
THE SINDHI SITUATION IN PARTITIONED INDIA

Ram Amarlal Panjwani



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The Sindhi Situation in Partitioned India

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PREFACE

With a view to acquainting the non-Sindhi people with the Sindhi heritage, Sindhi Academy Delhi has been organising special lectures in Hindi or English on Sindhi language, literature, history, archaeology and the arts by eminent scholars in their respective fields. These lectures have also aimed at the young Sindhis, who are in search of their socio-cultural and literary identity.

Today we have the honour to invite Sri Ram Panjwani, a Senior Advocate of Supreme Court of India, to deliver the sixteenth lecture in the series, the lecture on 'The Sindhi Situation in Partitioned India'. As the learned speaker points out, the British India was partitioned on the basis of narrow religious view and the whole of Sindh was lost to Pakistan because of Muslim majority in it. But the political division of Indo- Pak Sindhis has not over the last 50 years shown any sign of their divided sensibility. The same is true about those Indo-Pak people who speak Punjabi and Urdu. There have been differences at the Government-to-Government level, but no differences have ever existed at the people-to-people one. For, the people more wisely know that the Indian sub-continent shares one common destiny.

It is our proud privilege that Prof. K.N. Vaswani, a veteran Sindhi scholar, presides over this lecture.

March 21, 1998

Motilal Jotwani
Member Secretary
Sindhi Academy, Delhi

Acknowledgement

I owe deep debt of gratitude to the authors and publishers from whose works I have drawn inspiration, knowledge and light.

RAM AMARLAL PANJWANI

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The Sindhi Situation in Partitioned India

By

Ram Amarlal Panjwani

I was born in Sindh of undivided India. I have known Sindhu river from childhood. I am child of Sindhu river. At the banks of Sindhu river Rig Veda was composed. In mandal nine of Rig Veda, there are nine shalokas in praise of Sindhu river. Aryans worshipped Sindhu river like one of the deities. Let me recite one of the shalokas:

*“The Sindhu is rich in horses, rich in chariots,
rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments,
well made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever fresh,
abounding in Silama plants, and the auspicious
river wears honey growing (flowers)”.*

Appendix A

My schooling was at Jacobabad, Karachi and Sukkur. For higher studies I was for two years at D.J. Sindh College, Karachi and did L.L. B from S.C. Shahani Law College Karachi. For post graduate course in Law I came to Pune for two years 1945-46 and 1946-47. After finishing the examination in March 1947, I with my friends went to visit Ajanta and Ellora caves. In April, 1947 I returned to Sindh with daring dreams, high hopes and lofty aspirations. Important events were taking place at rapid pace. India was partitioned on 15 August. India and Pakistan, two dominions came into existence. I was enrolled as an Advocate of Chief Court of Sindh on 6th September 1947. During the first fifteen days of my practise at the Bar I argued on behalf of the State, the first murder case. Thus I tasted sweetness of legal profession.

There were unsettled conditions in Sindh. My father Diwan Amarlal, who had retired as Chief Officer, District Local Board, Jacobabad, decided to migrate to India. Since I had lived two years in

Pune, I was asked to proceed to Bombay.

On 6 October 1947 I landed at Bombay Port with my heart full of pride. Bombay like an affectionate mother welcomed me with open arms and without any discrimination whatsoever. I joined the legal profession. Fifty years have passed away. Let us journey into the past____ not a distant past. Let us explore with dispassionate mind. One need not go into the details of the factors leading to "the Great Divide", since it was accepted by the All India Congress Committee and the All India Muslim League as the only way out of the impasse created by British rulers.

What made the Indian soil congenial to Hindu Sindhis? How is it that Hindu Sindhis were welcomed by the people of India belonging to different faiths? I think it is accounted for by a long tradition of Indian culture. Values of tolerance, good will and compassion are like bright stars in the firmament of Indian culture.

A humanism entailing compassion for the needy, and transcending differences of race and caste, finds utterance as early as in Vedic literature spanning a thousand years from about 1500 BC. In the Rig Veda are found lines which counsel man to be compassionate to his kind:

*"Fortune, like two chariot wheels revolving,
now to one man comes nigh, now to another.
Who has the power should give unto the needy.
One who feeds all by himself sins all by himself."*

Yagnavalkya (about 700 BC) deprecates the concept of high and low according to the accident of birth :

*"It is not our religion, still less the colour of
our skin, that produces virtue, virtue must be
practised. Therefore, let no one do to others
what he would not have done to himself."*

In the Chandogya Upanishad, Svetaketu is advised by his father:

*"Live the disciplined life of a student of sacred
knowledge. No one, indeed, belonging to our
family is unlearned in the Vedas and remains a
Brahmin only by family connections as it were."*

Sindh

Sindh played a leading role for the success of the Muslim League. The first regular session of Muslim League was held at Karachi on 29-30 December, 1907 and was presided over by Adamji Pir Bhai. Sindh was the only province in India where Muslim League had formed its Government. Sindh Legislative Assembly met on March 3, 1943 when G.M. Syed tabled the Pakistan Resolution that since Indian Muslims were separate nation their demand for a separate state was a proper demand and must be accepted. **Appendix B**

There were 27 members who attended the meeting. All the Congress MLAs were behind the bars because of Quit-India Freedom movement. 24 members voted in favour of the resolution and 3 Hindu members voted against the resolution.

The Indian Independence Act was completed by Parliament's draftsman in London in July 1947. It amended the Government of India Act of 1935, exorcising it of its provisions providing for imperial control, and made the 1935 Act the basic constitutional document of the dominions of India and Pakistan. The federated form of government of British India was continued in both dominions, with functions, duties, and rights enumerated for both the federal and provincial levels. The day before Parliament was to cast its final vote on the Independence Act, Mounrbatten arranged conferences at the Viceroy's palace, inviting Nehru and Patel in one group and Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan in another group. Both groups considered the terms of the Independence Act in separate rooms for a period of an hour and a half. The Chief Justice of the Indian Supreme Court was available to answer any questions concerning the legislation that Parliament was to consider the next day. There were no questions or objections by either group to the terms of the Independence Act.

On 15 August 1947, Pakistan, like India, came into existence specifically identified as a independent dominion with a constitution created by Parliament and modelled on the Westminster form of Parliamentary cabinet government. The constitution Pakistan received at independence was similar in structure to dominion constitutions which has been in operation for many years in the senior dominions of Canada, Australian, New Zeland, and South Africa. Under Pakistan's dominion constitution, the sovereignty previously exercised by

Parliament was to be exercised by a newly created Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. This Assembly was made up of the representatives elected in 1946 to the Constituent Assembly of undivided India from the areas which after independence constituted Pakistan.

The Congress Party had never varied from its position that the legislature of an independent undivided India would be a sovereign body, sovereignty being understood to mean the right to unilaterally amend any constitution which might be in or come into existence at independence. Jinnah and the Muslim League had not disagreed with the theory of legislative sovereignty, but if they were to agree to a united India they demanded safeguards for the Muslim minority within any such legislature. This would have meant a limitation on the constituent powers of the legislature to change the constitution. But after rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan, there was no further consideration during the negotiations between the British and the Indians of transferring anything less than full sovereignty to the federal level of any new nation that would be transferred to one constituent assembly for an undivided India or would be transferred to separate constituent assemblies if the subcontinent was partitioned. When the sovereign powers exercised by the British Parliament over the subcontinent were transferred to two constituent assemblies, one for the new Indian and one for Pakistan, limitations of sovereignty were no longer needed because the Muslims would be the majority in their own assembly.

The functions of the federal legislature of British India in enacting ordinary legislation were now to be carried out respectively by the newly created Constituent Assemblies of India and Pakistan. Separate from the function, those Assemblies also had constituent powers with the initial responsibility in each of the two dominions of drafting any new constitutions. Each Assembly was vested with the power to make any changes it wished to the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Indian Independence Act. Unlike the senior dominions, the independent dominions of India and Pakistan, possessing full constituent powers, were free to make any constitutional changes they wished without obtaining approval of the British Parliament.

The leaders of Pakistan had before them the task of putting their new dominion constitution into operation. Pakistanis had not been

called to the barricades to protest British rule. Their principal opponent had been the Hindu majority of the subcontinent, and their reason for insisting that British India be partitioned was not motivated primarily by oppression experienced at the hands of the British, but by fear of future religious suppression by the Hindus. Any thinking as to how this Muslim sanctuary would be governed if it were won was put off by Jinnah and the Muslim League until the time independence was achieved. Jawaharlal Nehru served as the theorist for India's secular state but Pakistan had no counterpart. The leaders of Pakistan's independence movement had a general idea that the new state would be a democracy of the Western type, but it is uncertain whether their allegiance to parliamentary democracy was based on conviction or convenience.

While he lived, Jinnah was the government of Pakistan. Nothing was done without his concurrence, express or implied, and very often with his active participation. It is uncertain how many of those around him knew but never spoke of what the X-rays revealed; the condition of Jinnah's lungs was such that his life span after independence could only be measured in months. Pakistan seemed to be at a political standstill awaiting direction from its leader. The religious factions raised no demands, east and west wings did not voice their differences, and nothing was done about the new constitution. From the beginning, the people of Pakistan had relied on Jinnah's guidance, and no one could think of Pakistan without him. He had brought into existence a new nation and now his people looked to him to tell them what they should do with the fruits of his victory.

The first major constitutional act of the new nation of Pakistan was the appointment of a Governor-General. Jinnah's appointment of himself to the office was to have an impact on Pakistan's political development. In the other dominions the Governor-General was by convention expected to be an elder statesman, retired military person, or a member of the aristocracy, and not an active politician. He was appointed by the British Crown on the advice of the dominion ministry, was responsible to that ministry, and was removable by the Crown on the advice of that ministry.

It was a surprise when Jinnah announced that he would be the first Governor-General of Pakistan. He issued no statement giving the

reasons why he chose to disregard Commonwealth convention and select himself, certainly no figurehead removed from politics.

He refused to take the oath as Governor-General in the form then in use in the Commonwealth: to bear true faith and allegiance to his Majesty. Instead, his oath was to bear true allegiance to the constitution and be faithful to his Majesty. Further, as Governor-General Jinnah refused to assent in the name of the English sovereign to the ordinary legislation which required the Governor-General's assent under the constitution.

Jinnah undertook the constitutionally unusual move of serving both as Governor-General and as a Cabinet member. He kept the newly created ministries of Education and Refugee Rehabilitation and that of State and Frontier Regions under his direct control by accepting the portfolios for these Cabinet offices. The latter ministry gave him administrative control of Baluchistan. He not only accepted an appointment from the Constituent Assembly as adviser for the writing of a new constitution, but unique among Commonwealth Governors General, he served in the dual capacity of Governor-General and President of the Legislature. Jinnah also appointed Sir Archibald Rowland as his financial adviser. Firoz Khan Noon as his special envoy to the Middle East, and Zafrulla Khan to the United Nations to argue the case of the Palestinian Arabs. He appointed a personal representative in Kabul, a post which was later converted to an ambassadorship. His Kabul agent represented to the Afghan government that Jinnah was the only person in Pakistan's Government who could get things done; making it only a matter of formality to go through any other channel. Jinnah took public positions on controversial political issues such as the separation of Karachi from Sindh. His advice supporting the separation, although quite unpopular, was decisive, and his intervention in the disturbances in East Bengal, urging the Bengalis to accept Urdu as the sole national language, was essential to restoring peace there. Pakistan had a political Governor-General who controlled the Executive, the Cabinet, and the Assembly. Although Jinnah was not the Governor-General envisioned in the dominion constitution, he did not indicate to the nation that he was to be considered unique. Nor did he justify his actions as Governor-General on the ground that he believed the times were exceptional and that in the future the nation should look to the constitution and its conventions when choosing a Governor-General

and defining the scope of that office.

Several months after removing the Khan Sahib Ministry, Jinnah acted under Section 51(5) to dismiss M.A. Khuhro from the Post of Chief Minister of Sindh. In doing so, Jinnah pushed the bounds of the constitutional limits of the Governor-General even further than he had in the NWFP. On 28 April 1948, Jinnah had Governor Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah of Sindh issue a proclamation stating that, on instructions from the Governor General, he was dismissing Khuhro as provincial Chief Minister. The grounds given were *prima facie* case has been made out against him for charges of maladministration, gross misconduct and corruption in the discharge of his duties and responsibilities. Khuhro's government had come into conflict with the central government at the beginning of 1948 when the central government in order to make Karachi Pakistan's capital, withdrew the city from Sindh and reconstitute it as federal territory. The Sindh legislature and the Khuhro ministry vehemently fought this move. Despite this opposition, Jinnah supported the establishment of Karachi as the capital of the central government. Khuhro had also clashed with Governor Hidayatullah, who enjoyed the support of Jinnah, when the Governor shuffled portfolios. Jinnah ruled Pakistan as a dictator and died in September 1948.

Constituent Assembly

The Constituent Assembly of undivided India had its first sitting on 16 May, 1946. Members of Muslim League did not attend it. Although Muslim League members were elected to that Assembly, they did not take their seats until after independence, when constituent Assembly divided in two and separate assemblies began functioning; one for India and the other for Pakistan. This was the birth of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly.

In the Indian Constituent Assembly there were three members from Sindh, JB Kirpalani, Jairamdas Daulatram and R.K. Sidhwa. In Pakistan Constituent Assembly there were three Muslim members only from Sindh. Mohammad Hasham Gazdar was one of the members. Indian Constituent Assembly sat round the clock and completed the task of drafting the Constitution on 26th November 1949. The

representatives of people of India adopted, enacted and gave to themselves the Constitution of India. Three members from Sindh played significant part in the deliberations. They took active part in the debates.

In Pakistan the Constituent Assembly for the first eleven years sat for 338 days only. It works out 30 days per year. Every session lasted for a few hours. While the legislature in these years enacted 160 laws, the Head of State promulgated 376 laws and Ordinances. The main task of drafting the constitution was relegated in the back ground. Ultimately, in 1973 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Sindhi Muslim, as Prime Minister gave written constitution to Pakistan.

Separate Electorate Versus Joint Electorate

Under Indian Constitution there is joint electorate for elections. Founding Fathers of the Constitution rejected the idea of separate electorate. Sindhis in India have done exceedingly well under the joint electorate. At one time L.K Advani was leader of opposition in Lok Sabha. Many Sindhis have fought elections and entered the Parliament like Ram Jethmalani, K.R. Malkani, Suresh Keswani, Acharya Bhagwan Dev, Shastri Dhramdas. In 1998 elections L.K Advani was elected to Lok Sabha, defeating his rival candidate by huge margin. In Pakistan during 1956 most of the parties in United Front, including the Nizem-i-Islam Party, the East Pakistan Awami League and the Hindu community (then about twenty five percent of the total population of East Pakistan) vehemently favoured the system of joint electorate. On the other hand, the Muslim League was all for a system of separate electorate. Thus, a debate arose over the electorate issue in the National Assembly. Being the leading exponent of the separate electorate system, the Muslim League leadership advanced the following main arguments.

- (a) The ideology of Pakistan was based on the Two Nation theory which established the cardinal principle of separate electorate.
- (b) Such a system ensured the protection and adequate representation of minorities in national affairs in accordance with their numerical strength.
- (c) Islam being the only link between the two wings, if

non-Muslims were to participate in joint elections (as was envisaged in the joint electoral system), they might infiltrate the higher ranks of the Muslim political parties, thus subverting the ideology of Pakistan.

The defenders of the joint electorate system came up with equally compelling arguments in support of their stance. They maintained that:

- (a) In the system of separate electorate, with the exclusion of 25 percent non-Muslim (mainly the Hindus in East Pakistan), and with parity representation between the two wings of the country, the Bengali Muslims would be reduced to a permanent minority vis-a-vis West Pakistan.
- (b) Apprehending its eventual failure to win over the Hindu voters in any future electoral process, the Muslim League was designedly trying to exclude them from the mainstream of Pakistani national politics.
- (c) The system of separate electorate was in complete contravention of the solemn pledges given by Jinnah to the minorities on various occasions.
- (d) If the Two Nation theory held good (even after the achievement of Pakistan), the minorities would be obliged to demand a separate state to preserve their respective identities, following in the footsteps of the Muslims in British India.
- (e) If both the Muslims and the non-Muslims could jointly elect the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, how could they be debarred from jointly electing the members of the National Assembly?
- (f) The joint electoral system might help national integration.

As if the crisis generated by separate versus joint electorate system was not sufficient to rock the boat, another Bill, envisaging joint electorate in East Pakistan, to allay fears of the Hindus and Bengalis, and separate electorate in West Pakistan, to acquiesce in the fundamentalists motives of splitting the national polity beyond repair,

was passed by the National Assembly in October 1956. However, the ensuing resentment in the public impelled the government of the day to introduce an amended version of the above mentioned Bill, the Electorate Amendment Bill, in the National Assembly in April, 1957, providing for joint electorate system in both wings of the country. The Bill was subsequently passed, ultimately paving the way for the Election Commission to make preparations for the general elections to be held on the basis of universal franchise in 1958. Like the rest of the constitutional controversies, the separate versus joint electorate issue suited the ruling elite's strategy for prolonging their rule, and that too, without facing the people of Pakistan at the hustings. Instead of picking up the pieces to integrate the nation, the electorate bill issue created undesirable cleavages between the two wings of the country. Ironically, unlike the politics of the Pakistan movement, this time it was the majority which entertained fears of being overwhelmed by the minority the old persecution complex had again taken hold of the Muslim multitude.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan in its original form allowed Sindhi Hindus a right to vote in and contest from all general seats, giving them the additional advantage of reserved seats for the sole purpose of ensuring their adequate representation in the Parliament. Zia by Eighth Amendment of the Constitution brought separate electorate for the minorities and Sindhi Hindus were reduced to the status of second rate citizens. Sindhi Hindus suffer from various constitutional disabilities in Pakistan.

- (a) He cannot become either President or Prime Minister.
- (b) The whole Pakistan is one constituency for Sindhi Hindu for the purpose of election to National Assembly.
- (c) The electorate is separate and therefore Hindu voter can vote for Hindu candidate. Thus he is cut off from the main stream of politics of Pakistan.
- (d) The Hindus protested against separate electorate after partition. They were a minority, but unlike the Muslims before independence, they were a minority which wanted the right to full political participation, not protection. The Hindus resented having to vote in a separate category where they voted only for Hindu candidates, with the result that the Hindu voter had no

influence on who was elected in the majority Muslim category which would be in control of the government. In contrast, a joint electorate, in which all votes were counted together, would have enhanced the value of the vote cast by a minority voter because any candidate would be running as a general candidate. A member of a minority community would be eligible to be one of the general candidates, and perhaps of even greater importance, the minority community voter would possess a vote which would be in the interests of a Muslim candidate to attempt to win. The Hindu voter would have an opportunity to participate in the election of an office holder who would be active in running the government, instead of voting only for a candidate who would, in effect, be limited to representing Hindu interests.

As already stated in India the Constituent Assembly gave the Constitution to people of India on 26 November, 1949.

In Pakistan Ghulam Mohammad, Governor General dissolved the first Constituent Assembly in October 1954 and imposed emergency on the country. The Deputy President of the Assembly and the leader of the Hindu opposition party were refused admission to the assembly building in Karachi by the police.

Sindhi Language Under British Rule

My mother tongue is Sindhi. I can read and write Sindhi. Sindh was conquered by Sir Charles Napier in 1843. At this time the Baloch tribe of Talpurs, who had seized power from the Kalhoras in 1783, used Persian as the court language, though this Persian had Sindhi words in it. Sindhi was also taught in some schools but, according to B.H. Ellis, Assistant Commissioner in Sindh in the 1850s this was 'Hindoo-Sindee, written in the Khudawadee and other varieties of the Sindee character' and there were only 23 such schools with 803 pupils. Most Muslims as well as Hindu clerks who functioned as bureaucrats under the Muslim rulers studied in schools where Arabic and Persian were taught. There were said to be 609 such schools with 6,479 pupils. However, according to lieutenant (later Sir) Richard Burton (1821 -1890), at that time a military officer in Sindh even in these Perso- Arabic schools the pupil is nine years old before he proceeds to the next step, the systematic study of his mother tongue, the Sindhi. This, it should be pointed out, was a departure from Muslim educational practices in the rest of South Asia where the mother tongue was not taught. Thus, besides numerous poetical and religious works in Sindhi, there were also textbooks in the language, such as the seventeenth century work called Abul Hasan Jo Sindhi, even before the British conquest.

In 1847, R.K. Pringle, Commissioner of Sindh, submitted a report on the language situation in Sindh, to George Russell Clerk, Governor of Bombay, suggesting that education may be encouraged. Apropos the language he wrote:

It may also be for consideration whether the vernacular language of the people may not with advantage be introduced in business, but I have not yet had an opportunity of ascertaining its capabilities for this purpose.

Most British officers favoured the use of the vernacular language at the lower levels and Sir George Clerk wrote in his Minute of 24 April, 1848.

We should introduce the language of the country (namely, Sindhee) as the medium of official intercourse.

I do not see in what way our revenue and judicial officers (However their offices and courts may be constituted) can work effectually through a foreign medium of communication, such as Persian or English.

The Bombay Government finally issued a circular (no. 1825 of 6 September 1851) requiring all officers to undergo an examination to test their proficiency in a colloquial knowledge of Sindhee.

The Court of Directors of the Company decided in favour of the Arabic script through Resolution No.48. of 1852. This decision was political in that it was meant to conciliate the Muslim majority of Sindh so that it would not oppose the British government .

The Commissioner of Sindh Mr. Frere issued a proclamation No. 100/ 1857 on 29 August 1857 to the effect that hence forward Sindhi language in Arabic Script shall be the official language of Sindh in all the government departments including courts.

Appendix C

Sindhi Language Under Indian Constitution

Here in India Central Government took immediate steps to recognise Sindhi Language.

Central government issued a notification dated 9, March 1950 and accepted Devnagri script for Sindhi language.

Appendix D

Subsequently the Government issued second notification dated 10 January 1951 accepting Sindhi language in Arabic Script also and thus allowed the use of both the scripts.

Appendix E

Sindhi community was deeply interested that Sindhi language be given constitutional protection. They raised united voice in support of their demand. Shrimati Indira Gandhi graciously accepted the demand. By Twenty First Amendment Act, 1967 the Constitution was amended and Sindhi language was given its rightful place in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution.

Appendix F

Thus Sindhi language stands equally with other seventeen languages of India. Subsequently Government of India issued instructions dated 14 November 1969 to all the state governments that Sindhi students have option to choose between Arabic and Devanagiri scripts for Sindhi language.

Appendix G

Sindhi community is linguistic minority under Article 30 of the Constitution. The educational institutions established by Sindhi community fall within Article 30. Such institutions give preference to minority students. Minority aided educational institutions are entitled to make reservations for their own candidates. But in no case such intake shall exceed 50 percent of the annual admission. The admissions of other community candidates shall be done purely on merits.

Entry of The Mohajirs in Sindh

Partition brought an influx of refugees or the mohajirs to the Sindh as Table 1 indicates :

TABLE 1

Change in Religious Composition in Karachi

Community	1941		1951	
	Persons (1000s)	Percent	Persons (1000s)	Percent
Total	365.3	100	1006.4	100
Muslims	153.3	42.0	967.5	96.1
Caste Hindus	173.9	47.6	4.4	0.4
Scheduled Castes	11.9	3.3	11.8	1.2
Christian	10.0	2.7	16.7	1.7
Parsi	3.7	1.0	5.0	0.5
Jain	3.2	0.9	-	-
Sikhs	4.8	1.3	1.0	0.1
Others	4.6	1.2	-	-

Source: Pakistan Census 1951: Chapter 5, Statement 5-B

Although Mohd Ayub Khuhro declared in the Legislative Assembly that 45,000 refugees were sent to Tharparkar, 30,000 to Newabshah, and 25,000 to Hyderabad (LAD-S 18 February 1948:), to cultivate 'abandoned fields' (ibid, 11 February 1948:), most of the refugees settled down in the major cities of Sindh. In the whole of Pakistan, refugees formed 9.8 per cent of the population, but in Sindh and Khairpur state they formed 11.7 per cent of the population. However, as they were concentrated in the cities, the demographic composition of urban Sindh (including Karachi, which was then the federal capital area) changed as follows:

Table 2

Proportion of Mohajirs in the major cities of Sindh in 1951

City	Population	Mohajirs	Mohajirs as percentage of population
Karachi (Corporation)	10,64,557	6,12,680	57.55
Hyderabad	2,41,801	1,59,805	66.08
Sukkur	77,026	41,791	54.08
Mirpurkhas	40,412	27,649	68.42
Nawabshah	34,201	18,742	54.79
Larkana	33,247	11,767	35.39

*Source: Pakistan Census 1951: Vol.1, Table 2 Section 2 and 3
District Census reports.*

The Mohajirs were better educated than the local Sindhis as the following figures show:

Table 3

Years of Education

Place	Total Population	Received Schooling	Received over 10 Years of Schooling
Pakistan	7,29,93,118	1,02,94,704	5,86,151
(a) Karachi	11,22,404	2,76,602	30,914
Sindh & Khairpur	49,25,342	3,79,375	17,202
(b) Punjab & Bahawalpur	2,06,36,702	25,88,870	1,78,656
(c) NWFP	32,22,172	2,15,304	25,052
(d) Balochistan & States Union	7,29,93,118	102,04,704	5,86,151

Source: Pakistan Census 1951: Vol. 1. Table 9-A

The figures for Karachi represent the higher percentage of Mohajirs who were educated. Their literacy rate was 23.4 per cent, whereas that of Sindh as a whole was only 13.2 per cent.

This led to Mohajirs taking up technical, bureaucratic, and professional jobs, as the following figures illustrate.

Table 4*Occupation of the Non-Agricultural Labour Force*

Occupation	Sindh and Khairpur	Karachi
Non-Agricultural labourers	4,57,942	3,73,796
Professional and technical	17,634	10,449
Engineers and architects	243	1,119
Transport managers, pilots	17	36
Professors and teachers	7,923	2,995
Religious Workers	2,061	918
Physicians and surgeons	2,519	1,427
Nurses and other health workers	1,170	1,123
Authors, writers, journalists,		
Judges and lawyers	390	498
Chemists and metallurgists	17	112
Other professions	2,898	1,927
Administrative	41,832	75,330
Business executives	4,503	7,209
Government Services	439	1,344
Office workers	30,380	66,777
Manufacturing (Skilled)		58,032

Source: Pakistan Census 1951: Table 11-A

Thus, the Mohajirs were the largest urban-based pressure group in Sindh, even in the fifties. The tangible symbol of their identity was the city of Karachi, where the culture of UP held undisputed sway. The cultural implications of this were grave. The Mohajirs, who already felt that their urban Mughal culture was superior to the indigenous culture of Sindh, now got a physical locale in which that culture could take root and flourish. As Urdu was an important aspect of the aesthetic

sensibility of Lucknow and Delhi, the two centres of UP culture, it assumed the role of an evocative cultural symbol in urban Sindh too. In fact, since Urdu had been an important symbol it was perpetuated by the Mohajirs and the ruling Punjabi elite as a mark of Pakistani Muslim identity.

Since Mohajirs were concentrated in cities they were not under pressure to learn Sindhi. Indeed, even those who wanted to, found it hard to do so, because it was so easy to get by with Urdu. If the Mohajirs had been spread thinly every where and local language had been encouraged, they might have become an assimilated minority. Why the government allowed their concentration in urban Sindh in the first place is a question which has been satisfactorily answered. The Sindhi nationalists assert that Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan (who had himself come from India) settled them there so as to create an electoral constituency. G.M. Syed, while asserting this, also adds that the Punjab did not accept them. Hamza Alavi also claims that the Punjab did not accept the Mohajirs and he writes that:

Forty years ago the Punjabi ruling oligarchy ensured that refugees from East Punjab (and only those) were settled in West Punjab so that Punjab in Pakistan remained ethnically homogenous. All other refugees, mainly Urdu speaking refugees from Northern and Central India, were settled in Sindh. They were kept out of the Punjab although Punjab is a much larger province and had a greater capacity to absorb the refugees.

The communal riots were instigated to drive out the Hindus. Karachi being an industrial city and the capital, attracted Mohajirs, who therefore settled down there initially. After that these settlers, having created their own culture, naturally attracted others of their kind from India. The Mohajirs concentrated in the cities of Sindh with the help of Federal Government.

In any case, the conditions of urban Sindh, combined with their own cultural history and the pro-Urdu policies of the government, made the Mohajirs a resistant, non assimilationist collectivity. The evolution of the Sindhi Movement in Pakistan can be seen in the light of the resistance offered to it by the Mohajirs and the ruling Punjabi dominated elite.

Separation of Karachi from Sindh and its impact on Sindhi language.

The arrival of refugees in Sindh and the induction of non Sindhi officials in the provincial administration gave birth to the unending saga of Sindhi-non-Sindhi conflict in the province. Besides the Sindhi landed aristocracy's resentment over the refugee phenomenon, the declaring of Karachi as the Federal Capital was an encroachment of provincial rights. The provincial ministry led by Mohammed Ayub Khuhro unanimously passed a resolution against the federal government's order making Karachi as a federally administered territory. Amidst brewing ethnic politics and the Khuhro led ministry's staunch opposition to the Centre's decision on Karachi's federal status, the Governor-General ordered the Governor to dismiss the Khuhro ministry on 26 April 1948, on charges of corruption, maladministration, and misconduct. On 3 May 1948, a new ministry was installed under Pir Ilahi Bukhsh who, after a year in office, was found guilty of corrupt practices. Thus, he was disqualified from even being a voter in the Sindh Assembly for the next six years.

The first major setback to the progress of Sindhi was caused by the separation of Karachi from Sindh. When the proposal was first put forward, it was opposed by the Sindh Legislative Assembly. Mohd Hashim Gazdar, one of the members of the Assembly, said:

Such a step could not only cripple Sind economically and politically, but would constitute a flagrant contravention of the Pakistan Resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore, in 1940, which emphasizes the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the autonomous units constituting Pakistan.

It was felt that the Mohajirs, who had been given refuge by the Sindhis, were appropriating the soil of Sindh. Moreover, even in that early period, misgivings were expressed about Sindh being dominated by the Punjabis.

As a consequence of the decision to separate Karachi, the University of Sindh was moved to Hyderabad which was less developed than Karachi. In 1952, a separate university was established in Karachi which was clearly more inclined to encourage Urdu than Sindhi. The Sindhi language movement, took the form of the Sindhi-Urdu controversy because of the decision taken in 1957-8 by the University of Karachi forbidding students from answering examination questions in Sindhi. To this, Hyder Baksh Jatoti, President of the Sindh Hari Committee, reacted as follows:

It is obvious to anyone that a Sindhi knowing student cannot answer papers in Urdu as ably and efficiently (other considerations being equal), as an Urdu knowing student. The disadvantage to the Sindhi knowing student in relation to the Urdu knowing students is at least of 20 percent marks.

His pamphlet ends on a note of alienation.

This order of Karachi University amounts to a call to the Sindhi students, Leave Karachi go to Sindh if you want to retain Sindhi, Karachi is none of yours.

Later, when the provincial minister of education was questioned about the situation, he confessed that everyone knows that the emphasis is greater on Urdu than on Sindhi.

However, as 500,000 people in Karachi were Sindhi speaking, this discouragement of the language was resented by the Sindhi Press which had 'five dailies and a number of weeklies'. Sindhi now became a major symbol of the sense of deprivation-cultural, educational, economic, and political which Sindhi leaders and the emerging middle class intelligentsia felt.

Sindhi Language and One Unit

The question of establishing West Pakistan as One Unit and treating both wings of the country at par was hotly debated in the Assembly between the antagonists and the protagonists of the One Unit system in the following manner:

Advantages

The advocates of One Unit argued that the merger of the provinces would bring in a host of benefits and advantages, e.g.

- (a) It would simplify the federal structure of the proposed new Constitution, constitution making would be made easier by getting rid of the complexities and intricacies of bicameral legislation;
- (b) West Pakistan being a single 'Hydraulic unit' the One unit administration would facilitate the pace of progress by solving problems of irrigation, rooted in inter provincial conflicts;
- (c) It would save millions of rupees, minimize corruption, and promote efficiency by bringing merit to the top;
- (d) It would destroy the monster of provincialism, kill the moves for 'Pakhtunistan', and bring democratic rights to the people of the princely states;
- (e) It would provide scope for administrative reforms, economic readjustments, and political reorientation, to the benefit of the whole population, and
- (f) It would promote the much sought after goal of national unity and integrity.

Disadvantages were pointed out by Sindhi Scholars.

The antagonists saw things differently;

- (a) They maintained that the arbitrary demolition of established provincial boundaries was not a sufficient guarantee to suppress the hydra headed provincial rivalries and jealousies. On the contrary, it might exacerbate the centrifugal tendencies among the federating units.
- (b) It was widely apprehended that the formation of One Unit would establish 'Punjabi sway' in the economic and administrative spheres of West Pakistan.
- (c) Bengali opposition to One Unit, as propounded by Suhrawardy, was that the origins of the One Unit idea lay in the fear of domination by East Pakistan over the western wing and to

capture power at the centre.

- (d) The former Chief Minister of the NWFP maintained that it was the outcome of an intrigue to split the country.
- (e) Sindh described it as ill conceived and short-sighted, unhistorical, unfair and anti Pakistan, an attempt to destroy the very foundation upon which Pakistan was conceived, an unpatriotic move to liquidate the three smaller provinces and a hostile act against Sindh.
- (f) The apprehensions of the antagonists were further strengthened due to the way in which the Bill was passed by the Second Constituent Assembly: (i) support for the plan had been obtained through coercion and intimidation; ministries were dismissed, people were threatened, interned or externed for opposing the merger plan, (ii) officers were transferred, fake charges were framed against inconvenient persons, elections were interfered with and solemn pledges were broken.

Far from achieving any national objective, the One Unit scheme disappointed the electorate throughout the country. While East Pakistan was deprived of the benefits of its numerical electoral strength, the intrinsic values of quasi-racial and linguistic identities of the distinct units in the western wing were artificially liquidated for the ruling elite's electoral and administrative convenience. Federal and regional loyalties are the prerequisites, upon which rested the very foundation of Pakistan, were sought to be destroyed, intensifying provincialism in the process.

In 1954, the provinces of West Pakistan were amalgamated to form one administrative unit. As this did away with the separate identity of Sindh, it was opposed by the Sindhi nationalists. Sindhi was now merely a regional language and the Sindhi Adabi Sangat, referring to the 14 national languages of India, appealed to the government to make Sindhi one of the national languages of Pakistan. The Sangat gave economic arguments, saying:

If the intention is not to see 5 million Sindhi speaking people handicapped and put at a disadvantage in the field of education, trade and commerce, and public services as against Urdu knowing fellow citizens then

it is absolutely essential that Sindhi is made to serve as an official language at least for Sindh and its adjoining Sindhi speaking areas.

The Sangat, in common with the rest of the Sindhi intelligentsia, was aware of the relationship between economic and political power and language.

The Sindhi Press expressed similar views, although, the Karachi based Urdu Press gave the impression that Urdu rather than Sindhi was acceptable to all the inhabitants of Sindh. The Sindhi Press objected to these statements, and Al Wahid, a Sindhi daily, declared in its editorial of 25 April, 1954 that the bias of the Urdu papers was only with a view to stopping the news to reach the government and the people of Pakistan that besides Bengalis, other Pakistanis including Sindhi people, also opposed the honour of national language to only Urdu.

In the Sindhi Adabi Conference of Larkana, I. I. Qazi, a well known intellectual of Sindh, warned the Sindhis that their culture would cease to exist if Sindhi was allowed to fall into disuse.

In fact most Sindhi nationalists opposed One Unit on cultural, linguistic, economic, and political grounds.

Marital Law of Ayub Khan and Sindhi Language

One Unit continued to exist during Ayub Khan's ten year rule, and the indigenous languages of the country, which were given the marginalizing label of regional languages' were slighted. Among other things, the report on national education in 1959 reduced the importance of Sindh. It agreed that the mother tongue should be used up to class five as the medium of instruction but went on to prescribe that:

Urdu should be introduced as the medium of instruction from class VI from 1963 and should continue progressively in the higher classes. It is necessary to give Urdu the same position in Sindh as in the rest of West Pakistan.

The supporters of Sindhi submitted a memorandum to Ayub

Khan pointing out that the proposals reduced the role of Sindhi which was a medium of instruction up to matriculation, and which had been a medium of examination up to BA.

Among other forms of protest, a 'Sindhi Day' was celebrated throughout the province on 9 November 1962, and eminent political and intellectual personalities issued a communique in which they demanded that the former status of the language be restored. However, as it was Urdu which was taking the place of Sindhi.

President Ayub, finding the reaction of Sindhis alarming, tried to conciliate them by deciding that 'Sindhi will continue to remain a medium of instruction as heretofore. However, Sindhi was discouraged during this period and the number of Sindhi medium schools decreased. It was seen by Sindhi nationalists in the light of a conspiracy. The number of primary schools teaching in Sindhi and other languages on 23 August 1948, when Karachi was separated from Sindhi, was follows:

TABLE 5

Year	Language	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils
1948	Urdu	69	18,440
	Sindhi	57	6,965

Replying to a question, Dur Mohammed Usto, the Sindh Minister of Education in 1972, told the Assembly that in 1954 there were 76 Sindhi medium and 187 Urdu medium schools in Sindh (LAD 20 December 1972). The Minister also said that 11 Sindhi schools for girls had been converted into Urdu ones because there were not sufficient Sindhi pupils in them. Later, another Education Minister, Pyarali Allana, told the Legislative Assembly that 30 primary schools had been closed down during Ayub Khan's days.

Laws in Urdu

In other domains too, Sindhi suffered during this period. After the formation of one unit, only a few laws such as the West Pakistan Ghulam Mohammed Barrage Betterment Tax Ordinance, 1964, were

translated into Sindhi, where as earlier, all laws were printed in it. In this period, records and registers , which used to be kept in Sindhi, began to be printed in Urdu (LAD -19 November 1973) Even in the municipality of Hyderabad, for instance , it was resolved on 11 June 1965 that Urdu would be used for official work because that was also the policy of the west Pakistan Government. The administrators of the municipal committee , who were Mohajirs, were reputed to be anti Sindhi

Sign Boards in Urdu

Sindhi nationalists also complained that in this period Sindhi was replaced by Urdu on official buildings such as railway and bus stations, Sindhi writers were discouraged. Where as those writing in Urdu were patronized; Sindhi publications were denied advertisements and Sindhi radio broadcasts were reduced. The last issue was also discussed in the National Assembly and the government's statement failed to satisfy the Sindhis . Because the programmes from Karachi and on the National hook up were allotted much more time than Sindhi ones. The issue was of course, of symbolic significance as it reflected the perception of the Sindhis that their language and culture had become peripheral, not only in Pakistan but even in Sindh itself.

Appendix I,J,K,L,M,N

In 1966, there was another bitter debate on the medium of instruction and examination . A group of students tried to persuade the University of Sindh to adopt Sindhi as the medium of instruction and examination at the university level. The Sindhi press supported the students and the newspapers wrote editorials in their favour.

Among these were the editorials of Ibrat (12 May 1966) Mehran (16 May 1966), Nawa-e-Sind, Khadim-e-Watan, Hilal-e-Pakistan (all of 18 May 1966). Among other things the press pointed out that Sindhi students would secure higher marks if they were permitted to answer questions in Sindhi rather than in Urdu.

The alienation of Sindhis from both the Mohajirs and the Ayub Khan government kept increasing during the 1960s. Finally, on 4 March 1967 , when Masroor Hasan Khan, an Urdu speaking commissioner of

the Hyderabad Division, ordered the arrest of some students of Sindh University, the nationalists found a symbol of resistance just as the Bengali student agitating for the Bengali language had found one on 21 February 1952.

General Yahya's Policy Towards Sindhi

Ayub Khan's government fell in March 1969 and General Yahya Khan imposed martial law once again. The new government circulated tentative proposals for a new educational policy. One of these proposals was that Urdu should be made the sole medium of instruction and the official language in the western wing of the country, while Bengali would enjoy the same status in the eastern wing. All the ethno nationalists of West Pakistan were opposed to this. In Sindh, The Jeay Sindh Naujawan Mahaz the young peoples's Movement of Sindhi nationalists inspired by G.M. Syed responded with a list of eight points, one of which noted that this would entail the closing down of schools and loss of jobs for teachers of Sindhi.

The eight points were clear and sharp. They suggested that the new policy, if implemented, would entirely annihilate Sindhi culture and thus do away with the distinctive Sindhi nationality. The economic and political consequences were also made explicit.

Apart from the loss of economic and social privilege that this inability to compete on equal terms with others would impose upon the Sindhi speaking youth of the country, it would keep them deprived of their legitimate share in all state services and thus would deny them full sense of participation in the government of their country.

The Mahaz felt that Urdu was at par with English, not being the language of the masses, and that it should not be imposed in the name of national cohesion. Finally it was proposed that all the recognized mother tongues of Pakistani people, including Bengali and Urdu, should be declared as national languages and all should be used as the media of instruction

Ideological Antagonism Between Sindhi and Mohajir

The view that Sindhi should be the national language of Singh had been expressed by G.M. Syed, the father of sindhi nationalism and by other Sindhi nationalists earlier. More recently Syed eloquently expressed his views in *Sindhu Desh*.

To discard the national language of Sindh, thrust a foreign language upon them so that the Sindhis may lose their thousand years old language, which was the foundation for their unity; to refuse to recognise the separate existence of the Sindhi nation, and thereby to forget their thousand years old separate existence. This has resulted in Sindhis losing their sense of self-respect, their past glory and have begun to feel helpless and at the mercy of outsiders.

(Source: *Sindhu Desh* by G.M. Syed, Karachi 1990)

This in Syed's view, was because the Punjabi ruling elite, in collaboration with the Mohajirs, wanted to colonize and exploit Sindh so that the Sindhis would not have separate governments of their own' and the Urdu-speaking Punjabis and Mohajirs would dominate the province politically, economically, and culturally. The official point of view, shared by the Mohajir intelligentsia roughly up to 1985, was that Urdu could unite Pakistan: if any other language were given the status of the national language, the country would break up. The point at issue, was whether Pakistan was a multi-ethnic state or not.

Government officials and the Establishment intellectuals took up the same position as they had in the case of the Bengali language movement and dubbed all expression of Sindhi nationalism as a communist and Indian conspiracy. While many nationalists denied these charges, pointing out that there was much Islamic literature in Sindhi but most of them advanced secular arguments inspired by G.M. Syed.

The main apprehensions of the Sindhis were that they would lose their identity and culture and be left behind in the race for goods, services, and power in the country.

It is true, of course, that the Sindhi nationalists were partly inspired by socialist ideas, Socialist ideas are expressed by Jeay Sindh Taraqqi Pasand Party [JSTPP] of Qadir Magasi. However, it does not follow that they were the pawns of the Soviet intelligence agencies sent out to seduce people from their allegiance to Pakistan. Similarly, G.M. Syed himself confessed in an interview that he had asked the Government of India to help him to create an independent Sindhu Desh but Indira Gandhi refused.

In Sindh there were (and are) grievances and Sindhi has become one of the symbols that the intelligentsia has used to mobilize a pressure group to express them.

We have seen that the Sindhi and Mohajir attitudes towards the language issue were antagonistic. Rumours and ill-will against each other intensified as the newly- educated Sindhi middle class competed for jobs and power, leading to the language riots in Sindh.

LANGUAGE RIOTS IN SINDH

The tension between the supporters of Urdu and those of Sindhi has led to riots twice: in January 1971 and July 1972 . The events leading up to the riots have never received detailed description or analysis, though the riots of July 1972 have been placed in the context of the historical tension between the Mohajirs and Sindhis which has made Sindh so violent a province became manifest then.

In 1970, G.M. Syed gave the name of the Sindh United Front to his Sindhi Awami Mahaz so as to participate in the elections .

Like Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of East Pakistan , he too made an appeal to sentiments of ethnicity. The Mohajirs, who had emerged as a modern skilled workforce earlier, still dominated white- collar jobs and academic institutions, but this domination was now in jeopardy. Punjabis were taking over businesses and bureaucratic positions; the Sindhis had been exposed to modern education and were aspiring to permeate the state apparatus.

Until the 1970s however, after the Punjabis, it was the mohajirs who were predominant in both the elite groups of society-- the military and the civil services of Pakistan as the following figures bear out:

Table 6

Ethnic Origin of the Top Military Elite in 1959			Ethnic Origins of the Top (Class 1) Bureaucracy	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Punjabis	17	35.4	1727	48.89
Pakhtuns	19	39.6	287	8.12
Mohajirs	11	23.0	1070	30.29
Sindhis	0	0	90	2.50
Baluchis	0	0	9	0.25
Bengalis	1	2.0	349	9.95
	48	100	3532	100

*Source : GOP, Fourth Triennial
Census of Central Government
Employees 1973.*

There is not a single Sindhi top military officer in Pakistan.

How many People Speak Sindhi Language in India and Sindh?

In India about twenty two lakhs. Sindhis are settled in different states and they speak Sindhi. They are proud citizens of Republic of India .

Appendix - N

Appendix - O

In Sindh about one crore and fifty lakhs people speak Sindhi. This is clear from the following Table:

	Percentage	Number of speakers (millions)
	(1981)	(1993)
Punjabi	48.17	60.9
Pashto	13.14	16.8
Sindhi	11.77	15.0
Siraiki	9.83	12.6
Urdu	7.60	9.7
Balochi	3.02	3.8
Hindko	2.43	3.1
Brahvi	1.21	1.5
Others	2.81	3.6

(Encyclopaedia Britannica Yearbook 1994; Pakistan Census 1981)

Movement For Sindhi Language

Sindhi nationalism, inspired by G.M. Syed had gathered much support amongst the students. The Jeay Sindh Naujawan Mahaz decided to contest elections on the issue of full autonomy for Sindh. In these circumstances, the syndicate of the University of Sindh decided on 21 August 1970 that Sindhi be adopted as the official language and language of internal correspondence (Resolution No. 7 of 21 August 1970) Other voices were also raised in support of Sindhi. In October, 108 Sindhi writers and intellectuals challenged the attempts by the ruling elite to make Urdu the dominant language of West Pakistan. The leading intellectuals of Sindh, notably Sheikh Ayaz, also demanded that Sindhi be made the dominant language of Sindh. The Sangat, among others, praised the University for having made Sindhi its official language and also demanded that the names of railway stations, parks, gardens, etc., should be written in Sindhi. The Urdu Press, in its turn, wrote against Sindhi, branding its supporters as leftists, anti-Islamic, or anti-Pakistan dissidents. By the end of 1970, Sindh was in ferment. Although the Sindhi Mahaz lost elections, nominating no candidate for the National Assembly, and only some for the provincial one, its ideology had gained ground. The idea that Sindhi should gain its rightful place in Sindh was one which all Sindhi political

parties, including the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), supported in principle.

Tension suddenly increased when the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Hyderabad, resolved on 21 December 1970 that :

Sindhi be adopted as the official language of the Board. Resolved further that the subject of Salis (easy) Sindhi be introduced as a compulsory subject for the students whose mother-tongue is Urdu from the year 1971-72 and who are appearing at the Secondary School Certificate part-I Annual Examination held in the year 1972

This created a crisis which resulted in the breakdown of law and order. Nawab Muzaffar Hussain, led the Mohajir protest against the decision of the University and the Board. Mohajir students brought out processions in Nawabshah, Mirpurkhas, and Hyderabad from 9 January 1971 onwards. Sindhi students in their turn brought out processions; violence began and Jeay Sindh students burnt pictures of the poet Iqbal. As Iqbal was one of the major symbols of Pakistani nationalism, this was seen as treason by the Urdu Press. Mohajir students burnt books in the prestigious Institute of Sindhology and there were further reprisals and counter-reprisals. In Karachi, events took an ugly turn on 27 January 1971 when buses were burnt and unruly crowds, demanding that all signboards should be in Urdu only, destroyed English ones. The army was called out in Hyderabad and parts of Karachi were placed under curfew. Even then, the violence continued until the middle of February. All over the country the supporters of Urdu and of Pakistani nationalism condemned the Sindhis, while the Sindhis and ethno-nationalist political parties condemned the non-assimilationist attitude of the Mohajirs.

The Language Riots Again

The polarization between the Mohajirs and Sindhis, created by the riots of January 1971, increased as time went on. While the PPP tried to conciliate the nationalists by supporting Sindhi, the Mohajirs held meetings demanding that Urdu should be one of the official languages

of Sindh. The Mohajirs were now a firmly non-assimilationist collectivity who saw Urdu as their identity mark. At the same time, the more aggressive pamphlets of the Sindhi nationalists kept declaring: 'Non-Sindhi! Learn Sindhi or Leave Sindh'.

In these conditions, after the 1971 war and the emergence of Bangladesh, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his PPP came to power. The Chief Minister of Sindh, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, now declared that he would fulfil the promise he had made to his Sindhi electorate to give Sindhi the same role in the province as it had enjoyed before the One-Unit period. Threatening those who would create disorder in the province, he declared that if he 'had ten lives, all those' would be sacrificed 'over the name of Sindh' (LAD-S 26 June 1972).

Meanwhile, the Mohajirs in general, and the students of Karachi University in particular, had demanded that Urdu should be an official language of Sindh along with Sindhi. One 29 June 1972, the Governor of Sindh, Mir Rasul Bux Talpur, assured the Mohajirs that their demands would be met.

The Language Bill was presented in these difficult circumstances. Its main significance was symbolic, for both the Mohajirs and the Sindhis. If Urdu was accepted as a provincial language, as the Mohajirs demanded, Sindh would be accepted as a multi-ethnic province. If it was not, as the Sindhis desired, it would retain its Sindhi identity. The Sindh (Teaching, Promotion and Use of Sindhi Language) Bill of 1972 was given to members of the Legislative Assembly on 3 July. It provided inter alia that:

Clause 4

(1) Sindhi and Urdu shall be compulsory subjects for study in classes IV to XII in all institutions in which such classes are held.

(2) The introduction of Sindhi as a compulsory subject shall commence at the lowest level namely class IV and by stages to be prescribed, be introduced in higher classes upto class XII.

Clause 6

Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, Government may make arrangements for progressive

use of Sindhi language in offices and departments of Government including Courts and Assembly.

The bill was discussed on 5 July at the house of Dr Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, a former Vice Chancellor of Karachi University and an active member of the pro-Urdu lobby. The Mohajirs feared that Sindhi would be used everywhere in Sindh and this would be against their interests. Thus, they suggested an amendment, making Urdu as well as Sindhi the official languages of Sindh. The Urdu Press was also sensitive to the Bill. Feelings ran so high that on 7 July, even before the Bill had been passed, the supporters of Urdu rose against Sindhi. Referring to this, Mumtaz Bhutto told the Assembly that there have been disturbances in parts of Karachi today (i.e. 7 July), where innocent by-passers were molested and attacked' (LAD-7 July 1972:)

Within the Legislative Assembly, too, feelings ran high. No sooner was the Bill read out than Nawab Muzaffar objected to it, saying that adequate notice (three days) had not been given. The Speaker pointed out that the Bill had been known since 3 July and had even been published in the papers on 5 July. There were emotional and, at times, bitter and acrimonious speeches on both sides. When the amendments suggested by the Opposition were not accepted, the Opposition staged a walkout and the motion was carried (LAD-S 7 July 1972:).

On 8 July, the Urdu newspaper Jang carried lurid headlines proclaiming the death of Urdu. The following line from the poet Rais Ambrohi, written in another context, was splashed across the page.

Urdu ka janza hae zara dhoom say niklay

(This is the funeral procession of Urdu; let it go out with fanfare).

Soon the whole of Sindh was aflame and the bloodiest language riots witnessed in Pakistan followed. The Mohajirs attacked Sindhis in Karachi and the Department of Sindhi at the University of Karachi was burnt. Crowds defied Section 144 and police vehicles were damaged in Karachi and Hyderabad. Curfew was imposed in Karachi and Hyderabad, but sporadic incidents of violence and arson were reported. Mumtaz Bhutto explained the Language Bill on 12 July, claiming that Urdu, being the national language, would not be harmed. The Mohajir

leadership claimed that the national language was always ignored and that they would be forced to learn Sindhi in the province to get employment. Meanwhile pro-Urdu and pro-Sindhi processions continued to clash with each other and violence spread all over Sindh.

Resolution of The Conflict

The confrontation between the Mohajirs and the Sindhis ended only when Z. A. Bhutto intervened to resolve their differences. The demands presented by the two communities made it apparent that, besides the sentiments involved in the preservation of their respective language, what they were interested in was power in the province.

The Sindhis wanted Sindhi to be the official language of Sindh as well as one of the national languages of Pakistan, while the Mohajirs reiterated their demand that both Urdu and Sindhi should be the provincial languages of Sindh. The other demands pertained to jobs and powerful offices. The Mohajirs wanted an equal share (despite forming only 22 per cent of the population of Sindh, according to the Census of 1981) of all important posts, and the assurance that power would be equally divided. For instance, they wanted either the governor or the chief minister of the province to be a Mohajir; similarly that the posts of district and police officers should be evenly distributed to maintain the balance of power between the two communities. Another of their demands was that Karachi should have a city government with a wide range of powers.

The compromise solution was a twelve-year reprieve for the Mohajirs through the following Ordinance issued by the Governor of Sindh on 16 July. It said:

No person, otherwise qualified for appointment or promotion to any civil service, or a civil post in connection with the affairs of the province of Sind, shall be discriminated against only on the ground of want of knowledge of Sindhi or Urdu language (The Sindh Government Gazette, Extra ordinary, 22 July 1972).

The twelve years have elapsed but government jobs can still be

obtained without any knowledge of Sindhi, and with knowledge of Urdu alone, which children have learnt at school.

The most ominous consequence of the conflict is its legacy of bitterness. Potentially even more explosive is the rise of Mohajir ethnicity. The demands of the Mohajirs, referred to earlier, indicate that they not only rejected the possibility of assimilation but were not even prepared to accept minority status. They wanted equal power in Sindh, and language was one way of securing it. As the Jeay Sindh activists saw it,

If Urdu is accepted as an official language of Sindh, the rights of Sindhis will be undermined. As soon as Urdu is accepted as the second language of Sindh, it would amount to accepting the existence of two nationalities in the province. And if this is accepted then the Sindhis' claim that Sindh belongs to them is wrong... In this manner Urdu-speakers will create a *Mohajiristan*.

And, indeed, many Mohajirs began calling themselves a separate nationality and the Mohajir Action Committee threatened to launch a popular movement to make a separate province of Karachi so as to protect Urdu. This was the beginning of that shift away from the Pakistani or New Sindhi identity to the Mohajir identity which became manifest with the rise of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) in the late 1980s. As Mohajir ethnicity has in fact divided Sindh, there is always the possibility of an ethnic civil war, one of the potentially dangerous legacies of the language riots. Syed's hold on the intelligentsia of Sindh through literary and cultural bodies is not dangerous because many members of the intelligentsia do not see violence as a solution to the problems of the Sindhis. However, it does help to disseminate the point of view of the Sindhi nationalists.

Sindhi After the Riots

During the Ziaul Haq era (1977-88) all democratic movements were suppressed. The suppression of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was violent in Sindh. Language

became a secondary issue but continued to be mentioned in the Sindhi nationalist struggle against the Establishment. On 25 April 1980, for instance, the Sindhi intellectuals organised an All Sindh Educational Conference in Hyderabad, in which a number of papers were read out in support of Sindhi. Mohd Ibrahim Joyo pointed out that Sindhi primary schools were not being encouraged and that basic education should be in the mother tongue. In 1983, Sindhi intellectuals appealed to the government not to project Urdu as being as important as Islam itself. This was in response to the regime's use of Urdu as a symbol of legitimization and national integration.

On 2 February 1988, a Sindhi Adabi Conference was inaugurated at Jamshoro. It passed several resolutions demanding an increase in the use of Sindhi. One of them was that all teachers in Sindh should know Sindhi and that Sindhi should be taught in urban Sindh also. On 4 February, the day the conference ended, the Sujag Bar Tahreek (Movement for the Awakening of Children) carried banners in support of Sindhi.

The organizations for the promotion of Sindhi, such as the Sindh Sujan Sabha and the Sindhi Boli Sath, also kept working to increase the use of the language. The Sath is very active and its declared aims are:

1. To get the Sindhi language recognized as a national language.
2. Within the framework of the state constitution to get the ratification of the Sindhi language as the sole official language of Sindh and the adoption of Sindhi language in all spheres of official as well as non official levels.

The Sath's stance is anti-Urdu and its code of conduct enjoins upon members to support the other indigenous languages and even English as a link language, while eschewing the use of Urdu. The Sath has pointed out instances of discrimination against Sindhi. The Convener of the Sath, for instance, condemned the decision of the Karachi Municipal Corporation banning the use of Sindhi in official correspondence.

Sindhi Identity

One of the resolutions of the Sindhi Adabi Conference in 1988 demanded the setting up of a Sindhi Language Authority on the model of the National Language Authority. This institution, the SLA, was set up in 1990 in order to develop Sindhi. In order to make the language suitable for use in modern life, the SLA was also supposed to 'arrange translation and publication of Technical Terms in science subjects and humanities'.

This aspect of corpus planning had, indeed, been going on ever since the British days when new terms had been introduced into Sindhi in order to translate laws and other modern concepts. In 1962, the Sindhi Academy, first established at the old campus of Sindh University, and now well known as the Institute of Sindhology, also had a bureau of translation for such language planning activities. It also published the monthly scientific journal called *Makhzan* which used newly devised Sindhi terms.

The causes of the conflict are mainly differences of opinion on five issues, viz (i) Discrimination, (ii) Separate nationality, (iii) Urdu, (iv) Aversion for Sindhi language and culture, and (v) Bihari refugees.

(i) Discrimination

The MQM firmly believes that Mohajirs have been a victim of discrimination. This is not true. Mohajirs in Sindh had been given preferential treatment in regard to jobs and other amenities. The preferences in jobs could not be continued due to protests from other ethnic groups in Sindh. Actually Mohajirs considered preferential treatment as their right and privilege. This attitude has a historical background. Mohajirs in Sindh mostly hail from UP where they had got accustomed to getting preferential treatment. In 1913, Muslims formed 14 per cent of the population of UP, but they occupied 41 per cent of the important executive posts and 25 per cent of judicial positions.

By the mid-1930s, they had succeeded in securing guaranteed quotas in government services and in elected bodies.

(ii) Separate Nationality

MQM considers Mohajirs a separate nationality-the fifth in Pakistan. Sindhis took serious exception to this stand of MQM.

(iii) Urdu

According to MQM, Urdu alone was Islamic, and as such, had the exclusive right to be the state language of Pakistan. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali both supported Urdu and it was made the national language. Under the Constitution of Pakistan, Urdu is the national language. Sindhi does not find a place in the Constitution of Pakistan.

(iv) Aversion for Sindhi Language and Culture

Mohajirs in Sindh, coming from UP, had a sort of superiority complex. They considered Sindhis not only lesser Muslims, but also less civilized. They did not show any inclination to learn the language and customs of Sindhis. Urdu was made a compulsory subject for Sindhi students and the teaching of Sindhi language to Mohajir students was discontinued. All this caused much resentment among Sindhis.

(v) Bihari Refugees

The emphasis laid by MQM on repatriation of Biharis from Bangladesh was seen by Sindhis as part of an MQM plot to turn Sindhis into a minority in Sindh.

The above causes of conflict may lead to fragmentation of Sindh. Sindhi intellectuals in Sindh are conscious of this. Sindhis have to unite to fight this peril.

Sheikh Ayaz the foremost poet of Modern Sindh has said about the Sindhi Situation in Partitioned India beautifully.

*Sons of the soil have become aliens,
And aliens native,
Gone are those with whom
we had affinity;
Outsiders have gained entry and occupied
our beloved Sindh.*

In 1962 Sheikh Ayaz and Rashid Bhatti, the two foremost Sindhi writers and torchbearers of the 'Jeeye Sindh' movement, visited India on an unofficial and private goodwill mission for a month or so to

meet their counterparts in India. They made a pilgrimage to religious places, both Hindu and Muslim, in the true secular and humanistic spirit. When they left, they sadly told their colleagues that they were not sure whether they would ever see them again. Soon the war broke in 1965. Ayaz hated war. He raised a cry of anguish through a small pathetic poem against the fratricidal war between two brothers.

He wrote:

*The Battle cry has been raging,
The lines are drawn,
Opposite stands my poet friend Narain Shyam,
How can I take up guns against him.
How can I shoot him: How can I shoot him.*

He was declared as a traitor and thrown in jail. He remained inside for a couple of years. During the war of 1971 also he sympathised with the people of Bangla Desh and suffered imprisonment.

A few words before I sit down. I believe in Bharat and Pakistan friendship. I have deep love for Sindh. I want to conclude by reciting a short poem of Ayaz.

*Speak to me, O my beloved Sindh,
Why are you silent?
Is there one, is there none, who will speak
Out the truth?
O Truth, impart to my enchained being,
Courage so fearless,
That even after decapitation,
I say what I want to say
I will be guardian of your soil, my Sindh,
My whole being is wrapped in your being,
Your farms and your deserts are my life's breath,
My life be an offering at your alter, my sweet Sindh.*

Appendix A

N. P Series 17

RG-VEDA-SAMHITA

(THE OLDEST AUTHORITY FOR THE RELIGIOUS & SOCIAL
INSTITUTIONS OF THE HINDUS)

TEXT IN DEVNAGRI
ENGLISH TRANSLATION NOTES AND
APPENDICES, ETC.

H.H. WILSON*EDITED BY***Prof W.F. Webster**

Vol. VI

Enlarged & Arranged by

Nag Sharan Singh**Nag Publishers**

8-A/U. A-3, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007.

Mandal 9

X 6,7

The deities are the Rivers; the Rishi is Sindhukshit, the son of PRIYAMEDHA; the matre is Jagali.

1. Waters, the worshipper addresses to you excellent praise in the dwelling of the instituteor of the rite; they flowed by sevens through the three (worlds); but the SINDHU surpasses (all) the (other) streams in strength.

2. For thy course, SINDHU, YARUNA tore open a path, since thou hastenedst towards food; thou goest by a lofty road down upon the earth, by which (road) thou reignest in the sight of all worlds.

3. The sound goeth forth in heaven above the earth; (SINDHU) with shining wave animates his endless speed; as rains issue thundering from the cloud, so SINDHU (thunders) when he advances roaring like a bull.

4. Like mothers crying for their sons, (the other rivers) hasten towards the, SINDHU, like milk cows with their milk; thou leadest thy two wings like a king going to battle when thou marchest in the van of the streams that are descending (with thee).

5. Accept this my praise, GANGA, YAMUNA, SARASVATI. SHUTUDRI, PARUSHNI, MARUDVRIDHA with ASIKNI, and VITASTA; listen, ABJIKIYA with SUSHOMA.

6. Thou SINDHU, in order to reach the swift-moving GOMATI, hast united thyself first with the TRISHTAMA: (now be united) with the SUSARTU, the RASA, the SHWETI, the KUBHA, and the MEHATNU, in conjunction with which streams thou dost advance.

7. Straight-flowing, white-coloured, bright-shining (SINDHU) bears along in its might the rapid waters; the inviolable SINDHU, the most efficacious of the efficacious, it speckled like a mare, beautiful as a handsome woman.

8. The SINDHU is rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments, well-made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever fresh, abounding in Silama plants and the auspicious river wears honey-growing (flowers).

9. SINDHU has harnessed his easy-going well-horsed chariot, with it may he bring (us) food; the might of this inviolable, great renowned (chariot) at this sacrifice is praised as mighty.

Appendix B

Text of the Sindh Assembly's Resolution for Pakistan: 1943

“This House recommends to Government to convey to H.M.’s Government, through H.E the Viceroy, the sentiments and wishes of the Muslims of this province that whereas Muslims of India are a separate nation possessing religion, philosophy, social customs, literature, traditions, political and economic theories of their own quite different from those of the Hindus, they are justly entitled to the right, as a single, separate nation, to have independent national state of their own, carved out in the zones where they are in majority in the subcontinent of India. Wherefore they emphatically declare that no constitution shall be acceptable to them 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 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.”

هڪ ناياب ۽ قيمتي دستاويز

سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي سرڪاري اهميت - ۱۸۵۷ع
سنڌ جي ڪمشنر سر بارتل فرير جو پڌرنامو

ملڪي سن ۱۸۵۷

پڌرنامو

ڪمشنر صاحب مجاهد سر سنڌ جي دربار مجاهدان سيني ماڻهن جيڪن
مان رهندڙن سنڌ جي سڌي ڏي
تہ ڪيترن عرصن ۾ عرصي پھچي ٺھڻ لھڻ لاءِ حضور دانه نامو ڪلبن
تن مجاهدان ڪي فارسي مڪي سنڌ ۾ نالڪن اها ڪال نامو چار ڪي
تھن ڪري جھ ڪھنڪي عرصي واسطي ٿين ٺھڻ جي حضور ڪمشنر
صاحب مجاهد سر سنڌ جي دربار مجاهد عرصن رکي ھجي تہ سنڌي واري
عربي الڳ الڳي موڪلي جنڪڌ ھي ڪہ سب کان فارسي عرصن
لکڻ ضرورت ٿي تہ ان فارسي عرصي سان ترجمو سنڌي مڃي
ڪر موڪلي تہ پڌرنامي سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي ۲۹ مھينو سن ۱۸۵۷

W. F. Fine
Commissioner in Sind.

Appendix D

The Union Education ministry issued the following Notification on 9th March 1950 (No.F.14-4/49-D.I)

“The Government of India in consultation with all the State Governments have decided to accept a proposal of responsible Sindhi scholars and educationists to change the Arabic script for Sindhi language into that of Devnagri.”

“The State Governments have been requested to take necessary steps to implement the above proposal so far as education in schools is concerned.”

Appendix E

No.F.14-4/49-B.I.

Government of India
Ministry of Education

New Delhi-3, the 10th January 1951.

From

Secretary to the Government of India.

To

All State Governments.

Sir,

I have the honour to invite your attention to this Ministry's letter No.F.14-4/49B.I., dated the 9th March 1950, regarding the change of the script for the Sindhi language. Since this letter was sent to you, the matter has been reviewed by the Government scholars and educationists, including Association of the Heads of Recognised Sindhi Secondary Schools. The Government have also taken into consideration the provision existing in the Constitution regarding the right of any section of the citizens in the territory of India to conserve its distinct language and script. After fully considering all aspects of the matter, Government of India have come to the decision that it would be desirable to allow the use of both Urdu and Devnagri scripts for the Sindhi language leaving it to the students to choose either, subject to the condition that arrangements will be made for the teaching in that script, provided the requisite number of students, as envisaged in the Resolution of the Central Advisory Board of Education passed in 1949, i.e. at least 40 in the school or 10 in each class desire to study through that script. By giving this option, the Sindhi students will have the same facility as has been allowed in the case of Bengali, Urdu and Dravidan languages and scripts. It is therefore, requested that necessary steps may be taken to implement this decision so far as the education of Sindhi students in schools is concerned.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-

K.C. Saiyidain
for Secretary.

Appendix F

Eight Schedule

(Articles 344 (1) and 351)

Languages

1. Assamese.
 2. Bengali.
 3. Gujarati.
 4. Hindi.
 5. Kannada.
 6. Kashmiri.
 - ¹ (7). Konkani.
 - ² (8.) Malayalam.
 - ³ (9.) Manipuri
 - ⁴ (10). Marathi.
 - ⁵ (11). Nepali.
 - ⁶ (12). Oriya.
 - ⁶ (13). Punjabi.
 - ⁶ (14.) Sanskrit.
 - ⁶ (15). Sindhi.
 - ⁶ (16). Tamil.
 - ⁶ (17). Telugu.
 - ⁶ (18). Urdu.
1. Ins. by the Constitution (Seventy-first Amendment) Act, 1992, sec. 2(a).
 2. Entry 7 renumbered as entry 8 by the Constitution (Seventy-first Amendment) Act, 1992, sec. 2(a).
 3. Ins. by the Constitution (Seventy-first Amendment) Act, 1992, sec. 2(b).
 4. Entry 8 renumbered as entry 10 by the Constitution (Seventy-first Amendment) Act, 1992, sec. 2(b).
 5. Ins. by the Constitution (Seventy-first Amendment) Act, 1992, sec. 2(c).
 6. Entries 9 to 15 renumbered as entries 12 to 18 by and entry 15 now was added by the Constitution (Twenty-first Amendment) Act, 1967, sec. 2(c).

Appendix G

No. R F.4-4/69-I.L.I
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION & YOUTH SERVICES

.....
 New Delhi-1, dated 14th November 1969.

To

The Education Secretaries
 of all States/Union Territory Governments.

Subject:- Education Ministry's resolution on the Script of Sindhi language.

Sir,

I am directed to invite your attention to the subject noted above and to bring to your notice the following resolution of the Ministry of Education dated March 1951 which was issued in partial modification of the Ministry's earlier resolution No. F. 14/49-D dated 9th March 1950 on the subject:-

"The Government of India have reviewed the question of the script for the teaching of the Sindhi language and have come to the conclusion that it is desirable to allow the use of both the Urdu and Devanagari scripts, leaving it to the students to choose either..."

The above resolution gives the option to Sindhi students to choose between Arabic and Devanagari scripts for Sindhi language.

You are requested to bring this resolution to the attention of all schools in your State where Sindhi is a medium of instruction for school students so that those parents who wish to teach their children Sindhi through Arabic script are allowed to do so and those who wish to teach their children Sindhi language in Devanagari script are not prevented from doing so.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-

(Miss) K. THAIRANI
 ASSISTANT EDUCATIONAL ADVISER.

Language-wise Publications in Pakistan

	Urdu	English	Sindhi	Pashto	Punjabi	Siraiki	Gujrati	Balochi	Brahvi	Persian	Arabic	Total
Dailies	209	41	17	2			4					273
Biweeklies	2	2										4
Weeklies	341	65	42	4	1		2	1	1			457
Fortnightlies	57	34	2				1					94
Monthlies	598	237	17	5	1	2	5	7		3	1	876
Bimonthlies	3	11										14
Quarterlies	75	136	1				3					215
Biannuals	59	83										142
Annuals	119	127		2				2	2			252
All	1463	736	79	13	2	2	15	10	3	3	1	2,327

These figures are mainly based on Pakistan Press Directory 1992 (Islamabad : Press Information Department, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1992). Some have been changed after rechecking against the records of the provincial governments and independent sources. There are still minor discrepancies as publications are added to and taken off the list. However, the dominance of Urdu and English is established by these figures. The development of Sindhi, and the degree to which the Sindhi intelligentsia supports it, is also evidenced.

Appendix - I

Language-Wise Allocation of Time on Radio in Pakistan

Date of Commissioning of Radio Station		Language used	Time given to each language Daily (All Stations)	
Peshawar	16-7-1936	Urdu, Pashto, Khowar, Hindko, Kohistani	Arabic	10 min
Lahore	16-12-1937	Urdu, Punjabi, English,	Balochi	7 hrs 25 min
Rawalpindi	16-4-1948	Urdu, Kashmiri, Gojri	Balti	2 hrs 5 min
Karachi	16-4-1948	Urdu, Sindhi, English, Gujrati	Brahvi	5 hrs 35 min
Rawalpindi	1-9-1950	Urdu, Punjabi, Potohari, Kashmiri	Burushaski	40 min
Hyderabad	17-8-1955	Urdu, Sindhi,	English	1 hr 9 min
Rawalpindi	15-10-1960	Urdu, Kashmiri, Paharid	Gojri	5 min
Quetta	16-10-1966	Urdu, Balochi, Pashto, Brahvi, Hazargi	Gujrati	1 hr
Multan	21-11-1970	Urdu, Siraiki, Punjabi,	Hazargi	1 hr 7 min
Bahawalpur	18-8-1975	Urdu, Siraiki,	Hindko	1 hr 50 min
Islamabad	7-5-1977	Urdu, English, Balti, Shina	Kashmiri	not available
Gilgit	2-4-1979	Urdu, Shina, Burushaski	Khowar	2 hrs 5 min
Skardu	16-4-1979	Urdu, Balti	Kohistani	25 min
Turbat	4-1-1981	Urdu, Balochi,	Pahari	Not available
D.I. Khan	15-1-1981	Urdu, Siraiki, Pashto	Pashto	11 hrs 42min
Khairpur	3-3-1981	Urdu, Sindhi	Potohari	43 min
Khuzdar	17-6-1981	Urdu, Sindhi	Punjabi	5 hrs
Faisalabad	15-9-1982	Urdu, Punjabi	Shina	2 hrs 3 min
Abbottabad	1-10-1989	Urdu, Hindko	Sindhi	11 hrs 42min
Sibi	1-10- 1989	Relay of Islambad	Siraiki	3 hrs 17 min
				Urdu, over 200 hrs
				Total (Home 270)

The general policy of the ministry of Information and Broadcasting is to give 60 %time to Urdu and 40% to all other languages. Column 3 gives the average time given to different languages from all the radio stations in column 1. These timings have been compiled from the programme of Radio Pakistan for 1994 and do not claim to be accurate because of overlap or lack of data.

Appendix - J

Language-Wise Allocation of Time on Television in Pakistan

Language	TV Station	Number of pro- grammers per week	Number of hours per week
Balochi	Quetta	4 (25 minutes each)	1 hr 40 mins
Brahvi	Quetta	4 (25 minutes each)	1 hr 40 mins
English	All	Many	8 hrs
Hindko	Peshawar	1 (50 minutes) 1 (25 minutes)	1 hr 15 mins
Pashto	Peshawar	2 (50 minutes each)	5 hrs
	Quetta	4 (25 minutes each)	
Punjabi	Lahore	3 (50 minutes each)	4 hrs 16 mins
	Islamabad	4 (25 minutes each)	
Sindhi	Karachi	3 (50 minutes each)	4 hrs 58 mins
		5 (25 minutes each)	
Siraiki	Lahore	1 25 minutes	
	Islamabad		
Urdu	All	Many	49 hrs 18 mins
Urdu/			
Arabic	All	Many	7 hrs 45 mins

Source : Pakistan Television Headquarters, Islamabad, 1994

Appendix K

Grant-In-Aid to institutions for the Promotion of Languages from the Pakistan Academy of Letters (1994-5) *In Pakistan*

Organization	Pakistani rupees
Balochi	
Balochi Academy, Quetta	100,000
Khowar	
Anjuman Taraqqi-e- Khowar (Chital)	5,000
Pashto	
Pashto Academy (Peshawar)	100,000
Anjuman Adabiyat Akora Khattak	5,000
Punjabi	
Punjabi Adabi Board, Lahore	100,000
Majlis Waris Shah, Multan	25,000
Punjabi Science Board	30,000
Sindhi	
Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad	100,000
Institute of Sindhology, Hyderabad	50,000
Shah Abdul Latif Cultural Society, Karachi	21,000
Mansoor Academy, Hyderabad	10,000
Siraiki	
Siraiki Adabi Board, Multan	10,000
Siraiki Adabi Majlis, Bahawalpur	20,000
Urdu	
West Pakistan Urdu Academy, Lahore	35,000
Urdu Academy, Bahawalpur	20,000
Murree Literary Circle	5,000
Dama Iqbal Academy, Gujrat	5,000
Anjuman-e- Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Karachi	1,500,000
Idara-e- Yadgar-e- Ghalib, Karachi	10,000
Bazm-e-Ahl-e-Qalam, Abottabad	2,500

Source: Budget statement of the Pakistan Academy of Letters. Islamabad.

Appendix L

Annual Budget of Institutions for the Promotion of Languages *In Pakistan*

Organisation	Pakistani rupees
Arabic	
promotion of teaching Arabic	764,000 (1993-94)
Balochi	
Balochi Academy	212,000
Brahvi	
Brahvi Academy	30,000
Brahvi orthographic Committee	15,000
English	
Strengthening of training programme in English as a foreign/ second language	328,000(1993-94)
National English Language Institute	4,000,000(1993-94)
Pashto	
Khushal Khan Khattak Libray	1,811,000 (1994)
Akora Khattak Pashto Academy,	1,773,456
Peshawar University Pashto Academy	30,000
Quetta	
Punjabi	
Punjabi Adabi Board	366,000
Sindhi	
Award on Best Books on Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai and Sufism	25,000(1994)
Sindhi Language Authority	1,500,00(1993-4)
Institute of sindhology	3,500,000(1993-4)
Sindhi Adabi Board	4,000,000(1993-4)
Urdu	
Muqtadira Qaumi Zaban (National Language Authority)	10,873,000
Iqbal Academy, Lahore	2,310,000
Urdu Dictionary Board, Karachi	4,410,000
Urdu Science Board, Lahore	3,009,000

Appendix M

District-Wise Distribution of Language *In* *Pakistan*

The percentage of the speakers of the language given below are based on figure for language commonly spoken in the household in the Census reports of districts (1981). In districts where one language does not dominate, others languages are also indicated. Minor languages have been ignored.

NWFP

1.	Chitral	Khowar (95.34); Pashto (4.44)
2.	Dir	Pashto (94.69)
3.	Swat	Pashto (90.28)
4.	Malakand	Pashto (98.09); Kohistani (8.67)
5.	Kohistan	Kohistani (94.68); Pashto (40.89)
6.	Mansehra	Hindko (46.84); Pashto (40.29)
7.	Abbottabad	Hindko (92.32); Pashto (3.68)
8.	Mardan	Pashto (97.17)
9.	Peshawar	Pashto (87.54) Hindko (6.85)
10.	Kohat	Pashto (86.75); Hindko (10.40)
11.	Karak	Not given in the census 1981
12.	Bannu	Pashto (97.93)
13.	D.I. Khan	Siraiki (64.87); Pashto (29.71)

Punjab

20.	Attock	Punjabi (93.4); Pashto (5.2)
21.	Rawalpindi	Punjab (85.0); Urdu (7.5)
22.	Jhelum	Punjabi (97.5)
23.	Gujrat	Punjabi (97.7)
24.	Mianwali	Punjabi (83.9); Siraiki (8.3)
24.	Bhakkar	Not given in the census 1981
25.	Sargodha	Punjabi (95.4)
25.	Khushab	Not given in the census 1981
26.	Jhang	Punjabi (96.5)
27.	Faisalabad	Punjabi (98.2)
27.	Toba Tek Singh	Not given in the census 1981
28.	Sialkot	Punjaibi (98.0)

29.	Gujranwala	Punjabi (97.6)
30.	Sheikhupure	Punjaibi (98.1)
31.	Lahore	Punjabi (84.0); Urdu (13.4)
31.	Okara	Not given in the census 1981
32.	Kasur	Punjabi (89.3)
33.	D.G. Khan	Siraiki (73.4); Balochi (16.3)
34.	Leiah	Not given in the census 1981
35.	Multan	Siraiki (44.7); Punjabi (43.8); Urdu (10.5)
36.	Vehari Punjabi	(83.6); Siraiki (11.4)
37.	Sahiwal	Punjabi (95.6)
38.	Bahawalnagar	Punajabi (95.2)
39.	Bahwalpur	Siraiki (66.7); Punjabi (27.0)
40.	Rahim Yar Khan	Siraiki (65.0); Punjabi (27.9)

Sindh

41.	Jacobabad	Sindhi (69.31); Balochi (21.34)
42.	Sukkur	Sindhi (73.54); Urdu (12.66); Punjabi (6.37)
43.	Shikarpur	Sindhi (86.48)
44.	Larkana	Sindhi (78.43); Balochi (6.98)5 Brahvi (5.92); Siraiki (5.04)
45.	Khairpur	Sindhi (80.48); Punjabi (10.58)
46.	Nawabshah	Sindhi (66.18); Punjabi (10.58) Urdu (81.55); Siraiki (5.48)
47.	Dadu	Sindhi (66.18); Balochi (7.39)
48.	Hyderabad	Sindhi (56.48); Urdu (28.10)
49.	Sanghar	Sindhi (56.10); Urdu (10.75); Punjabi (9.44)
50.	Tharparkar	Sindhi (71.78); Urdu (8.39); Punjabi (5.78)
51.	Badin	Sindhi (81.64); Punjabi (6.40)
52.	Thatta	Sindhi (92.06)
53.	Karachi Division	Urdu (54.3); Punjabi (13.6); Pashto (8.7)

Balochistan

56.	Zhob	Pashto (98.09)
57.	Loralai	Pashto (98.09)
58.	Pishin	Pashto (97.55)
59.	Qhetta	Pashto (36.47); Punjabi (18.85); Brahvi (17.13); Urdu (11.17)
60.	Chagai	Balochi (57.08); Brahvi (34.80)
61.	Sibi	Pasto (49.77); Sindhi (20.12); Balochi (15.09)
62.	Kohlu	Balochi (96.24)

Sindhi Language

Appendix N

Census of India (1991)

Language India and States published on 23 Feb. 1998

by Dr. M. Vijayanunni Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India

C-7 PART A: Distribution of the 18 Scheduled Languages - India, States and Union Territories - 1991 Census

	Persons	Males	Females
India*	2,122,848	1,080,882	1,041,966
States			
1. Andhra Pradesh	12,919	6,563	6,356
2. Arunachal Pradesh	25	18	7
3. Assam	852	462	390
4. Bihar	4,766	2,537	2,229
5. Goa	372	185	187
6. Gujarat	704,088	357,541	346,547
7. Haryana	369	79	190
8. Himachal Pradesh	87	49	38
9. Karnataka	13,930	6,979	6,951
10. Kerala	1,185	596	589
11. Madhya Pradesh	322,074	165,140	156,934
12. Maharashtra	618,696	311,817	306,879
13. Manipur	11	9	2
14. Meghalaya	333	185	148
15. Mizoram	1	1	-
16. Nagaland	7	6	1
17. Orissa	2,612	1,388	1,224
18. Punjab	326	158	168
19. Rajasthan	336,523	174,126	162,397
20. Sikkim	6	5	1
21. Tamil Nadu	8,257	4,154	4,103
22. Tripura	11	7	4
23. Uttar Pradesh	52,168	26,909	25,259
24. West Bengal	5,404	2,800	2,604
Union Territories			
1. Andaman & Nicobar Islands	24	14	10
2. Chandigarh	171	88	83
3. Dadra & Nagar Haveli	122	65	57
4. Daman & Diu	80	44	36
5. Delhi	37,381	18,835	18,546
6. Lakshadweep	-	-	-
7. Pondicherry	48	22	26

Appendix O

Census of India (1991)

Statement 4

Scheduled Language in Descending Order of Strength-1991

Language	Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue	Percentage to total population
Sindhi	2,122,848	0.25

Census of India (1991)

Statement 5

Comparative strength of Sindhi language
1971, 1981 & 1991

Language	Persons who returned the language as their mother tongue			Percentage to total population		
	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
Sindhi	1,676,875	2,044,389	2,122,848	0.31	0.30	0.25

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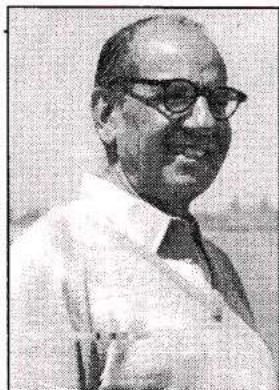
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सिंधी भाषा, साहित्य, इतिहास और संस्कृति पर इससे पूर्व हुए

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Ram Amarlal Panjwani was born in a well known family of Sindh on 12.3.1924. Educated at D.J. Sindh College and S.C. Shahani Law College Karachi (1941-1945). Took active part in Quit India Freedom Movement (1942). Graduated from Wadia College Pune in Economics (1945-1947). Did two years post graduate course from Law College Pune (1945-47). Enrolled Advocate Chief Court of Sindh (1947). Practiced law at Bombay and Bhopal (1947-69). Moved to Supreme Court of India, Delhi (1970). Designated Senior Advocate

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