Taluka Miro Khan District, Larkana.
44. Faqeer Kazi Noor-ul-Haq, village Abad, Taluka Rato Dero, District Larkana.
45. Abdul Haleem, village Pir Bakhsh Bhutto, District Larkana.
46. Faqeer Khair Muhammad, village Chhutto Joyo, Taluka Miro Khan, District Larkana.
47. Maulvi Kazi Abdullah, village Pagaro, Taluka Rato Daro.
48. Faqeer Karim Baksh, village Dado Khan Bhutto, District Larkana.
49. Maulvi Muhammad Derah, Taluka Kakar, District Larkana.
50. Maulvi Muhammad Umar, village Ebrahim Chand, Taluka Kakar, District Larkana.
51. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Derah, Taluka Kakar, District Larkana.
52. Maulvi Abdul Haq, village Malik, Taluka Kakar.
53. Maulvi Shuja Muhammad, village Thalho, Taluka Kakar.
54. Maulvi Ghulam Rasool, village Ladho Dero, Taluka Kakar.
55. Maulvi Abdul Ghani, village Ladho Dero, Taluka Kakar.
56. Faqeer Maulvi Noor Muhammad Shah, village Sojhro Taluka Warah, District Larkana.
57. Abdul Karim Jalbani, village Allah Rakhio Jalbani, Taluka Warah.
58. Faqeer Gul Muhammad, village Ganhwar Abad, Taluka Warah, District Larkana.
59. Muhammad Abdul Rehman Ibrahimani, Tharari Hajrian, Taluka Warah.
60. Muhammad Saleh Abro, Dargah Fazal Ellahi, Gaji Khuhawar.
61. Syed Abdul Haq Shah, village Jani Band, Taluka Warah.
62. Abdul Hadi, village Vadero Allah Baksh, Taluka Warah.
63. Maulvi Muhammad Aqil, village Aqil, Taluka Larkana.
64. Maulvi Abdul Kareem Bhutto, Larkana.
65. Maulvi Muhammad Bachal, city Larkana.
66. Maulvi Moula Bukhsh, village Mulla Abad, Taluka Dokri.
67. Faqeer Muhammad Azeem, village Khuda Abad Khan, Pathan Taluka, Dadu District Larkana.
68. Ghulam Muhammad, village Sono Jatoi, Taluka Larkana.
69. Maulvi Abdul Raheem, village Sono Jatoi, Taluka Larkana.
70. Maulvi Ghulam Umar, village Sono Jatoi, Taluka Larkana.
71. Faqeer Muhammad Saleh Shah, village Areja, Taluka Larkana.
72. Faqeer Abdul Ghani, village Rakhial, Taluka Larkana.
73. Attaullah Shah s/o Pir Muhammad Abid Shah Ghotki.
74. Pir Mir Muhammad Shah Jillani, Ghotki District, Sukkur.
75. Makhdoom Hadi Bakhsh, Muhammad Pur, Taluka Ghotki District, Sukkur.
76. Maulvi Muhammad Muhasan Shah, Madrassa Islamia Mian-Jo-Pot, Shikarpur.
77. Haji Muhammad Saleh, Garhi Yaseen.
78. Muhammad Yakooob, village Shahdad Khan Leghari, Taluka Mirpur District, Sukkur.
79. Maulvi Abdul Kareem s/o Abdul Rahman, Sukkur.
80. Maulvi Taj Muhammad Abdul Haq, village Sarun, District Sukkur.
81. Faqeer Abdullah, heir of Bhargoodi Sharif.
82. Muhammad Ustman Dadu Shah.
83. Saeed-ud-din, Noor Pur.
84. Saeedullah Faqeer, village Mitla.
85. Al Haj Abdul Qasim Muhammad Abdul Wahid.
86. Faqeer Ghulam Hussain Al Wleedai.
87. Maulvi Sued Allahyar Shah, Madrassah village Behawal Zor.
88. Faqeer Muhammad, Panah Baluch Abad.
89. Syed Abdul Ghani.
90. Muhammad Umar Khadhari.
91. Faqeer Muhammad Usthan, village Jamal.
92. Shah Muhammad Teacher, Arabi Mulazman Makhdoomna, Ul-Azam Muhammad Zaheerudin ul- Siddiqui-Ul-Hadeed, Dargah Sharif.
93. Faqeer Abdul Rehman, Controller Madrassah Pir Sahib Shams-Ul-Ulema

APPENDIX III

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE SEPARATION OF SIND

(Circulated to the Sub-Committee at the request of
Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto)

Sind is a unit totally distinct from Bombay to which it was added for administrative purposes by pure accident and with a total absence of policy of aforethought. Geographically, ethnologically and linguistically too, Sind is totally different from the Presidency.

Through all the ages of recorded history up to the British Raj, Sind has been a distinct administrative unit. Even after the advent of the British, Sind remained for a long time a separate province under a Governor. But the Great controversy between Sir Charles Napier (the Governor) and Major Outram, and the party spirit it created among the then administrators and civilians, Sind would have continued to remain till to-day a separate province. With the abolition of the Governorship, Sind was nominally linked with Bombay; but for all practical purposes it was left to be governed as quite a separate unit of administration by the Commissioner in Sind. And that is the form of administration we have even now in Sind.

Geographically, Sind is cut off from the Bombay Presidency by a huge belt of non-British Indian Territory. It is 1,000 miles away the land and 500 miles away by sea. The physical features of the two areas are widely divergent in nature, and the main occupation in Sind-agriculture is run on a system totally different from that of the Presidency. As a result there of, even the system of the revenue administration is different.

The people of the Sind are of an ethnological stock totally alien to that of the Presidency. Their culture, habits, manners and customs are consequently quite different. Sind also has its own distinctive language, Sindhi which is not native to any other part of the Presidency.

All these differences constitute so many handicaps against a Sind that is administratively united to the Presidency. Its geographic distinctiveness operates harshly both ways. On the one hand, Government headquarters at Bombay are too far off for expeditious issue of orders. On the other hand, it necessitates the devolution of several of the powers of Government on the head of the administration in Sind, the Commissioner in Sind, who tends thus to be an autocratic ruler. Owing to their ethnological and linguistic distinctiveness, the Sindhi members in the Bombay Council find themselves a lone group, and get very little sympathy and understanding from the Presidency members. Moreover, the problems of Sind are so different from those of the Presidency that it is difficult to bring them in to line, or to arouse in the peoples of Bombay any sympathy and understanding for those problems.

As a net result, Sind is neglected both by the Government of Bombay and by the chosen representatives of the peoples of the Presidency. The latter do not understand the problems of Sind- and they can hardly be expected to understand them- and so take little or no interest in the affairs of Sind, except to oppose all schemes for expenditure on the development of Sind. With a backing of this nature, Government, too, neglect Sind. They are most unsympathetic in the administration of their land revenue in Sind. Education, roads and communications, medical aid, in fact, all the nation building departments in Sind are starved.

Moreover, Sind's jointure with Bombay affects Sind prejudicially in respect of development of matters under the control of the Government of India, like the development of railways in Sind and the development of the port of Karachi, as in all the matters they have to go through the Government of Bombay, which is hardly as satisfactory as it would be if Sind could go directly to the Government of India.

Sind laboured long patiently under these disabilities, but began at length to realize that the salvation lies in its developing itself as a distinct province separated from Bombay. The point was first publicly mooted by the late Hon. Mr. Harechandrai, C.I.E., in 1913, in his address as Chairman of the reception committee of the Indian National Congress at Karachi. The matter was passed further by the deputation of the Sind Provincial Conference which waited on the late Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford at the time the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms were on the anvil. The resolution on the subject of linguistic provinces passed by the Indian National Congress in 1927 concluded with the expression of opinion that a beginning be made by constituting Sind in to a separate province. The All India Muslim League then gave the demand for the separation of Sind its enthusiastic support and by this time the question became an All India one. It was one of the items in the Delhi Muslim Proposals. The All Parties Conference gave the principle of the separation of Sind their support and so did the Nehru Report. On the 7th July 1928, the Sind Hindu-Muslim Pact was arrived at, and one of the provisions thereof was the separation of Sind. And the All- India Muslim Conference, Delhi, of 1928-29 resolved in favour of the separation of Sind.

The matter had now become a live issue. The statutory Commission had begun its enquiry. The Sind Mohammedan Association in its representation to the Commission pressed very keenly for the separation of Sind. The pros and cons of the case were being examined. The Government of Bombay (one Executive Councilors and one Minister dissenting) decided at first against the separation. The Bombay Provincial Committee which assisted the Statutory Commission expressed full sympathy with the desire for the separation of Sind, and incited further enquiry; one member of the Committee, Sayed Miran Muhammad Shah, wrote an exhaustive minute of dissent devoted solely to the support of the case for the separation. The Indian Central Committee, however, recommended that Sind should be separated. The Statutory Commission expressed great sympathy with the claim of Sind for separation but proposed that the matter be referred to a Boundaries Commission. The Government of India in their review of the Statutory Commission's Report, stare in regard to the separation of Sind that the claim has become increasingly prominent in recent years, and that while they are not yet in a position to tender final advice, they urged that enquiries be set on foot at the earliest possible date. And, as against their objection at first to the separation of Sind, the Government of Bombay accepted, in their review of the Statutory Commission's Report, the proposal for the appointment of a Boundaries Commission.

The position to-day therefore appears to be this, that the principle of the separation of Sind is accepted by the powers that be. And all that therefore remains is to meet the more important objections that have been urged against the separation. These may be classified under three main heads:-

- (a) Administrative difficulties,
- (b) financial difficulties, and
- (c) the communal apprehensions of the Hindus.

Of these, the third may be taken up first and disposed off as it contains the least substance. The Hindu apprehensions take the form of the feelings that the separated Sind will be another Muslim- majority province. It may be pointed out that the demand for the separation of Sind is not so much a Muslim demand as a Sindhi demand. It was first put forward by the late Hon. Mr. Harechandrai, a very prominent Hindu. The demand was pressed by the Sind Hindus in the deputation to the late Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford when the current reforms were on the anvil. The Indian National Congress resolution of 1927 demanding the separation of Sind was moved by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Arch High- Priest of the Hindu Mahasbha. Then there was the Sind Hindu-Muslim Pact of the 17th July, 1928. These are some of the prominent instances in which the claim for the separation of Sind was supported publicly by Hindus of position and responsibility. They must have had good reasons for doing so,

and indeed it is indisputable that one of the immediate effects of the separation will be the accretion of more power in the hands of Sind Hindus.

The objections on administrative and financial grounds are, however, more serious, not because they are more real, but because of the non-official has not sufficient material to prove what he knows to be a fact, that the objections are groundless. But even on the available material it can be seen that there is not much in these objections.

The administrative difficulties are raised under three heads:-

- (i) that the area and population of Sind is not large enough for the formation of a distinct province;
- (ii) that there will not be enough work for a Governor and "at least" three ministers, and
- (iii) that separated Sind will be deprived of the advice of the "experts" of the Bombay Government.

As regards area and population, apart from the fact that in no case area and population have been the criteria for the formation of a distinct administration in British India, not to speak of the innumerable tiny distinct Indian States, side by side with which, the area and population of Sind are compared very favourably.

Province	Population	Area
Ajmer Merwara	420,000	2,711
Assam	6,700,000	53,015
N.W.F. Province	2,500,000	13,418
Sind	3,270,000	47,000

The proposition that there will not be enough work for the heads of a distinct government starts on the assumption that there must be "at least" three Ministers and a Governor. If three Ministers are not required, Sind may have only two. And if they have not enough routine work, so much the better; they can better attend to the needs of the people, and to the development of Sind. Besides, work will grow.

As regards the "experts" of the Bombay Government, their services to Sind are practically nil. The problems of Sind are peculiar to it. It is best studied by and known to such heads of departments as are in Sind, whose opinion is invariably endorsed by the experts of the Bombay Government. In fact, the experts for the purposes of Sind are already there, and they will be there in a separated Sind.

We now come to the last but not the least of the objections, i.e., the financial objections, which are raised in regards to the cost of Sind administration on the one hand and the responsibility of Bombay for the cost of the Sukkur Barrage on the other hand.

To deal with the second first, it may be pointed out that Bombay has no real responsibility or burden in respect of the Barrage. The cost has been loaned by the Government of India in approval of a self-supporting scheme under which the entire cost is to come forth from Sind; Bombay has real burden in respect of it- it is only to be a post-office, taking the money from the Government of India and spending it on the Barrage and recovering the money from Sind and repaying it to the Government of India. The sale proceeds of the lands repay the interest, and the land assessment increments and assessment on new lands brought under cultivation repays the loan.

As regards the cost of administration, it must in the first place be observed that it has yet to be proved that Sind is a deficit province. Actual, correct and definite figures have never been supplied by the Bombay Government despite several requests therefore. All sort of figures of revenue and expenditure have from time to time been supplied, all differences in their results but never the actual information required. In reply to a Council question the following figures were given on the floor of the House, and may be treated as the most recent:

Years	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25
Revenue	195.0	192.0	180.7
Expenditure	209.0	202.2	221.5

An analysis, however, of the details which go to make up these figures of expenditure shows that it includes:

- (a) cost of the irrigation works for which capital accounts;
- (b) miscellaneous irrigation expenditures, and
- (c) Expenditure of civil works.

These items cannot be classed as ordinary expenditure. Deducting the expenditure on items (a) and (c) and reasonable portion, say 50 percent., of the expenditure on item (b) as being spent on capital works, the revised figures of expenditure for the three given years would be:

174.1, 172.7 and 180.4

It will be obvious from this fact that after meeting ordinary expenditure, Sind shows an annual average surplus of Rs. 13.5 lakhs. And even according to the extravagant estimate of the Bombay Government, the increased cost of administration of separated Sind is not expected to exceed Rs. 10 lakhs annually. But there is no reason why Sind should have, at least in the beginning, as luxurious an administration as the Presidency has. The following table shows the expenditure per head in the other provinces:-

Province	Population	Current expenditure	Expenditure per head Rs. A.
Assam	6,700,000	28,163,000	Rs. 4-0.
Bengal	46,000,000	111,079,000	Rs. 2-8.
Bihar and Orissa	39,400,000	60,045,000	Rs. 1-8.
Bombay	26,200,000	160,151,000	Rs. 6-8.
Burma	12,500,000	95,092,500	Rs. 7-8.
Central Provinces	15,700,000	58,836,463	Rs. 4-0.
Madrass	44,300,000	151,660,000	Rs. 3-8.
Punjab	26,000,000	125,214,000	Rs. 5-0.

With a population of nearly 33 lakhs, and with average revenue of 190 lakhs, Sind has a capacity to spend over Rs. 5 per head and this compares very favourably with the cost per head shown in the foregoing table.

All these calculations have made no provision for possibilities of economy and retrenchment, for increase in revenue by natural growth of prosperity, and lastly for additional taxation which the Sind peoples have agreed to bear if necessary.

It will, therefore, be seen that the formation of a separated Sind presents no insurmountable difficulties. Add to this the determination of the peoples of Sind that they must be separated, and the case is complete.

Source: IOR, Q/RTC/30 National Documentation Center Islamabad.

APPENDIX IV

Quaid-i-Azam visited Karachi in 1938 and tried for unity of Muslim leaders. He met all leaders of Sindh. After gathering the views of politicians made an agreement. This agreement was prepared on the residence of Quaid-i-Azam. Terms and conditions as follow:

TERMS OF AGREEMENT

The terms of agreement were as follows:

1. It was agreed that one solid Party of the Muslim members of the Sind Legislative Assembly should be formed as Muslim League Party, within the legislature, and all the members who join the Party will become members of the Muslim League and sign the creed and accept the policy and programme of the Muslim League and would sign the usual pledge of the Muslim League.
2. That in order to facilitate the formation of the new ministry the present Muslim ministers have agreed to tender their resignations and these resignations will be tendered to the Governor simultaneously with the proposal of the leader of the Muslim League Party to constitute a new Ministry.
3. That the meeting of those members who have already joined the Muslim League or who may agree to join the Muslim League Party should take place on 12 October 1938 at 11 a.m. in my room and those members who are not in Karachi at present be requested to come down here- there being already 27 members present in the city.
4. That Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain were to intimate those Muslim members who were not in Karachi already and ask them to attend the meeting fixed for October 12.
5. That the leader of the Party should be elected by the unanimous vote of the Party and in default he should be nominated by Mr. Jinnah and the party would abide by his choice.
6. The personnel of the Ministry to be formed shall be determined according to the same principle, namely, that the party should accept it unanimously; in default the Party should abide by the decision of Mr. Jinnah as to the Muslim personnel of the Ministry that the leader should submit to the Governor.
7. That with regard to the differences of opinion relating to the question of assessment and revision of settlement within the Barrage area the matter be referred to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to examine the question and advise the Party as to the course and attitude that the Muslim League Party should adopt in this regard and that the proposal will be placed before the meeting of the Party on October 12, 1938, namely, that the Party would accept the findings and recommendations that may be made by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

Jamiludin Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah* Vol I (Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1942), 65-66.

APPENDIX V

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE SINDH PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE HELD AT KARACHI ON 7-9 OCTOBER, 1938, CONDEMNING THE CONGRESS FOR ITS ANTI MUSLIM ATTITUDE

Whereas the refusal on the part of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to negotiate a communal settlement with All India Muslim League, on the plea that the All India Muslim League is not the sole representative body of the Musalmans of India indicates the Congress resolve to perpetually divide and rule the Muslim community, and thus once more mar the prospects of an amicable and peaceful solution of the India minorities problem for which the League has tried in vain for more than 15 years.

Whereas the Congress...by means of its powerful press and purse, launched a campaign of Muslim Mass contact to cause disruption and division in the Muslim community with the object of deceiving the world into the belief that it is the sole representative organization of entire India.

Whereas it has deliberately established purely Hindu rule in the certain provinces by forming ministries either without Muslim ministers or the Muslim ministers having no following Muslim members, in direct and flagrant violation of the letter and the spirit of the government of India Act 1935 and the instrument of instructions.

Whereas the ministries so formed have established a sort of rule which has formed its aim the intimidation and demoralization of the Muslims, the extermination of the healthy and the nation building influence of Muslim culture, the suppression of the Muslim religious customs and their religious obligations and elimination of their political rights as a separate community.

Whereas it has an open defiance of the democratic principles persistently endeavored to render the power of the Muslim majorities ineffective and impotent in the North-Western Province, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind by trying to bring in to power or by supporting coalition ministries not enjoying the confidence of the majority of Muslim members and the Muslim masses of those provinces.

Whereas Congress has superimposed the authority of its High Command, a sort of fascist dictatorship, over the working of the Congress ministries to prevent the healthy growth of the parliamentary conventions and establishment of constitutional traditions, to deprive the Muslims of their due share and have refused to reconstitute ministries in consensus with the constitution, having due regard to the rights and interests of Muslims.

Whereas the Congress has decided:

- (a) to enforce Vidya Mandir scheme in the teeth of Muslim Opposition;
- (b) to foist the Bande Matram on Muslims and others as a National Anthem in callous disregard of the feeling of the Muslims who consider the songs as not only idolatrous but it is in origin and conception a hymn of hatred to Muslims;
- (c) To make Hindi with Devngiri script as the lingua Franca of India in total defiance of the protests and wishes of the minorities with a view to inculcate Hindu religious ideas, philosophy and culture and establish dominance of Brahmanic culture in India;
- (d) To introduce and enforce joint electorates in local bodies with the strength of their majority and thus deprive Muslims of securing their true representation;
- (e) To close Urdu schools wherever possible and discourage the teaching of the Urdu language and thus deprive Muslims of securing their true representation;

- (f) To suppress freedom of press and freedom of speech and legitimate action under the pretext of preventing incitement to violence and maintenance of law and order;
- (g) To interfere with the age-long religious privileges and usages of the Muslim community by force of arms and resort to repressive measures;

Whereas the majority community of India has fostered and maintained since thousand of years a rigid caste system of theirs which is a negative of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that the modern world aspires to and stands for and which system has further super imposed social and economic inequalities upon a vast body of the people of this country and reduced millions of them to the position of irredeemable helots.

And whereas the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation inspired by common aspiration and common ideas being impossible of realization on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community and also on account of acute difference of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and out look on life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts.

This Conference considerers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interest of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self-determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to all India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be a suitable constitution for India which will secure honorable and legitimate status due to them, and that this conference therefore recommends to the All India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.

Further, this conference records its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of the All India Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and is opposed to its introduction and urges upon the British Government to refrain from its enforcement as it considers the scheme to be detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and those of the Muslims in particular.

That this Conference further declares that no constitution by whom so ever framed will be acceptable to the Muslims of India unless it conforms to the principles enunciated above and is prepared in consultation with and accepted by All India Muslim League.

Source: G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement Historic Doucuments* (Karachi: Islamic Book Service, 1977). 193-96.

APPENDIX VI

Abdul Majid Sindhi's letter to Quaid-i-Azam about political situation of Sindh

KARACHI, 4th February 1941.

My dear Quaid-i-Azam

It gave me very great pleasure to have received your reply on the 1st February '41, for which I am indeed very grateful

There was a meeting of the advisory Committee of our Party on 29th before which K.B Muhammad Ayub Khoro declared that he was in possession of the original understanding but it was not produced before the committee which is again fixed for the 16th of February.

You may perhaps be knowing that the Advisory Committee consists of 16 member consisting of six Ministers, two members each, of the Congress Party, the Hindu Independent Party, the Muslim League Party, Allahbakhsh Party, one European member and one Labour member. It is fully representative of the whole Assembly in which opposition party as such does not exist. According to the settlement necessary Legislative measures have first to be considered and passed by the committee before being introduced in the Assembly

On the that was held on 29th Mr.G.M.Syed's letter was read in which among other things he had confirmed the existence of the understanding in pursuance of which Mir Bande Ali Khan was to resign his Premiership by 15th of February and sir Ghulam Hussein was to be taken in the Cabinet and then either Sir Ghulam Hussein or K.B.Allahbakhsh was to be elected as Premier by the Muslim League of the Assembly with two other Minister Khoro and my self. Mr. G.M. Sayed has suggested in his letter that K.B Allahbakhsh be made Premier.

Several speeches were made in the Committee's meeting by Congress representative and other including K.B. Allahbakhsh, all appealing for the maintenance of unity and fulfilment of the term of the agreement.

I had to speak on the behalf of the Muslim League when I had to answer many allegations and arguments. The sum and the substance of my speech was:-

1. That the Congress Party and the Hindu Independent Party concluded an argument with us on the basis of 21 point on the assumption that they will maintain the Mir Ministry for the remaining period of the Assembly –
2. That the Congress Party began to behave treacherously toward the Mir Ministry immediately after the agreement was signed and upto this time there has been no change in there attitude-
3. That the Hindu Independent Party adopted the same attitude after some time under the cover of murder in the Rohri Division-
4. That in view of their above conduct and also in view of the Muslim Leagues Lucknow Resolutions of 1937 we must oppose the resolution for the introduction of joint Electorates.
5. That even in Borough Municipalities for which Joint electorates Act has been passed with our assent the measure Shd be withdrawn or at least postponed for twelve months as recently demanded by Working Committee of the Sind Provincial Muslim League

6. That I was not a party to the Secret Agreement.
7. That all that the Mir Sahib says is that he has talked to the Governor and the Maulana Azad About his Desire for Attending to his private affair within a couple of month- That this casual conversation was embodied in a written understanding against his knowledge and that he warned Maulana that if the understanding would be made public he would publicly repudiate it. Mir Sahib had not affixed his signature to it and further it is Mir Sahib alone for himself. But that is how ha has explained the position to me.
8. That in case the number of the Muslim League Ministers is reduced to two, the Muslim League Council will call upon us either to resign from the Muslim League or resign from the Ministry even though one of them may be made the Premier-
9. That according to the Azad agreement any Muslim Member of the Assembly securing the majority of votes of Muslim members can become Premier necessarily Sir Ghulam Hussein or K.B. Allahbakhsh-
10. That Quaid-i -Azam has expressed no opinion on the agreement as he has not been supplied with a copy of it
11. That my personal opinion is that in case all Muslim League Ministers resign from the ministry, the Muslim League Party, in the interests of the peace of the Province should not break the New Ministry.

The meeting of the Advisory Committee adjourned till 16th February without discussing the Agenda. Thereafter our Premier has come out with a statement. The relevant cutting of the newspaper containing that statement is appended herewith. He did not consult me at least while issuing that statement although previously I had told him that in case he issues any statement he may do so as indicated above in point No. 7 of my speech.

Subsequently I met Mir, Khoro and Allahbakhsh collectively and referring to the Mir's interview I told them that I had no objection to resign if they held the view expounded by the Sind Observer subject of course to the approval of the Muslim League.

K.B. Khoro in consultation with Mir Sahib has convened a meeting of the Muslim League Party of the Assembly on 12th instant at Mir Sahib's residence to decide perhaps that I should resign in favour of Sir Ghulam Hussein. It is against my habit to canvass the support of memberS, but it will place the Muslim League View before the Party when it meets.

K.B Allahbakhsh met at my residence on 2nd February and told me that he himself must become the Premier as he was promised to be made Premier by K.B. Khoro, G. M. Sayed and Mir Sahib collectively and severally by the 15th of the February. I told him that the Muslim League view was that all Muslim Ministers should be Muslim League Ministries and Quaid-i-Azam really wonders why K. B. Allahbakhsh should not become Muslim League Premier since he would allow all his supporters also to join the Muslim League Party. His reply was that constructive programme was the main thing in which he agreed with the Muslim League. He would not allow Joint electorate to be further extended. He would not allow any resolution against Pakistan to be passed by the Assembly. He would throw no obstacles in the way of Muslim League being organized and strengthened. But beyond that he could not go at the present moment. I advised him that he should acquaint you with the promises made by Mir Sahib and others.

One thing is absolutely true Sir, that in our Assembly any resolution or bill can be passed if it is supported by Allahbakhsh's Party. One resolution condemning the Pakistan movement is pending since long; it stands in Mr. Sidhwa's name.

Mr. Nechaldas met me this morning at my residence and told that his party had decided to stand by the Azad arrangement in pursuance of which Mir Sahib must

resign and K.B. Allahbakhsh or Sir Ghulam Hussain should become the Premier. He, however, said that it was for the Muslim members to decide as to who should become the Premier. I communicated the sum and substance of your letter to him and he would probably write to you about the situation as he sees it.

It affords me no pleasure to continue as a member or a Minister in Sind, but faith in future and hope for the better have sustained me through out. There is no doubt our condition is more miserable and pitiable, but what can not be cured must be endured. May God guide and help us all.

With best regards,

Your sincerely,
Abdul Majid Sindhi

Source :- QAP F 454 National Archives Islamabad

APPENDIX VII

MEMBERS OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL NOMINATED BY THE SIND PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCILS 1938-44

27 NOVEMBER 1938.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Agha Abdul Sattar Jan Serhudi | Goth Saindad, Dist, Hyderabad. |
| 2. Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Bhurgari, | Hirabad. Dist, Hyderabad. |
| 3. Syed Hassanbus Shah Zamindar, | Mehrabpur, Taulka Sakrund,
Dist Nawabshah
Hyderabad Sind. |
| 4. Sheikh Nur Ahmad. | Nawabshah |
| 5. Syed Khair Shah M.L.A. | Bhiria Dist Nawab Shah. |
| 6. Syed Noor Muhammad Shah M.L.A | Editor Sind Zamindar Sukkur. |
| 7. Agha Nazar Ali Khan. | Advocate Shikarpur. |
| 8. Sheikh Wajid Ali Khan | Zamindar Sultankoat Sukkur |
| 9. Mr Ghulam Nabi Pathan B.A | Advocate Larkana. |
| 10. Kazi Fazlullah | Larkana. |
| 11. K.B.Mohammed Ayoob Khoro, M.L.A | Muslim League Office Karachi
City. |
| 12. Syed Ali Mohammad Rashdi | Sunn Dist Dadu. |
| 13. Mr. G.M.Syed M.L.A | M.L.A Larkana. |
| 14. K.B.G.M.Khan Issran | Bulri Dist Karachi. |
| 15. Pir Ghulam Hyder Shah M.L.A | Zamindar Sujawal. |
| 16. Syed Meherali Shah | Seafiled Road Karachi. |
| 17. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytulah | Pleader Mirpur Khass. |
| 18. Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan | Saddar Bazar Hyderabad sind. |
| 19. Babu Jalal Din Sahib | Muslim League office Karachi. |
| 20. Moulvi Sanaullah | Tando Ghulamali Khan Dist
Hyderabad. |
| 21. Mir Bunday Ali Khan Talpur M.L.A | Editor Daily Hyat Karachhhi. |
| 22. Haji Nazoriddon | Runchore Line Karachi. |
| 23. Mr mohad Hashim Gazadar M.L.A | Camp Karachi |
| 24. Moulvi Zahurulhassan Dars | Zamindar Jacobabad. |
| 25. Sheikh Abdul Hakim | |

LIST OF YEAR 1939

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Agha Abdul Sattar Jan Serhudi, | Goth Saindad, Distt. Hyderabad
Sind. |
| 2. Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Bhurgari, | Hirabad, Distt. Hyderabad Sind. |
| 3. Syed Hassanbus Shah, Zamindar, | Mehrabpur, Taluka Sakrund,
Distt. Nawabshah. |
| 4. Syed Khair Shah M.L.A. | Nawabshah |
| 5. Syed Noor Muhammad Shah M.L.A | Bhiria Distt. Nawab Shah. |

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|--|
| 6. | Agha Nazar Ali Khan. | Editor Sind Zamindar Sukkur. |
| 7. | Sheikh Nur Ahmad. | Hyderabad Sind. |
| 8. | Sheikh Wajid Ali Khan | Advocate Shikarpur. |
| 9. | Mr Ghulam Nabi Pathan B.A | Zamindar Sultankoat Sukkur |
| 10. | Kazi Fazlullah | Advocate Larkana. |
| 11. | KB Mohammed Ayoob Khoro, M.L.A | Larkana. |
| 12. | Syed Ali Mohammad Rashdi | Muslim League Office Karachi City. |
| 13. | Mr. G.M.Syed M.L.A | Sunn Distt. Dadu. |
| 14. | K.B.G.M.Khan Isran | M.L.A. Larkana. |
| 15. | Pir Ghulam Hyder Shah M.L.A | Bulri Distt. Karachi. |
| 16. | Sayed Meherali Shah | Zamindar Sujawal. |
| 17. | Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytulah | Seafiled Road Karachi. |
| 18. | Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Khan | Pleader Mirpur Khass. |
| 19. | Babu Jalal Din Sahib | Saddar Bazar Hyderabad Sind. |
| 20. | Moulvi Sanaullah | Muslim League office Karachi. |
| 21. | Mir Bunday Ali Khan Talpur M.L.A | Tando Ghulamali Khan Distt. Hyderabad. |
| 22. | Haji Nazoriddon | Editor Daily Hyat Karachhhi. |
| 23. | Mr Mohd Hashim Gazadar M.L.A | Runchore Line Karachi. |
| 24. | Moulvi Zahurulhassan Dars | Camp Karachi |
| 25. | Sheikh Abdul Hakim | Zamindar Jacobabad. |

LIST OF YEAR 1940

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Agha Abdul Sattar Jan Serhudi | Goth Saindad, Distt. Hyderabad. |
| 2. | Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Bhurgari, | Hirabad. Distt. Hyderabad. |
| 3. | Syed Hassanbus Shah, | Zamindar, Mehrabour, Taulka Sakrond, Distt. Nawabshah. |
| 4. | Syed Khair Shah M.L.A. | Nawabshah |
| 5. | Syed Noor Muhammad Shah M.L.A | Bhiria Distt. Nawab Shah. |
| 6. | Agha Nazar Ali Khan. | Editor Sind Zamindar Sukkur. |
| 7. | Sheikh Wajid Ali Khan | Advocate Shikarpur. |
| 8. | Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan B.A | P.O. Sultankoat Sukkur |
| 9. | Kazi Fazlullah Saheb | Advocate Larkana. |
| 10. | K.B.Mohammed Ayoob Khoro, M.L.A | Larkana. |
| 11. | Syed Ali Mohammad Rashdi | Muslim League Office Karachi City. |
| 12. | Mr. G.M.Syed M.L.A | Sunn Distt. Dadu. |
| 13. | K.B.G.M.Khan Isran | M.L.A Larkana. |
| 14. | Haji Nazoriddin Saheb | Editor Daily Hyat Karachhhi. |
| 15. | Mr Mohamed Hashim Gazadar M.L.A | Runchore Line Karachi. |
| 16. | Moulvi Zahoorul Hassan Daras | Camp Karachi |
| 17. | Babu Jalal Din Sahib | Saddar Bazar Hyderabad sind. |
| 18. | Dr. A.A.Khan, | Memon mosque, Karachi Camp |
| 19. | Aqa Pir Ghulam Mojadid Saheb, Sarhudi | Matitari, Distt. Hyderabad. |
| 20. | Moulvi Sanaullah Saheb | Near Jugdesh Talkies, Grass |
| 21. | Pir Ghulam Murtaza Saheb Sarhandi, | President Muslim League, P.O. Malir, Karachi. |
| 22. | Seth Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, | Napier Road Karachi. |
| 23. | Mr. Naimatullah Saheb, Qreshi, | Proprietor Tyles Fectory Old Sukkur, Sind |
| 24. | Syed Mahbubali Shah Saheb, | Municipal Councillor, Gharibabad, P.O. Sukkur. |
| 25. | Pir Rasool Bux Shah Saheb,M.L.A | P.O Ghotki, Distt. Sukkur. |

LIST YEAR 1941

1	Mr. Mahbub Ahmad Qureshi	P.O. Nasrat, Distt. Larkana.
2	Mr Ghulam Nabi Pathan Saheb	Sultankcoat Sukkur Sind.
3	Kazi Fazlullah Saheb	Advocate Larkana.
4	Hon!ble K.B.M.A. Khuhro,	M.L.A Larkana.
5	Haji Naziruddin Saheb	Editor Daily Hayat Karachi.
6	Hon!ble Mr. G.M.Sayed M.L.A	Sunn Distt. Dadu.
7	Moulana Sanaullah Saheb	Shewaram Building, Napier Road, Karachi.
8	Naimatullah Qreshi, Esquire	Tyles Fectory Old Sukkur Sind.
9	K.S.Rasool Bux Shah M.L.A	P.O Ghotki, Distt. Sukkur.
10	Mr M.H. Gazder M.L.A	Runchore Line Karachi.
11	Moulana Zahurul Hassan Daras	Saddar, Karachi
12	Sayed Khalilurrahman B.A.,	Khalil Manzil, Monzang, Lahore.
13	Jam Abdul Rezak Saheb	P.O. Ubauro, Distt. Sukkur, Sind.
14	Mohamed Ismail Esq.	Editor Muslim Gazette, Dadu, Sind
15	Choudhury Ghulam Muhammed Seheb,	Zamindar, MirpurKhas Sind.
16	M.P.Drakhan Esquire, Ex. M.L.A.,	P.O. Drakhan, Distt. Sukkur, Sind.
17	Mr. Muhammed Qassim Maesar,	Village Gahi Mahesar, Taluk Mehar Distt. Dadu Sind.
18	Wadero Fakir Muhammed Khan Mangrio,	P.O.Sindhri, Distt. MirpurKhas, Sind
19	Yusuf Abdullah Haroon,	Napier Road Karachi.
20	Sayed Hissamudin H. Rashdi Saheb,	Bahman, P.O Nasrat, Distt. Larkana, Sind.
21	Mr. Ali Gohar Khan Lahori,	Village, Lahori, Larkana Sind.
22	Hon!ble Mr. Sheikh Abdul Majid	Minister, Karachi.
23	Syed Khair Shah M.L.A.	Nawabshah, Sind.
24	Agha Nazerali Saheb,	Editor Sind Zamindar, Sukkur, Sind.
25	Nawab Ghulam Hussain khan Laghari	Thar Parker C/o Muslim League Office Napier Road Karachi

LIST YEAR 1942

1	Syed Khair Shah Saheb M.L.A.	Nawabshah, Sind.
2	Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan B.A	Zamindar Sultankcoat Distt. Sukkur
3	Kazi Fazlullah	Advocate Larkana.
4	Moulana Sanaullah Saheb	Shewaram Building, Near Lea Market, Karachi.
5	Mr. Naimatullah Qreshi,	Proprietor Tyles Fectory Old Sukkur, Sind.
6	Pir Rasool Bux Shah Saheb, M.L.A	P.O Ghotki, Distt. Sukkur.
7	Wadero Fakir Muhammed Khan Mangrio,	P.O.Sindhri, Distt. MirpurKhas, Sind
8	Seth Yusuf Abdullah Haroon,	Napier Road Karachi.
9	Mr Mohad Hashim Gazder M.L.A	Runchore Line Karachi.
10	Moulana Zahurulhassan Daras	Saddar, Karachi
11	Agha Nazerali Saheb,	Manager Sind Zamindar, Sukkur,

12	K.B.Md Ayub Khuhro, M.L.A	Sind
13	K.B.Haji Ghulam Md. Isran MLA	Larkana.
14	Babu Jalal DinContractor	P.O.Khairpur, Juso, Via Kamber, Sind.
15	Serai Ali Gohar Khan Lahori,	Saddar Bazar Hyderabad sind.
16	Sayed Hissamudin Shah,	Village, Lahori,Larkana Sind.
17	K.S.Choudhry Ghulam Mohamed	Village Bahman, P.O Station
18	Syed Ali Mohammad H. Rashdi	Nasrat,Distt. Larkana.
19	Mir Bunday Ali Khan Talpur M.L.A	Nabisar Road, Distt. Tarparkar
20	Pir Ghulam Murtaza Saheb Sarhandi,	Muslim League Office Karachi
21	Mr. Md. Yusuf Chandio, M.L.A	City.
22	K.B.Ghulam Md. Khan Wasan	Tando Ghulamali Khan Distt.
23	Mr. Rasul Bux Munshi	Hyderabad
24	Syed Hassan Bux Shah Zaminder	President Muslim League, P.O
25	Syed Md, Salleh Shah ZAminder	Malir, Karachi.
		P.O.Ladiyun, Distt. Karachi
		P.O Kandiyari Taluka Sanghar,
		Distt.Tharparkar Sind.
		Retired Deputy Collector, Sukkur,
		Sind.
		Mehrabpur, Distt. Nawabshah
		Uderolal, Distt. Hyderabad, Sind

LIST YEAR 1943

1	Syed Khair Shah M.L.A.	Nawabshah, Sind.
2	Agha Nazerali,	Manager Sind Zamindar Press,
3	Kazi Fazlullah, B.A.LLB.	Sukkur,Sind.
4	Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan B.A	Advocate Larkana.
5	Hon'ble Mr.Mohmed Hashim Gazadar M.L.A	P.O Sultankoat,Taluka Shikarpur,
6	Syed Hassan Bux Shah Zaminder	Sind.
7	Mir Bandehali Khan Talpur M.L.A	Ranchore Lane, Karachi
8	Seai Ali Gohar Khan Lahori,	P.O. Mirpurkhas Via Sakram,Distt.
9	Mr. Md. Yusuf Chandio, M.L.A	Nawabshah Sind.
10	Wadero Fakir Muhammed Khan Mangrio,	Tando Ghulamali Khan Distt.
11	K.B.Babu Jalal DinLand Lord,	Hyderabad.
12	Seth Mohamud Abdullah Haroon,	Zamindar, Lahori,Larkana Sind.
13	Hon'ble Mr. G.M.Syed M.L.A	P.O.Ladiyun, Distt.t Karachi.
14	Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytulah	Zamindar, Mirpur Khas,,
15	K.B.Ghulam Md. Khan Wasan	Distt.Tharparkar,Sind
16	Syed Md, Saleh Mohamed Shah ZAminder	Saddar Bazar Hyderabad Sind.
17	Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Talpur M.L.A	Napier Road Karachi.
18	Sayed Mohamed Ali Shah, M.L.A.	Sunn Distt. Dadu.
19	K.S.Choudhry Ghulam Mohamad Khan	Premier Sind Karachi.
20	Mr. Ghulam Ali Alana	P.O Kandiyari Taluka Sanghar,
		Distt.Tharparkar Sind.
		Saddar Bazar Distt. Hyderabad,
		Sind.
		Tando Mohamaed Khan Hyderabad
		Sind.
		P.O.Darbell Distt. Nawabshah
		Sind.
		Manager Dauesor Estate P.O
		Nabisar Road Distt. Tarparkar
		C/o British Watch Co. Camp

21	Pir Illahi Bux, M.A.L.L.B	Karachi. Educational Minister Government of Sind, Karachi.
22	Syed Ghulam Hyder Shah	Zaminder Mir purkhas, Sind.
23	Maulana Abdul Hai Haquani,	Editor Nasrat Rambagh, Gari Khata, Karachi.
24	Nawab Haji Mohamed Ali Zamindar	P.O. Tajpur Distt. Hyderabad Sind.
25	Moulana Zahoorul Hassan Dars	Saddar Bazar Karachi

LIST YEAR 1944

1	Hon!ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytulah	Premier Sind Karachi
2	Hon!ble K.B.Mohammed Ayoob Khan Khuhro,	Revenue Minister Karachi
3	Hon!ble Pir Illahi Bux, M.A.L.L.B	Educational Minister Government of Sind, Karachi.
4	Hon!ble Mr Mohad Hashim Gazadar M.L.A	Home Minister Karachi
5	Rais Yusuf Chandio Saheb,	P.O Ladyoun , Distt. Karachi
6	Mr. Ghulam Ali Allanna	Proprietor Watch Co. Saddar Karachi.
7	Mir Bundayali Khan Talpur M.L.A	Tando Ghulamali Khan Distt. Hyderabad.
8	Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Talpur M.L.A	Tando Mohamaed Khan Hyderabad Sind.
9	Syed Md, Saleh Shah ZAminder	Member of District Local Board. Saddar Hyderabad, Sind
10	Syed Ghulam Hyder Shah B.A.L.L.B	Chairman Distt. School Board, Mir purkhas, Distt. Tharparkar, Sind.
11	Khan Bahadur Ghulam Mohamed Khan Sahib,	P.O. Kandiyar Taluka Sanghar, Distt. Wassan. Thar, Sind
12	Syed Mohd. Ali Shah Sahib, M.L.A	Zamindar Darbelo Distt. Nawabshah.
13	Syed Khair Shah M.L.A.	Nawabshah, Sind.
14	Syed Hassan Bakhsh Shah Sahib	P.O. Mehrabpur, Taluka Sakrand, Distt. Nawabshah.
15	Syed Mohammad Zaman Shah Sahib,	Zamindar Matiari, Distt Hyderabad, Sind.
16	Syed Ali Akbar Shah Sahib,	Jamma Arabya, Saddar Hyderabad, Sind.
17	Agha Nazer Ali Khan Sahib,	Manager Sind Zamindar, Sukkur, Sind.
18	Agha Badurdin Khan Sahib,	P.Q. Garhi Yasin. Distt. Sukkur Sind
19	Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Sahib,	P.O. Kot-Sultan, Taluka Shikarpur, Sind.
20	K.B. Sardar Jaffar Khan Sahib (Balochistan)	Bulledi M.L.A. Jaffar Abad, P.O. Usto Mohammed.
21	K.B. Ghulam Mohd. Khan Sahib Isran,	M.L.A P.O. Khairpur, Juso, Taluka, Kambar, Larkana Sind
22	Wadero Inayatullah Khan Sahib,	Zamindar, P.O. Bhaledio Abad, Distt. Jacobabad, Sind.
23	Lady Abdullah Haroon Seheba,	Napier Road Karachi.
24	Dr. A.A. Khan Sahib,	Saddar Karachi.

'25 Kazi Fazullah Sahib, B.A.L.L.B;

Advocate, Larkana Sind.

Source: List of elected members The Council of the All India Muslim League 1938- 1944

APPENDIX VIII

GOVERNORS'S LIST AFTER SEPARATION OF SINDH TO CREATION OF PAKISTAN

NAME	TENURE
Sir Lancelot Graham	April 1936 to August 1938.
Joseph Garrett(acting	1 August 1938 to 1 December 1938.
Sir Lancelot Graham	1 December 1938 to 1 April 1941.
Sir Hugh Dow	1 April 1941 to 15 January 1946.
Sir Rober Franas Mudie	15 January 1946 to 14 August 1947.

APPENDIX IX

LIST OF PRIMERS OF SINDH DURING 1937-1947

NAME	TENURE
Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah	28 April 1937 to 23 March 1938.
Allah Bux Soomro	23 March 1938 to 18 March 1940.
Mir Bandeh Ali	18 March 1940 to 7 March 1941.
Allah Bux Soomro	7 March 1941 to 14 October 1942.
Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah	14 October 1942 to 14 August 1947.
Ayub Khuhro	14 August 1947 to 28 April 1948.

APPENDIX X

Cabinet of Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, 28 April 1937 to 23 March 1938

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	Chief Minister: Finance Interior, Political Affairs and General Administration
Mukhi Gobindram	Police and PWD
Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur	Revenue

Cabinet of Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah, 14 October 1942

Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah	Finance and services
Mir Bendah Ali	Law and Order
Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur	Food and Health
Pirzada Abdul sattar	Revenue
Pir Ellahi Bux	Education
Ayub Khuhro	Development

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