EARLY HISTORY

The word "SINDH" is derived from the Sanskrit word "Sindhu", the name given by the Aryans to the river Indus (Greek Sinthos, Latin Sindhus). Locally the river is still known as Sindh (1). Sindh is the delta of one of Asia's longest river - a region which in the past seems to have been far more fertile and richer than nowadays judging by ancient reports and archaeological evidence (2). Al-Beruni was the first to make a detailed study of the different eras, which were used, in the Hindostan Sub-Continent from ancient times (3). He had devoted one full chapter to this subject in each of his two works, Indicia and Canon (4). Sindh is situated between the Iranian plateau and the Indian Sub-continent, each representing a different cultural complex. These two geographical facts have considerably influenced the history and culture of Sindh from the prehistoric times onwards. Not only did the fertility of Sindh draw the covetous attention of its neighbors but in addition a delta can always be approached much more easily from abroad than an inland area. Consequently Sindh has undergone the vicissitudes of many wars of conquest and its cultural heritage has suffered accordingly. Sindh's history has been determined by its geography (5).

The existence, five thousand years ago, of a highly advanced urban civilization in Sindh, Moen-jo-Daro and other cultures of Indus civilization presuppose the creation and appropriation of a large agricultural surplus product in the hinterland which had settled in agriculture for at least 2000 years prior to the maturation of the Harappan culture (6). Because of its border location, Sindh has been a receptacle of different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. A number of historic events since the Arab conquest in 711 A.D. must be considered decisive in understanding the contemporary Sindh. One such event is the gradual expansion of Islam, leading up to the fabulous Muslim rule in Sindh. After the end of Arab Rule, Sindh came under the indigenous Muslim rule, Sumra(1058-1349 AD) and Sumas (1350-1520 AD) ruled here for about three centuries. They both belong to the indegenious population. Whereas Argun (1520-1555 AD), Turkhans (1555-1592 AD), the Mughals (1592-1737 AD), Kalhoras (1700-1782 AD)and Talpur Amir (1782-1843 AD) remained rulers for more than three centuries. The indigenous and foreign rulers did not bring any revolutionary change in the socio-economic structure of the Sindh. Peasant, cultivator, artisan and craftsman remained as poor as they were previously (7). Sindh had no other reason of importance for the Mughals except that it was situated on the way to Kabul and Qandhar and they took its full advantage (8).

BRITISH RULE IN SINDH

The British after conquering Sindh, brought wide ranging changes in the administration of Sindh. From revenue to Education, Judicial and irrigation, all administrative aspects were over haled. The British adopted the policy of permanent land transfer to the feudal, so as to create a loyal class (9). This created inherited permanent feudal class in Sindh (10).

The British changed the medium of instruction from Persian to Sindhi, which was adopted during Arghun period. New Sindhi script was introduced. In 1866 Civil Courts were established. The most significant step taken by the Britishers was the administrative annexation of Sindh to the Bombay Presidency in India. It remained in that shape till 1937. After a long struggle for its separation from Bombay, it was given a status of separate province. As per requirements of the British, several important changes were introduced. Mechanization took its footings. Technology, in the shape of railways was introduced. However, another point of view says that due to the division of labour imposed by colonial rule, Sindh was relegated to the role of an agricultural hinterland,

(especially Punjabis) were given on concessional rates. The Sindhi Landlords, themselves favored the settlement of farmers from outside the province in order to keep the Hari in "his place" (16). In 1928 rate of one hectare of land for government employees was Rs.6/= whereas its market price was Rs.44.6. It resulted in heavy purchase by the Punjabi government employees. They not only purchased government land but also bought it from the needy small landlords. Six years before the completion of Sukkur Barrage, the Punjabis, Marvaries, Rajisthani and other immigrants purchased about 10559 hectare of land from Sindhi Muslims and 1330 from Sindhi Hindus (17).

This sale of land created a class of absentee landlords. The government employees used to live in cities and land was looked after by their appointees. This further developed into a "contractor system" (18).

Under the British rule the polarization of the Sindhi rural society into a class of landlords and a class of untenured peasants had been greatly accelerated. The class of peasant proprietors, in numbers, remained limited in comparison with the tenants and share croppers. Relationship between the haris and feudals (or money lenders) were based on "Batai System". The oppression of haris at the hands of feudals was high during this period that forced the government to constitute

"Hari Enquiry Committee" on 3rd March 1947. A member of this Committee, Muhammad Masud, ICS, submitted his famous minute of dissent, which highlighted the miserable condition of Haris in Sindh (19).

PARTITION OF SUB-CONTINENT AND CHANGES IN DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP:

The partition of subcontinent in 1947 played immense role in changing the setup of area presently called Pakistan (20). Its immediate outcome was transfer of huge population across the borders.

As far as Punjab is concerned, the bulk of refugees who entered West Punjab were not alien to that area. They were shaped by the same broad social and administrative traditions, which the locals had experienced during the hundred years preceding the independence (21) whereas the case of Sindh was totally different. There were tribes on the frontier who, though gradually being settled, were not inclined to education. Hindus constituted 20 percent of the population and most of them were concentrated in towns (22). An ethnic Sindhi Muslim "Salariate" was virtually non-existent. The Sindhi urban society was mainly composed of Hindu Amils who traditionally provided cadres for the state apparatus of Muslim rulers of Sindh and "Bahibands" (a community of Hindu traders). Most of them migrated from the urban

centers of the province to India during riots in January 1948. The population of Sindh was thus radically and irrevocably restructured (23).

The migration of Hindus across the borders simultaneously with the arrival of many millions of Muslim refugees seeking shelter and jobs. began a new phase in the history of the province overnight it became the most plural province in the young country (24). The vacuum left by urban and commercial Hindus was filled not by Sindhis but by well educated mobile Muhajirs whose mother tongue become the national language and who began establishing their own business, industries and financial concerns in Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur (25). The allotment of lands of evacuee property and positions in the new government departments created a better organized, articulated and innovative community which, rather than adopting the indigenous cultural influences, started establishing their own separate identity (26). With the exodus of the Hindu moneyed class to India in 1947, Sindhis believed that their adversities were over (27). But thousands of welleducated, movable and resourceful population transformed the political and economic contours of Pakistan and Sindh favourable to them (28). Sindh, which had been a semi-isolated region, was rapidly transformed into an ethnic plurality (29).

Perhaps the policies adopted by state duly endorsed by the new emigrants and number of Sindhi feudal lords against the mainstream Sindh further caused the bitterness between them and the Sindhis (30). A few examples to support the assumption are the separation of Karachi from Sindh, creation of One Unit, discontinuation of Sindhi language as medium of Instructions, allotment of lands at Guddu and Kotri Barrages to non-Sindhis. Ayesha Jalal says:

"Hundreds of thousands of acres of newly irrigated land in Sindh.... were parceled out to both military and civil officials-Punjabis in the main. Since there was nothing to prevent them reselling the land at fantastic prices in the open market, senior government employees found themselves climbing the economic ladder with startling ease... (31)".

These events produced many reactions including that of nationalism. Even the extreme right winger (32) like A. K. Brohi, Moulana Khair Muhammad Nizamani, Syed Sardar Ali Shah joined at one platform.

Due to constant pressure of nationalist forces not only in Sindh but other provinces as well, Gen. Yahya Khan decided to dissolve one unit in 1970. But this revival of provincial system gave birth to another rift in

Sindh. Muhajir and Punjabis living in Sindh were not in favour of reviving the provincial entity (33). They were considering their interests safe in One Unit (34). They thought that, with the revival of provincial system, extreme nationalist forces would get hold of the province. Later events further developed this rift which would be discussed in detail in the coming chapters.

HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN SINDH:

EARLY HISTORY:

The history of Journalism in Sindh is old as the other parts of the Sub-continent. The portable type of Gothenburg printing machine reached Sub-continent in 1674 when the first printing press was established in Bombay (35). Sindh, with its long-standing relations with other parts of the world, had become aware of portable type and other technological invention but it required practical appliance in the linguistic necessity of Sindh (36).

Sindh was among the last provinces in Indian Sub-continent to fall to British's and as soon as they annexed it to British Empire in February 1843, they began grooming policies through all available media, foremost of these being the press (37). They discouraged use of Persian and encouraged English language. KUFRACHE ADVERTISER was

the first newspaper, which appeared in 1845. It retains the honour of being the first newspaper of the territories now forming Pakistan (38). Initially, it was a bi-weekly newspaper, basic aim behind its publication was to defend the policies of Sir Charles Napier.

"Sindhian" was the second newspaper, which appeared in 1853. It was also in English language and was bi-weekly with A. W. Strench as its Editor. The original Sindhian was later converted into "Sindh News" and then into the "Beacon" and lastly into "Sindh Times" (39). As regard the contents of the newspaper, it aimed at objective reporting about the affairs of the Province in order to assist the administration in the formulation of their policy (40).

"Sindh Kossid" was another important newspaper. This bi-weekly which used to appear on every Tuesday and Friday started its publication on 6th June 1854. The former Editor of Sindhian, John Briggs, was appointed as its Editor.

The war of independence 1857 brought several repression from the government over Indian Press and the Sindh's press was no exception to it. The promulgation of Press Gagging Act of 1857 laid more restrictions over the printing presses and newspapers. Newspapers raised voiced against it, but to no avail.

and Daily Phoenix were two other English Sindh, News newspapers, which started their publication in 1854 and 1856 respectively. In-fact, the English newspapers were the need of British rulers for not only running the local administration smoothly, but to communicate administrative steps taken in Sindh to other parts of India. It was this need, which made the commissionerate and other agencies of the government to help establish a sound-footed press in the province. Alongwith the English, which was being patronized as per government policy, Persian, which used to be the official and court language of the province, was not ready to leave the ground in spite of indifferent attitude of government. In the same period Mirza Mukhlis Ali established a lithographic press at Karachi in 1885 and started publishing a Persian newspaper "Mufarrah-ul-Quloob". Newspaper received support from the British officials (41). Simultaneously several other Persian newspapers like "Matha Khurshid" and "Akleel" appeared, but they could not last very long, as majority of Sindh's population was not familiar with this language.

As a result of government's encouragement, Sindhi language started replacing Persian language. The first Sindhi-Persian bilingual weekly, sponsored by government, started its publication on 15th May

1858 under title "Fawwad-ul-Akhbar". Newspaper carried articles regarding education and government policies (42). Although these newspapers had their own importance, but as per Hafiz Khair Muhammad Odhi, these papers, instead of depicting real facts and highlighting the suffering of common man, became the spokesman of the feudal and few Ulemas who were adept in Persian (43).

The Sindhi Press took another stride when a complete Sindhi newspaper "SIND SUDHAR" started its publication from Karachi in 1866. This newspaper was started by the government of Sindh. The main objective for this paper was to act as a government's spokesman. However, it started publishing informative articles on different social topics beside publication of government orders, news and notifications. This paper attained wide circulation. Rao Sahib Barayan Jaganath, Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg, the elder brother of Mirza Qaleech Beg and Sadhu Hiranand jointly edited it. Later in 1884, it was taken away from the government's control and handed over to a social organization "SIND SUDHAR" (44) that was founded by Jetha Ram, a known social worker. His family established the D. J. College of Karachi in his memory in 1887. After transfer of its management into private hands, newspaper improved a lot. Its contributors included N. N. Pooncheji, Muhammad Qasim Halai, Fazil Shah Hyderabadi, Ghulam Muhammad Gadda, Mir Ali Nawaz Alvi, etc. It started discussion on political, economic and social issues.

"Moeen-ul Islam" was the first complete privately owned Sindhi newspaper. This was brought out by Mirza Muhammad Sadiq. The period extending to 1855 witnessed remarkable progress in printing methods. It changed from lithography to letterpress. In 1862, there were only 4 typographic presses in Karachi and one in Kotri. Whereas, in lithography, 5 presses in Karachi and one in Sukkur were established. The batch of more than a dozen were added to it in 1885. During the same period, besides Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur also appeared as the major publishing stations.

After getting himself separated from "SINDH SABHA", Hasan Ali Effendi established Sindh National Muhammadan Association in March 1884. He was a great admirer of Sir Syed and was deeply influenced by Aligarh Movement. Besides establishing "Sindh Madrasat-ul-Islam" at Karachi, he also started a weekly newspaper "Miaven Majmay". It appeared as defender of rights of Sindhi Muslims. Prominent Sindhi Scholars Allah Baksh "ABOJHO" and Shamsuddin "BULBUL" remain attached to this newspaper.

In the next few years a number of other new newspapers appeared In the year 1890, Sadha Hiranand started publishing "Sarswati". Lekhraj Tilokchand brought out "Pirbhat" from Sukkur in Virumal Begraj started "Sindhi". Haji Ahmed Memon started "Aftab-e-Sindh" from Sukkur in 1895. This paper became the champion of the Muslim cause under the editorship of Shamsuddin "Bulbul". It took up issues with the Hindu press on various fronts. This paper carried the message of Aligarh Movement in Sindh. This paper took stern notice of the activities of Christian missionaries (45). In the same period several other papers like "Kair Khawa" from Larkana, "Musafar" from Hyderabad and "Sindhi" from Sukkur came up. Virumal Begraj, editor of "Sindhi" succeeded in achieving respect among the literate circles especially among Hindus and became the President of Sindhi Hindu Mahsabha. He was placed behind the bars twice for a total period of about 5 years for writing against the government and state.

In 1896 two important paper "Joa" and "Parbhat" started their publications. Publishers of both the newspapers were Hindus. Lekhraj Talwak Chand, editor of Parbhat was a renowned writer. His newspaper earned a lot of fame whereas "Jhoot ki-Awas" published by Parma Nand

Mawa Ram, who, later on, converted to Christianity and utilized his paper for propagating the preaching of his new religion.

In 1899 Muslims started the newspapers named Al-Haq, Al-Hilal and Aftab-e-Sindh. Al-Haq was initially started from Sukkur, however later on shifted to Hyderabad. This newspaper focused its interest on socioeconomic conditions of Sindh. It reported objectively and commented freely on political developments.

Previously there was no difference between Hindu and Muslim press but in the last decade of 19th Century keeping in view the interests of both communities, both the presses adopted extreme lines and in fact Al-Haq, Al-Hilal and Aftab-e-Sindh were the rejoinder to Hindi Press. Al-Haq especially maintained a pro-Muslim editorial policy (46). This paper saw several renowned Sindhi scholars like Shams-ud-din Bulbul, Muhammad Hashim Mukhlis and Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwani as its editors.

In 1904, an eminent poet Muhammad Hashim Mukhli, who previously had been editor of Al-Hilal, brought periodical "Tuhf-i-Ahbab". In 1906, Allama Asadullah "Fida" started his monthly magazine called "Bahr-e-Akhlaq" (47).

SINDH WASI was the first Sindhi daily newspaper of 20th Century edited by Kanwal Singh Pohumal. Its publication was commenced in 1908. In 1909, Muhammad Hakim Mukhlis issued another periodical "Jaffar Zathi" and "Kich Kot" from Hyderabad. Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwani started his another publication "Al-Islah" (48).

The division of Bengal in 1905 by the British Government was the first major point of difference between the press in Sindh. It divided the Sindhi press in Hindu and Muslim press. A number of fresh newspapers from the Hindu community appeared i.e. "Mata", "Sindh Shawak" and "Voice of Sindh" were few papers, which were representing Hindu point of view. The year 1916 watched another point of conflict between both the communities. A group of extremist Hindus wanted to revise the script of Sindhi language from Arabic to Devnagri. For this purpose a specific newspaper "Hindu" was launched from Hyderabad. Muslim press immediately responded to this threat. Several papers like "Sahifa-e-Qadri" edited by Moulvi Muhammad Sadiq Raniput, "Al-Kashif" edited by Moulana Din Muhammad Wafai brought out from Larkana.

1916 saw the emergence of important Sindhi newspaper from Hyderabad. Raees Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgari, a veteran Muslim Leaguer started "Al-Amin". It was a daily newspaper. Shaikh Abdul

Majeeed Sindhi was appointed as editor of the paper. It was considered a complete newspaper as besides coverage of news items, it contained articles on political, economic and social issues.

Khilafat Movement was a milestone in the history of struggle movement against British government. During this movement the Hindus and Muslims struggle jointly against them. This movement gave rise to new forces of freedom movement through press. It took the task of building public opinion in such a commendable way that Muslim leadership of India considered it right to convene Khilafat conference at Hyderabad in 1921 (49). In order to cover this important event Haji Abdullah Haroon launched a daily newspaper "Al-Wahid". There is no doubt that this newspaper is considered as the most important newspaper of its time. It set the new trends in the history of journalism. It preached people to participate in national affairs and generated discipline in their Shaikh Abdul Majeeed, Din Muhammad Wafai, and Qazi Abdur Rehman were its few eminent editors. It worked as the real spokesman of Muslim League and especially from 1938 onward it pursued the case of Muslim League and Pakistan with great vigor (50).

In 1923, Moulana Din Muhammad Wafai initiated "Tauheed" from Larkana. In the same year another important bi-weekly newspaper

"Sindh Zamindar" appeared. Those who remained on the editorial board on different occasions were Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, Moulana Abdul Ghafoor Sindhi, Agha Nazar Ali, Dur Muhammad Owaisi and Hafiz Khair Muhammad Odhi(51). As per Hasamuddin Rashdi, actually this publication was started by the Sindh Muhammadan Association under the patronage of British Government to neutralize the impact of Al Wahid (52).

The Khilafat Movement left very impressive and lasting effects on the society and a number of newspapers appeared in a very short span of time. In 1924, "Mussalman" appeared from Mirpurkhas. Muhammad Hashim Mukhlis edited it. In the same year "Shikarpur Gazette" and "and "Al-Hanif" started their publications from Shikarpur. "Ittahad" appeared from Nawabshah, Moulana Abdul Khaliq Morai started "Taraqi" in 1925. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, "Aseer", started "Al-Rashid" and "Andaleeb" started their journey from Larkana. Ali Muhammad Rashdi started another paper "Al-Hazab" in 1927. Moulana Noor Muhammad Nizami started "Noor-ul-Islam" from Tando Allahyar. In 1935 Agha Badruddin of Shikarpur came out with "Ashian-e-Adab". Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sehwani started "Al-Islah" in 1936 (53). In

1938, Syed Sadaruddin Shah Bukhari, a renowned Sindhi Scholar started "Al-Jamat".

In 1940, Bahart Jeewan Saitha Mandal, Hyderabad started "Baharat Jeewan" from Hyderabad. In that monthly magazine renowned Muslim and Hindu scholars like Moulana Shadi, Dildar Hussain Muswai, Ali Muhammad Marri, Thakur Kulphani, Ram Panjwani, Nanak Pir Panjwani etc. were regular contributors to the paper.

In 1941, Muhammad Usman Diplai started a monthly Magazine "Ibrat" from Hyderabad. He used this magazine for the cause of Independence struggle. This paper was converted into a weekly in 1946. He sold out this paper to Qazi Family in 1951 and they converted it into a daily newspaper in 1958. During the same period, Moulvi Khair Muhammad Nizamani started "Bab-ul-Islam" "Awam" and "Ghazi". In 1942, Hari Das Premchand started "Janam Bohmi" from Mirpurkhas (54).

The Congress party started "Suraj" in 1945, as its mouth organ. It used to attack the policies of government as well as Muslim League. In order to counter the Congress' propaganda, a Muslim Leaguer Agha Badruddin initiated daily "Inqilab" in 1946 (55). The government

applied a forced closure of Inqilab for political reasons. It practically encountered the adverse propaganda of extremist Hindu press.

Munshi family of Hyderabad started Hilal-e-Pakistan from Hyderabad in November 1946. Moulana Shadai was it first editor. The main aim of this paper was to counter anti-Pakistan propaganda. This paper still exists.

With the partition of Sub-continent and creation of new country in 1947, several changes took place into the character and role of journalism. After achieving independence and a separate country, newspapers had to play another role in the construction of the newly established country. A number of famous and eminent Hindu writers and journalist migrated from Sindh. This created a vacuum in creative journalism. However, with the arrival of new emigrants from India, Karachi emerged as a major center of new journalism (56).

AT THE EVE OF PARTITION:

At the time of independence, Karachi had 3 English newspapers, owners of all these papers i.e. Daily Gazette, Karachi Daily and Sindh Observer were non-Muslims. Due to their migration, the standard of papers declined. Al-Wahid was a regular publication, whereas there was no significant newspaper in Urdu (57).

Pakistan Herald publications was the first group which came forth with several new newspapers. "Dawn" the English daily, which was previously appearing as the spokesman of the Muslim League from Delhi, again appeared as the biggest English newspaper of Pakistan. It started its Urdu version as well, but it could not survive much longer. It also started "Illustrated Weekly of Pakistan" and "Evening Star". Z. A. Suleri started 'Times of Karachi'. Daily Morning News of Calcutta also shifted to Karachi and started its publication simultaneously from Karachi and Dacca.

Urdu journalism, which was almost nonexistent in Sindh, before partition, started gaining ground. Jang and Anjam were shifted from Delhi to Karachi. Both the papers under their owners Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman and Muhammad Usman Azad respectively achieved prominence in very short time. By 1958, Karachi had an estimated 28 daily newspapers which included 16 Urdu 3 Sindhi and 6 English newspapers. Sindhi language newspapers continued their journey in new circumstances. G.M. Syed's "Naeen Sindh", edited by Sobho Gian Chandani, Pir Pagaro's "Mehran" edited by Sardar Ali Shah and "Al-Wahid" led the Sindhi Journalism. Later, Ayub Khoro started "Nawa-e-Sindh". Ali Nawaz Wafai s/o Moulana Din Muhammad Wafai started

"Azad". It was the only Sindhi weekly from Karachi. Several New Sindhi newspapers also appeared from Hyderabad during the same period. Raees Haji Najmuddin Sarewal brought out "Karawan". Ibrat increased its frequency to be a daily in August 1958. Khadim-e-Watan, which published as weekly also, changed its periodicity to a daily newspaper. Sukkur also achieved the status of an important publishing center, but could develop little with the passage of time.

STRUGGLE AGAINST ONE UNIT

The Federal government's decision to implement one unit in 1955 was strongly opposed by Sindh. The economic disaster Sindh feared through this unpopular political experience, became the cause of resentment in the Sindhis, which was voiced by the newspapers in a forceful manner straining the relations between the province and center. Ayub Khoro, the then Chief Minister of Sindh, put restrictions on Sindhi press to suppress any voice against the formation of One Unit. The formation of One Unit against the wishes of people of Sindh raised a very vocal protest through out the province. The Sindhi press raised voice against this act of federal government. A number of Sindhi newspapers, like 'Karawan' from Hyderabad and 'Naeen Sindh' etc. saw forced closure on political grounds, Sindhi press became the only platform to

express the deprivations, but as a political onslaught on One Unit could really come into effect.

The case against One Unit was fought vigorously by the Sindhi press as done previously in case of separation of Karachi from Sindh in 1948. This period is considered as one of the glorious period of Sindhi journalism as several new left oriented nationalist youth started their career, which flourished with the passage of time.

Haider Bux Jatoi, of Hari Committee, wrote against arbitrary laws of Land Revenue in the Province. The government took stern notice of his writings. Newspapers carrying his articles were banned and he was placed behind the bars. After the imposition of One Unit securities from 39 newspapers were demanded in 1956-57. Several papers like 'Ras Rehan', 'Insan', and many other were either subjected to forced closure or sanctions were imposed to make closure possible. A constant and pertinent struggle to rehabilitate Sindhi language's position and regain the rights of people, due share in jobs and equitable distribution of finances ended in 1970, when the One Unit was dissolved. By the time, Hyderabad had become an important newspaper center. Mehran and Nawa-i-Sindh shifted their places of publication from Karachi to

Hyderabad. Khadim-e-Watan changing its periodicity to a daily had also started publication from Hyderabad. Pakistan People's Party brought out Daily Hilal-e-Pakistan as a party paper. It proved to be a successful venture. However, it also gave coverage to the aspirations of emerging middle class of Sindhi Society. Al-Wahid as a spokesman of Jamat-e-Islami had appeared again from Hyderabad but it could not survive much. Mehran of Pir Pagaro continued from Hyderabad alongwith Qazi familys' Daily Ibrat.

REFERENCES:-

- 01. Ali, A. Jafaray, Sindh and Shindhis in the early Aryan age, in Hamida khoro (ed.) Sindh through the Centuries, Oxford University Press, Karachi, p-65.
- 02. Vanloluizen, J. E., The pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sindh in Hamida Khoro, op cit, p-43.
- 03. Dr. N. A. Baloch, The Historical Sindh Era, in Hamida Khoro, op cit, p-87.
- 04. Ibid.
- 05. H. T. Lambrick, Sindh, *A General Survey*, Sindhiology, Hyderabad, 1975, p-194.
- 06. Feroze Ahmed, Agrarian Change and Class Formation in Sindh, *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.19, no.39, 994, p-149.
- 07. Dr. Mubarak Ali, *Sindh Kamoshi Ke Awaz*, Progressive Publishers, Lahore, 1992, p-111.
- 08. Ibid, p-97.
- 09. William Napier, *History of Sir General Charles Napier*, Oxford University Press, Karachi (reprint), 1991, p-333.
- 10. Mubarak Ali, Feudalism and Feudal Culture, Mashal, Lahore, 1996, p-111
- 11. Feroze, op cit, p-156.

- 12. Ibid, p-156.
- 13. Economic of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, 1950, p-39:
- 14. V. F. Agee, A modern History of Sindh, (Tr.), Danyal, Karachi, 1989, p-40.
- 15. H. T. Sorley, *The Gazette of West Pakistan*, Government of West Pakistan Press, Lahore, 1968, p-49(-91.
- 16. Feroze, op cit p-157.
- 17. Viewpoint, Lahore 1984, Vol. 10, No. 21, Lahore, p-4.
- 18. A. R. Asleonveski, Agricultural industries between two world wars, (Urdu Trans), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, Pp-316.
- 19. Muhammad Masud, *Hari Report Note of Dissent*, (Second Edition), Jang Publication, Lahore, 1990.
- 20. Shahid Javed Burki, Dawn, Karachi. 11-09-2001.
- 21. Muhammad Waseem, *Politics And The State in Pakistan*, NIHCR, Islamabad, 1984, p-108.

- 22. Hamida Khoro, *The making of modern Sindh*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1999, p-59.
- 23. Hamza Alavi, Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan, in Akbar Zaidi (ed)

 Regional Imbalances and National question in Pakistan,

 Vanguard, Lahore, 1992, P-271
- 24. Shahzad Manzar, *Sindh Ke Nashe Masayal* (Racial problem of Sindh), Fiction House, Lahore, 1994, p-148
- 25. Ibid p-150
- 26. Ibid p-151
 - 27. Iftikhar H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan*, West View Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1997, p-20
 - 28. Muhammad Waseem, op eit, p-109.
 - 29. V.U Gangoverky, National question and National Movements in Pakistan, *Research Forum*, no.7/8, December 1988, Danyal, Karachi, p-277.
 - 30. Mushtaq-ur-Rehman, *Land and life in Sindh*, Feroze Sons, Lahore, 1997, p-7.

- 31. Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p-305.
- 32. Daily Mehran, Hyderabad, (editorial), 31st October 1962.
- 33. Rasheed Jamal, *Sindh Do Rahya Par*, Pakistani Adab Publications, Karachi, 1994, p-20.
- 34. Ghur-ul-Islam, Sindh Ma Mahafamat Ke Zerurat, *Irtaqa*, May 1993, p-43.
- 35. Azizur-Rehman Bughio, *History & Evolution of Journalism*, Sindhiology, Jamshoro, 1988, p-21.
- 36. Ibid.
- 37. Shaikh Aziz, An outline History of Journalism in Sindh, in, Dr. M. Yaqoob Mughal (ed), *studies on Sindh*, Jamshoro, 1988, p-172.
- 38. Abdul Salam Khurshid, *Journalism in Pakistan*, Majlis Taraqui Adab, Lahore, p-7.
- 39. Hiranand, The Soul of Sindh by Da aram Gidumal, *Daily Gazette of Karachi*, p-187, p-49.
- 40. Aziz, op cit, p-173.

- 41. Sir Wingate Andrew, Former Commission in Sindh, Government House, Karachi, K.C.I.E., 5th Oct 1897.
- 42. Commissioner in Sindh's Record file GO/440, p-259.
- 43. Abdul Majeed Memon, *Mehran Tc Majilis* (Taking about Sindh). Sindhiology, Jamshoro, 1981, P-63.
- 44. Prof. Ganja Ram Malkani, *History of Sindhi Prose*, Sindhiology, Jamshoro, (Reprint), 1976, P-184.
- 45. Prof. Rehmat Furrakhabadi, in monthly *Sarhad*, Karachi, Vol.4, 01.05.1974, p-12.
- 46. Aziz, op cit, p-182.
- 47. Ibid.
- 48. Ibid.
- 49. Ibid. p-186.
- 50. Aziz-ur-Rehman Bughio, *History and Evolution of Sindhi Journalism*, [Sindhiology, Jamshoro, 1988, p-190.
- 51. Aziz Shaikh, op cit.

- 52. Hashamuddin Rashdi, *Owh Dhi Oha Shai* (Sindhi), Hyderabad, 1972 (2nd edition), p-76.
- 53. Aziz Shaikh, op cit, p-187.
- 54. Aziz-ur-Rehman Bughio, op cit, p-234.
- 55. Aziz Shaikh, op cit.
- 56. Dr. Abdus Salam Khurshed, *Sahafat*, Maktaba-e-Karawan Lahore, 1963, p-515.
- 57. Aziz-ur-Rehman Bughio, op cit.