

The Path Not Taken

G.M. Sayed

Vision and Valour in Politics

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All the men and women who strove to preserve the social, cultural and religious diversity of Sindh

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Introduction

Sindh, a fountain of quite a few ancient civilizations has had an extraordinary place in the universe for centuries due to its cultural progression, wealth of resources, gracious behaviour of its inhabitants and their love for humanity.

The people of Sindh are non-aggressive by nature, but in the defence of their motherland they have fought with great courage against intruders, and have remained independent, except for some brief periods when Greeks, Iranians, Arabs, central Asians, and English invaders defeated them and had ruled Sindh.

But Sindhis never slept unless they again secured control over their soil.

Mohenjodaro, one of the oldest civilisations of the world which is over 5,000 years old, is located in the Indus valley in Sindh. It was a fairly advanced civilisation, and excavations have revealed well-delineated markets, well-developed residential areas with a sewerage system, wells and also a swimming bath. The discovery of the icon of a dancing girl shows that the inhabitants had an interest in music and fine arts, which demonstrates their skill and creativity.

When Ghulam Murtaza Sayed was born in the year 1904, this land was under the colonial rule of the British. That rule affected all of Sindhi society in an adverse manner, with the result that a wealthy land became poor and backward and the process of civilizational growth in the society was suspended. This condition compelled Ghulam Murtaza Sayed to struggle to revive the civilisation and strive for the betterment of the inhabitants of Sindh.

We shall henceforth in the text refer to Ghulam Murtaza Sayed simply as G.M. Sayed to differentiate the Sayed name from other members of the Sayed family, and also because the man was known and loved in Sindh, and universally, as G.M. Sayed.

Although he was born into a prosperous and respected family of Sindh, and all things were made available to him for a life of luxury, to achieve his objectives, he shunned all his personal desires and suffered over 30 years in prison and confinement, dedicating almost his entire life towards his mission for Sindh.

His devotion to this cause was such that once a journalist quizzed him asking: What inspiration guided you in your mission?

G.M. Sayed replied: "Love for Sindh and, above all, love for humanity."

Of course he loved Sindh from the core of his heart, and he also said on some occasions that it was love that could make him perfect and it opened to him hidden aspects of the universe, and it was through love that he understood the creation of the world and its purpose and plan. And his love for Sindh and humanity, has caused him to be loved by millions of people, and though physically he does not exist anymore, having passed away on 25 April 1995, the people of Sindh still love him to the extent that they are ready to sacrifice their lives for his mission, and he is almost like a demigod to them.

Like Jesus Christ, he believed in nonviolence and held the same opinion about love that St. Paul wrote about in his letter in the New Testament:

'If I speak in the tongues of man and of angels, but have not love, I am only a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal. If I have the gift of prophecy and can fathom all the mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have a faith that can move mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. If I give all I possess to the poor and surrender my body to the flames but have not love, I gain nothing.

Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud, it is not rude, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always preserves. Love never fails. But where there are, prophecies, they will cease, where there are tongues, they will be stilled; where there is knowledge, it will pass away.

For we know in part and we prophesy in part, but when perfection comes, the imperfect disappears. When I was a child, I thought like a child. When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me. Now we see but a poor reflection as in a mirror, then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known. And now these three remain, faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love.' (1 Corinthians 13: 1-13)¹.

I am confessing to you, dear reader, that I also have a love for everything about G.M. Sayed, his writings, his sayings and even the man, with whom I have been associated for 25 years. But as a biographer, I have tried to be impartial and fair, and I leave it to historians and readers to judge me on this score.

My thanks are due to G.M. Sayed's family, Mr. Nuruddin Sarki, Mr. G.M. Qureshi, Mr. Robin Fernandez, Sayed Ghulam Shah, Engineer Abdul Jabbar Memon, Captain Abdul Rashid Abro, Mr. S.H. Zaidi, the late Rashid Hyder Rizvi and the late Javed Ahmed Soomro.

For reading the manuscript and editing I am thankful to Mr. Noel Monteiro.

Family

This man of strong convictions and principles was Ghulam Murtaza Sayed, later to be universally renowned simply as G.M. Sayed. He was born on 17 January 1904, in the village of Sann, in Dadu district of Sindh, to a landed family with spiritual leanings.

Before we begin, a short explanation of the term Sayed is necessary along with an explanation of his antecedents. Sayeds in Sindh are scions descended from the line of the Prophet's daughter Sayeda Fatima. The term Sayed translates more or less as 'Noble Lord'.

G.M. Sayed's main ancestor descended from this line of Sayeds was Jaffar-ul-Sani (Jaffar the Second) Alhawari, son of Imam Moosa Kazim, the seventh Imam of the Shia Isna-Asheri group. Imam Moosa Kazim was also a sixth grandson of Hadrat Ali, cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him). So G.M. Sayed's family members also came to be known by the honorific Kazmi.

Now during the time when Taimur the Great conquered India, an ancestor of his, Sayed Hyder Shah, arrived in Multan, along with his father Amir Ali Shah. There they parted ways and Sayed Hyder Shah came to Sindh in the year 801 Hijra and settled down in a village in Hala, where he was married to the daughter of Arbab Shah Mohammed Halo. Later, the family shifted to reside in Matiari village. There fore Sayed's family line are also known as the Matiari Kazmi Sayeds. The great Sufi saint and mystic poet of Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, is also said to be known as a Matiari Kazmi Sayed, indicating the familial links G.M. Sayed had with other luminaries of Sindh.

During the rule of the Samma clan in Sindh, when Jam Nizamuddin Samma was in power, the Chang tribe launched an insurgency. These tribal insurgents inhabited the area between Laki and Kotri area of Dadu district. Sayed Badaruddin Shah, son of Sayed Ibrahim Shah helped Jam Nizamuddin Samma to smash the insurgency. The Samma Rajputs ruled Sindh from 1350 to 1550 A.D, when they were toppled by Arghoon invaders. The insurgency was put down with the cooperation of Sayed Badaruddin Shah.

In gratitude at the assistance offered, Jam Nizamuddin Samma awarded an estate to Sayed Badaruddin Shah in the same locality, and the latter took up residence at Sann village to look after the family estate. He had seven male children.

Their names were:

1. Sayed Maroof Shah
2. Sayed Mooj Ali Shah
3. Sayed Dhani Dino Shah
4. Sayed Haji Shah
5. Sayed Dad Shah
6. Sayed Jhando Shah
7. Sayed Jeeo Shah (alias Ziauddin)

Sayed Jeeo Shah had two sons, Sayed Jarar and Sayed Hyder Shah. G.M. Sayed, son of Sayed Mohammed Shah, is the fourteenth generation descended from Sayed Hyder Shah.

Childhood and Adolescence

Understanding Nature's Colours

G.M. Sayed was orphaned while still an infant when on 1st November 1905; his father was assassinated due to an old enmity. In November 1906, exactly a year later, his younger brother, Ahmed Shah, died. After the demise of his father and brother, Sayed became the lone surviving male member of the family.

Mirza Qaleech Beg, the Deputy Collector and the author of over 200 books on Sindh and literature, helped them during their hour of trials, and their land came under the court of wards in 1906. The untimely death of his father affected the socioeconomic conditions of the family and made G.M. Sayed sensitive and practical. The financial problems they faced, forced the Sayed family to surmount many difficulties, the nominal fixed income they received under the court of wards was inadequate for their needs, and their agents and house servants abandoned the family.

G.M. Sayed lived in poor health, and even at one stage there seemed to be little chance of his surviving into manhood. Two well-known hakims, Sayed Tharo Shah and Sayed Ahmed Shah, were summoned from Sehwan Sharif for Sayed's treatment. They not only treated him but also prayed for him, and after some time G.M. Sayed recovered his health.

On 1st July, 1910, G.M. Sayed was admitted to a primary school at Sann where he passed the Class VI examination in 1915. There being no secondary school in Sann, the women folk of the family, feared that their enemies who had assassinated G.M. Sayed's father were planning to kill him as well. So they did not permit G.M. Sayed to leave the protection of Sann village to further his education, and so he was unable to complete his formal education.

However, he picked up English from his tutors in Sann, Hamid Ali Memon and Naraindas, and Persian and Arabic from Mian Mohammed Hashim and Maulvi Allah Bux. Among other teachers who greatly influenced Sayed, were Rewachand, an expert musician, who inculcated in G.M. Sayed an interest in music and cheered him, and Qazi Mohammed Hashim, who was instrumental in getting him inclined towards mysticism and moderation. Then there was Hamid Ali who got him interested in politics.

Young G.M. Sayed started his social activities from the local area. At that time the Sindhi Hindu community was well advanced in all fields of life but the Sindhi Muslim community was backward.

Sayed was familiar with the Hindu Panchayat system. He organised an association on that pattern, which contributed to changing their mean and ignoble ways. People who habitually lodged complaints over minor, petty issues at police stations, changed their attitude and agreed to settle their quarrels amicably through the association. People who were used to spending money lavishly at marriage functions gave up this bad custom.

G.M. Sayed was born into a family that was inclined towards spiritualism. It is said that when he was young a wish arose in his mind to understand nature's colours. To fulfill this wish, he went in search of God. He prayed and fasted, practised night vigils, prayers, rigours of self-confinement, visited the shrines of saints, associated with wise men and dervishes, sought guidance from sublime men, helped in activities to build mosques and preach Islam. He strictly followed the conventional order of religion.

He studied the Holy Quran, the Bible, Bhagawad Gita and many other books on diverse subjects, in search of the right way but to no avail. He has narrated in his book "Dayar Dil Dastan-e-Mohbat", that neither a study of religious books, nor prayers could satisfy him. Rather, his mind grew full of anxiety. Then he had a dream which helped to guide him and put him on the right path.

In his dream, he saw his great ancestor Sayed Hyder Shah. He found himself in a huge castle, well-lit by a bright full moon, where a great congregation was being held. Not everyone was allowed to enter the congregation without the help of someone known from within. He thereupon politely asked a person at the gate, who seemed to be a gatekeeper, whether Sayed Hyder Shah was present there so that he could beseech him to enter and take part in the congregation. Upon his request, a saintly white-bearded man of average height, dressed in white, came out. The castle was bathed in a transcendent light. His presence was questioned. He said he longed to serve Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) in order to develop a consciousness of God.

He observed that his court was in session but entry required certain prior preparation. No one could be allowed without that preparation. G.M. Sayed asked what sort of preparation it might be. He replied, "He who keeps on serving his homeland Sindh and its people without any discrimination shall be instructed further with the passage of time." G.M. Sayed then humbly asked how he could have such an opportunity again to be in his service when this meeting has been such a great boon to himself after long tribulations." He mentioned to him a word and was informed that "by uttering this word he could come in contact with him." It was also revealed to him that the welfare and security of Sindh and its people was under the charge of the following sublime souls and the places where they resided:

1. Shah Saddaruddin Laki
2. Makhdoom Bilawal Baghban
3. Sayed Khairuddin Sukkur
4. Sayed Shah Hyder Sann
5. Makhdoom Noah Hala
6. Sayed Aali Thatta
7. Qalander Lal Shahbaz Sehwan Sharif
8. Sayed Abdul Karim Bulri

9. Shah Abdul Latif Bhit Shah
10. Sachal Sarmast Daraza
11. Shah Inayat Jhok
12. Baba Guru Nanak Punjab

The first six are said to have been assigned the task of correcting and subduing the self in the Sindhis, while the rest of them are to look after their mental capabilities and inculcate in them love, tolerance and other humanistic values. After this dream, he paid homage at the shrines of each of the sublime souls but could not present himself at the shrine of Baba Guru Nanak.

He contemplated how he could serve the people of Sindh without discrimination of caste or creed, so he discussed the matter with Makhdoom Zaheeruddin, alias Puro Jam, of Hala and Qazi Assadullah Shah Takharai. They advised him that first of all he should organise an elite class in Sindh, and through them he should undertake his programme for the welfare of the masses and then unify them. To achieve this goal, G.M. Sayed chose social and political paths.

Politics as a Mission

He got his first opportunity to enter politics, when a Khilafat Conference was held at Larkana from 7 to 9 February 1920. He attended the Conference along with Makhdoom Moenuddin of Khyari and Assadullah Shah Takharai. The conference was presided over by Pir Rashidullah Shah of Jhando of Hyderabad district. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahali of Lucknow and Maulana Shaukat Ali were among the speakers. The conference created an enhanced awareness about Indian national politics in G.M. Sayed. This was the time when due to the Khilafat Conference and the Rowlatt Act, the people of the entire subcontinent, irrespective of caste and creed, were struggling against British rule.

The firing on peaceful protesters in Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on 13 April 1919, on the order of the British General Dyer, resulted in brutal and tragic killings of hundreds of people. This made the situation very tense all over India and a storm of protests arose over this massacre. Sindh also played its role in this protest. Young Sayed, a man of strong feelings, now got involved deeply in politics.

His forefather, Sayed Hyder Shah, being very much aware of Sindhi history and politics was a strong supporter and admirer of Sindh's independent Samma rule, which made him an ardent nationalist. After the British conquest of Sindh, Sir Charles Napier called a meeting of the elite class of Sindh. Most of the feudal landlords went there to pay fealty.

Sayed Mohammed Shah, Sardar Imam Bux Khan Jatoli, Alaf Khan Pathan of Shikarpur, Makhdoom Mohammed Zaman of Hala, and Pir Hizbullah Shah Pir Pagaro opposed the British rule at different times, and all became victims of the wrath of the British. The British administration was not partial to persons who were not subservient to it.

Following the Larkana Conference, G.M. Sayed organised a Khilafat Conference at his hometown, Sann, on 17 March 1920. It was presided over by Hakim Fateh Mohammed Sehwani. Several prominent Sindhi leaders, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Dr. Nur Mohammed, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Shaikh Abdul Salam (Editor of the Sindhi-language Al Wahid newspaper) were among the speakers. Funds were collected for the purpose and several people announced their decision to leave the service of the British. Also on 19 March 1920, a general strike was observed in Sann to express solidarity with Turkey and the Khilafat Movement.

Before the conference, the then Commissioner-in-Sindh Mr. G.A. Thomas, had summoned G.M. Sayed to Kotri through a message delivered by Ghulam Mustafa Khan Essani, the Deputy Collector at Kotri. (Note an important distinction here. He was the Commissioner-in-Sindh, and not the Commissioner of Sindh.)

The commissioner told G.M. Sayed that the Khilafat Movement was an anti-British campaign, and warned him that his interest in the movement would result in the British taking punitive action against him by stopping his monthly income decreed by the court of wards, and the commissioner asked G.M. Sayed to postpone the conference. G.M. Sayed informed him that all arrangements had already been finalised, so postponement was impossible. The administration also planned to stop the conference by force, but then thought better about this plan, because the government was aware of Sayed's family background, and feared that a general feeling of discontent might lead to an uprising in Sindh.

The colonial administration carried out its threat and suspended the monthly allowance of Sayed's family. The British also considered two more options, which came under further discussion: the land should be handed over to G.M. Sayed, so that the daily business of estate management may prevent him from taking an active part in politics, and the second was he should be sent to Bombay for forced education. But these options did not materialise.

The meeting, held at the mausoleum of Makhdoom Bilawal on 26 March 1920, was a most important one in the political life of Sayed. He addressed the audience by standing on a table, owing to his short stature.

In spite of pressure of the British administration, G.M. Sayed played an active role in the Khilafat Movement right up to 1924 when Hindu-Muslim differences weakened it. Apart from this, Sayed spent his time in social and personal activities.

On 14 May 1920, G.M. Sayed went to village Karim Dino Mahesar to resolve the differences among his disciples. He spent one week there, and while he was there he convinced 18 boys to start formal studying. He sent them to a teacher, Morandmal, by name, based in the nearest school at Kamaldero.

Often Sayed used to resolve the disputes among his disciples during this period; he would also ask them strive for progress in business, agriculture and education. Meanwhile, his personal activities consisted of attending feasts given by the landlords, listening to live folk music renditions and hunting.

Mr. Smart, the then Collector of Karachi, called on G.M. Sayed's hometown Sann on 3rd March 1921 and exchanged views on local matters. Surprisingly, the political activities of G.M. Sayed did not come under discussion.

When Mahatma Gandhi of the All-India Congress Party toured Sindh in 1921, there were no communal (Hindu-Muslim) problems in the subcontinent. The people of Sindh are already noted for their moderate views, so without any discrimination of caste or creed, Mahatma Gandhi was warmly welcomed by the inhabitants of Sindh.

G.M. Sayed welcomed Mahatma Gandhi at Sann Rail way Station on 27 April 1921, while the Mahatma was on his way from Hyderabad to Dadu. During this brief meeting Mahatma Gandhi advised G.M. Sayed to wear homespun cotton khaddar as a personal example to his followers, and he wore it as his dress from the following month onwards.

Sayed visited Karachi for the first time on 23 September 1921 to purchase a shotgun for himself. In Karachi, he was the guest of advocate Roopchand Karamchand. He also visited the office of the Khilafat Movement. That evening, he watched the theatre of Nero, run by Lady Ruzal. The next day G.M. Sayed purchased a .12 bore shotgun. During his three-day stay in Karachi, he visited the museum, the zoo, cinemas and Keamari port.

I have already mentioned that the administration had stopped Sayed's monthly allowance. To meet routine expenses, he obtained a piece of agricultural land on lease from the mukhtiarkar (the government's land and revenue clerk) of Sakrand so that it may be cultivated and the produce sold as his earnings. He also went to Karachi on 6 December 1921 and there he met many officers to pursue the case of the return of his lands. He met the commissioner, Sindh, Sir Thomas, on 8 December 1921, at Kotri. The next day he attended a feast organised by Christian staff in honour of the collector, where he enjoyed a musical programme.

For the return of his land G.M. Sayed again went to Karachi on 21 June 1922. With the help of Roopchand Karamchand, the leaseholder, Mitharam Ramchand, reached an agreement conditionally, that G.M. Sayed should pay him Rs. 2,000. On 23 June, he made a statement before the collector that he was ready to withdraw his lands from the administration of the Court of Wards, subject to the fulfillment of the above condition. The Collector told G.M. Sayed that

he was under watch by the British CID and for this work to go ahead, clearance by the CID would be necessary. G.M. Sayed then met with Mr. Kery, Superintendent in the CID, in this regard and he was treated as a gentleman.

At that time, one Seth Aidas of Nasarpur had established a business centre in Sann. He was a cunning man who, with the help of Sayed's previous servants, Haji and Mohammed Parial, became an influential and wealthy person. He used his position to resolve disputes among the people. Seth Aidas developed differences with some local people over a piece of agricultural land. The locals of the area sought Sayed's help for resolving the dispute. G.M. Sayed called on Aidas and advised him to find a solution to the dispute. Seth Aidas refused G.M. Sayed's advice and became even more adamant and started distressing the people further. The people of the area called a meeting and after some discussions they decided that they were left with only one choice, and that was to beat either him or a member of his family. When his brother Bojhomal Tekchand was on his way from Nurpur to Sann, some unidentified people intercepted him and beat him up physically. Aidas filed a complaint with the British authorities against G.M. Sayed, stating that his brother was beaten up on the instigation of G.M. Sayed. Head constable Mian Wali Mohammed Qazi Sehwan was the investigating officer of the case.

The Deputy Superintendent of Police Mr. Sutton called on G.M. Sayed on 28 October 1922, at Sann Railway Station, there, he informed Sayed about Aidas' complaint, and that his own life was now in danger. G.M. Sayed informed DSP Sutton that Aidas had grabbed the lands of the poor and that the people had resorted to taking such drastic action, because Seth Aidas had tormented them so much. G.M. Sayed also narrated how some people who had old disputes with Seth Aidas, had attacked him even when during his (G.M. Sayed's) teens.

As there was no evidence against G.M. Sayed, the false charge was treated as bogus and dropped.

For the return of his land, G.M. Sayed again went to Karachi on 4 December 1922. He met the collector and filed a complaint against the deputy collector and mukhtiar of his area for creating hindrances in the return of his lands. And he further made it clear to the Collector that as he had already paid the dues of the court, any delay in this regard was injustice.

On 8 January 1923, in Sann, he dreamed that he was in a huge building with many arches and the followers of various religions were seated there. G.M. Sayed has narrated that dream as under:

*I was completely asleep and was looking around. One man who was sitting beside me asked why I was not sitting in one place. I replied to him that all arches belonged to me and I did not like to limit myself to any particular arch. As I went far, an elderly man met me and appreciated my views and encouraged me. He also said that deliverance from duality is the way to the right path.*¹

On 6 February 1923, G.M. Sayed travelled to Karachi to give evidence in the Hasibai case and record his evidence. While he was there attending to his business, he heard the bad news that his relative Ghulam Hyder Shah had been killed by dacoits in Bhanoth, Hyderabad district. At once he headed to Bhanoth, where he filed a case with the police, informed other influential persons of his class, and started wearing a black turban on his head. It was a conventional commitment of the place, that unless and until the murderers were killed, the black turban would stay on his head. G.M. Sayed went to the village of the late Sayed Ghulam Hyder Shah and from 15 to 19 April, remained busy trying to trace out the culprits. On 18 April 1923, he received information that the dacoits had been killed with the assistance of the Makhdoom of Hala. G.M. Sayed, together with police officials Gohram Khan and Dhani Bux Sahbcho, went to the spot. Next day, he invited police officials and influential persons. The killers of the dacoits were rewarded and Sayed took off the black turban.

On 8 August 1923, G.M. Sayed received a message from the local mukhtiarkar that the government had restored his land. In December 1923, Rais Ghulam Mohammed Bhurgri, a pioneer of modern politics in Sindh, wrote a letter to G.M. Sayed to enlist his support for election to the Indian Legislative Council. G.M. Sayed supported him and he was finally elected as member.

Rais Ghulam Mohammed Bhurgri was the first Muslim barrister of Sindh and a man of courage and wisdom who fought against British colonialism as a member of the Indian Legislative Council in Bombay. Also, until his last breath, he made several efforts to organise the people as part of the freedom movement of the subcontinent.

On 27 January 1924, the now 21-year-old G.M. Sayed went to Bhit Shah to take part in the pilgrimage of Shah Abdul Latif Bhattai. There he made a prayer. This prayer is the substance of his entire struggle, views and conviction for which he left a luxurious life and stood firm, without consideration of loss and gain, for the cause which he believed in.

1. The basic concept of all religions is oneness that aims at producing love, unity and peace among human beings. The people have forgotten this lesson and are divided into groups and sects for their petty interests. This has created disunity and fragmentation among them. God, give me courage to preach the message of oneness, love and unity everywhere.

2. The Western nations weakened the Eastern nations and enslaved them. To have the basic necessities of life is a basic right of every human being and nation. O Lord, Shah Abdul Latif, you have prayed in verses to God for the release of Marvi from the fort of Umar Soomro, at present millions of peoples are under the clutches of colonialists, pray for them and for their liberty. Also pray to God that He give me courage to fight against these dark forces.

3. The human mind, after a prolonged struggle, research and inventions of a thousand years has not yet been able to understand the purpose of creation of the universe and its plan. They are like insects, trying to cross the ocean. I am a follower of the real path; help me retrieve some pearls from the ocean.

4. The different nations of the world are working against each other for their petty interests. O Lord Shah Abdul Latif, you had prayed to God for the peace and prosperity of Sindh and also for the nations of the world, pray for me that I stand firm for love, unity and peace, and the universe to become a place of human harmony, unity and peace.

5. For the achievement of the above aims and objectives, I shall ever go along and shall preach that message. You had prayed for the prosperity of Sindh. Now pray for every Sindhi so that he should stand firm for the above cause.

These five points are the essence of G.M. Sayed's prayer.

Sayed started his work for the welfare of the masses in 1924. Sindh was then under the influence of landlords, Pirs, Sayeds, mullahs and the bureaucracy. The literacy rate was low and people were not aware of their rights. Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and Abdullah Haroon worked to create awakening among the teachers, businessmen and advocates. As a landlord, G.M. Sayed drew up a programme for awakening and organising the Pirs, Sayeds and feudal landlords to serve the masses.

As a start, G.M. Sayed called a meeting of his Matiari Sayeds on 17 March 1924 at his hometown, but was unable to obtain specific results. The big Pirs of the area felt uncomfortable due to their conventional status and were not ready to leave their personal priorities and to shun their egos but in many respects, this conference gave a boost to efforts to create a spirit of cooperation in the community.

In 1924, in a remote part of the Kirthar Mountain range, in Kotri Tehsil, an event occurred, near the village of Laki Shah Saddar. At the place, there was a natural hot water sulphur spring that the people used to treat their abscesses and skin ailments. The Hindus designated it as a "Teerath Astan" (sacred place), and expelled the Muslim attendants. The Muslim attendants shifted to a nearby place and started repairing the caravanserai and another building that, according to their claim, had been a mosque, but they were stopped.

The attendants went to Sayed Mian Wali Mohammed Shah Lakiari Sehwani to seek redress but he said he did not want to intervene and advised them to bring the matter to the government's door. So the attendants met Abdul Rahim Pirzada, the then Deputy Collector of Kotri. He called on the Hindus who responded in a lukewarm manner.

On 29 May 1924, G.M. Sayed visited the site together with Sayed Safdar Shah Lakiari and Mohammed Hashim Memon. G.M. Sayed then returned to Sann and sent masons with bricks and other construction materials for the repair of the mosque. As work progressed, the Hindus created hindrances but did not succeed in stopping the repairs. Meanwhile G.M. Sayed returned to Laki to see the progress of the work. Also he met with the Hindus and tried to settle the matter with them but they raised objections. The work of the mosque was meanwhile finished within four days. The Hindus filed a civil suit in the court.

On 4 October 1924, a meeting was held at the bungalow of Jan Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, to discuss about the educational conference at Hyderabad. Bureaucrats, advocates, landlords and educationists attended the meeting. It was decided that the meeting would be held on 15 and 16 December 1924. They also decided that Sir Ibrahim Rehamatullah, member of the Bombay Legislative Council, would preside over the conference. The advocates Noor Mohammed and Nana Nooruddin Ghulam Ali were nominated secretaries and Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah was nominated a joint secretary of the organising committee.

The conference was held on 16 December 1924. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay inaugurated the conference and Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux Mohammed Hussain made a ceremonial speech and Sir Ibrahim Rehamatullah presided over the conference.

There G.M. Sayed met with Pir Ali Mohammed Shah Rashdi. To G.M. Sayed he seemed to be a sharp young man.

The fizzling out of the Khilafat Movement in the rest of the subcontinent led political workers to change their methods. The introduction of Montague-Chelmsford reforms drew them to participate in institutional and parliamentary politics.

Taking politics as a vehicle for social change, G.M. Sayed participated in the civic body's election and was elected as the president of the Manjhand Tehsil Local Board and Vice-President of the Karachi District Local Board in 1925. Later, in 1928, he was elected its president.

Sayed is credited with many works during his presidential tenure. On one hand he developed the civic body through construction of roads, hospitals and educational institutes, and on the other, he started a programme for the welfare of the masses to change their lifestyles through social associations.

The following organisations were constituted by Sayed:

The Malir Cooperative Society supplied seeds to peasants for cultivation and it worked out a system for the sale of their agricultural products. As a secretary of the district village welfare programme, he worked for their welfare. He was a

secretary of the Landlord and Peasants Association of Karachi district. He organised the Animal Farmers Association. He organised a fishermen's cooperative society.

He had also worked in many associations among which were the following:

He was the ex-officio of the Municipal Corporation, Karachi. He was member of the Garden and Museums Committee of Karachi Municipal Corporation. He was director of Sindh Central Cooperative Bank. He was a member of the Freemason Society. He organised the Karachi District Cooperative Institute. Jamshed was the president and G.M. Sayed himself was secretary. His memberships ranged from organisations as diverse as the Sindh Madrassah Board, Sindh Mohammedan Association, Muslim Gymkhana (Karachi) and the Idarieu Welfare Association. From an ordinary member, he rose also to become president of the Karachi Young Men's Association. More significantly, he was a member of the Managing Committee of "Anjman-Taraqee Urdu".

When he became the president of Karachi District Local Board in 1928, the civic body did not have its own building. It was due to his efforts that its building was constructed. The inaugural ceremony took place on 27 March 1930. In his presidential address, he thanked the entire members and staff of the civic body for their efforts for the construction of the building. At present, the Radio Pakistan Karachi office is housed in this building. He also stated that they overcame monetary difficulties through their untiring efforts. The ceremony was a manifestation of his secular mind and a bright chapter in interreligious relations in Karachi. During the programme the president invited clerics and leaders from the whole religious spectrum in Karachi for prayers. The following persons offered prayers on the occasion:

Islam	Maulvi Mohammed Sadiq
Christianity	Reverend L. Ger
Parsi	Dr. M.F. Dhala
Hindu	Pandit Vishvanth Shastri
Sikh	Bhai Dharm Singh

He was born and nurtured in the rural society but as a president of Karachi District Council he spent a lot of time in the city and joined urban society in his early twenties. There he had enjoyed associating with such stalwarts as Jamshed Mehta, Abdullah Haroon, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Hakim Fateh Mohammed Sehwan and many others. He also worked together with them on various political and social platforms.

Rural society was a male-dominated society and women had no freedom like in an urban society, G.M. Sayed got a chance to associate with women of the urban society in Karachi.

Sayed was associated with the Theosophical Society in the mid-1920s. Dewan Jethmal was the first Sindhi who joined the society, and soon after this, his brother Dewan Daulatram became its member. During the year 1895, the weekly meetings of the society were held at their home. The Sindh theosophists invited Mrs. Annie Besant and she visited Sindh in December 1896. She delivered six lectures on different topics in the Parsi Theatre at Karachi. The formal structuring of the society took shape during this time.

Sayed had attended regular monthly and special lectures of different men of letters. He took an active part in the society and became the president of its youth lodge.

Four years ago, this writer met with the late Daulatram Mehtani, ex-president of the Theosophical Society. He told me that when he and other youngsters held discussions on theosophy, G.M. Sayed often quoted from the works of Shah Abdul Latif, Sachal Sarmast and other mystics of Sindh. G.M. Sayed emphasised that Sindh is a land of mystics and every soul of this land is by birth a follower of mysticism, and hence a theosophist.

Sindh was an independent state ruled by the Talpurs when the British conquered it in 1843. The British concluded a no-war pact with the Talpurs while they were fighting against the rulers of Afghanistan. The Afghans defeated Sir Charles Napier, the British commander in 1843. On his return to Sindh, he violated the agreement and attacked Sindh to save face after suffering defeat at the hands of the Afghans. Under the command of General Hoshoo (the African), the people of Sindh fought bravely, but were not able to hold out against a force armed with the latest weapons, in a war suddenly imposed on them.

Sir Charles Napier's cable to the British administration stands witness to this injustice. Napier accepted that he had committed a sin. His action was criticised by a number of prominent Englishmen. Four years later, in 1847, Sindh was made part of the Bombay Presidency for administrative purposes.

The Sindhi Hindu and Muslim leadership launched a campaign for the restoration of Sindh's autonomy. Seth Harchandrai and Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri were the pioneers of that movement. The first Sindh provincial conference presided over by Harchandrai was the foundation stone which laid the platform for the separation movement, for Sindh to be separated from Bombay Presidency, and following it, six more conferences were held. The second conference was held in 1909 at Hyderabad. It was presided over by Dewan Himatsingh Gujasingh and Dewan Bahadur Khemsingh was the chairman of the reception committee. The third conference was held at Larkana in 1916, presided over by Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, and Dewan Lalchand Navalrai was the chairman of the reception committee. The fourth conference was held at Shikarpur in 1917. It was presided over by Dewan Hiranand Khemsingh and Dewan Murlidhar Punjabi was the chairman of the reception committee. The fifth conference was held at Karachi in 1918, presided over by Dewan Murlidhar Punjabi. The chairman of the reception committee was Seth Harchandrai Vishindas. The sixth conference was held in 1919, presided over by Jamshed Nusserwanji and Rai Sahib Aasardas was the chairman of the reception committee. The seventh conference was held at Hyderabad in 1920. It was presided over by Haji Abdullah Haroon, and Veromal Begraj was the chairman of the reception committee.

In these conferences, the Sindhi leadership discussed and passed resolutions requesting the British administration to resolve their problems, and particularly demanded that Sindh be separated administratively from Bombay. The annual convention of All-India Congress was held at Karachi on 13 December 1913. It was presided over by Nawab Sayed Mohammed, a descendant of Tipu Sultan. Sir Agha Khan and Mohammed Ali Jinnah were the participants. Seth Harchandrai, the chairman of the reception committee, threw light on this issue in his speech. He explained that all ills of Sindh could be blamed on its annexation and inclusion in Bombay Presidency and he declared that the only remedy for this was its separation from Bombay.

In the fourth conference at Hyderabad, a committee was appointed by the delegates for consulting and making suggestions for the separation of Sindh. The members were

1. Harchandrai Vishindas
2. Jairamdas Daulatram
3. Durgadas Advani
4. Naraindas Beecher
5. Rustam Khurshid Sidhwa

This committee produced a report on problems pertaining to Sindh and also initially made a case for Sindh's separation. While the Secretary of State, Mr. Montague Chelmsford and the Viceroy of India were on a tour of Sindh, this committee presented them with a memorandum regarding the new reforms. Following is a part of the text:

Bombay is too far away from Sindh and administratively it is too difficult to look after Sindh properly from there. The Commissioner-in-Sindh enjoys vast powers and this has made him absolutely despotic. Even the governor of Bombay does not enjoy the powers that the Sindh commissioner enjoys. Being the sole decision-maker, his decisions are likely to be erroneous, and Sindh would suffer from these wrong decisions. It is also breaking the rules of the constitution. He (the Commissioner) had control not only over his departments but also on those matters which are not directly under him.

It is our firm view that according to this constitution, Sindh is deprived of the benefits of the governors in council. The actions of commissioners come under discussion in the Executive Council with the note of Bombay secretariat and they are bound to give comments, but the Commissioner-in-Sindh has been free from all responsibilities for his decisions. These decisions are often not in favour of the masses. Moreover, like other commissioners of Bombay presidency, he is not directly under the Bombay administration and hence Sindh is deprived of a competent and qualified commissioner who knows the norms of social life and independent governance of the British.

Sindh's administrative bureaucracy, which had been serving in India for many years behaved in an ignorant manner towards the Sindhis. This situation made Sindh sensitive about their rights. They felt that at least Sindh should be ruled directly by the Governor of Bombay.

There was a hope that through Montague Chelmsford reforms, Sindh would become a separate province. But no constitutional change took place except one, that the number of Sindh members in the Bombay Council was increased.

2. Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri in his letter of protest in March 1920 to the Governor of Bombay, Sir Lloyd George, stated: Our demand for separation was an important issue, but it was treated lukewarmly by the British in their new reforms. The continuity of the existing position of the Commissioner-in-Sindh is a violation of the new constitutional reforms and also of responsible government. The principle requirement of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms was that despotic, one-man rule should be removed from Sindh, because it was said to be against the spirit of the new reforms.³

This struggle by the Sindhis, Muslims and Hindus on one platform continued, but the sudden death of Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri in 1924 came as a great loss, particularly to Sindh.

Sindhi Hindus and Muslims were divided on this issue even Seth Harchandrai, who was the pioneer of the movement, opposed it. Both sides made many efforts, Sanatdas Mangharam, Jethmal Persram, Swami Govanad Anand and Jamshed Mehta were in the forefront and they approached all communities to bridge their differences regarding the separation movement but all their efforts were in vain.

These conferences were held around 1928, first in Karachi, second in Hyderabad, then again at Karachi. Resolutions were passed and the British administration was told that the Sindh administration had never been a part of India and that its merger with Bombay had no historical, moral or legal justification.

Haji Abdullah Haroon, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi, Jethmal Parsram, Mir Mohammed Baloch, Jamshed Nusserwanji Mehta and Rustom Khurshid Sidhwa attended these conferences. On 30 September 1930, when Jinnah came to Karachi to appear in the court in Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pagaro's case and then flew to London for the Round Table Conference, G.M. Sayed hosted a tea party at his old residence at Lovelane, Lyari Nadi. Jinnah, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, Allama I.I. Kazi, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi attended the party. There they discussed the separation movement and a programme was chalked out. Also, G.M. Sayed and other participants requested Jinnah to advocate the case of separation in London and Jinnah responded positively.

Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi later commented that this meeting was the real foundation stone of the separation movement. Again on October 1, 1930, G.M. Sayed, Haji Abdullah Haroon, and Mohammed Ayub Khuhro hosted a dinner in honour of Jinnah and Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto. In his formal address, Jinnah was requested by Khuhro to plead the case of separation and Jinnah assured them of his support.

Subash Bose and Saifuddin Kitchelo toured Sindh and they were warmly welcomed and feted by G.M. Sayed in Karachi. This action of Sayed was viewed seriously by the British administration. The situation became aggravated when G.M. Sayed started a tour of Karachi together with Jethmal Parsram, Maulvi Abdul Karim Chishti, and others to launch a mass mobilisation programme. Maps of the subcontinent in which Sindh was included were garlanded. G.M. Sayed wore khaddar clothes and admonished the others to do likewise. Anti-British speeches were also made. During the tour, G.M. Sayed received a message from Mr. Gibson, the then Collector of Karachi, to cancel the tour but G.M. Sayed did not obey his order and continued. This made Gibson angry and something transpired that added fuel to fire. It happened soon after, when the Government of Bombay advised Karachi District Local Board to appoint a qualified engineer.

Sayed had appointed Mohammed Hashim Gazdar against Gibson's choice, his P.A.'s relative. The collector, Gibson, acting in vengeance, bought off Abdul Rahman, Chief Officer of District Local Board, against G.M. Sayed and with the support of the Chief Officer, succeeded in suspending the grant of the Local Board, from Bombay administration. G.M. Sayed was also warned of dire consequences. He had two options, either to accept his tutelage or prepare to face the wrath of the administration. The collector had also contrived a tour of Qazi Abdul Rahman to counter Sayed.

Hakim Fateh Mohammed Sehwan, an eminent scholar, in his open letter to Qazi Abdul Rahman, suggested that he put a stop to these activities against Sayed's mission at government expense. The members of the Bombay Council, Allah Bux Soomro, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah and Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Shah who were also the presidents of the various District Local Boards felt that it was an illegal intervention by the collector. They took a serious note of it and approached the Bombay administration to reject the order. The administration accepted their request and restored the grant of District Local Board. Not only that, Engineer Mohammed Hashim Gazdar also retained his post. G.M. Sayed continued his programme for the awareness of the masses.

In 1930, Sayed organised a Hari committee (peasants association) at Mirpurkhas, together with Jamshed Mehta and other workers, for the legal rights of the peasants. For thousands of years, Sindh's economy has depended on agriculture. The Indus River is the source of water for cultivation. The last rulers of Sindh were the Talpurs. During their rule, a feudal system existed in Sindh. The British, after their conquest of Sindh in 1843, continued it for their political advantage, and

awarded lands to their proteges. This made the peasants subservient of the feudals and also made them worse off economically.

The Hari committee struggled to liberate the peasants from the black law. The peasant-workers suffered imprisonment and were often tortured to death by the feudal and colonial administration. All these brutal actions could not deter them and they continued the movement, and finally succeeded in achieving crop-sharing on an equal basis with landlords and the passing of the Tenancy Rights Act. G.M. Sayed continued his cooperation at all levels with the committee but more of his time was now going into politics on an All-India basis.

Gandhi started the civil disobedience movement in 1930. Although G.M. Sayed was a member of the Congress, he played no remarkable role in it. He was busy in the social development of rural Sindh. In 1931 he attended the annual meeting of the Congress held at Karachi. There, he got a chance to meet Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, affectionately known among his followers as Bacha Khan, the Pakhtoon political-cum-social reformer. G.M. Sayed was working along similar lines in Sindh. So in his meeting with Bacha Khan, he acquainted him with the salient features of his programme. Sayed also hosted a feast in his honour.

This meeting was a beginning of their political and personal association and it continued till their last breath. Together they struggled against the Imperialists, and then after Partition they stood up against undemocratic and unconstitutional rule. Both suffered a lot for their convictions. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan spent his life in exile and suffered imprisonment for decades. G.M. Sayed was also a prisoner of state for more than 30 years and he died while under detention.

Sayed and others organised a Sindh independence conference on 18 April 1932, at Karachi. It was presided over by Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and G.M. Sayed acted as the chairman of the reception committee. Abdullah Haroon, Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Mir Mohammed Baloch were the main participants. The conference passed a resolution in favour of the separation of Sindh from Bombay. They also declared the date of 16 September as an 'Independence Day' and later on the day was celebrated in the entire Sindh. The second independence conference was held on 15 November 1932 at Hyderabad, under the presidency of Allama Mohammed Yusuf Ali. The conference passed a resolution in favour of separation. A permanent body of Sindh Azad Conference was set up, with Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto as President, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro as Vice President, Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah as Secretary. As a member of this body, G.M. Sayed played a key role in it till the separation of Sindh from Bombay.

In 1933 the administration created the new district of Dadu. Sayed's Tehsil, Kotri, was separated from district Karachi and merged in district Dadu. The new district consisted of the following areas: Kotri and Kohistan from district Karachi and Mehar, Khairpur Nathan Shah, Dadu, Johi and Sehwan Tehsils from Larkana district.

This was the time for G.M. Sayed to face the new district administration and local politics. He participated in the election of District Local Board and became its vice president. He carried out a number of construction works as well as social welfare projects during his tenure as vice president of the Board.

Although G.M. Sayed was a member of the Congress party and was involved in the politics of the subcontinent, he was of the view that a provincial party was necessary for understanding and solving the problems of the masses. The meeting with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his observance of the provincial party Pakhtunkhawa's work encouraged him to initiate work in this regard in Sindh.

Sayed consulted with Allah Bux Soomro, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah and others. He called a meeting at his residence in 1934 and the Peoples Party -- Sindh's first formal political grouping was organised. Sir Shahnawaz was nominated its president and Allah Bux Soomro and Miran Mohammed Shah were elected deputy leaders. The party did not last long because Sir Shah Shahnawaz Bhutto was busy in Bombay, at his administrative post. Its single accomplishment was to support Nawab Nabi Bux Khan Bhutto in the 1934 election of the Indian Legislative Council. Three candidates, Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and Nawab Nabi Bux Bhutto contested the election. Allah Bux Soomro was in charge of the election campaign in Upper Sindh and G.M. Sayed in Lower Sindh. Thank to their efforts, Nawab Nabi Bux Khan Bhutto won the election.

Soon afterwards, in the light of the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, under the Government of India Act, 1935, Sindh became independent from Bombay and Sir Lancelot Graham was sworn in as the first Governor in April 1936. An advisory committee was appointed, to help the Governor in routine matters. Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto was named adviser to the Governor.

This separation provided Sindh a chance to stand on its feet and to change the lifestyle of the masses but the atmosphere under which Sindh became independent from Bombay did not bear fruitful results.

First and foremost was the gulf between two communities and second was the interference of the all-India parties. The Muslim League got its price in the shape of electorates and weightages in the Muslim minority provinces and the Government got political mileage by giving the Governor more powers for recovery of funds advanced for the construction of the Sukkur barrage.

Sayed pondered over these developments and his considered view was that a secular political party with sound economic programme would produce a positive outcome.

Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and others were of the view that Sindh Azad Conference would continue its role in future but Sayed's opinion was different. He believed that the conference's role was confined to the separation of Sindh from Bombay. For the future, a new political grouping was the need of the hour. For that he made a plan and again made an attempt to organise a political party. He consulted his colleagues in the separation movement and other well-wishers of Sindh and distributed a draft programme, in the form of a questionnaire, to both communities all over Sindh.

1. To form a party and prepare its programme for the purpose of running the government on real democratic lines
2. To decide whether the said party be attached to an all-India organisation or be made independent
3. To decide whether the said party be formed on communal or non-communal lines.

To review that move, G.M. Sayed called a meeting at his new residence (Hyder Manzil) in Soldier's Bazar area at Karachi. The meeting was presided over by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah where the above points were considered, but no decision was reached. Jairamdas Daulatram, who was also a part of this move, did not attend the meeting. Nor did any Congress member participate.

After some attempts, the Sindhi leadership came to the conclusion that the new party should be formed on a provincial and non-communal basis but for the time being it should have no affiliation with any all-India party. Again a meeting was called at the residence of Sir Abdullah Haroon in June 1936, to discuss and implement the idea. Among those who attended the meeting were G.M. Sayed, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Sir Ghulam Hussain, Allah Bux Soomro, Ayub Khuhro and Hatim Alvi.

Sir Shahnawaz and Sir Ghulam Hussain were ambitious and were looking for the post of president. They thought that it would provide them an opportunity to become the first premier of Sindh. The Hindu community's leadership, whether from Congress or Mahasaba or Independents, was lukewarm. Only R.B. Hotchand Chandumal's and Rewachand's attitude was positive. After some consultation they reached a consensus that the party's programme should have a local orientation. The forthcoming elections also came under discussion and it was decided that the party's structure should be like the Justice Party of Madras and the Unionist Party of the Punjab.

In the light of these two meetings, a party convention was held at Haroon House. The representatives of all Muslim groups attended this meeting but from amongst the Hindus, only R.B. Hotchand Chandumal and Messrs. Rewachand and Dingo Thadani and one or two others attended the meeting.

All groups were agreed on the party programme but a division arose on one post. Sir Ghulam Hussain, who wanted to become president, accepted Sir Abdullah Haroon as the president and contented himself, together with Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, as a deputy leader. Gazdar and Khuhro were nominated secretaries but Sir Ghulam Hussain raised an objection to the nomination of Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah, the representative of the powerful Sayed group led by G.M. Sayed. He left the meeting and formed a separate party of his own on communal lines. Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, rather than stay in Sindh United Party, preferred to join Sir Ghulam Hussain's Muslim Political Party. The new party was inaugurated with great fanfare at Haroon House, where all the important officials from the Governor downwards, as well as the political leadership, were present.

Shaikh Abdul Majid also set up his Sindh Azad Party. This was the first party that supported Jinnah and Muslim League in Sindh and did not participate in Sindh United Party. At the first opportunity, Shaikh Abdul Majid attacked the party. Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, in a statement published in the Daily Gazette newspaper, Karachi, on 15 June 1936 described the Sindh United Party as a frantic effort on the part of some well-known Muslim reactionaries to secure their own position in the future government.⁴

In reply to his statement of 17 June 1936, Sir Abdullah Haroon denounced the charge as unjustified and uncalled for and pointed out that when Shaikh Abdul Majid "failed to get a good response he went for shelter to Jinnah's Muslim League which in his opinion was an unwise choice. He emphasised the non-communal character of his party and was of the view that "attempts to set up a communal party in the future assembly to follow the All-India Muslim League would prove disastrous for Sindh."⁵

As a legislator

Dreams for a New Sindh

The Sindh United Party put up its candidates on a majority of Muslim seats and it won a remarkable 22 seats from the 35 Muslim seats. G.M. Sayed was one of those elected.

Sayed contested from district Dadu in his hometown constituency, Sayed Wali Mohammed Shah Lakyari, a Sajjadah nashin (head keeper) at the shrine of the great saint Qalandar Lal Shahbaz, and a big landlord, was the candidate against Sayed. The influential personalities of the area made a request to Sayed Wali Mohammed Shah to leave G.M. Sayed unopposed because as a young man he had the courage to work for the masses and his previous record as president of District Local Board, Karachi, was witness to that reality. Sayed Wali Mohammed Shah did not heed this advice and he continued his election campaign. An amazing event occurred. Sayed Wali Mohammed Shah invited Fakir Bux Khan Kachhi, a close associate of G.M. Sayed, to Sehwan. Wali Mohammed Shah treated him lavishly, then made a request to him for switching his loyalty. Fakir Bux Kachhi replied in a joyful mood, that "A drum beats better at the place where it belongs."

Sayed won the election comfortably with a good margin. Allah Bux Gabol and Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi defeated the leader and deputy leader of the party, Sir Abdullah Haroon and Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, respectively.

Shaikh Abdul Majid contested from Karachi and Larkana against Sir Abdullah Haroon and Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto. Although he lost his election from Karachi; his candidacy proved a great loss to Sir Abdullah Haroon.

Sayed offered his seat conditionally to Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto stating: "If the Governor would call upon Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto as a leader of the single largest party to form the ministry, G.M. Sayed would vacate his seat for Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto."

But the Governor's choice was his old colleague of Bombay Legislative Council, Sir Ghulam Hussain. This was the beginning of the undemocratic behaviour of the British administration and it continued till the independence of the subcontinent.

As a prominent leader and witness of the Sindh United Party, G.M. Sayed narrates as under about this action of the Governor.

Thus provincial autonomy did not start under any auspicious circumstances in Sindh. It received a heavy blow at its inception when, taking advantage of the absence of public opinion and political consciousness in Sindh, Governor Sir Lancelot Graham conveniently cast the fundamental principle of democracy to the winds and summoned Sir Ghulam Hussain to form the ministry, although he commanded the strength of only three members, namely Sir Ghulam Hussain, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Mir Bandeh Ali Khan.¹

Dr. Hamida Khuhro scholarly emphasised it as under in her book on Mohammed Ayub Khuhro.

The choice in the face of the majority won by the United Party was controversial and set a bad precedent for democratic practice in the province. It led the members and the public to believe that the favour of the governor was the most important choice of the premier. The consequences of this and other similar decisions were to distort the growth of healthy democratic politics in Sindh.²

Jones Allen Keith had seen it as under:

The manner in which Hidayatullah came to power clearly demonstrated a triumph of personality over party, with the vigour of a personal ambition as the key determiner of political power, rather than loyalty to party principles, the future of Sindh Muslim politics seems destined to follow an unstable course.³

Allah Bux Soomro, as a senior figure of the party, led the opposition, together with G.M. Sayed. Sir Ghulam Hussain, who had the support of three members, secured the support of the three European members and also got the support of the Hindu Independent Group for the seat of speakership.

Mr. Bhoj Singh Pahlajani was the candidate of the treasury benches for speakership, while Shaikh Abdul Majid contested the election with the support of Sindh United Party. The official candidate secured 40 votes against 18 by the opposition candidate.

The Hindu Independent Group forgot its principles and, without any consideration for its destiny, preferred rich bargaining offered them by Sir Ghulam Hussain and overlooked their future for present benefit.

Despite all this manoeuvring by the British administration and Sir Ghulam Hussain to change the loyalty of the members, Sir Ghulam Hussain was feeling insecure. He requested Pir Abdul Sattar Sarhandi to open a dialogue with Sindh United Party. The shuttling of Sarhandi produced a result and the party and ministry reached an agreement. According to the agreement, a committee was formed to advise and guide the ministry in legislative measures and other matters of principle and policy and an agreed programme was drawn up for the ministry to be carried out under the instruction of the committee.

This was the same Sarhandi, who guided G.M. Sayed to proceed to Quetta to secure his inner development under the supervision of the Pir of Chashma. As I mentioned earlier, his search for truth led him initially to prayers and then too social work.

It was the winter of 1937. The weather at Quetta was very cold. He began his prayers under the supervision of the Pir and on the Pir's instruction, grew a beard. The climate at Quetta did not suit him and his health deteriorated. Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi wrote to G.M. Sayed about this action, as under:

I do not believe in the Pir's spiritual guidance. The Prophet Mohammed (Peace Be Upon Him) was the real spiritual guide but he never used spirituality for his personal image. I have seen Khawaja Sahib and I have no interest in him. I found his ways cheap and commercial. He was only making a show of his chastity. I don't like to restrain my life under any artificial code. Life and spirit are vast and unlimited; any restriction is against my freedom and spiritual revolution. Unless I am assured of the union with God I would not follow the direction of any priest. My relation with God is very sensitive. I do not need any guide. Religion defined by priests and mentors misguided human beings instead of facilitating them and created more difficulties for them. I believe in the guidance of my own mind rather than those of the priests. Priests are not

qualified to lead me. I am a unit of that power; minimizing which is against His Omnipotence. I have fought against man-made laws entire my life.

My dear Sayed, life becomes tasteless when it is restrained under the laws of humans. Immortality lies in its freedom. Jump into ocean and fight with its waves, the mystery of immortal life is focused under it. Laws never provide happiness in life; change has produced fresh immortality in it. If you like to get enduring pleasure, jump in the whirlpool of revolution, life is another name for movement and mobility.

We are like a wave and in our death lies solace. We are alive because for us there is no rest. Please don't mind and allow me to state the truth. I do not see any benefit in your life of prayers. Instead of getting guidance from another, get it from your mind.⁴

Thus ended Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi's letter to Sayed. As G.M. Sayed has narrated before, these prayers did not help him in his search of God but rather he admitted that under this influence he had committed a mistake by getting involved in the Masjid Manzilgah issue.

Under the banner of Democratic Coalition Party, the ministerial side and SUP worked together and achieved results.

1. Exemption of grazing fees from revenue lands
2. Reduction of grazing fees from revenue lands.
3. Recovery of Taccavi loan in easy installments and reduction and in some cases exemption of overdue interest accrued thereon.

A new problem arose for Sir Ghulam Hussain. Gobindram had resigned from the ministry for personal reasons. Sir Ghulam Hussain, without consultation of the Hindu Independent Group, appointed Hemandas Wadhvani, a lawyer of Jacobabad as minister; also the Speaker Bhojsingh Pahlajani's sudden death created a very critical situation.

Sir Ghulam Hussain had nominated Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah as a candidate to the post of speaker. The Hindus felt this was an injustice to their community because they were hoping to retain the speakership. In retaliation, they put up Pamnani as their candidate. But it was Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah who was elected speaker.

Nihchaldas Vazirani, a shrewd politician, through his press propaganda against the ministry, made the situation difficult for members of the Hindu Independent Group. They either had to leave the ministry or face the wrath of the Hindu community. As a consequence, all the members of the Hindu Independent Group, except the ministers and parliamentary secretary, sat in the opposition. This situation forced the Sindh United Party leadership to review its stand.

The party had two choices: Either this weak Government should be allowed to continue or it could be strengthened with quality personnel. Regarding their first option, Allah Bux Soomro met with Lancelot Graham, the Governor of Sindh, and exhibited his disappointment over the continuity of Mr. Ghulam Hussain's ministry, as mentioned by Dr. Hamida Khuhro, a letter of Graham to Brabourne, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro.

I had an hour's talk with the leader of the opposition and think you may be interested to hear about it. I have noticed that he has been particularly virulent in his attacks on the ministry. So I invited him to come and talk to me. He opened up freely and charged me with retaining in power a worthless ministry, apparently by my personal influence, and thereby violating the constitution. This seems to me a very odd charge and we had a thorough discussion at the end of which I hope

I succeeded in persuading him that whatever ministry is in charge would get as much assistance from me as my present ministry.⁵

Regarding their second option, Allah Bux Soomro and G.M. Sayed, together with Speaker Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah and senior politician Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, thought about and discussed the scenario. They reached the conclusion that for smooth running of the ministry and progress regarding the affairs concerning the masses, a healthy atmosphere was required. Hence they suggested that the number of ministries should be increased from 3 to 6. Consequently, the new nominees for the ministership, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux Soomro, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Nihchaldas would be appointed.

Sayed and Shaikh Abdul Majid conveyed this decision to Sir Ghulam Hussain. Hussain stated that this decision called for the concurrence of the Sindh United Party.

A meeting of the Sindh United Party was called and the party officially approved the leadership's decision and communicated it to Sir Ghulam Hussain. Hussain agreed in principle but it was the reluctance on the part of the Governor who agreed to increase it from 3 to 5. This equation was not in favour of the Muslims and through this decision their strength would have reduced to 3/5. However, this situation forced Sir Ghulam Hussain to quit office.

Sir Ghulam Hussain played two trump cards to get Sayed's help to secure his ministry. In his first attempt, he offered a ministry to G.M. Sayed. When his offer was rejected by Sayed, he forced his two colleagues, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi and Manghram Tehalramani, to persuade G.M. Sayed to support Sir Ghulam Hussain. Tehalramani refused to pursue G.M. Sayed and he was terminated from the post of Chief Officer. Later, when the Hindu Assembly members protested, Tehalramani was reinstated.

The second card played by Sir Ghulam Hussain touched a sensitive chord in G.M. Sayed, as it pertained to an affair of the heart, where he tried to play on Sayed's emotions.

As president of the District Local Board and being associated with many organisations, he became a part of urban society; a lady "M" entered his life. She was a well-read social worker belonging to the elite class, who was besotted by a man from a cultured and well-established family, but that man had no feelings for her in return. He met her merely during the course of routine social meetings. She used to even pursue that man through common friends, but that man did not reciprocate. He had no interest in her whatsoever. She became so sick for his love that she came to need looking after and cure. G.M. Sayed, being a common friend of both the man and the woman "M", was approached for help and advice.

Sayed, a man of profound feelings, agreed to become her healer. Their routine meetings continued and she gradually started feeling relaxed. After prayers and political and social work, G.M. Sayed now underwent a new experience -- that of love. As he was an emotional person by nature, he became an ardent lover intoxicated by passion for his beloved. Whether in union or disunion, he was in anxiety. Sometimes he was thinking of carnal love, but his spiritual attachments were the main barrier to living out any such passion. Sir Ghulam Hussain used G.M. Sayed's fluttering heart as a powerful trump card and persuaded the woman to approach G.M. Sayed to support him. Her persuasion made G.M. Sayed double-minded. On the one hand were his feelings for her, and on the other his ideology. She was very much upset when G.M. Sayed refused to accept her request. She felt that probably she did not approach him properly, so she insisted more and more, yet she could not succeed in convincing G.M. Sayed to support Ghulam Hussain.

At this stage, G.M. Sayed crossed over from the love of a person to the love of one's motherland.

On the eve of the budget session, Sir Ghulam Hussain hosted a dinner at his residence. The Sindh United Party's leadership discussed about whether or not they should participate in the feast, they decided finally to participate, under expediency and parliamentary norms G.M. Sayed attended the meeting. That night, an interesting incident took place. Dr. Hamida Khuhro writing in Mohammed Ayub Khuhro narrates it.

Sayed and Rashdi sat conferring with Vazirani at Sayed's house, Hyder Manzil. Khuhro, who lived only a couple of blocks away, walked down to see G.M. Sayed regarding a minor problem. The servant came in to inform G.M. Sayed that "Khan Bahadur is just walking in." Rashdi and G.M. Sayed felt that on no account was Khuhro to see Vazirani because then his suspicions would be instantly aroused. So they pushed Vazirani into the lavatory and told him to sit there till Khuhro had left. Khuhro stayed only for a short while and left but Rashdi and G.M. Sayed forgot about Vazirani and went to sleep. About 5 o'clock the next morning, Rashdi got up to go to the lavatory and found Vazirani still there. When he saw Rashdi, he asked anxiously. "Has Khuhro left? Why was he here so long?" The quick-witted Rashdi gave a suitable convincing answer as to why Khuhro had been in consultation with them all night and Vazirani then left to go home.⁶

The next morning, 18 March, in the Assembly session the coalition of the Sindh United Party, Congress and Hindu Independent Group defeated the Government on a Rs.1 cut motion. Hidayatullah shouted "Betrayed, betrayed." The ministry resigned on 22nd March 1938.

Allah Bux Soomro, the opposition leader in the Assembly, formed the new ministry in his capacity as the parliamentary leader of the Sindh United Party. He had the assistance of the Congress and the Hindu Independent Group. On the disassociation of the Sindh United Party, J.H Garret wrote a letter to the Viceroy. Translation of a document presented to the Honourable Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur on 18. 03. 1938.

The leaders of the coalition party Sindh Assembly. We the undersigned members of the Sindh United Party tender resignation from your party.

The programme and principles, on the basis of which we joined together, have not been realised, and in regard to these we shall issue a detailed statement. Even in such on ordinary matters as the attitude of the officials, no change has come about.

18 March 1938

G.M. Sayed
Mohammed Usman Soomro
Ghulam Nabi Shah
Pir Illahi Bakhsh
Allah Bakhsh
Burdi Jaffar Khan
Khair Shah.⁷

After the fall of Ghulam Hussain's ministry, the main opposition leadership now consisted of Shaikh Abdul Majid, Sir Ghulam Hussain, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Mohammed Hashim Gazdar. A meeting was held in Karachi on 28 March to motivate the masses against Allah Bux Soomro. The veteran politician Shaikh Abdul Majid presided over it. The

overall atmosphere was against the Congress and the Hindu Assembly members. They demanded of the organisational setup of the Muslim League in Sindh to counter the strategy of the Congress, and also declared that the fall of Ghulam Hussain's ministry was a danger to Islam.

As reported by the Sindh chief secretary, H.K. Kirplani, to high officials in Delhi.

*Sindh Secretariat Karachi
9th April 1938*

The change of ministry is generally well received by the public. The opposition tried to create some stir against the government by raising the cry of 'Islam in danger' but have opportunity thought better of it, as the cry has since been repudiated.⁸

*Yours sincerely
H.K. Kirplani*

On 29 March, the ministerial side called a meeting at Khaliqdina Hall to explain their position to the public. The propaganda done by the opposition, right from the start of the ministry, that Allah Bux Soomro was a traitor and that he had harmed Islam and the interests of the Muslims, incensed some emotional elements, and they were not even ready to listen. G.M. Sayed has narrated as under:

At this meeting Pir Illahi Bux and Ali Mohammed Rashdi were also present. We tried to explain our position before the public, but the Muslims appear to have been so infuriated at the breach in the Muslim solidarity by the fall of Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry. Pir Illahi Bux had to leave the meeting for fear of being mobbed and Mr. Rashdi was not heard. While I was also shouted down at intervals in the course of my speech in which I admitted that the responsibility for the fall of Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry was mainly mine. And I showed that this was done with the best of motives which I assured the public would be proved by deeds of the new Government in due course.⁹

For understanding the problems of the masses, G.M. Sayed set out a programme for ministers to meet the public. Pir Illahi Bux, then a minister, and Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi toured the province. G.M. Sayed also joined them in their tour of three districts. By their attitude they dealt a blow to the conventional system of administration. They sat down with poor people, dined with them and listened to their problems with humility and kindness. This behaviour gave a fresh courage to them. They disproved the opposition propaganda and assured a favourable start to the new ministry.

Allah Bux Soomro, as a chief executive of the province, clarified the real position through a speech at Sindh Assembly and he emphasised the Government policy.

His Government was credited with many achievements:

1. The old system of Darbars was abolished.
2. The rights of Commissioners and Collectors about chair system were abolished.
3. The Government's system of nominees in the local bodies was abolished.
4. Reforms were introduced in the feudal system for the relief of peasants.

5. A relief in Taccavi loans was provided.

But the main point of the party programme, which was the passage of a law on land alienation rights, was still not solved.

Since the Government of Allah Bux Soomro was a coalition of the Hindu Independent Group and Sindh United Party, it enjoyed the full support of the Congress. The Hindu merchants who dominated the Hindu Independent Group, however, forced the group to withdraw support for the Land Alienation Bill and under their pressure, the group opposed the bill. The leadership of the Sindh Congress was of the view that, although the party had a secular look, it would not support those bills, because it was dependent on Hindu voters.

Sayed was a part of the agrarian society and was well aware of the difficulties of the Muslim landholders and peasants. The land of Muslim landholders was mortgaged to the Hindu merchants and they were paying most of what they were earning through cultivation, to Hindu merchants as interest. The remaining amount was not enough for their living expenses. So this situation compelled them to sell off their land. The Hindu merchants thus became the owner of 40 per cent of the agricultural lands of the province. In Punjab, the situation was the same. But the Punjab Assembly passed the Land Alienation Bill, introduced by Sir Chhotoram, a brilliant Hindu Punjabi minister in the Cabinet of Sir Sikander Hayat. In the Sindh Assembly, the behaviour of the Hindu members of the Assembly and parties, the Hindu Independent Group and the Congress – were not cooperative regarding this sensitive issue.

Sayed insisted that Allah Bux implement the land alienation bill but it needed the full cooperation of the Assembly members of both the communities. Allah Bux was unable to get the Hindu community to agree. The bureaucracy that had an upper hand before the province was separated felt that the mass mobilisation programme of the ministry and introduction of new reforms had curtailed their powers. Hence they raised obstacles and conspired against the democratic system and attempted in every way either to fail the ministry or make it accept their upper hand.

G.M. Sayed wrote of the bureaucracy as under:

*Sindh had been a happy hunting ground for the official class who had been hitherto used to treating the people as serfs, corruption and bribery was rampant.*¹⁰

For the ministry, the Governor was like a boss. He could even dismiss the premier. The ministry did not even manage the reforms programme for the masses. A new burden to the premier brought up by the Governor was the enhancement of the land revenue in Sukkur Barrage area, which had been left undecided by the previous Government. To acquaint the readers with its full significance is important. A condition for the separation of Sindh was that the new province should shoulder the responsibility of the repayment of loan for the Sukkur barrage up to 1977, but the Governor, by order of the Centre, wanted recovery as soon as possible. So the choice they had for an immediate recovery of dues was to enhance land revenue.

This proposal was strongly opposed by the agriculturist Sindh United Party, whose basic programme was to better the status of the cultivators. The party pressurised Soomro not to accept the suggestion of the Governor. Mean while G.M. Sayed received a letter from Jairamdas Daulatram to make known to him their dissatisfaction about the ministry and asked him to discuss the existing scenario.

Sayed went to Hyderabad for health reasons and met with the Congress leadership there -- Jairamdas Daulatram, Professor Ghanshayam and Dr. Choithram Gidwani. They considered and argued the pros and cons of the different issues including enhancement, and reached the conclusion that the coalition group would oppose the principle of the proposed enhancement. They wrote a letter to the chief minister and suggested to him that he should not take any step in this regard without consultation with the coalition group.

To gain the support of G.M. Sayed, the premier visited the former's hometown Sann and tried to persuade him to help, but he was rebuffed. G.M. Sayed advised him that the best course for him was to take the party into confidence. G.M. Sayed emphasised his view as under:

The reader here bears with me when I explain my personal view of politics as I understand it. Politics to me is a living part of my faith aiming at the service of humanity as a whole. It is the means to achieve this high aim. Therefore so long as I find that there is a genuine and selfless effort sustained and strengthened by an earnest desire for this service, my wholehearted support must unreservedly be lent it. But when politics happened to be used as a means of benefiting merely an individual or a particular vested interest at the cost of the greatest good of the greatest number and violate thereby the principles of equality and justice. Not only my support and collaboration must be withdrawn, but I consider it my duty to strain every nerve to oppose and overthrow such a political regime.¹¹

Several meetings of the Sindh United Party were called at which definite resolutions were passed but Soomro, being a practical man, found that it would not be practical politics if he carried out the party's mandate and thereby ensured the stability and life of his ministry. He cooperated with the Governor and the Government passed the order of enhancement. As an idealist politician, Sayed's hopes to fulfill the aims and objectives regarding the welfare of the masses were shattered when he felt that a ministry, in whose securing of power he, too, had a hand, had deserted the party programme, so he left the treasury benches. He became more uncomfortable when he witnessed that, although Allah Bux Soomro did not care about the stand of the Congress regarding the enhancement issue, the party gave assurance to him of its full support. G.M. Sayed narrated as under:

The result was that the Sindh United Party, which had, as stated above, passed a resolution against the enhancement of assessment, was broken up and we had no other alternative, but to walk over to opposition benches. Owing to this position, Soomro switched over openly to the Congress party, which he managed to bring round, although there was not the slightest justification for the Congress to adopt this sudden change of front.¹²

Sayed wrote letters to the president of the Sindh Congress and mentioned his grievance about the party's lukewarm attitude towards the welfare of the Muslim agriculturists. But his letters were not responded to positively. G.M. Sayed called on Sardar Valabhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, when the two leaders came to Karachi in the third week of August 1938. G.M. Sayed told them briefly that the policy of the Sindh Congress was not according to the wishes of the masses and for gaining their support, the party would have to revise its policy in the light of the aspirations of the people of Sindh. But Maulana Azad and Sardar Valabhai Patel left Karachi without taking any substantive decisions. Report by the Governor of Sindh to the Viceroy, 25 August 1938:

*Government of Sindh
25th August 1938*

Dear Lord Brabourne

Sir Ghulam Hussain has not seen Valabhai Patel, though K.B. Khuhro, who is generally regarded as Sir Ghulam's chief supporter, saw him with G.M. Sayed and others. A combination which is not likely to be acceptable to Hindus.¹³

Yours sincerely

J.H. Garret .

Allah Bux Soomro had already disappointed Sayed. He was amazed and shocked at the behaviour of the Congress leadership.

Interlude with Jinnah's Muslim League

Either in hope or as a reaction, he came to the momentous decision of choosing a new path. Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, who had already secured the position of president of the Sindh Muslim League, insinuated that he join the Muslim League. In October 1938, Mohammed Ali Jinnah visited Sindh at the invitation of Haji Abdullah Haroon. G.M. Sayed attended the League meeting as an observer and although he had some reservations about the League, he decided to become its member. As Sayed narrated:

The Muslim League was a communal party, which had a fair sprinkling of British loyalists, many of whom had been knighted or made Khan Bahadurs. It had no programme for the emancipation of the people. It lacked sincere workers and I thought that if devoted workers like my colleagues and me joined it, we could change its character and turn it into an anti-imperialist and pro-people party. It was in this spirit that I joined the Muslim League.¹

G.M. Sayed may have either joined the League in the above spirit or because Haroon, a close associate of his, was already involved with the party. But it is intriguing why both gentlemen abandoned their view, that joining a communal or all-India party was a misfortune for Sindh!

As G.M. Sayed joined the League, its structure changed and it got a new look in Sindh. As narrated by Yusuf Haroon in the Daily Dawn:

Sensing what Sayed felt about the miseries of the Sindhi Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azad called upon Sayed to join the Muslim League and it was at the residence of my father, Abdullah Haroon, that Sayed joined the League. G.M. Sayed joining the Muslim League may not have appeared a very significant step to many at that time, but it proved to be a turning point for the party in Sindh politics, as he was assigned the task of popularising the party in Sindh. I remember, everything in this regard was discussed: the funds, the manpower, and the logistics. I knew G.M. Sayed had the potential. The job was time-consuming and laborious and required resources but the manner G.M. Sayed undertook it was a remarkable feat²

On the same occasion, a move occurred that would ensure that all Muslim Assembly members would unite on one platform. A meeting was convened on 9 October that was presided over by Jinnah and the participants were Fazal-e-Haq, Sir Sikander Hayat, Allah Bux Soomro, the premiers, G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur. The draft of the agreement was written and signed by G.M. Sayed, Sir Ghulam Hussain, Mir Bandeh Ali, and Shaikh Abdul Majid, and as a representative of the ministry by Pir Illahi Bux. For finalising all matters, a meeting was again fixed for 12 October. Before the meeting, differences came out and both parties blamed each other for its failure.

In order to clarify their positions, both Jinnah and Allah Bux Soomro issued statements. As Jones Allen Keith has narrated in his paper Muslim Politics and the Growth of the Muslim League in Sindh.

In a press statement on 14 October, Jinnah accused Allah Bux Soomro of betraying the agreement and charged that he had done so, firstly, because the premier had been informed that Congress was willing to reconsider the possibility of supporting his ministry. And secondly, because Allah Bux has insisted on continuing as premier if a League cabinet was formed.”

In reply to Jinnah's charges, Allah Bux denied that forthcoming Congress support on his continuation as premier had influenced his action. He based his explanation for ending the October 9 agreement on his party's twofold policy of giving support to All-India Muslim League on matters of countrywide importance. But minting freedom from League control in provincial affairs, Allah Bux asserted, precluded membership in a Muslim League Assembly party.³

Shortly after getting a good strength in the Assembly, opposition leader Sir Ghulam Hussain made a written requisition for an early session but it was not called by Acting Governor J.H. Garret. The session was called at the time of the budget in the first week of January. With the support of twelve members, G.M. Sayed moved a motion of no-confidence, but at the time of voting only 7 cast their votes in favour, while 32 voted against. Even the opposition leader Sir Ghulam Hussain and his deputy Mir Bandeh Ali Khan switched their loyalty and deserted the Muslim League just to become ministers. Following are two reports on the existing scenario, one by Linlithgow to Graham and the second by I.H. Taunton to Mr. Puckle.

Karapur
16th January 1939

My dear Graham

Many thanks for your letters of 4th and 9th January, No 2 and 10, about your ministerial situation. I did not answer for there seemed to me to be nothing to be done at the moment saves to await developments. I congratulate you most heartily on the developments which have occurred, as I gather from the press, since taken place, for I gather that your Assembly has thrown out, by 32 to 7, Mr. Sayed's motion of want of confidence in the premier.

I am not quite clear from the press report read with your letters as to what Ghulam Hussain's position in all this matter is. He abstained, I gather, from the voting and it is to the good, of course, that he did not go into opposition against your chief minister and presumably he thought the safer cause from his own point of view was to abstain from voting. At the same time, given the critical character of this division, one cannot but feel that abstention from support (even if identical with abstention from opposition) is not very good preliminary to joining the ministry whose fate was at issue.

I look forward with great interest to the developments as regards the increase in the strength of your ministry. And I trust sincerely that Allah Bux and Ghulam Hussain are right in thinking that we shall have no further trouble on the vital question of reassessment, on which both regard it as so important to stand firm.⁴

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

21 January 1939
Dear Puckle

The legislative assembly has been in session during the fortnight under report and its proceeding evoked considerable public interest. The agitation against the present ministry came to a head, when Mr. G.M. Sayed MLA moved a no-confidence motion against the ministry. The discussion on the 10th instant continued till the night of 12th day and resulted in overwhelming victory for the government. Seven members voted for and thirty-two against the motion. The result of the voting for the neutrality of the Congress party and support of some members who were at one time bitter opponents of the present ministry, notably Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the ex-premier. The session has been devoted mainly to government business, eight bills were passed without difficulty and two were referred to a select committee.⁵

Yours sincerely
I. H. Taunton

It was the same budget time when the Sindh United Party, whose aim was interreligious harmony and changing the lifestyle of the agrarians, collapsed due to the personal priorities of the Sindhi leadership. Sindh and Sindhi nation paid a heavy price in the shape of interference of the all-India parties and it opened the doors of the province for them to propagate their ideologies freely. Meanwhile the issue of Om Mandli threatened the life of Allah Bux Soomro's ministry. As a witness, G.M. Sayed has narrated as under:

Another noteworthy event that occurred about the time of the budget session of 1939 was the 'Om Mandli' affair, which drew the attention of the whole province and even threatened the life of the Allah Bux ministry. The Om Mandli was a novel type of institution sponsored and conducted by Dada Lekhraj, a retired Sindhi work merchant of Hyderabad. The Mandli professed to serve as a religious and educational centre and a benevolent asylum of ill-treated women, young and old. It seemed to attract such large numbers of widowed, married and unmarried women of the Bhaiband community of Hyderabad that an organised opposition sprang up, which soon made its weight felt upon the government in order to have the Mandli banned and closed down.⁶

The Hindu Assembly members approached Allah Bux Soomro to close the Om Mandli, but the premier did not agree with their view. This situation compelled them to suppress the institution. To gain the support of the opposition, and with the shuttle diplomacy of Jethmal Parsram, they made a pledge with the opposition. After getting the support of the opposition, they tabled a motion of no-confidence against the premier and compelled their ministers to withdraw from the ministry.

Allah Bux Soomro pleaded with the opposition to stay out of the matter which was purely of the Hindu community, but the opposition did not pay attention to his request and continued with its help to the community. After being disappointed with the opposition, Allah Bux Soomro made an underhand deal with the Hindu community as a last resort and accepted their demands, on condition that the community would continue its support to him. At the time when the Assembly carried

the motion of no-confidence, the Hindu members left the opposition benches without consulting with the opposition and went over to the treasury benches. The report of the newspaper, sent by the Governor to the Viceroy, on this issue.

The Times

*Printing House Square, E.C.4. From the issue of
28 March 1939.*

Civil disobedience in Sindh.

Two ministers resign

Bombay, March 27

Two Hindu ministers of the Sindh cabinet, Mr. Nihchaldas. C. Vazirani and Djalml Daulatram have resigned. The cabinet's difficulties are said to have been caused by the serious turn taken by the (Civil Disobedience) movement against the Om Mandli women's institution, which has led to the arrest of more than 110 persons. A motion of censure proposed by the Congress party against the cabinet over the Om Mandli issue was defeated after two days debate. The Om Mandli is a women's educational and cultural institution at Hyderabad, Sindh. Last September, certain allegations were made regarding its management and the government was urged to close it. The agitation has continued and has taken on a communal bias, so that a merely local question has become an issue of provincial importance.⁷

A short while later, an incident occurred during Allah Bux Soomro's ministry that shook the entire Sindh politically and socially. The more shocking development of this event was that the Sindhi nation split into two factions, Sindhi Hindu and Sindhi Muslim. This rupture damaged their solidarity of the last thousand years, as heir of an ancient civilisation of Mohenjodaro, Kahojodaro, Sehwan Sharif, Manchar Lake, and Amri.

Masjid Manzilgah was a complex of buildings in Sukkur which Muslims claimed as their own mosque and hence demanded its restoration. Allah Bux Soomro was willing to resolve the two decades-old matter of the Masjid Manzilgah dispute. He discussed the issue with Maulvi Mohammed Sadiq of Khada, Karachi, and promised him that he would take all measures in this regard. But, due to the involvement of the other parties, he could not do so immediately because of the claim of the Hindus that their sacred place Sadhbela was situated near the mosque. Since their women regularly went for religious rites there, they feared there could be an unpleasant incident involving the two communities. Both the parties were overcome by emotions and without caring about the consequences they pressurised Soomro on this issue.

Soomro suggested that both parties reach a mutually acceptable decision. He met Sir Abdullah Haroon in this connection but he was treated in a lukewarm manner. The working committee of the Muslim League discussed the matter. G.M. Sayed opposed it and said that it is essentially a religious question and therefore this matter should be left to the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, "as, in my opinion, the Muslim League should restrict its activities to political matters." But Sayed's objection was overruled and he was not even appointed on the restoration committee on account of his personal views.

On 1 October 1939, the Muslim League started its constraint movement, and within three days, as many as a thousand Muslims courted arrest and were jailed.

On 3 October, the Government perhaps under expediency or strategy, or as a goodwill gesture, released all satyagrahs, stopped further arrests and the police pickets posted at the Manzilgah premises were withdrawn. Thus the Muslims were permitted to remain in occupation of the mosque's premises.

On 10 October Mohammed Ayub Khuhro wrote to G.M. Sayed, urging him to take active part in the movement. Book Mohammed Ayub Khuhro.

It is surprising that you have not taken any active part in the Sukkur Manzilgah mosque. You must have read all about the developments time to time. I want you to kindly come to Sukkur on the 12th instant to meet us there for personal discussion on the latest developments. It is no use simply sending written orders from a distance; you should give us the benefit of your views personally. I may call a meeting of the restoration committee on the 15th instant at Karachi or Sukkur so you do kindly keep that date free.

If you stay at Sukkur from 12th onward for a few days, as it is very necessary, I will be very thankful.⁸

Sayed came to Karachi and attended the meeting of the Muslim League. He recounted the event as under:

About the 15th of October 1939, I went to Karachi to attend a meeting of the working committee of the Sindh provincial Muslim League. The meeting had been called to consider the situation and to consider our future line of action in connection with the Manzilgah affair. Be it remembered that up to that time I had not taken any active part in the Satyagrah movement, so when I came to Karachi, I was still in a mood to give the government any further reasonable extension of time to enable it to come to a final decision.

On my arrival at Karachi on 15th October 1939, I however come to know that only on the previous day, i.e., on 14th October 1939, the Sindh Governor had under his special responsibility, promulgated an Ordinance. Investing the government with special powers outside the Ordinary Law to deal with the Muslim agitation on the Manzilgah question, as if the ordinary law was not sufficient to deal with the situation.⁹

Whatever the reasons for Sayed's active participation in the Manzilgah Mosque issue, he remembered it as a great sin and a big blunder by him.

Sayed played an active role in the movement and was immediately selected as the secretary of the restoration committee. He went to Sukkur and took possession of the mosque. The Government then seized control of the Manzilgah and on the morning of 19th November 1939 arrested him, and he was taken, along with other leaders, by car to Hyderabad. At the time of his arrest, he was running a temperature of 100-degrees Fahrenheit.

Meanwhile some proposals came under discussion between the Government and the Muslim League leadership. G.M. Sayed had a different opinion about this than his party colleagues.

A letter by Puckle to I.H. Taunton.

22nd November 1939

My Dear Puckle

Mr. G.M. Sayed MLA has strongly opposed the Haroon-Khuhro agreement with the government and threatened to carry on Satyagrah himself if the terms offered by the Hon'ble premier are accepted.

Meanwhile the split in the restoration committee was intensified. It was only after great opposition from Mr. G.M. Sayed, MLA that the restoration committee on the 5th November decided to accept with certain modifications the proposals of the government. Mr. G.M. Sayed, MLA continued to criticise the Sindh government and is alleged to have said that the Muslims will on no account surrender the Mosque to non-Muslims and if force would be used against them, the injunction of Islam "to treat others as they treat you" would be observed. Government being held responsible for any disturbances which might occur.¹⁰

Yours sincerely

I.H. Taunton

G.M. Sayed recorded his version of the after-effects of these events:

The possession of the Manzilgah was thus wrested back from the Muslims, but this achievement of the ministry was followed by the unhappy Sukkan riots which broke out that very day. It is not my intention to narrate at length the subsequent gruesome events, a detailed account of which can be found in the Weston Report. Suffice it to say that it was a ghastly tragedy. That apart from ruining many innocent persons, it besmirched the fair name of our province always distinguished for its remarkable communal harmony.¹¹

His arrest and the role that he played in the movement were reported by I.H. Taunton to the Viceroy.

*Government of Sindh
12 December 1939*

My dear Puckle

The secretary of the restoration committee elected being Mr. G.M. Sayed MLA, some leaders (Masjid Manzilgah Movement) including Mr. G.M. Sayed MLA were arrested and sent to Hyderabad.¹²

Yours sincerely

I.H. Taunton

Sayed was released in January 1940. The two wise men of Sindh did not appreciate the behaviour of G.M. Sayed in this regard. Jamshed Mehta, by birth a Parsi but ideologically a theosophist and a great social reformer, has described Sayed's action as under:

"Sayed was under the dark forces."

Allama I.I. Kazi, a Muslim scholar, and leading educationist, wrote two letters to G.M. Sayed about this issue.

January 1940

For Ghulam Murtaza, (G.M. Sayed), I have a great deal of spiritual attraction but am also annoyed with him. Why did he put himself into trouble by taking part in the Masjid Manzilgah movement? (We think in one direction and providence another). He was the only one left in Sindh and he chose the path of darkness, that is, he took part in the Manzilgah movement. There fore, what will become of us? Five hundred mosques in Sindh are in a state of disrepair. All Madrassahs in Karachi, Larkana and Tando Bago have gone from bad to worse. The Muslims them selves have ruined all Islamic institutions. People are seeking martyrdom for Manzilgah. I am not sorry that I was not consulted on the issue. What makes me sorry is that good sense did not prevail.¹²

Following his release from Sukkur prison, G.M. Sayed stayed for a month in his village, and in a calm and quiet atmosphere there, he reviewed the political situation. The riots became less frequent but the ashes lay smouldering and the panic had not altogether subsided. He reached the conclusion that first of all he would have to accept his miscalculation and play an active part to defuse the tense atmosphere and promote harmony between the two communities. For that purpose, he issued a statement to clarify his position.

The events that have occurred at Sukkur and its outskirts after our arrest on the 19 November, 1939, are indeed most heart-rending. While I was in jail, I was acquainted with these events by my Muslim and Hindu friends amongst whom there were also some Congress friends of old who were good enough to visit me in jail, and after my release I have been able to know more about them.

I am sorry I was not able, while I was in prison, to express my sympathy with all those who have suffered in the riots. Now that I am out of prison, I hasten to extend my wholehearted sympathy to all those Hindus and Muslims who have suffered in these tragic events. My heart goes out in sympathy for those Hindu sufferers who were innocent and blameless.

When I associated myself with the agitation for the restoration of the Manzilgah mosque, I little dreamt that events would take such a tragic course and relations between the two communities would become so embittered. I need hardly emphasise that all acts of murder, dacoity and arson are opposed to our accepted principles and they must be condemned without reservation. The province of Sindh is still an infant in the political world. It has had to pass through many experiences all of which out to serve as a lesson to us. The chief cause of our past troubles is our inexperience and lack of planning. But we must remember that from ancient times, the Hindus and Muslims in Sindh have always lived in peace due to the influence of Hindu and Muslim saints. And it has, therefore been my cherished hope that Sindh may serve as the pioneer in the establishment of Hindu-Muslim concord all over India. My sorrow is all the greater, because the recent events have intercepted Sindh's mission

in this direction. The anguish and pain that this situation has caused to my mind can be known from the Hindu friends who have had an opportunity to know me well.

The need of the hour in Sindh is peace and harmony between the two communities and I consider it my duty to work for the achievement of that end. It is no doubt true that our province is at the present moment passing through a critical stage and at such a time as this, I would fervently appeal to every inhabitant of the province that we should all work out such a path for ourselves whereby it may be possible to reestablish the old harmony and goodwill between Hindus and Muslims in Sindh, so that they may once again continue to live as good neighbours as in the past. Of course even this statement did not spare me the invectives of certain papers whose irresponsible journalism had done so much to aggravate the crisis. I felt pained by their imputation of ulterior motives to me but I continued my sincere efforts for a just solution to the communal tension that existed in the province.¹³

When Sayed's statement on the riots appeared in the press, Allama I.I. Kazi wrote to him again in February 1940.

Excerpts of the letter:

Dear Murtaza

I congratulate you. You have not yet lost your spiritual purity. This is a miracle. After 11 years of hard work, we continue to strive. Let us prevent the recurrence of past events.¹⁴

This fire of communal riots shattered the unity of the entire society, hundreds of people were killed and injured and property of millions was destroyed, hatred prevailed in the place of love and the land of mystics went back politically and socially for a decade.

The role of Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro was remarkable. He himself ordered his disciples not to be a part of the communal trouble. He and his disciples had played a practical role to extinguish the fire of communal tensions. The Sindh Muslim League exerted all its energy regarding this issue. Whatever may have been the reasons for its active role in the Masjid Manzilgah issue, whether to topple the ministry of Allah Bux Soomro or restore the sacred place; Sindh paid a heavy price for it. The scholarly point of view of Jones Allen Keith on this issue is a worthy perception. Allen Keith narrated as under in his paper Muslim Politics and the Growth of the Muslim League in Sindh.

Summary

The failure of post-conference negotiations to bring Allah Bux into the League camp and form a new League ministry served to raise doubts in the minds of the Sindh Leaguers as to the efficacy of All-India efforts to order provincial affairs. So in searching for a way to defeat the Allah Bakhsh's ministry, the Sindh Leaguers decided to exploit the communally explosive Manzilgah mosque issue which they hoped would expose the premier's strong reliance on Hindu backing and marshal broad Muslim support to pressure and topple the Allah Bakhsh ministry. The choice of Manzilgah, a strictly

provincial issue, marked return to a strong preoccupation with Sindhi concerns in terms of province-centre relations, a trend, which was further, reflected in Sindh Leaguer's pursuit of Satyagarh without the approval of the central Muslim League.

In their campaign to restore the Manzilgah mosque, the Sindhi Leaguers were aware of the issue's potential to engender communal tension and strife, but they were divided by what tactics they should use and how far they should go in their prosecutions of the issue. Thus the emergence of a moderate and extreme faction within the League leadership provided a future example of their increasing political sophistication. But their failure to evolve a united course of action produced an outcome of dubious success.

The Sindh Leaguers achieved their primary goal of bringing Allah Bux down, but at great cost to both the League's image and Sindh's communal harmony -results that raised serious question about the Leaguers ability to govern should they now come to power.¹⁵

While G.M. Sayed was in Sann, the Hindu leadership called upon him at his hometown and they discussed with him Sindh's political scenario, and requested him to play a role to bridge the gulf between the two communities and bring about an atmosphere of harmony. Also, they asked him for a meeting with the leadership of the Muslim League, with a view to reaching an understanding.

Sayed came to Karachi with this hope and a meeting was held with representatives of both the communities.

Narrated by G.M. Sayed as under:

*When I went to Karachi, I found ample proof of the desire for lasting understanding between Hindus and Muslims on the part of saner elements in both the communities. A meeting was shortly arranged between Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and me on behalf of the Muslim League and some prominent mukhis of Sukkur and Shikarpur Panchayats. We freely exchanged our views and I must say that this meeting enabled us to clear much of the understanding that had divided us so far.*¹⁶

The Hindu community asked their ministers to withdraw from the ministry. The Hindu ministers were not ready to resign but on further pressure from their community they quit and came over to the opposition.

The Hindu community authorized their representatives to carry on talks with any group. The Muslim League and the leadership of the Hindu community exchanged their opinions for several days. The main points at issue were:

1. Appointment of a tribunal to inquire into:
 - i. Causes of Sukkur riots and
 - ii. The Muslim claim that Manzilgah was a mosque building
2. Payment of compensation to sufferers of Sukkur riots.
3. Noninterference with the procedure of law so far as the Sukkur riot cases were concerned.
4. Percentage of communal representation in services.
5. Adequate measures for the protection of life and property in the disturbed area.
6. Introduction of joint electorates in Sukkur and Shikarpur municipal areas.

The Hindu leadership also continued negotiations with Allah Bux Soomro but the premier was tired of their conduct, so he did not consider their offer.

The Muslim League and Hindu leadership agreed on a draft of 21 demands and signed the pledge thereafter. By the time the Assembly was in session, the new coalition of Muslim League and the Hindu Assembly members turned the premier's group into a minority and it was defeated on the marketing bill. Allah Bux Soomro declared on the floor of the House that as he had no majority, he was tendering his resignation.

After a month or so, the Governor accepted Allah Bux Soomro's resignation and a new ministry was sworn in on 18 March 1940. After the fall of the Soomro ministry, progressive assembly members agreed on Shaikh Abdul Majid as the new premier of Sindh but the leader of the Mir Group, Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, did not agree to join the coalition, unless he was made the premier. After consultation, all groups agreed on Mir Bandeh Ali Khan's candidacy and he formed his new ministry on 18 March 1940. On the political scenario of Sindh, I.H. Taunton wrote to Conran Smith.

*Government of Sindh
5th April 1940*

My dear Conran Smith

After his defeat, ex-premier Khan Bahadur Allah Bux Soomro proceeded to Ramgarh on 7th March as briefly mentioned in my last report. The resignation of the Allah Bux ministry was accepted on the 18th March. The cabinet of the Hon'ble Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur was sworn in on the same day, being known as a nationalist government and containing representatives of all parties except the Congress. Portfolios were allocated on 19th March; a noteworthy departure for preview arrangements being that the important revenue portfolio was given to a Hindu minister, law and order being taken by the premier himself. The ministry consists of the following.

- 1. The Hon'ble Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur, (Ex-Unionist)*
- 2. The Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas. C Vazirani (Ex-Hindu Independent Group) Minister for Revenue.*
- 3. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khuhro (Ex-Muslim League) Minister for P.W.D*
- 4. The Hon'ble Mr. G.M. Sayed (Ex-Muslim League) Minister for Education.*
- 5. The Hon'ble Shaikh Abdul Majid (Ex. Muslim League) Minister for Finance.*
- 6. The Honourable R.S. Gokaldas Mewaldas (Ex-Hindu Independent Group) Minister for Local Self-Government and Agriculture.¹⁷*

Yours sincerely

I.H. Taunton

A short while after the oath-taking ceremony, G.M. Sayed left for Lahore to attend the conference of the All-India Muslim League at Minto Park, Lahore from 22 to 24 March. On 22nd March a meeting of the subjects committee under the

chairmanship of Fazal Haq met and it shaped the draft of the 1940 resolution. An open session of the League conference was held on 23 March under the presidentship of Jinnah. G.M. Sayed also was among the high-ranking leadership, as narrated by Dr. Hamida Khuhro in her book Mohammed Ayub Khuhro.

*The pandal was crowded to capacity; Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and G.M. Sayed, Ministers from Sindh were among those on the dais. The resolution of 23 March 1940 was presented by Fazal Haq, the chairman of the Subjects Committee and was passed by the leadership and the audience.*¹⁸

The brief text of the Resolution.

*That the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "independent states" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.*¹⁹

This was the resolution for whose implementation G.M. Sayed launched a struggle from the independence of Pakistan till his last breath on 25 April 1995. The Ministry started its work under disadvantageous conditions. The Muslim League and Hindu Independent Group formed the ministry but they were not in a position to bridge the gulf and to develop intercommunal confidence. The premier Mir Bandeh Ali was not a dishonest person, but he was ill suited for the post of premiership and in spite of the presence of talented and hard working ministers like G.M. Sayed and others, his government was unable to show any positive and fruitful results. Chaotic conditions prevailed and the governor and bureaucracy did not cooperate with the ministry in developing a suitable atmosphere for effective governance but rather created hindrances as narrated by G.M. Sayed in Struggle for New Sindh.

(a) The policy of the premier was weak and indecisive. While he knew that we had accepted office in most unfavourable conditions, which needed enormous amount of initiative and activity, the premier took things in an easy manner. He was not given the necessary lead and did not take any initiative in tackling the bigger problems in consultation with his colleagues. Even when proposals from the latter came up, he would keep them unattended for months together. Many of the ministers laboured at their files till late hours, but in the absence of proper lead and necessary cooperation, little could be achieved.

(b) The premier had taken the charge of the very important portfolio of Law and Order and many important files had to pass through him. Thus he occupied a position in which proper lead, bold initiative; strong will, hard work and prompt disposal were greatly needed. But being a scion of an aristocratic family, Mir Sahib found the burden too heavy for his shoulders, with the result that there was confusion and delay in disposal. Despite his good intentions, things soon got into a mess. This impacted on the other ministers, who in the absence of a proper grip on the part of their leader were left to act according to their own choice, some burying themselves in their never-ending files and others indulging themselves in long and repeated tours.

*(c) On the other hand, the administrators of law and order also found themselves free to act as they chose. The governor also soon appraised the situation and took full advantage of it. Conflict arose between the ministers on the one hand and the governor and the bureaucracy on the other, and the latter found the premier's weakness a handy weapon to frustrate the good work that the ministers wished to do, with the result that nothing of importance could be achieved.*²⁰

The report of the Governor to the Viceroy showed that he was not happy with the ministry and especially with the premier.

A letter by Graham to the Viceroy

Dear Lord Linlithgow

The present ministry was sworn in at a critical time in parliamentary procedure shortly before the end of March and you will remember that we had some anxious correspondence on the subject of getting financial provision for the year. That all passed quite smoothly, mainly because I had taken the speaker and leader of the opposition, my late C.M. into confidence. Both of them had made a series of mistakes in procedure and they were not sorry to have their faces saved by the method proposed by me.

My new ministry consists of four Muslims, three of whom are Muslim Leaguers and fourth is a traitor to the old Muslim party, headed by Allah Bakhsh; in addition there are two Hindus.

I do not need to go into the change of ministry except to say that the present premier assumed office deeply stained with treachery to the late premier. I have never been able to understand how so incompetent a person as Mir Bande Ali Khan was recommended to me by the combination of Independent Hindus and Muslim Leaguers. I presume that the Muslim Leaguers had to accept Mir Bande Ali because the Hindus refused to accept a Muslim Leaguer as premier.²¹

Yours sincerely

L. Graham

G.M. Sayed had a different viewpoint than that of the Governor; he narrated the Governor's passive role as under:

The then governor also did not help in improving this situation and it appeared that these officials also felt encouraged by his attitude in their policy of noncooperation towards the ministers. Instead of clearing the growing misunderstanding among his ministers, the governor's ways appeared to widen the differences amongst them. We soon understood this and tried to check further mutual misunderstandings by comparing our notes of the conversations that we individually had with the Governor.²²

Governor Graham's letter to the Viceroy shows his grievances against G.M. Sayed and Khuhro

29th July 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow

My Finance Minister is Shaikh Abdul Majid, a converted Hindu with no property and no interest of corrupt nature but something of the fanaticism of a convert in the first generation. I like him personally and my finance secretary reports for him that he is honestly endeavouring to understand the position and are prepared to accept advice. He is, or recently has been secretary of the Sindh branch of the Muslim League but I have never found him tiresome on that account.

Mr. G.M. Sayed, a small Zamindar in the Dadu district was a somewhat active member of the Manzilgah Committee and was put into jail for months under the Ordinance. He does not appear to bear any malice but neither his colleagues nor I find him an easy person. Not satisfied with starting all sorts of hares in his own department he is everlasting pushing his inquiring nose into the affairs of other departments and is quite indifferent as to whether a subject belongs primarily to him or not. I find him rather a strain on my patience and on one occasion I rather lost control in a Cabinet meeting and told him he was talking nonsense. He protested and I withdrew the remarks. We subsequently had a personal heart to heart and he admitted that he had been particularly tiresome that morning and I admitted that I had lost control. We have been rather good friends ever since; but his characteristic has not changed. He has dislike and suspicion of all officials and feels no obligation to support the Government. He is forever creating new committees and his colleagues, find him as much of a burden as I do. As an example of his method, I have received from him today a list of 30 subjects, none concerned with his department, on which he has addressed notes to the Hon'ble Premier. He complains that they appear to have been sat upon by Mir Bandeh Ali and nobody has seen them besides the premier.

Rai Sahib Gokladas, Minister of Agriculture, a rather solid pleasant Hindu Zamindar from upper Sindh, with less education than the ordinary Hindu in politics and more educated than the ordinary Zamindar. His subjects are Agriculture and Local self-government and for the most part he sticks to them. We get on quite happily together and I have no complaints against him.

Nihchaldas, one of my Hindu ministers is already known to you as having been in and out of my ministry for the last three years. He is capable and ambitious, but beyond his ambition he has no particular axe to grind except the Hindu axe. I think there is shortly likely to be an increase in the friction between him and K.B Khuhro and my P.W.D. minister, for a number of reasons. In the first place Khuhro is quite shameless in his attempts to secure promotion for Muslims and discouragement in every Hindu in P.W.D. Khuhro is probably one of the most dishonest men ever sworn in as minister. He is entirely shameless as a liar and has no objection to be told that he is a liar. The Secretary Public Works Department and myself are kept very busy endeavouring to prevent corrupt deals on the part of this minister and I am by no means certain that a time will not arise when I shall have to ask you whether in your opinion that material at my disposal is sufficient to justify my dismissing him... I remember being warned by Brabourne before I came here that I should find Khuhro the most dishonest man in Sindh; but I was not aware then that I should have the pleasure of having him one of my ministers.

In the same report due to the bold steps of G.M. Sayed, he vented his anger upon Sayed.

My secretaries find Khuhro and Sayed most difficult to get along with. Each of them appears to enjoy snubbing his secretary and dismissing his notes in a very summary fashion. The only result is that the secretaries bring the papers to me and I have to call on the ministers to justify their notes. I have recently had a serious conversation with Khuhro and G.M. Sayed on this matter, and have suggested to them that when they cannot accept the secretary's proposals they should at least do him the courtesy of discussing the case with him and should make it plain in their note to me that they have done so. In some very controversial P.W.D. cases I have arranged to discuss jointly with the minister and the secretary²³

*Yours sincerely
L. Graham*

G.M. Sayed, as an idealist, was extremely anxious to get the masses out of it. But neither the British administration nor the Muslim and Hindu elite classes were ready to leave room for him to advance the cause of communal harmony. The reservation, which the Governor in his letter to the Viceroy showed, may be had weight in the European society or in sovereign countries, where the lifestyle of the people were more advanced than Sindh. But the province that was under the control of invaders for nearly a century was not comparable with their conditions.

The Governor was born and nurtured in a free, advanced society. Maybe he had a better vision about the problems of an advanced society, but an administrator proud of his powers and entirely dependent on the bureaucracy was not able to view problems deeply and thoroughly.

Sayed was born and nurtured in a society where the people had no right to protest or raise a voice for their rights. The invaders and the bureaucracy treated them as their serfs. Sayed, as their representative, was bound to inform the administration about these matters and would struggle to provide them relief.

He was pained when he saw their pitiable condition and as a man of strong feelings, the situation compelled him to do something for their welfare. But people with vested interests, like Governor Graham, did not like the action he took.

Shah Latif's verse would enlighten the scenario:

*Neighbour did not know
In what grief she passed her night*

During his ministership he once again had an experience of love.

Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah, in a letter, introduced him to a lady. Following is a brief text of the letter.

When I requested her for an introduction, she said that she was a perplexed and vagrant lady, whose veins from her father's side contained Arab blood (she was the daughter of a Tunisian Shaikh) and from her mother's side the blood of a daughter of a French feudal lord. She is a graduate of Paris University and holds a diploma from London School of Economics. From the age of eight she felt attracted to India and the desire took her to England to learn English. She was interested in philosophy and came here with great hope and desire but before reaching ashore, came to grief because of the conduct of a sailor. While listening to her story, I became emotional. After having lunch with her, she dwelt at length on life's delicate points and on the deep philosophy of the creation of human beings. She said the achievement of happiness and contentment of the heart is the

substance of life. To achieve this aim, a person must utilize every effort, as well as sacrifice his body. To achieve this aim a devotee must cross the barriers of customs and constitution, otherwise life becomes aimless. I quizzed her as to how immortal and unlimited happiness and contentment of the heart could be achieved and after achieving this happiness what ability and benefit would man gain. She said that the utmost happiness is to win over the mystery of things invisible and above approach. The mystics and spiritual guides had continued their search on this subject for thousands of years. Many had crossed the route but some were left behind absorbed in the effulgence of this ideal. I had left the West and come to the East with fondness for this purpose. I can only say that in this journey a person with the same thoughts, a loyal and real friend, would be the cause of satisfaction and consolation and after that two hearts would become one. And the approach of human beings would be unlimited and the touchstone would come in his possession and with the touch of that stone mud would turn into gold. After getting the satisfaction of the heart not only he but also his fellows would benefit.

The second point she emphasized was that many persons love only the body and they feel that it is the real happiness. The idealist has a connection with the spirit and essence of nature. He is searching for immortal happiness while the materialist is happy with the temporary advertisement of the body. A friend asked in a jolly mood, if you do not care for the body, then its parts would not be cared for either? She said, of course, she did not care for its parts but as for the question of sanctity, it is my duty to protect it.

But the mere desire for the body leads to absorption of spiritual happiness. After her thoughtful and delicate conversation, I suggested your name to her for her guidance; she wants to meet you. I have conveyed you her message, now the ball is in your court.²⁴

G.M. Sayed met her at Bombay in September 1940. They met five times and exchanged views for hours on different subjects. On the last day, the two spent the entire day in each other's company and she saw Sayed off at the Bombay railway station.

On his return to Sindh, G.M. Sayed became busy in political work. During this period she wrote letters to Miran Mohammed Shah and insisted that she wanted to tour Sindh. She also wrote some letters to Sayed saying she wanted to meet him in Sindh.

G.M. Sayed and Miran Mohammed Shah agreed to invite her to tour Sindh. While Sayed had already decided about her tour of Sindh, there were some apprehensions in his mind which were summarised by him as follows:

- 1. I had already decided to resign from the ministership; after resignation I will be busy in mass mobilization in entire Sindh.*
- 2. She had been nurtured in European society and I belong to rural society, there was great difference in our lifestyle. Could I meet her standard?*
- 3. I had already undergone metaphorical love and it had shattered me.*
- 4. We were only associated in mind and spiritual attraction and there was no sexual or political connection.*
- 5. It did not cross my mind that, she was coming in Sindh only as a guide and support in my mission, rather I was thinking she was coming only to develop her inner soul by sharing spirituality.*
- 6. At that stage I crossed over from metaphorical love to the love of the ideal. I was afraid she might become a barrier in it.*

Under these reservations I wrote a letter to her.

All arrangements for her tour were finalized under the supervision of Sayed Rasool Bux Shah at Thano Bula Khan. But as the saying goes: "Man proposes, God disposes."

I received a cable on 30 October 1940. "I am thankful for all efforts. I am leaving for the hospital." This cable made me nervous and I telephoned her but could not contact her. I tried my best to get information from another source but did not succeed.

On 9 November I received a letter from Mr. Jhangiani.

With sorrow I am informing you that Miss Tariki Musec has expired on 6 November after suffering an attack of smallpox. Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah, Speaker of Assembly of Sindh was her friend. Kindly inform him as well.²⁵

Incidentally when I received this letter, the messenger of Pir Rasool Bux Shah had arrived in Karachi to find out about the schedule of our programme at Thano Bola Khan. Many friends had made me responsible for this incident. Their opinion was that a woman's heart is very sensitive, and perhaps she suffered disappointment and took poison. Hopes were changed to sorrow; her personality, desires and mission were in my mind always. Her tragic death was an unforgiving shock for me. I was also deeply upset and under the impact of this tragedy, I became emotional and almost contemplated suicide. The following verse of Shah Abdul Latif was always in my mind:

*Love grilled me like charcoal on fire
My hands no longer working and my body
lies paralysed.*

I felt that three things were responsible for this tragedy and decided to free myself from them.

- 1- The business of ministry
- 2- Influence of friend "M" and
- 3- My hard-heartedness

1. For political reasons, I had already determined to resign from the ministry.
2. Although in this entire story "M" was not to blame, however, in my state of resentment, I returned her photograph back to her. It means I am free!
3. For my hard-heartedness, I was searching for methods to punish myself. Pir Hussamuddin Shah Rashdi, Pir Ali

Mohammed Shah Rashdi, Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah, Rais Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri and Sayed Haji Hassan Bux Shah kept watch over me to avert any untoward incident. They kept a vigil and did not even sleep at night. Concluding these, the person who became my healer was a friend "T." How she nursed me in my state of grief and sorrow

was remarkable. She set aside more and more time for me and, through her conversation, mentally prepared me for not taking any drastic action.

This lady had written a letter to G.M. Sayed inquiring about his health. Text follows.

Karachi

14.11.1940

Dear Brother Sayed!

I feel concerned for your well being. Inform me about your condition (health). Today is the birthday of Guru Nanak. He gave us the lesson of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Ram, Rahim, Quran and Puran speak of one message.

God willing, following his message in letter and spirit, you would begin a new chapter in the history of Sindh, and we considering we to be the true sons and daughters of Sindh and Hind may be in the first ranks of freedom fighters, for the independence of our country. This is my humble prayer.²⁶

Jethi Sepihmalani

After the collapse of the Sindh United Party, G.M. Sayed together with both the communities formed a secular organisation, People's Association with the help of Shaikh Abdul Majid, Jethmal Parsram and some other persons to suppress the sectarian wave in Sindh and forge unity in both.

Here is a report from I.H. Taunton to Conran Smith.

10th July 1940

Dear Conran Smith,

A meeting of the Sindh People's Association was held on 18th June. The subject of this newly started association is to inspire a sense of confidence in the minds of the rural population and to promote unity between the two communities. The association has been started mainly at the instance of the Hon'ble Shaikh Abdul Majid, finance minister, and comprises members of all communities. The honourable finance minister addressing the association stressed the necessity of organising volunteer corps in the city for civic guard duty. Mr. Jethmal Parsram said that the association wanted to establish a volunteer federation in Karachi and to open branches throughout Sindh. Mr. Jethmal, referring to the Sukkur Manzilgah dispute said that he intended shortly to proceed to Sukkur, where he would persuade the Hindus to settle the Manzilgah question amicably with the Muslims and hand over the Manzilgah to them unconditionally.²⁷

Yours sincerely

I.H. Taunton

The Sindh People's Association, like the Sindh United Party, did not survive and it aborted its mission, because the all-India organisations and their leadership were feeling threatened, as narrated by G.M. Sayed.

In order to counteract these moves against the new min is try that had come into being as the result of the settlement between the communities, the sane element amongst the Hindus started the Sindh People's Association. Where Hindus and Muslims were to meet, discuss controversial issues and keep in touch with public opinion and educate them on the right lines. This was the second attempt to bring about a real understanding between the communities. But in spite of the sincere efforts of various per sons, Hindus and Muslims, working in that direction, the association did not succeed in its mission on account of the following reasons:

1. The hostile attitude of the Congress:

(a) The Congress due to its prejudice against the Muslim League took a hostile attitude against the association from the very outset.

(b) As the new party was non-communal in its nature and provincial in its scope, it did not enjoy the favour of the Congress, as the latter considered it to be a likely rival. This, as it gained strength, might weaken the Congress in Sindh, where its position had already deteriorated and its reputation had suffered owing to its wrong policies.

(c) That group in the Congress, which was always aiming at the all-India issues, had lost in K.B. Allah Bux its stalwart as a nationalist Muslim premier. Anxious to bring him back into office, it considered the association as an impediment in its way.

Although the fire of the Sukkur riots had subsided, its ashes were not yet quite cold; and in spite of the settlement arrived at between the communities, the Hindu extremists on the one hand and Muslim extremists on the other continued to pull in opposite directions. The result was that the communal atmosphere continued to remain unsettled. As such the efforts of the Sindh People's Association could not go very far.

Due to lack of sufficient workers and funds the Association was not able to cope with, and counteract against the vicious propaganda that was being carried on by extremists through their well-established papers. Therefore the well-meaning individuals who were workers for the Association could not find any effective means for dealing with the unfavourable situation.²⁸

Although there were many hindrances from different vested interest groups in the development of the province and welfare of the people but, as a minister, G.M. Sayed did a lot in this regard in the short interval from 18 March 1940 to 22 November 1940:

Following is a list of his works:

1. The establishment of a commission for the University of Sindh.
2. The setting up of a Central Advisory Board for Sindhi literature. This was later to become the Sindhi Adabi Board.
3. The constituent of a committee, comprising intellectuals for the compilation of a dictionary of the Sindhi language.
4. To promote secondary education, the constitution of a committee, that later became the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education.
5. Ordered that Sindhi be made the compulsory language in all schools in the province.
6. Prepared the plan for a road from Karachi to Kotri.

He also strove for the improvement of the conditions of the working class, and introduced a Labour Exchange to function under a labour commissioner. This department collected data about jobless people and guided them in finding employment. Also a Board of Industries was appointed for industrial development.

On 29 August that year, G.M. Sayed attended the meeting of the National Planning Committee.

During his tour of Bombay, G.M. Sayed met with Jinnah on 5 September 1940. Both gentlemen exchanged views on the political situation in the subcontinent in general and Sindh in particular. They both agreed that to develop greater understanding of issues, an awareness programme would be launched for the people of Sindh.

The policy-planning meeting was presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru. G.M. Sayed had participated in several discussions and delivered his point of view about the planning. There he met with many persons including Nehru and observed new things.

During his Bombay tour, his old Congress friends held several feasts in his honour and exchanged views with him. These exchanges changed his perception about the Congress leadership: He returned to Sindh and consulted with friends by mail and held meetings about his resignation. His friends appreciated his programme.

Earlier G.M. Sayed began a mass mobilisation programme and toured several villages and towns of the province and met and exchanged views with the downtrodden people. His tour brought a new spirit, awareness and hope in the people. It was a surprise for G.M. Sayed that, although the conduct of the Congress leadership in Bombay towards him was very good, the Sindh Congress put up hindrances during Sayed's tour. After completing the tour, he returned to Karachi and called upon the governor.

During their long conversation lasting five hours, his mass communication programme came under discussion; G.M. Sayed was surprised when the Governor told him that he did not like his programme. Sayed had made up his mind and made a plan to negotiate with the critical state of circumstances that had been created by the British administration and the weak role of the premier. He decided to get help from Allah Bux Soomro and the local Congress. A major shortcoming of the government of Mir Bandeh Ali was its inability to deal with the problems of the masses and its apparent failure to establish peace in the province. This weakness alerted the Muslim and Hindu Assembly members who consequently began to see things more clearly amid the political fog.

G.M. Sayed felt that the existing political scenario of Sindh needed unity of both communities, so in his second attempt he requested Allah Bux Soomro and the Congress to help them in overcoming those difficulties.

Asif Ali came to Karachi for a personal visit and G.M. Sayed hosted a lunch in his honour at his residence. Allah Bux Soomro and many other personalities turned up for the luncheon. Though the efforts to accommodate K.B. Allah Bux's group was already in progress, G.M. Sayed used the opportunity to persuade Allah Bux Soomro, in the presence of Asif Ali, to join the ministry. This was a particularly testing time as sporadic murders of Hindus were taking place. And in order to put an end to this unfortunate situation, many Hindus also were of the opinion that unity and cooperation among Muslim MLA's alone could assure them the necessary security of life in the rural areas. Allah Bux Soomro agreed to this proposal but conditionally, that in stead of him Sir Ghulam Hussain Shaikh should join the ministry. In the meanwhile when talks were underway Allah Bux Soomro attended the session of the Congress working committee in Bombay, as an observer. G.M. Sayed recounted later that in Bombay the Congress leadership had assured Soomro of support as a premier as soon as the existing ministry was brought down. Sayed further commented that although this information disappointed him, yet he did not lose hope and continued to pursue the matter with Allah Bux.

The local Congress leadership also requested Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to visit Sindh and help remove the prevailing feeling of insecurity in Sindh and thawing the ice between the two communities.

The ministry also appreciated this idea and backed the step. Premier Mir Bandeh Ali Khan and Ayub Khuhro, the minister for public works, received Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at Drigh Road Airport. Later G.M. Sayed and Shaikh Abdul

Majid went to call on him at his residence. Sayed and Shaikh Abdul Majid had a forthright exchange on the problems pertaining to Sindh. Maulana Sahib commented that some Hindus were of the view that these problems emanated from the disunity of Muslim MLA's.

At this juncture Maulana Azad offered to broker a settlement between the two parties. G.M. Sayed and Shaikh Majid gave a favourable response and told him that they would convene a meeting of all Muslim members. So a meeting was held at the residence of Mir Bandeh Ali Khan. Abul Kalam Azad was then convinced that Muslim unity was a desired goal of all members. Allah Bux Soomro group was of the same opinion and their attitude was positive. Abul Kalam Azad then suggested that in an effort to forge such unity all groups should form the ministry. For the express purpose he suggested the names of two ministers from the Allah Bux Soomro group.

This development did not suit the Congress and some Muslim members of the Assembly. The Congress put pressure on Soomro, warning him against accepting any agreement until and unless he was made the premier.

Abul Kalam Azad also faced a dilemma that on the one hand his Congress party was opposed to a settlement and, on the other hand, the Hindu group and Muslim intelligentsia were in favour of the formation of a United Muslim Party. The latter group swayed Abul Kalam Azad and he suggested that the premiership should be left to the majority of the Muslim members. Allah Bux Soomro agreed to the formula but raised one objection. That instead of him, Ghulam Hussain would join the ministry and he would come in place of Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, as a premier after his resignation.

G.M. Sayed and Nihchaldas Vazirani approached Allah Bux Soomro to accept a place in the ministry himself. Soomro responded positively and honoured the request of both his colleagues. In the purview of the progress achieved, G.M. Sayed and Nihchaldas Vazirani prepared the draft of agreement and G.M. Sayed and Mohammed Ayub Khuhro signed the draft and formerly handed it over to Nihchaldas. Sir Abdullah Haroon, the president of Sindh Muslim League who was away from Karachi, on his arrival in the city, sent a letter to G.M. Sayed not to resign from the ministry. G.M. Sayed in the light

of that letter met with Sir Abdullah Haroon and explained his position to him. But his explanation was not treated with favour.

Shaikh Abdul Majid meanwhile obeyed the orders of the party and asserted that he would not resign.

G.M. Sayed and Shaikh Abdul Majid met with Abul Kalam Azad the same day and acquainted him in the presence of Allah Bux Soomro with the current situation and requested them for some more time.

Abul Kalam Azad expressed his inability to prolong his stay any longer, because it was the tenth day since his arrival. However, he suggested to both groups that they should settle matters amicably. He further warned that certain interested persons might want to undo whatever had been agreed upon.

Eventually G.M. Sayed honoured the agreement and re signed from the ministry. Sayed has narrated events as under:

I realised that though I had not acted with the due circumspection in making this agreement on my own initiative, yet as a responsible man, it was my bounden duty to keep my word. I therefore immediately proceeded along with K.B. Allah Bux Soomro to the Government House and placed my resignation in the hands of governor.

I submitted resignation to the governor on 22nd November 1940 and it was accepted on the following day and on the same day, K.B. Allah Bux Soomro was sworn in as a minister. At the same time, a joint parliamentary advisory committee comprised of representatives from among all the different parties in the Assembly was appointed with the object of advising and assisting the government in legislative and other matters. This committee consisted of the following gentlemen:

1. Mr. Bandeh Ali Khan (chairman)
2. Mr. G.M. Sayed (secretary)
3. K.B. Mohammed Ayub Khuhro
4. Shaikh Abdul Majid
5. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
6. Pir Illahi Bux
7. Mohammed Hashim Gazdar
8. Mr. Newandram
9. Mr. Nihchaldas
10. R.S. Gokaldas
11. Mr. R.K. Sidhwa
12. Mr. Naraindas Beechar
13. Dr. Choithram
14. Mr. Fraser
- One from Hindu independent and
16. K.B. Allah Bux Soomro.²⁹

Governor's report to viceroy on current political development of Sindh

*Home Department of Sindh
15th December 1940*

Dear Conran Smith

The most important political event of the week was the reshuffling of the ministry due to intervention of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. So far the only result has been the resignation of Mr. Sayed a Muslim leaguer, and his replacement by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bux. Khan Bahadur belongs to the Azad Muslim Party and his inclusion in the ministry has been welcomed by the Congress and by some members of the Hindu party but not in Muslim League circles. Together with the change in the ministry and advisory committee of 16 members of the legislative assembly has been formed including all the honourable ministers, to advise the cabinet on matters of policy and legislation. Mr. G.M. Sayed has been appointed secretary of this committee. The Sindh Legislative Assembly met on the 27th November for the first time since the last budget session and is now in session. It is reported that the Congress leaders of the province have been instructed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad not to participate in the present Satyagarh movement until such time as conditions in the province improve.³⁰

Yours sincerely

L. Graham

The second letter by the Sindh chief secretary to the Viceroy of India:

*Government of Sindh
8th December 1940*

My Dear Conran Smith

The most important political event of the week was the reshuffling of the ministry due to the intervention of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. So far the only result has been the resignation of Mr. G. M. Sayed, a Muslim Leaguer, and his replacement by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bux. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bux belongs to the Azad Muslim Party.³¹

Yours sincerely

C.B.B. Clee

Government House Karachi
12 December 1940

My Dear Conran Smith

Here with my commentary on the fortnightly report of my Government for the second half of November. References to paragraphs are to paragraph in the report.

1. I rather think that the Maulana is claiming to have achieved more than he actually did. Two of my Muslim League ministers and also by the premier along had suggested the return of Allah Bux to me before the Maulana came here, and at the request of the premier I had discussed the matter with Allah Bux. He, however said, quite firmly that he declined to join any ministry in which he would have to serve under the Mir; actually than it seems that the extent of the success of the Maulana is that Allah Bux has accepted a place in the Ministry under the Mir. But Mir has given an undertaking that he will vacate the post of premier before the next budget session. I do not really know who is responsible for obtaining this acquiescence on the part of Mir, but I have never concealed from him my own frank opinion that he is entirely unfit for the ministry.³²

Yours sincerely
L. Graham

This arrangement was a hope for the masses and they were of the view that through this unity the province would be safe from a second wave of sectarian and communal violence. But there were groups and people who sought only their petty interest and contrived in making hindrances against such progress.

In the words of G. M. Sayed in his book *Struggle for New Sindh*:

This committee began its work in right earnest. It had several meetings, wherein all the bills meant for the November sessions of the Assembly were thoroughly discussed and approved with necessary modifications. This resulted in their quick disposal by the House, without unnecessary waste of time. An important bill like the Shop Assistants bill, which otherwise would have taken weeks and months was passed within a few hours. One great advantage accruing out of the formation of this committee was that it considerably expedited and simplified the work of the Assembly. It also contributed considerably towards the improvement of the existing stalemate, caused by party intrigues.

But it is regrettable to record that there were some elements that did not take kindly to this new arrangement. They, by their very nature and by the particular interests they represented, could not tolerate, much less appreciate or welcome such a harmonising and revitalising agency in legislative politics. Their interests, based on exploitation, were safe only when every thing else around them was thrown into turmoil and confusion.³³

The groups who were against this pact tried to sabotage it, particularly the All-India parties. The mouthpiece of the Congress, *The Daily Gazette*, claimed a clandestine deal between Allah Bux Soomro and G.M. Sayed, alleging that this secret pact would go against their desires. Although he had resigned from the ministry for the sake of the unity of the

Assembly members, instead of appreciating this move, it was falsely propagated that G.M. Sayed's resignation was a blow to the Muslim League.

Jinnah came to Karachi on 16th December 1940 and the Hindu press expressed fears that his visit would culminate in the breaking of the Azad Pact.

With some reservations Jinnah accepted the new ministry and his condition was that the League should have an effective voice in the ministry.

This condition was improper and had no grounds for existence because this was the coalition government of various groups. G.M. Sayed, who had played a vital role in making the agreements, tried to save it. He took Allah Bux Soomro to meet with Jinnah for further discussions. But the two men did not agree with each other. Jinnah wanted Allah Bux Soomro to be responsible to the Muslim League. However, Soomro refrained from accepting such responsibility or making any commitment. Jinnah in the context of that conversation between him and Allah Bux Soomro was of the view that the Muslim League should leave the coalition ministry.

Here is a report by the Governor to the Viceroy on the political scenario of Sindh.

18th December 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I saw Jinnah in the evening and I think we had a frank conversation. He agreed with me that the Muslim League representatives in my ministry were thoroughly unsatisfactory and complained that the Muslim League had no voice in the settlement of policy because I had also two Muslim non-Muslim Leaguers in the ministry, in addition to two Hindus, he said that I could only get a stable ministry by dissolving the present Assembly. I pointed that I was not in a position to dissolve on the situation or (situation before me). Unless it came to a head and my ministers resigned and even then I should be very loath to dissolve because I did not think the programme would allow of an election is being completed and a ministry being constituted and getting into working order before the beginning of the budget session. I don't wish for the third year in succession to have crisis during the budget session. Jinnah said that the provincial branch of the Muslim League, which according to him, is entirely disgusted with the manner in which, three of my ministers professing to be Muslim Leaguers negotiated with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, with the result that one of them resigned (G. M. Sayed) in favour of Allah Bux, who, as a prominent member of the Azad Party, is entirely despised and hated by Jinnah.³⁴

Yours sincerely

Graham

Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, the then premier, in the light of Jinnah's opinion and wish that the Muslim League should have an effective voice, role and proper share in the ministry, thought that this was a golden opportunity for saving the premiership for himself under the shelter of the Muslim League and so he joined the League.

This new situation provided the Congress and Hindus of the other group an opportunity to inform Allah Bux, that Mir Bandeh Ali Khan had violated the agreement as they had no choice except to break the ministry and install him as the new premier. They clamoured for Soomro as a prime ministerial candidate following the resignation of Mir Bandeh Ali Khan.

The Muslim League high command demanded that either the premiership or half of the ministerial posts should belong to the League. This atmosphere of distrust and insecurity of interest threatened to aggravate the situation. In fact things did not improve till the fall of the Mir ministry.

In January 1941 Allah Bux Soomro and Nihchaldas went to Sann in Dadu district to consult with G.M. Sayed. The architect of this coalition ministry was politely told that the continuation of the agreement was his moral duty. They also reminded him that Allah Bux Soomro under his plan of unity among members of parliament accepted the agreement and a junior place in the ministry. G.M. Sayed in his reply told them that he had already persuaded the leadership of the Muslim League about this sensitive issue. He also showed his correspondence to both of them, which he had already carried out with the leadership of the Muslim League.

The Muslim League did not pay attention to the advice of G.M. Sayed. Its attitude was only lukewarm. G. M. Sayed felt that he had done his moral duty, leaving both parties to do what they further wanted.

One month later came the budget session of the Sindh Legislative Assembly and on a cut motion of the Congress party, Allah Bux Soomro and two other Hindu ministers left the ministerial benches and when Mir Bandeh Ali Khan saw that he had lost the majority, he offered his resignation.

Soon after the fall of the ministry Allah Bux Soomro was sworn in as premier of Sindh.

The following letter relates to the then existing situation.

*Home Department Sindh
21st March 1941*

My dear Conran Smith,

The no-confidence motion, which was tabled against the old ministry, did not come up for discussion as three of the ministers, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, the Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas Vazirani and the Hon'ble Rai sahib Gokaldas Mewaldas, tendered their resignation, thus precipitating the resignation of the three Muslim League ministers. A new ministry has been formed with the Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas C. Vazirani, the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Hon'ble Rai sahib Gokaldas Mewaldas and the Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bux Nawaz Ali as ministers. Another Muslim minister is to be appointed but the choice has not yet been made. The Muslim League bitterly resented this change of ministers and the League convened a meeting on the 6th instant at the Khaliqdina Hall under the presidentship of Sir Abdullah Haroon. It was attended by two ex-ministers, Shaikh Abdul Majid and G. M. Sayed and some excited speeches were made. One speaker compared the Hindus to the Jews of Germany and remarked that a similar fate awaited them. An inquiry against him is under contemplation³⁵

Yours sincerely

C.B.B. Clee

Instead of accepting the suggestions of G. M. Sayed, which he made verbally and through correspondence with Sir Abdullah Haroon, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and the other leadership of Muslim League, they supported Mir Bandeh Ali Khan and his ministry. However, all their efforts proved futile, because the ministry of Mir Bandeh Ali was short-lived.

The factual position, however, was that the League's political fortunes had taken a tumble and its morale had slipped. The first signs of party disarray made it apparent in parliament where Muslim League members shattered the unity of the House. Antagonistic posturing was witnessed in parliament. The hitherto smooth work performed by parliamentary committees was halted for an indefinite period. Thus, the expectation that the parliament would do something better, also died.

Two unsuccessful attempts were made first in 1938 and the second towards the end of 1940 at forging understanding between Jinnah and Allah Bux. Causes of the failure at reconciliation were as varied as they were disputed.

In my view all parties and individual leaders had their own programme regarding the communal question.

The second major dispute between Allah Bux Soomro and the central command of the Muslim League was regarding the extent of control of the party over its provincial interests. The high command of the Muslim League was of the opinion that the provincial matters in which the Muslim League could possibly play a role, should be completely subordinate to Jinnah, whereas Allah Bux Soomro felt otherwise.

A similar situation arose five years later in 1945 when G.M. Sayed wanted provincial matters to be decided by the provincial leaders themselves. The centre declined his request and left him no choice but to accept its tutelage or to resign from the Muslim League.

The Muslim League and the ruling parties that succeeded it, like the centre-minded parties, are of the same opinion. They contend that since they lost a major federating unit, Bengal, in 1971 a strong centre would always be a guarantor of the sovereignty and integrity of the state.

On the day the ministry fell, a meeting of the Sindh Muslim League was held under the presidentship of Sir Abdullah Haroon at Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi.

Shaikh Abdul Majid and G.M. Sayed made speeches. G.M. Sayed said that unless the Muslim masses of Sindh are aware of their rights, they could not hope for anything positive from the Muslim legislators. The Hindu legislators continued their policy to divide the Muslim legislators for the benefit of their moneylenders. He also condemned the policy of the local Congress regarding the Muslims of Sindh.

The report of the C.B.B. Clee to the acting Viceroy.

Home Department Sindh

21st March 1941

My dear Conran Smith,

The no-confidence motion, which was tabled against the old ministry, did not come up for discussion as three of ministers, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, the Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas Vazirani and the Hon'ble Rai sahib Gokaldas Mewaldas, tendered their resignation, thus precipitating the resignation of the three Muslim League ministers. A new ministry has been formed with the Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas .C. Vazirani, the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Hon'ble Rai sahib Gokaldas Mewaldas and the Hon'ble Pir Il la hi Bux Nawaz Ali as ministers. Another Muslim minister is to be appointed but the choice had not yet been made. The Muslim League bitterly resented this change of ministers and the League convened a meeting on the 6th instant at the Khaliqdina Hall. It was attended by two ex-ministers, Shaikh Abdul Majid and G.M. Sayed and some excited speeches were made.³⁶

Yours sincerely

C.B.B. Clee

On 23 March, a meeting was held to commemorate the 1940 resolution under the presidentship of Mohammed Ayub Khuhro at Khaliqdina Hall Karachi. G.M. Sayed also spoke and appealed to Muslims to take interest in business and education.

He advised all communities to live in peace and harmony in Sindh.

A report by Conran Smith to C.B.B. Clee 4 April 1941.

Home Department, Sindh

4th April 1940

My Dear Conran Smith,

The Muslim League celebrated "Pakistan" Day on the 23rd March by holding meetings and the one held in the Khaliqdina Hall, under the presidentship of Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, an ex-minister, was largely attended. Speeches were made by Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon, G.M. Sayed and Shah Abdul Majid, both ex-ministers, explaining the Muslim League creed and emphasising the necessity for the achievement of Pakistan. The speeches of the two ex-ministers were objectionable, in as much as they were very anti-Hindu. They were consequently examined, but Sayed's speech has been found not to be actionable while Mr. Gazdar, whose speech certainly was, has given an undertaking not to make any speech likely to create communal ill-feeling in future.³⁷

Yours sincerely

C.B.B. Clee

After the resignation from the ministry, the other Muslim Leaguers asked Jinnah to take disciplinary action against G.M. Sayed but Jinnah did not agree with them.

He asked G.M. Sayed to organise the League, and nominated him Chairman of the Organising Committee. Sayed Haji Hassan Bux Shah (Nawabshah), Qazi Fazlullah (Larkana), Mohammed Hashim Gazdar (Karachi), Sahibzada Abdul Sattar Jan Sarhandi (Hyderabad), Fakir Mohammed Mangrio (Mirpurkhas) and others on the committee set about the tasks of organising the League. G.M. Sayed toured most of Sindh for this purpose. In his speeches G.M. Sayed was critical on the performance of the ministry and called upon the ministers of the Muslim League to follow the party manifesto for the welfare of the masses.

The efforts made by G.M. Sayed and his associates bore fruit in the short span of a year and the membership of the Muslim League rose from 6,000 to 300,000. The number of primary branches reached 450. Complaint cells were opened in the provincial office to bring the people's problems to the notice of the cabinet and the bureaucracy.

Two meetings, one on 22nd February 1941 and the second on 7th March 1941 of the organising committee was held at the hometown of G.M. Sayed where a programme for a tour of Sindh was chalked out.

Sayed had organised a conference during March 1941 to create in masses an awakening about their rights and also to introduce the party programme of the Muslim League at Sultankot. It was presided over by Makhdoom Murid Hussain Qureshi of Multan. Over 5,000 people participated in this conference. There was an enormous clamour raised by Hindu political groups and newspapers on the eve of the Sultankot conference, that it should be banned. The allegation was that this conference would incite an atmosphere of disharmony between the Hindus and Muslims. They even demanded Sayed's arrest.

The conference concluded peacefully. There was no sign of disharmony between the two communities in the speeches. Fresh spirit was instilled in the masses, the kind that encouraged unity and produced a new tenor of joint struggle for their rights.

Then an important event took place during the budget session in 1941. Khan Bahadur Allah Bux presented a bill in the Sindh Assembly seeking to conduct a survey of the feudal estates to ameliorate the living of the peasants in the province. However, the feudals forced the Muslim League not to vote for it. Sayed, however, did not accept the party line and voted in favour of the bill.

This was the first time that G.M. Sayed articulated an opinion divergent with that of his party. G.M. Sayed has narrated his point of view as under.

By this time, I had become for all practical purposes an ardent crusader on behalf of the Muslim League. But I was by no means a blind, fanatical follower, pledged to accept everything sheepishly from my colleagues in the League, who were mostly motivated by the interests of the privileged classes. I looked upon the Muslim League only as a channel through which I could stir and bring to the surface all the suppressed energy of the downtrodden and inarticulate Muslim masses. And if there was anything that threatened their interests, I was ready to oppose even my own Muslim League colleagues. I was not ready to

*support them if they were a party to reactionary moves*³⁸

He spoke in favour of the bill and shed more light on his views, his ideology and mission.

Proceedings of 26 March 1941 being reproduced here.

Sir, I feel called upon to make statement of my views at a moment when I and the majority of the members of my party do not see eye to eye upon the question of the Amendment of Land Revenue Code. There were times when I differed from the majority view; I did not consider it necessary to explain the reasons, which made me, adopt a course different from majority view. But now I feel that I am moving in such environments and surroundings that my individual actions contrary to the accepted procedure of the day are not going to remain unchallenged. I feel that such occasions do create misunderstanding and confusion. It is therefore but right on my part to make my position clear where there is a conflict between my conscience and the majority view of my party which I have accepted with open eyes as an instrument for the fulfillment of my ideals. Such incidents of very delicate character in the life of a man whom politics are the means of spiritual evolution.

Sir, I must make it clear that with me politics must be a faith, which has no connection with ambition for power or prestige, name or fame, pleasure to pass time. It is a serious effort of the spirit for the highest manifestation of human nobility and the exaltation of both body and soul. Organisations, their codes and regulations, individuals and their mutual attachments are all to me the means to achieve an end; and the situation becomes indeed delicate when there is a conflict between ends and means.

Sir, Islamic philosophy to me is the means, which will bring us nearer to the realism of our ideal, which aims at the establishment, the long-cherished Kingdom of God on the earth. Muslim League Organisation in India having taken upon itself the duty of organising the Muslims of India for the achievements of the said ideal becomes identified with Islamic philosophy. When I joined the Muslim League, I did it with that idea in my mind. It is true that organisations are composed of individuals and majority of individuals lack higher and noble ideals, with the result that in democratic organisations it is generally the case that their standard is lower according to exigencies and requirements of the whims of majority party. It is thus very difficult who have a higher conception of life to submit at times to things, which according to them are contrary to their confessed principles. They are then torn between two powerful forces obedience to the rules of Organisation and allegiance to ideals. Today I find myself in this position. If the Muslim League stands for equality, fraternity and equity, on which the foundation of Islam and Pakistan are laid and latter, is the immediate goal of the Muslim League. I can not understand how my friends can compromise this principle by advocating the perpetuation of a system, which is diametrically opposed to those very principles. Jagirs are a remnant of the old feudal system, where in return for martial, civil and administrative services or for the maintenance of families of royal relationship, these lands were given as Jagirs.

The foundation of this system was based upon inequality and created class distinctions, which were forbidden by Islam. I can not understand on what authority in these democratic days when feudal system is a thing of pastime friends are indirectly helping in the preservation of this system. I know that we are still controlled by a government, which recognises class distinctions and is supposed to be the custodian of vested interests. Therefore if we are not in a position immediately to do away with the Jagirdar system, still I cannot see why we should not strive to relax, if not -- altogether break, the shackles that hang heavily upon our poor people (hear, hear).

Now, I shall go into the details of the bill itself. It has two main features: survey of Jagirs and settlement of Jagir lands. There appears to be no possible reason to oppose the principle of the survey of the Jagiri lands as in the absence of such survey, there is always the possibility of undue loss of revenue to Government.

As regards the settlement rates, we know that there are several honest Jagirdars who will be pleased at the passage of this bill, as at present they do not get return even equivalent to the ordinary settlement rates. But it is only the few dishonest and high-handed Jagirdars who have been accustomed to squeezing their poor tenants who will object to the passage of this bill. The Jagirdars position in respect of the Jagiri lands is identical to that of the Government in respect of the ordinary lands. There is no reason why Jagirdars should be allowed an opportunity to charge the poor tenants more than what the Government charge the Zamindars.

On the other hand, it is to be borne in mind that the Jagirdar enjoys this right as a form of political pension. So he should get only some share out of the revenue but he should have no hand in the management of the land. It is high time that government should recover the land revenue from the Zamindars or mukhadams in the Jagiri lands and pay to the Jagirdars a share out of the collected revenue. The Jagirdars should now become Pattedars, until the whole land policy is revised by government.

Sir, these are my views which I believe to be the real views of the Muslim League; but if I have not been fortunate enough to convince some of my colleagues of this truth. I am not disappointed. I shall carry on my work patiently until I succeed in converting my friends to the true ideals of our Organisation. (Loud cheers).³⁹

Sayed, along with Sir Abdullah Haroon, president of the Sindh Muslim League chapter, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Mir Bande Ali Khan had toured Sindh and explain the programme of the Muslim League. G.M. Sayed made an entreaty to Muslims who were very much backward in trade and business, to come forward and become good traders and businessmen. Report by the Sindh Government.

*Home Department, Karachi
19th May 1941*

Dear Conran Smith

The Sindh provincial Muslim League has been busy doing propaganda in Hyderabad and Nawabshah districts. Sir Abdullah Haroon accompanied by the ex-premier Mir Bande Ali Khan, and two ex-ministers, Messers. Shaikh Abdul Majid and G.M. Sayed addressed meetings explaining the Pakistan scheme and exhorting the Muslims to rally round the banner of the Muslim League. Mr. G.M. Sayed appealed to Muslims to take to business and trade.⁴⁰

Sayed was nominated a member of the working committee of the All-India Muslim League in June 1941. Sir Abdullah Haroon was already its member from Sindh.

Allah Bux Soomro, the then premier of Sindh, believed that the worst effects of the Masjid Manzilgah riots were still neoteric and he wanted to stop the spread of sectarianism, before any serious untoward incident occurred in the province that might shatter the unity of Sindh. He made up his mind to restrict the activities of the Muslim Leaguers and to save the province from a further wave of sectarian turmoil.

Report by the Governor to the Viceroy.

Government House Karachi
23 July 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I think Allah Bux has come back with the feeling that he may have to take strong measures against individual members of the Muslim League if they persist in their highly communal propaganda, and if they continue to pour scorn on the "Unity" movement, which has now, with the passing of a grant adopted as Government policy. I see no reason why I should attempt to dissuade him from this conclusion, and in view of the possibility of this having to be translated into action, you might like to have my estimate of the character and position of the Muslim League in Sindh. There are only half a dozen of them who are prominent enough for action against them to make even a ripple outside the province. They are Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, MLA, G.M. Sayed, K.B. Khuhro and Abdul Majid all of whom are ex-ministers. M.H. Gazdar, Mayor of Karachi; and Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, ex-premier.

Of these, I regard only G.M. Sayed as a potentially dangerous man; he is at the same time fanatical and shrewd and has courage. He is the only one whom I apprehend it might become necessary to place under restraint; he is the real leader of the movement in Sindh. The nominal leader is Haroon, who is also a fanatic, and he is influential because of his wealth and position. But he is an arrant coward and would come to heel the moment he realised that Government meant business and were prepared to take repressive action. Abdul Majid whose father's name is Lilaram is capable of the usual excesses of the convert but is not likely to give way to them in these purely political maneuvers. Khuhro is a dishonest rascal and careerist, but I can't imagine him making sacrifices for any cause; when the Manzilgah agitation, which he had fomented, reached danger point, he was only too willing to accept the advice to withdraw himself. Gazdar would, for perhaps the first time in his dingy career, think it advisable to honour one of his own undertakings, and would refrain from undesirable political activities on the score of his mayoralty. There remains the ex-premier, Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, whose connection with the Muslim League may be regarded as purely temporary; he has so far let down every one of his political associates who was ill-advised enough to accept his word as a "Gentleman" and the only thing which he can now be trusted is to do again.⁴¹

Yours Sincerely
H. Dow

During June 1941 G.M. Sayed organised a Muslim League Conference at Sakrand in District Nawabshah, with the cooperation of Sayed Haji Hassan Bux Shah of Mehrabpur. But the government placed a ban on the conference. G.M. Sayed wrote a letter to Jinnah and asked him for permission to dishonour the order of the government, but Jinnah did not concur with him.

Report by Government of Sindh to Conran Smith

23rd July 1941

Dear Conran Smith

Jinnah sent me for comment a wire he had received from G.M. Sayed complaining of the Muslim League Conference at Sakrand in the Nawabshah District at the last moment and alleging that the ground of prevalence of cholera was a pretence, the conference did perhaps make the ministry take a more serious view of the cholera than they might otherwise have done, but I was able to give Jinnah figures which appear to have satisfied him, as he has not returned to these charge. It was interesting to find that G.M. Sayed complained of the waste of money involved; the League using Lorries equipped with loudspeakers in their campaign in the districts, a new and expensive feature which incidentally the petrol rationing scheme will make more difficult. I also told Jinnah that there was no present intention of banning the projected Muslim League conference at Hyderabad in September, and I did this the more readily as I knew Sir Sikander had been asked to preside.⁴²

On 26 October, G.M. Sayed went to Delhi and for the first time he attended a high council meeting of the Muslim League. He was the youngest delegate. He met his party colleagues there and his hopes for playing a vital role for the welfare of the Muslims in the rest of India were high.

He returned to Sindh with hopes undiminished but the province was in the grip of lawlessness and in a state of communal frenzy. Poverty had also increased.

In April 1942 G.M. Sayed visited the North Western Frontier Province.

Sayed recalled this tour in his book.

During my tour of the Frontier Province, I had an opportunity to meet many prominent people of all shades of political opinion, such as Khaksars, Red Shirts, Leaguers and the tribal chiefs. All these sections of the Frontier political life gave me an idea of the way the Pathan mind was working. Sir Abdullah Haroon was keenly interested in this trip of mine, and after my return, he wrote a fond letter to me, a few sentences of which are still fresh in my memory.⁴³

After his return home, Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon wrote a letter to G.M. Sayed.

I wish you come and stay with me, so that we may have a heart to heart talk. We may also discuss our plan about visiting Balochistan. Our mutual friend Sayed Khair Shah is also equally enthusiastic about his trip to Balochistan.⁴⁴

The year 1942 was not a propitious one for Sindh province and for the rest of the subcontinent.

In Sindh, three incidents occurred, two of which influenced the future political developments in the province. The first was the sudden death of Sir Abdullah Haroon, the second was the Hur rebellion and the third was extensive flooding. The Quit India Movement may be termed the fourth event to affect Sindh.

Sir Abdullah Haroon, who expired on 27th April 1942, was a stalwart whose ability to unite his colleagues and produce positive results was well-documented. He gave a foothold to the Muslim League in Sindh and it was his personality, loyalty

and probity, which had lured G.M. Sayed into the Muslim League. His sudden death at this crucial juncture in the early forties produced a political vacuum for the Muslim community in the province and also in the rest of India. His death was a big shock for Sayed, who felt the loss of his boon companion and intimate friend.

1. Differences arose over the naming of his successor.
2. The seat of president of Sindh Muslim League was contested by three persons, namely, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Yusuf Haroon.

Khuhro withdrew in favour of Majid but Haroon, as the heir of his father's fortune, stood firm for the post. A meeting of the Muslim League Council decided that it was not the right time for a contest and nominated Khuhro as acting president of the Sindh Muslim League for the time being.

Yusuf Haroon contested on the seat of Central Legislative Council, which was vacated due to the death of his father. The opposing candidate was Maula Bux Soomro, the brother of the then premier of Sindh, Allah Bux Soomro.

Sayed had persuaded Allah Bux Soomro to withdraw his brother in favour of Yusuf Haroon. Allah Bux Soomro in deference to Sayed's suggestion withdrew his brother from the contest, and Yusuf Haroon was returned unopposed. The second cataclysmic event that struck at the heart of the social-cum-political life of Sindh was the Hur Movement. Sayed Sibghatullah Shah II Pir Pagaro was also a descendent of Imam Moosa Kazim. His ancestor Ali Makki came to Sindh nine centuries ago. Soon he had thousands of followers in Sindh. He was the sixth Pir in a long line of succession. G.M. Sayed has explained about the genesis of the Hur sect in his book *Struggle for New Sindh*.

A war was fought between Sayed Ahmed and the Sikhs in the early 19th century. In that war Sayed Rashid sent his followers to support Sayed Ahmed. These fighters fought with courage and bravery and they were bestowed the title of "Hurs" for their daring and courage.⁴⁴

In 1909, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah was born into the Rashdi family. In 1922, he became Pir Pagaro, or spiritual leader, while still in his teens. Eight years later, he was arrested by S.P. Ray of Sukkur in a case. The Pir engaged Mohammed Ali Jinnah as his defence lawyer. The Commissioner in Sindh, G.A. Thomas, appointed Mr. Odharam, the city magistrate, to try the case in Sukkur. The Pir was convicted and awarded ten years imprisonment and a fine of 2000 rupees. The counsel of the Pir, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, filed an appeal in the Chief Court of Sindh. Sir Godfrey, the Chief Justice presiding, reduced the sentence to seven years.

Pir Pagaro was sent out of Sindh to serve out his sentence. He was lodged at the Midanpore prison in Bengal. The Pir smelled interference of the British administration in his conviction. From then on, he had no soft corner for the administration. During imprisonment, the Pir met Bengali rebels and Congress nationalists. Exchange of views with them instilled in him a nationalistic outlook and the urge to fight for the cause of freedom. At the end of 1936 he was released from prison. Upon his return to Sindh, he was given a rousing welcome by thousands of people from all walks of life.

Sindh won its separation from Bombay Presidency in 1936. In the following year in April the first elections of the Assembly were held, but the Pir showed no interest and did not participate in the exercise. His action provided a clear

picture of what was in his mind. The meeting of G.M. Sayed with Pir Pagaro helped the latter to formulate his aims and objectives for the future.

Here is a brief text of their conversation, when G.M. Sayed invited the Pir to join the Muslim League.

The Pir asked: "Why?"

Sayed replied: "To free our land from the British."

The Pir wondered aloud: "A feudal-cum-capitalist party dominated by the British administration, to free the land?"

Sayed told him that within a short while they would table the resolution of Pakistan in the Sindh Assembly. The Pir smiled and said: "Mr. Sayed, you will pass the resolution and the British will free the land. How extraordinary! Firstly, the British colonialists will try to make a settlement with the Congress. If they do not arrive at an agreement, then they will choose their Muslim procurators. Shah Sahib, at the time of war, you will be in the vanguard, but at the time of accumulation of power, you will be nowhere. May be you will be in prison. Sayed Sahib, we have chosen the path of 'Liberty or Death.' "

The Pir stood firm against the colonialists and fought them with daring and courage. He was later hanged by the British on 20th March 1943. The Pir's prophetic words rang true when G.M. Sayed was placed for varying periods either under house arrest or in prison from 1948 right up to 1995 when he breathed his last. In all, he was incarcerated for a period of over 30 years, under different regimes.

During 1937 the Pir went on a pilgrimage to the Muslim holy sites. Probably he met with the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Ameen-ul-Hussaini, and the former revolutionary leader of Iraq, Rashid Ali. After his Middle East sojourn, the Pir came back to Sindh. He reorganised and trained the Hurs, using the latest methods. The local administration complained to the Governor regarding the activities of the Pir. Governor Lancelot Graham called upon the Pir many times. In his last meeting in January 1941, the Pir appeared to have satisfied the Governor about his intentions and the Pir even donated Rs. 50,000 to the British war effort and managed to allay the Governor's suspicions.

In early 1941, the Pir came to Karachi and lent his support to Allah Bux Soomro, who became the premier of Sindh for the second time. Lancelot Graham was replaced by Hugh Dow as the Governor of Sindh. The latter's attitude towards the Pir was starkly different from that of Graham. Hugh Dow immediately issued orders for the Pir's arrest. Sidney Ridley, the Collector of Sukkur along with the S.P. of Sukkur, went to the village of Pir Pagaro and asked him to accompany them. The Pir accompanied them and they arrived in Karachi on 24th October 1941. The next day he was informed by the British administration that he was under arrest; under Regulation XXV of 1827, and he was summarily sent to Seoni prison in Nagpur.

The Hurs, the trusted devotees of the Pir, were incensed and it didn't take them long to divert all their energies to an open-ended rebellion against British imperialism. Smarting against the retaliatory strikes of the Hurs, the British administration introduced severe measures to crush the movement. Martial law was imposed in various parts of Sindh, and even the house of Pir Pagaro was bombed. The Pir's teenage sons Pir Shah Mardan Shah, the present Pir Pagaro, and Sayed Nadir Shah, along with other members of the family were forcibly shifted from their home town of Pir jo Goth and resettled in Karachi. The sons of the Pir were sent for further education to Aligarh and England.

The British established concentration camps for the Hurs and their families. Arrests of respectable persons under martial law orders were a daily routine. The Hurs showed great tenacity in facing the actions of the administration. They counter-attacked in a ferocious way. Several persons whom they suspected of having links to the administration were executed. Trains were derailed and the son of the Home Minister, Munawar Hussain, was slain. The Sindh Premier, Allah Bux Soomro, narrowly escaped a targeted train attack after Jam Jan Mohammed, a member of the Sindh Legislative Assembly, informed him at Hyderabad Railway Station about the plot. Soomro promptly left the train.

The British administration brought in reinforcements from the Punjab, NWFP, as well as the Ajmeer Regiment and Bugti tribesmen from Balochistan to help quell the rebellion.

On 8 June, 1942, an All-Party Conference was summoned by the Hindu leadership at Karachi to discuss the imposition of martial law by the Government. G.M. Sayed and some other Muslims also participated in this conference, which condemned and censured the imposition of martial law in extreme terms. H.T. Lambrick, the man in charge of the operation against the Hurs, was condemned strongly by the participants. The meeting decided to mount a campaign against the atrocities of the army and the police. Sayed's six-page draft on the brutality of martial law authorities was presented at the meeting of the working committee of Sindh Muslim League the next day.

The Governor of Sindh, Hugh Dow, in his two letters to the Viceroy emphasised the League's role and his views and apprehension as under:

*Government of Sindh
June 1942*

Dear Conran Smith,

Sindh Provincial Muslim League in their efforts to use any stick to beat the ministry, the working committee of the Sindh Branch of the Muslim League are endeavouring to work up, campaign, the object of which is to put forward the idea that the ministry is entirely responsible for the imposition of the martial law and that by reason of their incapacity His Excellency should dismiss the ministers and take over the administration of the province. The League does not propose that an alternative should be formed. If their activities appear likely to lead to any general agitation against martial law, steps will have to be taken to put an end to them.⁴⁵

Second report on the issue.

*Home Department
21 September 1942*

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I learnt that the local branch of the Muslim League, who from last February were demanding martial law and hailed its imposition with delight are now likely to lead agitation for its removal. This is not, of course because the Hurs have been

suppressed, but rather because the less reputable connections of leading members of their party and particularly those of G.M. Sayed and K.B. Khuhro are coming under too close security by the martial law authorities. The agitation may be dangerous, because there is some reason for thinking that many Muslim Leaguers, who have been particularly opposed to the Pir's party, are seeking to make their peace with the Hurs by directing the latter's crimes more exclusively against Hindus. Also the Muslim Leaguers are quite unscrupulous in the methods by which they seek to discredit Allah Bux, and all the unpleasant results of martial law are put down to his account⁴⁶

*Yours sincerely
H. Dow*

Floods were the third calamity to hit Sindh. During the middle of 1942 Upper Sindh experienced great devastation. Around half a million people were affected and property worth over Rs. 200 million was damaged, in a region extending over 8,000 square miles. The unfortunate affectees faced appalling misery and desolation. Sayed and his colleagues worked on behalf of the Sindh Muslim League in the flood-stricken region and did their best to provide relief to the victims. The role of the Sindh Premier, Allah Bux Soomro, was remarkable and as the province's Chief Executive, he made all efforts to mitigate the misery of the people of the province.

Quit India Movement: During the First World War, the Congress and the British administration had agreed on certain points for the future political setup of the subcontinent which included Home Rule for the people of India and other civil liberties. In return, Congress supported the war effort, but once the war was over, the British authorities did not bother to fulfill their promises. The Simon Commission and Montague Web reforms were some glaring examples.

During the Second World War, the British administration approached the Congress for its support in the war effort. The Congress opinion was that the Home Rule government of local political groups would assist and provide substantial support to the British administration and help them deal with the war situation. The administration, however, did not accept the demands of the Congress. Distrust between the administration and the Congress leadership further increased when the working committee of the Congress passed the Quit India resolution on 7th August 1942 at Bombay. As soon as this resolution was pursued, the British began punitive action against the Congress on a large scale.

Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress president and all other members of the working committee, except for Rajagopalacharya, were arrested. This action provoked a storm of protests in the rest of the subcontinent and the hitherto Non-Violent Movement against British rule turned violent. The British administration countered it with the full power at their disposal. But the struggle continued to mount.

Sindh also played its due role in the movement. Jinnah called a meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on 16 August 1942, to review, consider and decide about the movement. Sayed, together with Ayub Khuhro and Yusuf Haroon, went to Bombay to attend the meeting. Before the meeting, G.M. Sayed, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Yusuf Haroon met with Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang at the Green Hotel, now part of the Taj Mahal Hotel there. During the conversation Bahadur Yar Jang asked Sayed not to let any such resolution be carried that would go against the Quit India resolution of the Congress Party, because it would be extremely inappropriate at this stage. Bahadur Yar Jang also arranged a meeting of the Congress leadership with G.M. Sayed.

The following day, G.M. Sayed and Mohammed Ayub Khuhro met with Mrs. Krishina Hatheesingh, Maradula Sarabai and Khurshid Bai Dadabhai Nauroji at a lunch hosted by Maradula Sarabai. The ladies told G.M. Sayed that their Congress party was willing to accept the Muslim League demand that there should be free and autonomous Muslim governments in the provinces in which they were in a majority. And for other demands Mr. Jinnah would be assured by Gandhi. They requested G.M. Sayed to make Jinnah agree not to pass the resolution against the 'Quit India Movement'. G.M. Sayed promised to use all his efforts to make Jinnah and the Working Committee of the Muslim League come around to that point of view.

G.M. Sayed wrote about this meeting as under:

I said that it would be highly improper for us to regard that the Congress 'Quit India resolution' which was part of its independent struggle, was against the Muslims. I added; since the Congress wanted the British to leave India, we should not torpedo its struggle against imperialism by endorsing the pro posed resolution because this would close the doors on any future League-Congress settlements.

Mr. Jinnah reacted angrily to this. "It was not possible to negotiate any settlement with Congress," he said. At this, I proposed an amendment to the effect that we should hold talks with the Congress and if it accepted our terms, we should enter into agreement with it if it didn't, and we would be free to pass any resolution. A one-sided resolution would not be appropriate, I said, Mr. Ayub Khuhro supported me, as did the Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad. The latter was snubbed by Mr. Jinnah, at which he walked out in protest. Hassan Isphahani was also not allowed to speak, nor was Nawab Ismail Khan. My proposed amendment was shot down and the resolution was carried as moved but with a note of dissent by me.⁴⁷

Dr. Hamida Khuhro narrated a conversation between Jinnah, G.M. Sayed and Mohammed Ayub Khuhro in her book about the 'Quit India Movement'.

Sayed remembered a dinner at Khuhro's house where apart from Jinnah, Miss Jinnah and Mr. and Mrs. Khuhro, he was the only other person present. Jinnah mentioned the occasion and remarked that he could understand Sayed's obstinacy in bringing up the proposal for him to see Gandhi in spite of his explanation for not meeting Gandhi, but how was it that Khuhro who he thought was more reasonable, had also persisted in supporting the resolution. G.M. Sayed laughingly remarked that Khuhro has been so affected by the charms of the Congress ladies at Mrs. Hatheesingh's dinner that he could not but support the motion.⁴⁸

The iron man of Sindh, Allah Bux Soomro, and his role in the Quit India movement was a milestone in the history of freedom of the subcontinent. The premier of Sindh, in his historic letter to the Viceroy, renounced his titles of Khan Bahadur and award of Order of the British Empire in protest, as a gesture of support for the "Quit India" movement. Following is a brief text of the letter.

Book: Allah Bux Soomro Apostle of Secular Harmony.

'I beg to inform Your Excellency that I have decided to renounce both the honours I hold from the British Government, as I feel I can't, consistently with my views and convictions, retain them any longer.

India has been struggling for the national freedom for a long time past. Upon the outbreak of the present war, it was hoped that, under the very principles and ideology in defence of which, the Allies were waging a titanic conflict, India would be made free to participate in the world struggle as a free country.

Convinced as I am that India has every right to be free and that the people of India should have conditions in which they could live in peace and harmony, the declaration and the action of the British Government have made it clear that, instead of giving cooperation to various Indian parties and communities in settling their differences and parting with power to the people of the land and allowing them to live happily in freedom mould the destinies of their country according to their birth right, the policy of the British Government has been to continue their imperialistic hold on India and persist in keeping her under subjection, use political and communal differences for propaganda purpose and crush the national forces to serve their own imperialistic aims and intentions.

The latest speech delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons has caused the greatest disappointment to all men of good will who wish to see justice rendered to India -- which is long due to her.

As that hapless pronouncement withholds such justice from India and adds to the volumes of evidence that Britain has no desire to give up her imperialistic hold on India, I feel I cannot retain the honours I hold from the British Government which, in the circumstances that have arisen, I cannot but regard as tokens of British imperialism.⁴⁹

Firstly, the Governor of Sindh, Hugh Dow, persuaded Allah Bux Soomro to withdraw the letter and cooperate with the British administration. When he had felt that Allah Bux was firm on his decision, he, in consultation with the British administration and the Viceroy, dismissed him from the premiership. Allah Bux Soomro declared it an unconstitutional action on the part of the Governor. G.M. Sayed described the action of the Governor as under:

About this time, another event took place that came like a bombshell and completely changed the political landscape of Sindh. The Allah Bux ministry had been hitherto firmly entrenched in the Assembly but consequent upon the arrest of Congress leadership in August 1942, the Sindh Premier publicly renounced the titles in protest against the repressive policy followed by British Government. This only infuriated the British Government and it took an unprecedented step in the history of the provincial autonomy by dismissing Allah Bux from his office of premiership for his disloyal conduct.⁵⁰

Sir Ghulam Hussain was the Home Minister in the cabinet of Allah Bux Soomro. Rather than calling the opposition party Muslim Leaguers' leader Mohammed Ayub Khuhro to form the cabinet, Governor Hugh Dow called on Sir Ghulam Hussain, who had a narrow majority in the House, to form the ministry. So to gain new strength, he started negotiations with the leadership of the Sindh Muslim League.

Without consulting with the Sindh Muslim League, Yusuf Haroon conveyed some messages to Jinnah regarding the Ghulam Hussain ministry. Jinnah sent two cables on 13th and 14th October 1942 to the Sindh Muslim League and had warned them not to join the Ghulam Hussain ministry. The Muslim League parliamentary members were of different opinions. Amongst them, Shaikh Abdul Majid was against any settlement with Sir Ghulam Hussain and G.M. Sayed also

held the same view but in the meanwhile he changed his opinion in favour of Sir Ghulam Hussain. G.M. Sayed narrated his change of mind as under:

I have my own misgivings about the course that we were about to follow, but I was also impressed by the overwhelming desire of the local Leaguers to support the new ministry. I could even see that sitting in the opposition may result in some awkward deflections, and since I was given an understanding regarding the mass-programme that the new ministry would undertake, in force, I have to curb my initial objections and lend support to the majority opinion.⁵¹

However, the members who were anxious to come to power joined the ministry without the approval of Jinnah. Pir Illahi Bux deserted Allah Bux Soomro and became a part of the ministry and from the Muslim League Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and Mohammed Hashim Gazdar, the leader and secretary of the League's parliamentary group in the Sindh Assembly, respectively, were sworn in as ministers in the new cabinet.

In anger, Mr. Jinnah issued a statement from Agra in which he condemned the action of the Sindh chapter of the Muslim League. A meeting of the working committee of the All India Muslim League was held at Delhi on 8 November 1942. G.M. Sayed, together with Khuhro and Gazdar, went there. During the meeting the matter came under discussion. Sayed, Khuhro and Gazdar gave arguments in favour of a coalition with Sir Ghulam Hussain; Shaikh Abdul Majid had also gone there to represent his view point. After considerable deliberation, the working committee set up a committee consisting of Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan (chairman), Hon'ble Hussain Imam, Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Chaudhry Khaliqzaman and Qazi Mohammed Isa to see the matter and to reach a proper decision.

During December 1942, Nawab Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliqzaman arrived in Sindh to examine the issue. They had probed the matter and had come to the conclusion that the ministerial arrangement would continue. The Muslim League passed a resolution in March 1940 at Lahore about the sovereign and autonomous status of the Muslim states but it needed a legal cover in the form of a resolution by an elected assembly. G.M. Sayed made up his mind to provide this and he did the homework for it, although two visionaries of Sindh, Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro and Allah Bux Soomro had warned G.M. Sayed not to overindulge himself in the central politics of India because they had their own priorities. However, G.M. Sayed over-trusted his colleagues.

On 3 March 1943 the Sindh Assembly became the first Assembly of the Subcontinent to pass a resolution in favour of autonomous and sovereign states for the Muslims of the Subcontinent. The moving spirit behind the resolution was G.M. Sayed who provided a legal cover to the 1940 resolution. Allah Bux Soomro was not present in the House at the time and most of the parliamentary members of the Congress were in prison. Out of the 27 members present, 24 voted in favour while three Hindu members voted against it.

The council of the All-India Muslim League at its meeting held on 7 March 1943, at Delhi approved the action of the Sindh Legislative Assembly. The resolution stated that:

This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League approves the decisions of Sindh provincial Legislative Assembly in endorsing the principles of the Pakistan Scheme adopted by the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League on 23 March, 1940. Majority provinces will follow suit.⁵²

After the death of Sir Abdullah Haroon, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro had secured acting Presidentship of the Sindh chapter of the Muslim League. But when he joined the cabinet, the progressive group of the Muslim League whose leaders

were Shaikh Abdul Majid and G.M. Sayed, were of the view that the organisation and ministry should be separated. Khuhro disagreed with them and wanted to continue as a president and also a minister.

The stand of Sir Ghulam Hussain on this issue was one of neutrality and he was satisfied with his premiership.

Dow, the Governor of Sindh, wrote a letter to the Viceroy on the state of affairs of the Sindh Muslim League, the ministry and Jinnah.

*Government House Karachi
5th May 1943*

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I notice that Jinnah threatened extension of his control over the provincial Muslim League governments, and asserted that 99 per cent of the Sindh Muslims were with the League, there has been undoubtedly been a great extension of League membership in Sindh since the discomfiture of Allah Bux. But I still think that Jinnah would find if he attempted to put pressure on the Sindh ministry in a matter in which they wished to resist, that his new membership in Sindh would fall away as easily as it has been gathered. Neither of his two new converts in the new ministry, and the entire ministry would resign from the League rather than give up office. I should think it likely that Jinnah himself is aware of this, and that he is not likely to issue his ukases to the Sindh ministry in the present circumstances.⁵³

During April 1943, G.M. Sayed together with his colleagues went to Delhi to attend the annual session of All-India Muslim League. There, G.M. Sayed persuaded Jinnah to establish a new setup of the Sindh Muslim League and institute a mechanism for keeping a party check on its ministers. Jinnah told G.M. Sayed that he would come soon to Sindh and all issues would be settled there. G.M. Sayed approached all participants of the meeting and asked them to note the victimisation of the Indians. He also presented the peasants' case vis-à-vis the feudals of Sindh.

Sayed returned to Sindh in the first week of May. Allah Bux Soomro, the iron man of Sindh and a nationalist leader at the Subcontinent level, was assassinated on 14 May. This was a black day -- for the Subcontinent in general and for Sindh in particular. Sindh lost a stalwart who renounced the British titles of Khan Bahadur and OBE and stood firm for the cause of freedom, even though he lost his premiership thereby. A man with strong convictions, amazing charm and extraordinary talent, secular by nature and outlook, and with competence in his own sphere of work. His place couldn't be filled in Sindh.

Allah Bux Soomro's murder shook Sindh politically and socially and the province still didn't get an autonomous and sovereign status. It can be safely conjectured that had Allah Bux Soomro lived, Sindh would have been a model of modernity for the Subcontinent.

While on his way to Quetta for health reasons, Jinnah arrived in Karachi in the first week of June. He met several persons and examined all the issues and reached a consensus that the ministers would not retain any party post. Shaikh Abdul Majid and Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur were the favourite candidates for the post of president, but Jinnah put his weight behind Sayed. G.M. Sayed thanked him and expressed his inability to hold the post, but Jinnah went ahead and declared G.M. Sayed the president of the provincial Muslim League on 13 June 1943.

G.M. Sayed accepted the post with some reservations.

The Governor's report to Conran Smith on party elections:

*Government House Karachi
17th June 1943*

Dear Conran Smith

Mr. Jinnah arrived in Karachi on the 3rd June and quickly held a press conference in which he gave detailed justification of his attitude regarding Mr. Gandhi's letter. His visit to Sindh has only local significance. He has come primarily for reasons of health and to argue a big 'Jagir', his presence to put the Sindh provincial Muslim League on a more organised basis and to settle some internal disputes. New office bearers of the Sindh provincial Muslim League were elected last week. Mr. G.M. Sayed, MLA, became new President, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, MLA (central) General Secretary and Messers G. Allana and Mohammed Amin Khoso, MLA, Joint Secretaries.⁵⁴

The second report by Governor Hugh Dow to Viceroy Wavell, related particularly to the politics of Sindh, Muslim League (Sindh chapter) and Jinnah.

*18th June 1943
Dear Lord Linlithgow*

*Mr. Jinnah appears to have no public engagements here but is making himself thoroughly familiar with local political feeling, and is making his influence felt in Muslim League circles. I have myself had a long and friendly discussion with him, almost entirely devoted to matters of local interest. I think he is doing a good deal to defalcate Khan Bahadur Khuhro, of whom he clearly has no very high opinion. The decision which he has enforced that no member of the ministry should be an office-bearer of the provincial Muslim League is recognised as being aimed at Khuhro, who since the death of Sir Abdullah Haroon has been acting *pres i dent*, and has not scrupled to use his position to put pressure on his more moderate colleagues in the ministry, Jinnah appears to recognise that Khuhro's restlessness and unscrupulousness is the principal danger to the solidarity of the ministry with Jinnah certainly does not want to see go out.⁵⁵*

*Yours sincerely
H. Dow*

Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi wrote a letter to G.M. Sayed from Delhi on November 15, 1943. It was full of deep feelings about his election as president of the Sindh chapter of the Muslim League and expressed fears about his aims and objectives.

Sayed, as the new president of the League, paid attention to the following items:

- 1- Organisation of the office of the provincial League.
- 2- Constructive plan for welfare of the masses on behalf of the League.
- 3- Encouragement to Muslims to enter trade.
- 4- Systematic overhaul of the League organisation, by incorporating fresh blood and putting progressive people in the forefront of the League activity.

Sayed sent a report to Jinnah after three months and in that he underscored the difficulties faced by the Muslim masses and so he insisted that the Muslim League institute measures for their betterment.

Meanwhile, an important task that came up for the Muslim League and for its new president was the election of the Legislative Assembly seat, which fell vacant due to the murder of Allah Bux Soomro.

Differences arose between G.M. Sayed and Sir Ghulam Hussain, the premier, on awarding the party ticket to candidates for election. Hussain wanted Khan Bahadur Nizamuddin to be awarded the ticket and G.M. Sayed and Khuhro supported Khan Bahadur Ahmed Khan Sadhayo. Eventually, Sadhayo was nominated as the Muslim League candidate. After a keen contest, Sadhayo was able to defeat his rival Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Bux and get elected.

During the election campaign, G.M. Sayed met with the masses and listened to their problems. He felt it necessary to convey his observations to Jinnah:

*The Muslim League organisation is being blamed for acts of omission and commission of the ministry, and the government and Muslim League are considered to be identical, although the organisation has no control over the government.*⁵⁶

During the budget session in July, while G.M. Sayed was busy in the election campaign in Shikarpur, the Government was defeated on the question of assessment in Karachi district. After discussion, the adjournment motion was carried, 12 members voted in favour and 24 against the proposal.

The ministry was in low spirits but the Muslim League Assembly party expressed its confidence in the ministry by passing a resolution in its favour. Meanwhile, on the insistence of feudal members, the ministry wanted to abolish the Jagirdar bill that was passed by the last ministry of Allah Bux Soomro. G.M. Sayed launched a protest against this move and warned the ministry that any action or move against the peasants was against the party programme and negation of the promises made with the Muslim peasants. Sayed wrote a letter to the ministry, emphasising all legal and illegal aspects and asked the ministry to avoid any untoward action that could harm the rights of poor peasants.

During the year 1943, Jinnah persuaded G.M. Sayed to hold an All-India session of the League. G.M. Sayed consulted his colleagues and accepted Jinnah's proposal and the session was fixed for December 1943. Sayed and his colleagues worked very hard and spared no effort in making this a truly memorable and historic session. They offered lavish traditional Sindhi hospitality to outside visitors.

As the president of the reception committee, G.M. Sayed poured forth ideas in his welcome address that were different from the Muslim League ideology, which was based on the Two-Nation theory. Sayed's views were against the prevailing mood of communalism and sectarianism rampant at the time. As a zealous advocate of interreligious harmony, he seemed to be different from other Muslim Leaguers.

Following is a brief text of G.M. Sayed's speech:

Nature has endowed this land with a great past, I am optimistic this land will have a bright future too. In the cradle of old civilisations, Mohenjodaro speaks volumes about this. This is the land where many races intermingled. Dravidian, Aryan, Semitic and Mongol races can easily be traced here. Not only the races intermingled but different religions and philosophies have also influenced one another in such a way that its parallel can be seen nowhere else. Buddhism was prevalent in Sindh. When Islam later stepped in, Buddhism was the choice of the 'Sanial' of Mahatma Buddha. Islam just added affirmation

(surrender and safety); Vedanta and Oneness also interacted upon each other in this land. On the one hand, Oneness influenced Hindu Yogis whose influence decreased idol-worship, and on the other hand Muslim saints were impressed by their renunciation and introduced music into Sufism.

Hindu-Muslim faiths thus came close to each other by mutual harmony and respect. The teachings of Baba Guru Nanak are an outstanding example and outcome of this concept. The Muslim Sufis propagated the idea of oneness in all religions under the guidance of Shah Abdul Latif, created a harmony and mutual respect among the believers of various religions. The proof of this can be seen all around you among the living, who believe in love and peace in the inhabitants of this area. The untouchables found in India can never be found in daily life in Sindh, even if you search for it.⁵⁷

On that occasion, an Action Committee was appointed, headed by Nawab Ismail Khan and with Liaquat Ali Khan as its secretary. G.M. Sayed, Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, Seth Abdul Sattar of Madras and Qazi Mohammed Isa were its members.

In its meeting of February 2, 1944, the committee appointed another committee in which several leaders from all over India were co-opted, included Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Maulana Abdul Wahab, Jamal Mian Farangi Mehli, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Haji Sayed Ali Akbar, Maulana Ghulam Mursheed (The Khatib of Jamia Masjid, Lahore), Allama I.I. Kazi, Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad and Maulana Akram Khan Bengal.

The committee discussed the following points:

- 1- Uniformity of Constitution in the different provinces.
- 2- Planning of the Constitution and recognition of the entire National Guard.
- 3- Tour of the rest of the India and firsthand knowledge of local conditions.
- 4- Educational reforms and,
- 5- Publicity.

A report by the Government of Sindh to Conran Smith on the conference.

*Sindh Home Department,
4th January 1944
Dear Conran Smith*

The All-India Muslim League session passed off without incident. The decisions taken have been given full publicity in the press.⁵⁸

On 14 March, 1944, the provincial election of the Muslim League was held. G.M. Sayed became president of the Muslim League and the majority of the elected members on the council were progressive workers of the Sindh Muslim League.

This was a great achievement for G.M. Sayed but there was also bad news: the resignation of Shaikh Abdul Majid from the basic membership of the Muslim League. G.M. Sayed felt he was alone in the obvious fight between the progressives and conservatives whom he was leading.

A tug-of-war now started between Ayub Khuhro and Sir Ghulam Hussain. Although Khuhro was his right hand, he began to fear that in future Khuhro might pose a danger to his premiership, so he decided to get rid of Khuhro and secure his position. He got a good chance when an FIR was lodged against Khuhro in the murder of Allah Bux Soomro, Sir Ghulam Hussain wrote a letter to Jinnah to get his support.

I have consulted Mr. G.M. Sayed, and it is my painful duty to write this letter to you. You know that allegations of bribery have been publicly made against Khan Bahadur Khuhro, and it is also said publicly that he has collected funds through the officials for the League, which he has also misappropriated in the murder case of the late Mr. Allah Bux, the accused have made confessions in which they have implicated him and his agent (kamdar) who also, he has not produced. I will first ask him that he should resign, and vindicate his character, or I will have to resign and form another ministry. The public is also blaming us that because he continues in office; the as sail ants of the late Allah Bux cannot be traced. The head of province is also of the same opinion.⁵⁹

The tussle between Hashim Gazdar and Yusuf Haroon over the mayorship of the Karachi Municipal Corporation was another conflict between the local party leadership. G.M. Sayed tried his best to settle the matter and after making positive efforts, he informed Jinnah on 26th May 1944 about the current position of the Sindh Muslim League.

Jinnah replied to G.M. Sayed on 13 June 1944 and told him in the light of his letter, that he himself was also working towards settling the dispute between Yusuf Haroon and Gazdar. A meeting was held on 7th July 1944. The meeting passed a resolution and expressed its mistrust of the ministry. G.M. Sayed conveyed the text of the resolution to Jinnah on 8th July 1944, by a cable and requested him for instruction.

On the existing political scenario of Sindh, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, wrote a letter to Amery, Secretary of State: Following is the text:

*The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
11 July 1944*

Sindh is the latest Province to show symptoms of a ministerial crisis. At the approaching session there is to be a no-confidence motion against Khuhro, a somewhat disreputable minister who is generally supposed to have a good deal to do with the murder of Allah Bakhsh. Dow will be glad to drop him, and so, I gather, would the premier. In the last few days the Sindh Muslim League have demanded the resignation of the ministry as a whole. The premier is treating this threat with contempt, and has told Dow that the provincial Muslim League organisation has no right of interference, and will probably be overruled by Jinnah. Some reconstruction of the ministry may be necessary, but I do not think there will be a breakdown of parliamentary government.⁶⁰

Meanwhile Khuhro in his letter of 10th July and Sir Ghulam Hussain through a cable despatched the same day requested Jinnah to intervene in the problems of the ministry and the provincial Muslim League, especially the resolution of 7th July against the ministry by the provincial Muslim League.

Jinnah through a cable of 11th July to G.M. Sayed informed him that the matter related to the Central Muslim League and was not a provincial Muslim League matter, and as such the issue would be discussed in a meeting of the Central League on July 29-31 at Lahore. Under the circumstances, the conservatives and the ministry conspired to remove G.M. Sayed from the presidentship of the Sindh chapter of the Muslim League. Shortly thereafter, a meeting of the Sindh Muslim League council was held in Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, at 10.0 a.m. on 17 July 1944, under the presidentship of G.M. Sayed. The president G.M. Sayed moved a resolution for the condolence of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang; the resolution was adopted unanimously and Fateha was offered for the departed soul.

Maulvi Hakani on the intimation of the ministerial group presented a no-confidence resolution against G.M. Sayed, president of the Muslim League (Sindh chapter). But when Hakani felt that his resolution did not get much support from the House, he expressed his desire to withdraw the resolution. The president asked the House whether they were in favour of the move or not. Eleven members voted in favour and 29 against the withdrawal. Then House therefore rejected the no-confidence resolution.

Qazi Mohammed Akbar, who was the candidate of the Muslim League against G.M. Sayed in the elections of December 1946, then presented a resolution in the House, seconded by Khan Mohammed Nizamani that was unanimously passed.

Text of the resolution:

*The Sindh Provincial Muslim League Council, in view of the past and present services of G.M. Sayed, President, Sindh Provincial Muslim League, and owing to his services rendered in the cause of the Muslim League and the Muslim Community, expresses its complete confidence in him.*⁶¹

In a session the Council once again passed the resolution against the ministry. Ghulam Hussain sent a cable to Jinnah, stating that he should not proceed further in the matter because the matter pertained to the central parliamentary board. Yet he wanted to proceed with the matter in the council of the Provincial League.

A report by Chief Secretary, Government of Sindh, on the crisis of the Sindh Muslim League organisation and the conflict with the ministry.

*At a meeting of the council of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, which was held to condole the death of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, President of the All-India States Muslim League, local politics were vigorously discussed. A motion of no confidence in Mr. G.M. Sayed, MLA, the president, was defeated and followed by a resolution of confidence, which was passed by an overwhelming majority. The Council ultimately agreed not to take any further action on the resolution that the ministry should resign until that would be considered by Mr. Jinnah and the working Committee of All-India Muslim League at Lahore.*⁶²

*Yours sincerely
S. Ridley*

Eventually, it was decided that the matter should be referred to the Central Parliamentary Board. Field Marshal Viscount Wavell wrote a letter to Secretary of State Amery about the internal crisis of the League.

*The Viceroy's House New Delhi
27 July 1944*

The Sindh ministry has weathered a small storm with the assistance of Jinnah who, at the premier's request, called off an attack on the ministry by the provincial Muslim League.⁶³

One more report by Sir Ridley to Conran Smith on the political situation of Sindh.

*Government of Sindh
4th August 1944
Dear Conran Smith*

As was mentioned in the last report, the Muslim League in Sindh has been passing through difficult times. The resolution passed by the working committee to the effect that the ministry should resign was held in abeyance at the request or direction of Mr. Jinnah.⁶⁴

*Yours sincerely
Ridley*

The meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board was held at Lahore, from 29 to 31 July 1944. Before this meeting, a delegation of the Sindh Muslim League wanted to meet with Jinnah to discuss the affairs of the ministry and the League. Sayed told Jinnah that a delegation of Sindh Muslim Leaguers wanted an interview with him but Jinnah refused to meet the delegation. However, he asked Sayed to present the delegation's point of view to him.

As a spokesman of the delegation, he apprised him in detail of the grievances they had against the ministry. Jinnah told him that the Sindh premier had close contacts with the British administration, so it was not expedient to destabilise the ministry. He further told G.M. Sayed that the provincial Muslim League had no authority to check the affairs of the ministry, but the ministry was answerable only to the party's central high command. G.M. Sayed voiced his protest with Jinnah. Jinnah told G.M. Sayed that he did not like this kind of talk. G.M. Sayed replied that he had merely presented the case of Sindh with the hope of getting justice from an impartial judge, and not a "defence counsel" of Sir Ghulam Hussain. Jinnah was stung by the remarks, and he asked G.M. Sayed to apologise to him for using harsh language. G.M. Sayed refused to do so.

Sayed informed his colleagues about the situation, they showed their annoyance and expressed their desire to leave the party. This atmosphere of misunderstanding put Sayed's relationship with the Muslim League's central leadership under strain. The working committee of the Muslim League met at Lahore on 29 and 31 July 1944 and discussed several issues

including the Sindh issue. They reached the conclusion that a meeting of the legislators of Sindh Muslim League would decide matters and Sir Ghulam Hussain was authorised to summon a meeting in this regard. Sayed's dreams were shattered and he was hurt at what transpired at Lahore.

The letter of the Governor of Sindh, Hugh Dow, to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, on the Lahore conference 6 August 1944.

*Government House Karachi
6th August 1944*

Dear Lord Wavell

As anticipated, Jinnah's instructions to G.M. Sayed that the provincial Muslim League had no locus standi in the matter of controlling the Sindh ministry knocked the bottom out of an attempt to move a vote of no-confidence. The necessary 15 members needed to stand up in support of the motion were not forthcoming, so nothing happened. There was some criticism that the ministry had secured this result by preventing recently released MLA detainees from attending the session.⁶⁵

Yours sincerely

H. Dow

Sir Ghulam Hussain narrated the story of the conference in an overjoyed mood to Governor Hugh Dow. Dow conveyed it to Wavell in the same report.

Dear Lord Wavell

Sir Ghulam Hussain has returned from Muslim League meetings at Lahore and gave me the following account of what happened there. He had a long interview with Jinnah at which he assures me that Sindh affairs were not even referred to by either of them. He says that Jinnah later rebuked G.M. Sayed in the severest manner as an interfering fool. This seems to be borne out by the fact that G.M. Sayed dropped all his charges of corruption against the Sindh ministry, the Muslim League passed a resolution that the other charges against the ministry were a matter for deliberation by the Sindh League Assembly party (that is the Government supporters) under the chairman of Sir Ghulam Hussain himself.⁶⁶

*Yours sincerely
H. Dow*

The Sindh leadership, both Hindu and Muslim, was engaged in severe one-upmanship. They were dependent on the Congress and the Muslim League, respectively, for resolving their petty problems and had forgotten the dignity and honour of their motherland as an independent, civilised, and prosperous state. The remarks of Sir Hugh Dow, the Sindh Governor, in the Governors' conference, are a lesson for historians:

The same day on 31 August 1944, at the Governors' conference held at Bombay, the Governor of Sindh had accomplished his views about the Sindh and its inhabitants. He in a prophetic manner made a forecast and proclaimed that due to the moderate views of Sindhi people, Sindh would be debilitated by communal leadership.

Governors Conference -- 31st August 1944

*The Governor of Sindh said that Sindh was outside the main current of political thought in India. Jinnah would throw over the Sindh Muslims; and Gandhi the Sindh Hindus if it suited them.*⁶⁷

Not only did the central parties not accept the mystic -minded message of human harmony that G.M. Sayed had enunciated in his speech to the Muslim League All-India Convention of December 1943, but the British colonial administration and Governor Dow himself took an active part in promoting the conservative groups and their ideas. Hindrances were created against those with modern views, or who wanted a progressive society in the Subcontinent.

A short while later, on 25 September 1944, Ayub Khuhro, the Minister for Public Works, resigned. He was arrested in connection with the murder case of Allah Bux Soomro on 26 September. Although G.M. Sayed had differences with Khuhro, but at the latter's time of difficulty, he went to Sukkur, 500 kms from Karachi, to meet him in prison and promised to help him.

Meanwhile Jinnah and Gandhi met with each other to resolve their differences but the outcome was as bleak as it had been before.

Following is a letter from Wavell to Amery on the meeting.

*The Viceroy's House New Delhi
3 October 1944*

*Jinnah based himself on the two "nations" theory, according to which the Muslims and Hindus in India, however they may be distributed over the country, are entirely foreign to each other. He pressed Gandhi to accept this theory and the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution of March 1940, which he regarded as an expression of it. He made it clear that his sovereign Muslim states must be composed substantially of the British Indian provinces now regarded as Muslim (e.g., in the northwest; Sindh, Balochistan, the North- West Frontier Province and the Punjab, and in the northeast, Assam and Bengal). The right of these areas to self-determination and separate sovereignty was to be exercised by their Muslim residents alone. Jinnah declined to answer awkward questions about economic stability and the fate of minorities. He told Gandhi that he was dealing only with British India and was not considering the Indian States. Arguing for the two "nation" theory, he could not agree to any alliance between the Hindus and the Muslims in order to achieve independence, or to any provincial government before the Muslim claim had been finally settled. Relations between Muslim India and Hindu India would be settled by treaty as between independent and sovereign states, and there could be no question of any Central government or constitutional link.*⁶⁸

Jinnah wrote a letter on 16th October 1944 to G.M. Sayed to let him know whether the provincial Muslim League would be able to organise the next annual session of the Muslim League in the Easter Holidays.

On 25th October 1944, G.M. Sayed replied to Jinnah.

Many thanks for your letter dated 16th October 1944. I consider myself fortunate to have the honour of being asked if we could hold the All-India Muslim League session for the second time in Sindh during the coming Easter Holidays. I think Sindh has got great potentialities and as such we can make a beginning to convene the Muslim League session like the Congress in the rural area. But I must submit Sir, that we in this province are confronted with difficulties more than one.

a. As I have already pointed out in previous references; the ministry which should be the source of strength and assistance is daily making the organisation unpopular. With the result that two District Muslim League Conferences, which were intended to be held during the last two months, were subsequently postponed in view of the less response of the people to the call of the organisation.

b. I have received the appended letter from a member of the Working Committee of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, which I am forwarding herewith for favour of perusal.

c. In view of the later happenings and also things in store which are expected as indicated by the writing of a local paper the "Daily Gazette", (Copy attached); it is not unlikely that the premier of the so-called Muslim League ministry may form a new ministry under a different label.

In view of the above facts, it is for consideration whether it is advisable to call the conference in this province. If so, as an obedient soldier I shall take upon myself the task of commencing the work of the conference as early as possible.⁶⁹

Jinnah felt that a proper situation did not prevail in Sindh and he called Sir Ghulam Hussain and G.M. Sayed to meet him at Delhi. Meanwhile, another issue became the cause of a fresh tug-of-war between G.M. Sayed and Sir Ghulam Hussain. Khan Bahadur Ahmed Khan Sadhaya who was elected a member of the Sindh Legislative Assembly from Sukkur [rural] northwest constituency, died. Sir Ghulam Hussain wanted to secure the ticket of the Muslim League for his son Anwar Hussain, but he had no majority in the parliamentary board. The board, which consisted of five members, including Sir Ghulam Hussain and G.M. Sayed, enjoyed the support of two members, Sayed Mohammed Ali Shah and Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, while only Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur was on Ghulam Hussain's side.

Meanwhile Sir Ghulam Hussain had chosen as a home minister Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, already known for his fidelity, and as a minister of agriculture Roger Thomas, a European, who was not a member of the parliament. Thomas's selection was made so as to get the sympathy of the Governor and the Europeans. Both candidates took the oath on 13 November 1944. Sir Ghulam Hussain informed Jinnah about his new colleagues on the same day. Before choosing Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur as a minister, Sir Ghulam Hussain did try to bargain with Mohammed Ali Shah, that if Shah would support him in getting the League ticket in the Parliamentary Board, he would compensate him as a minister, but Shah refused him.

The parliamentary board of Sindh Muslim League met on 19 November. G.M. Sayed chaired the meeting, which was attended by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Mohammed Ali Shah and Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan. After heated discussion, Ghulam Nabi Pathan was awarded the Muslim League ticket.

Following are the letters from British administration officials on the Shikarpur election.

15 November 1944 ----Wavell to Amery

Provincial politics are quiet except in Sindh. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah sticks to his plan for increasing the number of ministers to nine. His main object seems to be to get his son elected to the Sindh Assembly in a vacancy in the Shikarpur constituency. In order to capture the Provincial Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League, and consolidate himself against the enemies within the League, he has to make use of patronage. Dow says that with so much waiting to be done for the benefit of the province, the constant political intrigue, usually with small personal objects in view, is most troublesome, and makes efficient administration impossible. There are signs that Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah is not getting on too well with Jinnah. The appointment of Thomas as a minister, though welcome locally, has been criticised both by Muslim and by Hindu newspapers outside Sindh.⁷⁰

23rd November 1944 ----Amery to Wavell

I was very interested to see that the Sindh government has included a local European, Thomas, among its members. I should think he could be reasonably trusted to look after irrigation and agriculture and not to dispose of ex-Cabinet colleagues or of his own wife by the methods which would seem to be in vogue in Sindh Ministerial circles! I notice too what Dow, or rather Ghulam Hussain, says in that connection about the enlargement of the number of the ministers. Looking back on our own history, the British constitution was mainly worked during the eighteenth century by the distributing of posts to placement of all sorts. That after all may be a better method of corruption than others in Indian conditions, and I am by no means sure that our notions of the size of ministries hitherto have not been too narrow. I dare say even at the centre you could add two or three more to your numbers without loss of efficiency and with greater ease in meeting the claims to representation both of communities and of provinces.⁷¹

23 November 1944 ---- Wavell to Amery

There are no special developments in the provinces, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's little plot in Sindh, which I mentioned in paragraph 3 of my last letter, does not seem to have come off. One of the members of the provincial Muslim League, whom he hoped to placate by appointing him to the ministry, gave him away in an unctuous statement refusing the offer on high moral grounds.

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah is ingenious and will doubtless extricate himself, though he may have some difficulty. But his son seems unlikely to be elected to the Assembly.⁷²

Sir Ghulam Hussain felt that he would not be able to get the ticket from the board for his son, so he wrote to Jinnah for his intervention. Jinnah accepted Sir Ghulam Hussain's request and the matter was put under the consideration of the Central Parliamentary Board. The Board approved the decision of the Sindh Parliamentary Board.

Letter of S. Ridley, Chief Secretary Government of Sindh, to Conran Smith, the Acting Viceroy, about the Shikarpur election.

Government of Sindh
2nd December 1944

Dear Conran Smith

As previously reported, conditions in the provincial Muslim League are anything but happy. Meetings have been held in Karachi congratulating the premier on transferring the portfolio of law and order from the Hon'ble Mr. M.H. Gazdar, while counter-meetings have been held protesting against this action. The Hon'ble premier has proceeded to Delhi to meet Mr. Jinnah and presumably some settlement will be reached.

The Muslim League is also agitated regarding the candidates for the Assembly vacancy at Shikarpur. Amongst candidates for the Muslim League ticket was Mr. Anwar Hussain, the son of the premier. The Muslim League, however, decided to nominate one Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan, and there is now speculation whether Mr. Anwar Hussain will stand as an independent candidate.⁷³

Yours sincerely
S. Ridley

Jinnah called upon Sayed and Sir Ghulam Hussain for a rapprochement. Both met Jinnah on 2 December at Bombay. Different issues came under discussion. Finally a settlement took place and Jinnah clarified the position in his statement of 5 December.

New Delhi December 5, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League in a statement on his talks with the Sindh Premier and the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, indicates that an agreement was reached on the question of Mr. Roger Thomas' appointment. Details of the agreement are not given. Mr. Jinnah explains the decisions reached and other points discussed. Mr. Jinnah says:

I have had a talk with Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, and Mr. G.M. Sayed, President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League in which Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan kindly assisted me at my request, and after full discussion we have come to an understanding. Most of the questions related to internal affairs.⁷⁴

Wavell's letter to Amery on the above meeting 5th December 1944.

*The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
5 December 1944*

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah is recorded to have secured Jinnah's support in his dispute with the provincial Muslim League in Sindh. He has been up against a faction in the League party led by G.M. Sayed, and he and G.M. Sayed have been in Delhi during the last day or two stating their cases to Jinnah. I do not know if the report about Jinnah's attitude is correct. But I doubt if he can afford to break with Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah who is the most reputable of the Sindh politicians, and probably the only person in Sindh capable of holding a Cabinet together.⁷⁵

Another letter by Wavell to Amery on the above meeting, 12 December, 1944.

It is now clear that Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah did not have things all his own way when he saw Jinnah. Immediately after his return to Karachi, Thomas, the new British minister, resigned and was reappointed to a special post of advisor to the government. This was presumably part of a settlement under which Jinnah supported Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah against the troublesome faction in the Sindh Provincial Muslim League. It seems a pity to exclude nonparty Europeans from minister on principle, but I suppose that is what Jinnah has in mind. Thomas will probably be able to do as much as adviser as he could have done in the Cabinet. I understand he does not want a salary, so he costs the Sindh Government very little, however he is employed.⁷⁶

On his return to Sindh, Sayed made a plan for by-elections in Shikarpur. He went to Shikarpur and started the election campaign. However, he felt that the local administration, on the direction of the premier, were openly supporting Haji Maula Bux Soomro. G.M. Sayed met with the district magistrate and Agha Jafferli, a nephew of Sir Ghulam Hussain and the Deputy Commissioner. G.M. Sayed asked them not to help the opposition candidate, but they told G.M. Sayed that until and unless Khan Bahadur Nizamuddin would not be awarded the League ticket, they would continue to oppose the League candidate.

In the light of the prevailing situation, G.M. Sayed called a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board. The Board sent a message to the premier through his son, that the Board was willing to adopt his relative Khan Bahadur Nizamuddin as a candidate in place of Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan if the premier and the candidate abided by these conditions.

An agreement between G.M. Sayed and the Premier took place and Khan Bahadur Nizamuddin was awarded the League ticket in place of Ghulam Nabi Pathan. The premier made a deal with Haji Maula Bux Soomro using the good offices of his nephews Agha Hassanali, Advocate General and Jafferli Agha. Sir Ghulam Hussain at Karachi called Khan Bahadur Nizamuddin and he withdrew in favour of Maula Bux Soomro.

Having been deceived in this way, G.M. Sayed supported the remaining candidate, Independent Pir Rahim Shah, brother of Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro on the understanding that he would be loyal to the League.

Sayed and the other progressive Muslim League workers launched an election campaign in favour of Pir Rahim Shah but eventually they lost the election:

A letter from Hugh Dow to Lord Wavell 16 January 1945

*Government of Sindh
6th January 1945*

Dear Lord Wavell

I am not surprised that you find difficulties in following the details of the Shikarpur election imbroglio, even our local politicians have the same difficulty. I imagine that Jinnah must be furious at the way he has been fooled by G.M. Sayed, who induced him to reject the candidature of my premier's son in favour of Ghulam Nabi Pathan. This gentleman then at once withdrew leaving the late Pir Pagaro's brother to contest the seat against the late premier's brother, Khan Bahadur Maula Bux. Polling took place on the 4th, and result has been not declared, but most people regard it as a foregone conclusion that Maula Bux has been elected. I am told, however, that in the interest of the Pir Pagaro's brother, a wonderful collection of Pirs and Maulvis were imported from outside, who took round the fiery cross and threatened with hellfire anyone who should cast a vote against the lord's appointed. Gazdar and G.M. Sayed have been there openly supporting his cause and trying to raise sympathy for the Hurs, a rather disgraceful proceeding for one who was lately home minister and is still in the ministry. The premier saw me today and informed me that he has now quite made up his mind to turn Gazdar out. In a few days he will ask Gazdar to resign, and reconstruct the ministry by leaving Gazdar out. He also said that he has quite made up his mind not to consult Jinnah regarding any further appointments to the ministry.⁷⁷

*Yours Sincerely
H. Dow*

One more report from H. Dow to Wavell on elections in Shikarpur.

*Government House Karachi
22nd January 1945*

Dear Lord Wavell

The Shikarpur election, as expected, ended in the success of K.B Maula Bux, brother of the late premier. The late Pir Pagaro's brother, Pir Rahim Shah, got a much larger number of votes than I anticipated, and probably a large number of these were from the most important part of the electorate, on whom the fear of hellfire preached by the imported Pirs and Mullahs had considerable effect. I hear that both G.M. Sayed and Pir Rahim Shah now transferred their attentions to the Hyderabad district, where they are making against S.B. Hussain Bux, who is the father of the deceased member and uncle of the my new home minister, the latter asserts that Pir Rahim Shah is now, openly with the support of G.M. Sayed, proposing himself as successor to the late Pir's Gadi, and he has proposed to issue orders confining G.M. Sayed to his village in Dadu district for three months, and Pir Rahim Shah to Sukkur for two years. I am not yet satisfied of the truth of his allegations, though

*probably Mir Ghulam Ali sincerely believes it. It must be merely a symptom of election fever. But if it is true, then the movement, in favour of restoration of the Gadi, will have to be stamped out very firmly, and I am assuring my ministers that I shall support them in any measures, however, severe, which are necessary to this end.*⁷⁸

*Yours sincerely
H. Dow*

About this time, another conflict arose between the progressive Muslim League workers and the conservative League ministry over the Assembly seat of Tando Mohammed Khan, vacated on account of the death of Mir Ghulamullah Khan Talpur.

Sayed supported Qabool Mohammed Shah, a young graduate Muslim Leaguer, but the Premier and Home Minister Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur supported Mir Haji Hussain Bux Talpur, who had a feudal background. Talpur won the election with the official support of the Premier and Sindh Home Minister Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, who was a relative of his.

About the same time, a warrant of detention was rumoured to have been issued against G.M. Sayed, directing him to confine himself to his village. But before it could be served upon him, there was such a hue and cry all over the province, that the Government lost no time in denying the veracity of the report.

Khalid Shamsulhassan highlighted the action of Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry in his book as under:

*Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur supported Sir Ghulam Hussain in his conflict with G.M. Sayed over Anwar Hidayatullah's selection as a candidate for the Shikarpur by-election. Sir Ghulam Hussain appointed him minister in November 1944, in the vacancy created by the resignation of Mohammed Ayub Khuhro. He took over as the minister for law and order and assisted the premier in finalising arrangements for arresting the members of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, and president of the Sindh chapter of the Muslim League, G.M. Sayed, and to detain him under the Hur Outrages Act. The civil servants of native origin (those who later on ruled Pakistan) helped him in preparing the case, though the civil servants of foreign origin refused to be embroiled in the dirty game. However, as the move appeared, prima facie, preposterous, Sir Ghulam Hussain could not dare to carry it out.*⁷⁹

To secure more power, Sir Ghulam Hussain asked Mohammed Hashim Gazdar to resign from the ministry. On 6 January 1945, Gazdar informed Jinnah about the situation and sought his advice:

*The premier called for my resignation by this evening, without consulting the Assembly party or cabinet. Respectfully seek your urgent advice- Gazdar.*⁸⁰

Jinnah replied to him on 8 January:

*I have already issued a press statement and cannot interfere in the premier's choice and his Muslim Leaguers.*⁸¹

Sayed expressed his bitterness over Gazdar's resignation and condemned Ghulam Hussain for his undemocratic, unconstitutional and perfidious role for the sake of personal interest. Sayed felt that the atmosphere created by Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry, the high command of the Muslim League and the Muslim bureaucracy, was intolerable

and, like a wounded leopard and kingmaker of the assembly; he created a master plan to smash them, then and there, at once.

During this time, the High Command sent Kazi Issa to watch over Sindh affairs and to make efforts to bring about a rapprochement between G.M. Sayed and Sir Ghulam Hussain. Qazi Sahib's approach was simple and he dealt with the matter rather superficially. He miscalculated that this was only a case of bitterness between two persons. G.M. Sayed was invited to a dinner party where Qazi Sahib was staying as a guest. Sir Ghulam Hussain was also an invitee. Qazi Sahib through his casual remarks wanted to patch up differences between G.M. Sayed and Hussain but the matter was more serious than assumed by Qazi Sahib, and his shallow efforts failed.

On the brokering of the supposed deal by Qazi Sahib, a report by H. Dow to Wavell states:

*Government House Karachi
2nd February 1945*

Dear Lord Wavell

The rift between the honourable premier and Mr. G.M. Sayed, MLA, president of the provincial Muslim League, has been given constant prominence in the press. Mr. Jinnah sent Mr. Qazi Mohammed Issa, a member of the Council of Action of the All-India Muslim League, to try to patch up differences and it is reported that he has been successful in doing so.⁸²

*Yours sincerely
H. Dow*

Second report by H. Dow Governor of Sindh to Viceroy Wavell on the political scenario of Sindh and also the position of Muslim League in Sindh.

*Government House Karachi
9th February 1945*

Dear Lord Wavell

S.B. Hussain Bux, father of deceased member and uncle of my home minister, has been declared successful in the Tando Mohammed Khan election. This must be viewed as another de feat for the Muslim League, for though he will no doubt support the present ministry. S.B. Hussain Bux had refused to accept the League ticket and his opponent was strongly backed by G.M. Sayed and Gazdar with the party machinery of the provincial Muslim League and all the Pirs and Maulvis that they could boat up. The election was fought with great bitterness. It is probable that the home minister took full advantage of his official position. On the other hand, if he had not done so, the election would hardly passed without grave disorder and bloodshed. A good deal of credit is due to the local officials who preserved order in very trying circumstances.

Jinnah doesn't come of these proceedings too well, when G.M. Sayed and Gazdar come out in open revolt against the premier's authority, Jinnah should have realised at once that it was necessary for him to come down one side or the other, and since neither Gazdar nor G.M. Sayed can have any political future apart from the Muslim League, where Sir Ghulam is capable, at any moment, of resigning from the Muslim League and taking half of the Muslim MLAs with him, it should have been clear

which side he must take if he wished the League government in Sindh to continue. For the moment, it appears that with Mr. Isa's assistance, peace has been patched up and the G.M. Sayed group has been ordered to support Sir Ghulam Hussain's government. But in the process, the Muslim League has unnecessarily lost two elections, the hollowness of the League facade in Sindh has been well-advertised, and both factions are shouldering with resentment not only against each other but also against Jinnah himself. There is still trouble to come over Jinnah's determination not to allow a coalition of any Muslim group, other than the Muslim League. Jinnah's bungling has strengthened the non-League Muslims, particularly by the addition of the late premier's brother, K.B. Maula Bux who has ambitions to be a minister, and will be formidable in opposition. K.B. Maula Bux is not vindictive, and if admitted into the ministry would, I think, after a decent interval, be prepared to join the Muslim League. But out of respect for his brother's memory, he can hardly be expected to join the League as a condition of taking office. Jinnah will probably be obstinate on this point, and so forces Maula Bux and his supporters to remain in opposition, and if this happens, Sir Ghulam may have difficulty in getting safely through the budget session, even with an expanded cabinet.

Pir Rahim Shah, brother of the late Pir Pagaro whose activities I mentioned last week had been served with an order confining him to Sukkur for a period of two years. At the same time, my ministers, against my advice, issued an order confining G.M. Sayed to his village for three months. Although the ostensible reason for this order was an attempt by G.M. Sayed to stir up agrarian trouble in another district. It would have been quite clear to the public that the real object was to prevent him from taking part in the Tando Mohammed Khan election and in the budget meeting of the Assembly. However between issue and the execution of the order, the ministers got cold feet, and recalled the order. The fact that an order had been issued (but not that it had been recalled) became known to the local press, probably because ministers cannot hold their tongues and the newspapers are carrying the usual controversy of assertions and denials without daring to reveal the sources of their authentic information.³⁸

Yours sincerely

H. Dow

Immediately after this, Jinnah called upon G.M. Sayed in Bombay. G.M. Sayed spent three days there and exchanged views with the League president. Jinnah issued a statement and appealed to both the factions for a settlement. Shortly thereafter, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliqzaman came to Sindh. They also met with different persons, collected the information but were not able to achieve a positive result. They returned with an appeal for unity and solidarity.

Report by Wavell to Amery on Sindh politics and control of Jinnah

*The Viceroy's House New Delhi
21st February 1945*

There is little to report about provincial politics. There is still much intrigue in Sindh, the net result of which is that the Muslim League have lost two bye-elections and that Jinnah's position there is rather weaker than it was, it is almost

*impossible to follow party movements in Sindh as, with the possible exception of Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, none of the politicians seems to have any principle at all. But I think Jinnah is finding interference in the provinces less easy than he once hoped.*⁸⁴

On 23 February 1945, all arrangements to topple the government of Ghulam Hussain were finalised. The Assembly met the next morning and G.M. Sayed informed the premier that the Assembly members had decided to bring down his ministry. And in the afternoon the ministry was defeated by 25 votes against 19 on a one rupee cut motion in the general administration.

During the debate, Sir Ghulam Hussain's attitude was emotional and he accused his colleagues of desertion and engineering a conspiracy against his ministry. Shaikh Abdul Majid retaliated thus: "As an experienced old veteran, the leader of the House should not indulge into outbursts and accuse even his own colleagues and party members of being traitors to him when they can also say a good number of things so far as the province is concerned. If he has been a traitor to the province, why should not others turn traitors to him?"

Shaikh Sahib continued his oratorical assault: "It is an autocratic Raj, there is no democracy, there is no legislature. It is a one-man Raj and that man is the honourable leader of the House."

The entire machinery of the Governor and the high command of the Muslim League went into high gear to save face. The Governor felt as if G.M. Sayed had personally slapped him in the face. So, he threatened Maula Bux Soomro by telling him that if Sir Ghulam Hussain could not form the new ministry, no one else would, and Section 93 would henceforth be applied in the province.

G.M. Sayed informed Jinnah by cable about these developments on 24 February 1945.

On 27 February, Sayed dispatched a second cable to Jinnah.

On 28 February, Jinnah sent a cable to G.M. Sayed and also issued it to the press. The following is the text of the telegram:

*Your telegrams 24th and 27th regret say on your own admission you have adopted unconstitutional methods have lent yourself to unworthy intrigues playing in the hands of enemies have let down your leader and party to which you belonged. Thereby already damaged our cause prestige Muslim League. You have precipitated crisis broken party discipline, caused split, and shaken solidarity Sindh Muslims notwithstanding your assurance to me at conclusion our Bombay talks and against my advice. You have ignored Committee of Action, Central Parliamentary Board, League Machinery, Constitution, Rules and Regulations, though by means of which you could have secured full redress of just any grievance but instead you have wrongly resorted to methods which are calculated to undermine basic structure League organisation, its aims and objects. This course of action on your part is highly improper, detrimental Muslim interests, Muslim League. Futile gives advice instructions more.*⁸⁵

G.M. Sayed wrote a letter to Jinnah on 2 March 1945, in which he presented his version in a straightforward manner:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of February 28, which I had already read in press. In the telegram as far as I can see there are two main points around which revolve the rest of its contents;

- 1. The step I took against the Ministry on February 24 was unconstitutional;*
- 2. I had brought down the prestige of the Muslim League.*

My humble submission as to the first point is: according to your interpretation of the League rules and conventions, pertaining to ministers, it is the Assembly Party, which has to decide matters regarding the ministers. Now within the terms of that interpretation, 15 out of 28 Assembly Party members gave me a requisition in writing that Sir Ghulam Hussain must be defeated on the 24th, as unless that was done it would be impossible to recognise the League ministry. I had therefore to abide by the verdict of the majority of the Assembly Party.

Nor had I lagged behind in any way in my efforts to impress upon your good self. The Central Parliamentary Board and the various other bodies you have been pleased to refer to the urgency of setting the things right here of doing justice to the Sindh masses who had been bleeding under the corrupt and tyrannical rule of the ministry. On more occasions than can be recounted I made personal appeals to you both verbally and in writing. I made similar complaints before the Working Committee, the Council of Action, and to the members of the Central Parliamentary Board. Even lately when Nawab Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliqzaman were here, all the relevant facts were placed before them. If during all these two years, these bodies could not take any decisive steps to correct the things or give redress to the people of Sindh or chosen between the Muslim masses of this province, and a corrupt coterie of exploiters I can hardly be held responsible. These efforts to seek the intervention of Centre have been made not only by me individually; but even the Provincial League and Provincial Working Committee have been, throughout these two years, making fervent appeals both to the Ministry and Central League authorities to reexamine the conditions created in the province. Can it, under the circumstances, be contended that step we had been compelled to take after two years of fruitless pleading and appealing was inspired by a sudden impulse or by any love of intrigue?

In this connection I might even respectfully remind you of my talks with you recently in Bombay. I had pointed out to you that fact that in Sindh the conditions had become so intolerable that I had only three alternatives left with me:

- 1. Support the present corrupt combination.*
- 2. Fight the League high command, if it took the side of this combination, or*
- 3. Retire from active politics.*

I had expressed my inability to follow the first two courses and the third one you forbade me to take. Did it not, Sir, show how intensely I felt about the conditions in Sindh? Have I taken this step by keeping you at the League Centre in the dark? Had I not exhausted all possible methods of putting forth Sindh's point of view before you and the Centre as a whole?

That disposes of the first point, as also the charge that I had not sought redress through the League machinery.

As to the second point, the point of League prestige, I feel I have perhaps so far failed in making my viewpoint adequately intelligible. I have throughout believed and this belief is shared by an overwhelming majority of the League, that the prestige of

the League can be observing high moral principles in the administration of the country. And by sacrificing temporary and artificial means of solace and satisfaction for the sake of the general welfare of the people; by repudiating and opposing an evil, what ever immediate gains one's association therewith may promise; and by placing the good of the Muslim masses before every kind of expediency. At any rate I never believed and I do not still believe that the prestige of the League could be enhanced by ruining the public life of the Mussalmans or by throwing the interests of the provincial Muslim masses to the winds. And for that alone can be the meaning of retaining in office a ministry such as that of Sir Ghulam Hussain. League prestige can go up only in proportion to its popularity and reputation and for its popularity among the masses. And yet I wonder how these very factors are going to enhance its prestige?

If we proceed on the assumption that prestige is but a consequence of popularity and reputation and that one cannot build up a prestige by losing the other two things or by patronising or fathering an evil, the only issue that would remain to be looked into is:

- 1. Whether Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry is an evil or not;*
- 2. Whether by owing its vices, the League is gaining in popularity and reputation, and*
- 3. Whether by supporting this type of ministry, the League is building up its own future in this province -- let alone hopes as to, and considerations, of the intrinsic good of the masses.*

Even if the League were to ignore the reactions of the Muslim masses as to the working of a particular ministry, and even it would have refused to look at a ministry strictly from the standpoint of the good of the people, the considerations of retaining its own future in the province alone should dictate to the League the only course of action which I have taken, that Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry is an unmitigated evil, an insufferable calamity for the people of the province, is an established fact. If anybody should contest this finding I would invite a public inquiry by the League itself. It is unfortunate that the League high command, visitors and peacemakers to this province have never gone into the province and studied the people's own feelings and about the ministry; their activities were confined to the city of Karachi and also their sphere of observation. To give you but a few glimpses of what it is. It is corrupt to the core and even Mr. Yusuf Haroon (of whom it may be said a greater friend it may not be possible for the premier to have), in the course of his statement before Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman had made disclosures which are as revealing as they were startling. He obviously maintained, that for everything that he had to get done through the premier, he had to pay the latter some price. It is not only the top that is corrupt, but its example is being faithfully followed almost by everyone associated with the provincial administration and the result is that lacs of rupees are annually sunk by our people to grease the itching palms of various members of this grand organisation. The other evils which, proceed out of this instinct, can better be imagined and described in the villages where there is no security, no fair dealing, no justice and no question of mass contentment being ensured. I should even say that people in districts, particularly Mussalmans who have no means of self-defence left with them, are almost passing through a nightmare. Establishment of grain syndicates and grain purchasing agencies, with their attendant evils, have sent the entire agriculture population into a state of gross discontent, which had already been bleeding under the stress of iniquitous assessment policy. The League constructive programme, on the basis of which we at one time had made promises with, and give solemn undertakings to the masses of Sindh, has come to be honoured in the breach and we are being ridiculed and frowned upon by the people with whom we had failed to keep our word. As a result of the weak-kneed policy of the ministry where government officials are concerned, the latter have almost run amuck; the people feel that they are living under the rule of some unenlightened 18th century despot, rather than under a responsible government.

To cut the matter short, this ministry has done everything which should put its supporters in an unenviable situation and which should render the organisation, which had lent it its colours, grossly unpopular among the masses.

I repeat if anybody were to dispute the accuracy of my statement; I should insist on public inquiry being made for purposes of verification.

Before I conclude I wish to refer to a few more points which deserve considerations, although they do not directly arise from your telegram.

It is to my mind a great tragedy that while I should be stigmatised as the person guilty of having outraged League interests, Sir Ghulam Hussain should be acclaimed as its greatest saviour. While I had been trying to move the League machinery to do justice to Sindh and at the same time to consolidate its strength by fighting by-elections on its behalf, Sir Ghulam Hussain had been doing everything in his power to achieve twofold objectives:

- 1. To discredit the League by his action as premier, and*
- 2. To intrigue with the enemies to weaken the League.*

I have already briefly discussed his conduct as premier. As to his intrigues against the League it should suffice to point out the following most outstanding features of his behaviour:

- 1. When the League did not give his son a ticket for the Shikarpur constituency, he first declined to have anything to do with the election, then inspired his subordinate officials and his nephews to work for Maula Bakhsh. And, finally, when out of sheer expediency and with a view to quench his wrath, we gave a ticket to his relative Nizamuddin, he made the latter withdraw in favour of Maula Bakhsh whom he had called to Karachi and garlanded. As if that was not sufficient, he caused false and highly provocative statement to be published in the names of Nizamuddin and Yusuf Haroon.*
- 2. He has throughout defied and maligned the provincial Muslim League through a systematic process of propaganda.*
- 3. He has taken in Maula Bakhsh as a non-Muslim Leaguer, and had joined up with him in defiance of the fundamental principles of the Muslim League. If the League had adopted a dubious policy about it so far, it does not in any way serve a nitrating factor.*
- 4. He had issued an internment order against the president of the provincial League.*
- 5. In Sindh he had done nothing to strengthen the League or to enhance its creed or reputation.*

My step of February 24 did not in any way militate against the League interests in that my purpose in taking it was not one of depriving the League of its ministry in this province but of providing it with a better one. If I do not succeed in it, it would be mainly due to certain causes, which were beyond any control, for example:

- 1. Your alleged peremptory direction to Sir Ghulam Hussain and Pir Illahi Bakhsh to expel me from the party.*
- 2. Withdrawal of your sympathy*
- 3. Centre's peculiar attitude in the matter of coalition by League ministry with K.B Maula Bakhsh and the head of the so-called Azad party.*

Lastly, Sir, I have looked at this problem from all angles of vision, and I am convinced that by dislodging this ministry I was rather enhancing the prestige, popularity and reputation of the organisation and not injuring them.

However, should the organisation lay down, as a definite rule that whether a ministry is good or bad for people it is no concern of the League and that so long as it sails under the League colours it must be kept in office, I may kindly be so informed.

I am not referring to the other observations contained in the telegram as they are more in the nature of comments (rather than) anything else. However, I am pained to find that I have been accused of intrigues etc. without any inquiry having been held and without my side having been at all heard.⁸⁶

Meanwhile with the moral support of Jinnah and administrative interference of the Governor and the bureaucracy, Sir Ghulam Hussain sought relief and managed to secure the cooperation of Maula Bux Soomro, leader of the Nationalist Muslims. He was helped by the good offices of his nephews, Advocate General Agha Hassan Ali and Commissioner Agha Jaffar Ali. Thus, with the support of the bureaucracy, he again became the Sindh premier.

Here is an agreement he made with Maula Bux Soomro.

My dear Haji Sahib,

I shall be very glad if your independent party forms a coalition with my group of the Muslim League Assembly party. I shall take you in my cabinet forthwith as an independent and have other minister out of your group within a month. In case Mr. Jinnah or the League High Command does not agree to this coalition, I shall not call upon any of you to resign or compel any of you to sign a League pledge. In that case, I shall remain with you and stick to this coalition.⁸⁷

*Yours sincerely
Ghulam Hussain*

The high command of the Muslim League again succeeded in arranging a fake compromise between Sir Ghulam Hussain and G.M. Sayed. As Ghulam Hussain made a settlement with Sayed, he threw out Maula Bux Soomro from the ministry without considering that he had made him a commitment.

Following is the correspondence among the British administration officials regarding this issue.

To acquaint the reader the following reports are reproduced here:

*The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
28 February 1945*

Dow has repeated to you his telegram to me about the defeat of his ministry of a few days ago, and the subsequent developments. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah seems to have kept himself going for the time being, but Sindh politics are peculiar, and Dow may have to go into Section 93 at short notice.⁸⁸

Government of Sindh
3rd March 1945

Dear Wavell

During the ten days prior to the opening of the dispute still persisting between the Hon'ble premier and G.M. Sayed, MLA, president of the Sindh Muslim League. The Muslim League High Command sent down Chaudhry Khaliqzaman and other two members of the Council of Action to try to settle the differences. On the day of the opening of the Assembly, the party passed a vote of confidence in the Hon'ble premier. Three adjournment motions were successfully countered and on the evening of 23rd the Muslim League Assembly party again indicated their confidence in the Hon'ble premier. There was, however, a landslide overnight and when supplementary demands were taken up the following morning a division was demanded on a cut motion which the mover announced to be a vote of censure on the government. In the division, the government was defeated by 25 votes to 19. The Hon'ble premier immediately asked His Excellency the Governor to prorogue the Assembly and this was done. Thereafter the Hon'ble premier negotiated with Khan Bahadur Maula Bux, MLA, brother of late Allah Bux, formerly premier of Sindh, and as a result, the Khan Bahadur has now been sworn-in as a member of the Sindh cabinet and placed in charge of the revenue portfolio. The Assembly is being resummoned for March the 12th. In the meantime, Mr. M.A. Jinnah has denounced G.M. Sayed for doing a great disservice to the Muslim League by splitting its ranks in Sindh. At the same time, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maula Bux has announced his intention to remain in the cabinet as an independent member and not as a member of the Muslim League. There is a considerable speculation in the press whether Jinnah, in view of his previous insistence that the Muslim League should not join in any coalition government, will accept this position so far as Sindh is concerned.⁸⁹

Yours sincerely

H. Dow

One more report by Wavell to Amery.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
6 March 1945

Many thanks for your letter of 22nd February. There are no developments in all-India (party) politics. I will let you know by telegram the result of my interview with Mr. Jinnah, which is provisionally fixed for the morning of 7th March. Provincial politics are also quiet except in Sindh, and Dow has kept you in formed of developments there. Jinnah is very seriously annoyed with G.M. Sayed for causing the "crisis" and rebuked him in a comprehensive telegram which has been published and has given great pleasure to the Hindu press.⁸⁸

Wavell to Amery.

13th March 1945

There are further complications in Sindh. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah hopes to survive the budget session by bringing into the ministry Maula Bakhsh, brother of the late Premier Allah Bakhsh. Maula Bakhsh came in only on the understanding that he would not be required to join the Muslim League and the premier was confident that with his support he would get a majority in the Assembly. The Central Parliamentary Board of the League is now reported to have called upon the premier to resign and to form a new Cabinet in which all the Muslims must be League members. The result may be known before this letter is posted. The premier may comply or rebel, but judging from Dow's reports he may prefer to retire from active politics⁹⁰

Dow to Wavell.

Government of Sindh

17th March 1945

Dear Lord Wavell

The defeat of Sir Ghulam's ministry on the 24th was the result of a temporary coalition of Maula Bux, Nihchaldas and G.M. Sayed aided by temporary desertion of the premier by some of the "hay seed" zamindars under Nawab Amir Ali Lahori. Looking back on events now, it is possible to argue that Maula Bux made a serious tactical error in then coming to an accommodation with Sir Ghulam, For there is no doubt that if the combination had held together for a few days, they could have forced Sir Ghulam's ministry out of office. The natural sequel would have been a min is try with one of the G.M. Sayed group as a premier, and including both Maula Bux and Nihchaldas. Would Jinnah have denounced this combination in the same way that he denounced the taking up of Maula Bux into a League ministry under Ghulam? Logically, he ought to have done, but there is this point of difference that the G.M. Sayed group are the really keen Leaguers, whereas Sir Ghulam's group have always been Laodiceans. Jinnah might have hesitated, and if he had not done so, G.M. Sayed might have defied him. On the whole the probability is that the eventual result would have been the same, but Sir Ghulam would come more creditably out of the proceedings.

The part played by Nawab Lahori in these proceedings deserves further mention, since members of the Assembly are still arguing whether it was that of an extremely subtle and astute politician, or that of a simpleminded fool. It appears that G.M. Sayed, Gazdar and some half dozen other members of the anti-Ghulam combination gave him a signed undertaking that if he would join them, they would agree to make him "dictator" and support any premier whom he might choose. Their intention was undoubtedly to deceive the old man by pandering to his vanity. It is, however, argued that Nawab Amir Ali was not deceived, but on the contrary intended, after defeating Sir Ghulam's ministry, to renominate Sir Ghulam as premier and thus

bind G.M. Sayed's party to support him. The value of this precious document was, of course, specially seen when Sir Ghulam was defeated and the Nawab and his followers at once returned to Sir Ghulam's allegiance. I think it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Nawab was a vain but honest old fool, who was quite out of his depth in these waters, and soon found that he couldn't swim. He has now, with three other members, expressed his disgust at Sir Ghulam's treacherous desertion of Maula Bux, resigned from the League, and joined Maula Bux in opposition.

The document which Sir Ghulam gave to Maula Bux before taking him up into the ministry the next day, shows clearly that Sir Ghulam expected opposition from Jinnah, and was prepared to face it if necessary by defying him and resigning from the League, in which event at least half of the MLAs who are members of the League would have followed him. This was the position until the weekend of 10th to 12th March, on which date the Assembly met again.

There is no doubt in my mind that the principal solvent in breaking down Sir Ghulam's resistance has been petticoat influence exercised through the Haroon family, who are staunch Leaguers. The late Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon had a long feud with Sir Ghulam, which was healed by the marriage of Sir Ghulam's son to Sir Haji Abdullah's daughter. Sir Haji's widow, Lady Haroon, has three quarters of the brains of the family, and runs both the business and their politics. During this political period Lady Haroon and Lady Hidayatullah have both been in Bombay where I understand Sir Ghulam's daughter-in-law has gone for an operation. Yusuf Haroon, Lady Haroon's son, has been busy at Delhi and Sir Ghulam has been almost badgered out of his wits by telephone calls from both places urging that in no circumstances must he leave the League; he has been unable to sleep at night, and this is the real cause of his offer to throw in his hand and resign which I reported in my telegram of the 2nd March. But neither his resignation from the League nor his retirement from politics would suit the Haroon family, who realise that their own political future is bound up with the League and that their opportunities of making money, to which they are equally devoted, depend in the present circumstances on Sir Ghulam remaining in the government and being in a position to get inside information on such questions as food and prices control. These influences have, in my opinion, been the most important ones that have made him submit to the League's demands, break his pledged word and sacrifice his colleagues.

I have perhaps already given in my telegram sufficient account of the actual course of events between the receipt of Liaquat Ali's telegram and the swearing in of my new ministry. All the groups within the Assembly have been in a complete state of flux. They have been meeting almost hourly, day and night, and changing allegiances; and there has been little hesitation in giving me false statements, which in the current state of Sindh political morality are always considered justifiable if there is a hope that they may be believed. E.g. Maula Bux would inform me that Mir Ghulam was negotiating terms with him on which to leave the League: Mir Ghulam Ali would deny that he was doing any such thing; and there was hardly a shade of odds by which I could judge which statement was true.

I feel no doubt that my final decision that Maula Bux could not form a ministry, and that I ought to recall Sir Ghulam, was the correct one. Maula Bux in his final interview with me agreed,

- 1- That no one could defeat Sir Ghulam if he were again made premier, as it would be inferred that he had the Governor's support;*
- 2- That the mere fact of my inviting Maula Bux to form the ministry would bring wavers into his camp and, that I had not given him sufficient time to gain supporters.*

To these arguments my reply was.

1- That on the 24th February he had actually been able to defeat Sir Ghulam who was then premier;
2- That insofar as this argument was valid, it appealed to anyone whom I might invite to form a ministry and,
3- That in the interim between the 24th February and the 14th March, Maula Bux had gained no additional supporters but had lost the support of two powerful groups, those under G.M. Sayed and Nihchaldas. There was therefore, no advantage in my allowing him to set up a Government which in my judgement would be knocked down again at the first cookshy. If on the other hand, I were wrong in my judgement of the support Sir Ghulam would have, it would be a simple matter for Maula Bux to defeat him again during the course of the present session.

I am quite clear that Maula Bux knew that any government he might set up would be very quickly defeated. His real hope was that any government which might I then set up would be unable to get the Budget through in time, and that I should therefore be complete to take over the administration, at least temporarily, under Section 93, as had to be done by Casey in Bengal last year.⁹¹

Yours sincerely

H. Dow

War Cabinet
War Cabinet Paper W.P.
Recent Ministerial Changes in Certain India Provinces.

Memorandum by the Secretary of State of India.
India Office,
5 April 1945

Sindh

The Present Prime Minister, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, has been in office continuously since October 1942. He is an adherent of the Muslim League, and his Ministry is, in fact, a Muslim League coalition with the independent Hindu Party, was formed with the blessing of Mr. Jinnah. In the middle of March this year he reconstituted his Cabinet for the second time within three weeks. On the first occasion, following a defection of some of his Muslim League supporters in the Assembly, he had filled a vacancy in the Ministry by appointing a non-League Muslim. This was in defiance of the policy of the League according no recognition to Muslim elements outside the League. The League promptly asserted its control and the Prime Minister had to give way and drop the newly appointed Minister.⁹²

This third letter throws more light on the situation.

Sir Colville to Amery.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
24 April 1945

You may have noticed Dow's cynical view of Indian elections expressed in paragraph 7 of his letter of the 20th April. He says that the whole of the provincial services are at the beck and call of the ministry in power and dare do no other work of electioneering so long as the elections are in progress; thus it is almost a foregone conclusion that a ministry in power will be returned again. Possibly conditions in other provinces would be slightly better than in Sindh but even I expect there is a lot in what Dow says.⁹³

When the Second World War ended, the British empowered Viceroy Lord Wavell, to constitute an interim government to start negotiations with the Indian leadership. Accordingly he called a conference of Indian leaders in Simla on 25th June 1945. To foster a cordial atmosphere for the conference, the Government released the Congress leadership on 15 June. To examine the British plan, the Muslim League and the Congress held meetings separately of their respective working committees in Simla. G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi and Yusuf Haroon, had gone there to attend the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee.

Following prominent leaders of different parties participated in the conference.

Names

Party and Position

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad	President Indian National Congress	
P.N. Banerji	Nationalist Muslims	
Bhalobhai Desai	Leader Congress Assembly party	
Sir Ghulam Hussain	Premier, Sindh	
Mr. Hussain Imam	Leader Muslim Council State party	
Mr. M.A. Jinnah	President All-India Muslim League.	
Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan	Muslim League Assembly party	Deputy leader
B.J. Kher	Former Chief Minister, Bombay	
Sir Khizer Hayat Tiwana	Chief Minister, Punjab	
Jawaharlal Nehru	Indian National Congress	
Khawaja Nazimuddin	Former Chief Minister, Bengal	
Pandit G.B. Pant		Former Chief Minister, United Provinces
Maharaja Paralkandi	Former Chief Minister, Orissa	
Rajagopalacharya	Former Chief Minister, Madras	
Mr. Henry Richard	Leader European Group	
Sir Syed Mohammed Sadullah	Chief Minister, Assam	

Master Tara Singh Leader Akali Dal
Mr. S. K. Sinha Former Chief Minister, Bihar
N.G. Shoraj Leader, Scheduled Castes

The British delegation had consulted the leaders on proposals about the interim administration, on which the Hindu and Muslims should have equal representation but should have European, Scheduled Castes and other members until a Constituent Assembly for an independent India was elected.

In Simla, G.M. Sayed met several leaders and exchanged views with them. Asif Ali and Pandit Pant persuaded G.M. Sayed that an honourable pact between the Congress and the Muslim League would open the doors to a peaceful atmosphere for the future of the Subcontinent. They were of the view that G.M. Sayed should convince Jinnah to arrive at an agreement with the Congress party.

Raja Sahib Mahmoodabad, Nawab Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman had already discussed the issue with Jinnah but had failed to bring him around. When Sayed met Jinnah, he suggested that an agreement with the Congress party was a better choice, as otherwise mutual differences would provide the British colonialists an opportunity to impose a formula of their own choice. The appointment of ministers by the Congress was their internal matter. Jinnah declared firmly that he wanted to prove that the Congress was only a Hindu party. While G.M. Sayed and Jinnah were discussing the issue, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan arrived and Jinnah told him that Sayed's policies were becoming more and more unbearable. Sir Ghulam Hussain did not want to miss this golden opportunity either, and he too complained about Sayed. Incensed, Jinnah told G.M. Sayed that his behaviour was intolerable and it would be better for him to abandon the association.

The conference ended in fiasco and it produced a breach between the political groups which could never be mended. It also shattered the entire society of the Subcontinent, and social harmony seemed to have disappeared from the soil.

History will be the best judge regarding the opinions of M.A. Jinnah and G.M. Sayed.

At Simla, another difference of opinion arose between G.M. Sayed and M.A. Jinnah, when the latter tried to reduce the powers of the provincial Muslim League. G.M. Sayed saw it as a violation of provincial autonomy. He told Jinnah that any move that opened the doors of interference of the central Muslim League in provincial matters was not acceptable and would be opposed by him on every platform.

On 3 and 4 June, a session of Sindh Muslim League was held. G.M. Sayed was elected president and progressive groups won 80 percent seats of the provincial council. The new council passed a resolution against the Central Muslim League's interference in the affairs of the province.

Text of the resolution:

The Council of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League does not fully agree with the convention established by the All-India Muslim League, which aims at divesting the provincial Leagues of all their inherent powers of control and supervision over Provincial Assembly Parties and ministries.

This policy, in the opinion of the Council, is unworkable, prejudicial to the interest of the provinces and one, which must be revised in view of the following grounds and circumstances:

1. Elections to the provincial legislatures are fought through the agency of the Provincial Leagues. It is mainly through the latter's efforts that the League Assembly members gain their entry into the legislature. It is unfair and detrimental to the interests of the Provincial League, that as soon as the elections are over, the elected members should cease to owe any direct responsibility to it.

2. In the course of electioneering campaigns, the Provincial League naturally give certain undertakings to, and incurs certain responsibilities towards, the electors, on behalf of the organisation, and also on behalf of the candidate concerned. Implementation of such undertakings, and honouring of such responsibilities become impossible unless the Provincial League wield full powers of control over, and regulating of the conduct of the elected members even inside the legislatures.

3. The conduct of the League MLAs inside the Assembly directly reacts on the reputation and popularity of the Provincial League, and the latter falls into an unenviable situation and position if it enjoys no direct powers to correct the course of events in the legislatures through direct control upon the League Assembly Parties.

4. It encourages centralisation to an excessive degree, which is not conducive to the promotion of the spirit of democracy; on the contrary, it definitely militates against the principle of provincial autonomy.

5. The Provincial League is a body present on the spot and consequently in a better position to guide, regulate and control the working of the local Assembly Parties, and to maintain a state of coordination and balance between the provincial electorate and the provincial party.

6. The Central Parliamentary body exercises original powers of control in this matter. It is practically impossible for the Board to look after properly, effectively and efficiently the working of the Parliamentary Parties, throughout the subcontinent of India.

In view of these and other grounds, the Council urges upon the All-India Muslim League to revise the policy, and procedure, so as to avoid the provincial Leagues being reduced to a position of absolute impotency in the matter.⁹⁴

Two letters of Governor of Sindh H. Dow to Viceroy Wavell on the issue.

*Government House Karachi
4th June 1945*

My Dear Lord Wavell

There has not been very much overt political activity in Karachi but Counsels in the Muslim League are much divided, and my ministers are not a very happy team. G.M. Sayed is at his old game of splitting the League into a dominant Pir-cum Sayed faction, with a Mir-cum-Baluch minority, and at present he is intriguing with the Congress members to throw out Mir Ghulam Ali, and if possible Sir Ghulam, from the cabinet. Nihchaldas has also fallen very foul of Mir Ghulam Ali, but is very distrustful of the strong communal policy of the Sayed group.⁹⁵

Yours sincerely

H.

Dow

Another letter from Dow to Wavell on the situation.

*Government of Sindh
20th June 1945*

Dear Lord Wavell

The Sindh provincial Muslim League which is dominated by G.M. Sayed's faction and is also backing an attack on the Central Muslim League, has passed a resolution that Sindh should here after have a governor from England trained, in the best parliamentary traditions, etc, and that in any case I should not be given an extension. The passing of this resolution was preceded by a bitter personal attack on me by Gazdar, who spoke in the vernacular but handed an English version of his speech to the press. (The inference to be drawn from this is that his actual speech was much more libellous than the acknowledged version). I have not troubled to answer any of these matters, and within Sindh nobody could be so stupid as to believe and perhaps nobody except Gazdar himself so dishonest to pretend, that I played the part attributed to me.⁹⁶

Yours sincerely

H. Dow

Dow, in his letter to Wavell, offered him a task that if Jinnah did not ready himself for compromise with the British administration, he would minimise the influence of Jinnah in Sindh with the cooperation of Premier Sir Ghulam Hussain's desertion to Jinnah.

Sir H. Dow (Sindh) to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell

2 July 1945

No.111-S.C. Your telegram No. 155-S.C. of 30th Jun e. In my opinion if Jinnah is intransigent, attempts should be made to form an Executive Council without the Muslim League. Difficulties of this are recognised, but alternative appears to be carrying on as to present, in which case bitter resentment and hostility both of Congress and Muslim League has to be faced and intensification of communal feeling which would probably manifest itself in sporadic outbreaks of violence.

Much of Jinnah's influence depends on feeling that he is going to be successful, and will disappear if you make it clear that he is not going to get away with it. Incidentally, his hold on Sindh is very tenuous and I believe my Premier would require little persuasion to break away from the League, in which case certainly one and probably two of my other Ministers would join him, and I should have no difficulty in running a non-League coalition min is try in Sindh. Jinnah's reference to successes in by-elections does not apply to Sindh, where in one recent election a Muslim League candidate withdrew to avoid certain defeat and in another election could put up no candidate, while in both elections the candidate who had unofficial support of Muslim Leaguers was defeated.⁹⁷

Your sincerely
H. Dow

Dow in his letter to Wavell commented on Sindh leadership.

*Government House Karachi
12th July 1945*

Dear Lord Wavell

There has been no local political activity of importance apart from speculations as to the outcome of the negotiations at Simla, whether the more esurient and unscrupulous of our local Muslim Leaguers have hastened to give Jinnah the benefit of their advice. They at least are tired of being hungry in the wilderness. I understand the band consists of Yusuf Haroon, G.M. Sayed, Gazdar, Shaikh Abdul Majid and "Pir" Ali Mohammed Rashdi (about whose activities I wrote to you in my letters of 18th June.) I should say that they would support Jinnah as long as they think he is going to be successful in his commands.⁹⁸

Jinnah came to Karachi on 28 August 1945. The ministerial side complained to him that G.M. Sayed had a majority in the Parliamentary Board. Jinnah told G.M. Sayed that the Board would be reshuffled. G.M. Sayed replied that the council of Sindh Muslim League elected the Board, but Jinnah insisted and pressurised G.M. Sayed to accept his order.

Sayed agreed under protest and Jinnah constituted a Parliamentary Board of the Sindh Muslim League, consisting of G.M. Sayed, Khair Shah, Agha Ghulam Nabi, Sir Ghulam Hussain, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Pir Illahi Bux and Mohammed Ayub Khuhro.

On October 1, a meeting of the Sindh Parliamentary Board was held at Sayed's residence, Hyder Manzil, Karachi. The ministerial side wanted to award the tickets of the League to their protege. Under the circumstances, when every member's desire was to secure more and more seats for his friends, G.M. Sayed felt it would be better to postpone the meeting and decided to convene a meeting of the Sindh Council to consider the issue.

This action of G.M. Sayed came as a shock for those who nurtured hopes for seats. They immediately went to Khuhro's house, two doors away from Sayed's house and without consulting with the provincial president and head of the Parliamentary Board, they distributed tickets to their friends.

A report from the Governor of Sindh to the Viceroy on the meeting of the Parliamentary Board.

Government of Sindh
5th October

1945
Dear Lord Wavell

The affairs of the Sindh provincial Muslim League are in the greatest confusion. Jinnah's back was hardly turned before the "Parliamentary Committee" of seven which he had got appointed for the selection of the Assembly candidates who were to be given the League ticket broke up into two distinct parties. G.M. Sayed as chairman finding himself in minority, adjourned the committee. The majority consisting of my premier, two other ministers (Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali) and Khan Bahadur Khuhro, continue to sit and distribute "tickets" both sides have appealed to Jinnah, and presumably under his instructions, the work of the committee has been suspended pending a visit to Sindh by Liaquat Ali Khan and the Muslim League central parliamentary committee on 12th October, G.M. Sayed has called a meeting of the provincial League Council for the same day.

G.M. Sayed is at his old game of using the provincial Muslim League to break up the League ministry, mainly with the object of ousting Sir Ghulam from the premiership and getting a ministry of his own nominees. The local Hindu press is, of course jubilant over these open discussions in the League, and doing all it can to exploit them in favour of the Congress Nationalist Muslims.⁹⁹

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

G.M. Sayed informed Jinnah that Khuhro, Sir Ghulam Hussain and Mir Ghulam Ali had chosen to induct their own candidates. The Mir even said that a Baloch, any Baloch, must be awarded the party ticket from Lyari otherwise the Baloch group would dissociate itself from the League.

Sayed also called a meeting of the Council of the Sindh Muslim League to consider the issue. The ministerial side also acknowledged Jinnah and sought help from the party high command to intervene in the matter. Jinnah, without waiting for the Council -- which had been summoned by G.M. Sayed to resolve the matter on October 13, 1945 -- to convene, instead sent a delegation consisting of Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Mohammed Ismail and Hussain Imam. They wanted to use their authority to resolve the matter, but Sayed challenged them as he believed that the central party's interference in provincial matters was illegal, and also intolerable.

Dr. Hamida Khuhro, as a historian, has thrown light on the controversy brewing between G.M. Sayed and the high command of the Muslim League in her book as under:

Sayed also realised what had long been obvious, that the central organization of Muslim League was dominated by members from Muslim minority provinces, and that their interests didn't necessarily reflect those of the Muslims of the majority provinces. It appeared that a 'showdown' between the president of the provincial Muslim League and the (party) high command was inevitable, sooner rather than later.¹⁰⁰

The Council of the Sindh Muslim League met on 14th October 1945 and passed a motion of no-trust against some members of the Parliamentary Board by 35 to 5 votes. The Council, for the sake of party unity, appointed a five-member committee to consult the Central Board over election issues. The Board members were:

- 1- G.M. Sayed
- 2- Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri
- 3- Sayed Mohammed Ali Shah
- 4- Sayed Khair Shah
- 5- Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan

However, without consulting the above committee, the Muslim League's central representatives allocated tickets to their own nominees in the provincial Muslim League.

This state of affairs is described by Hugh Dow, Governor of Sindh, in his letter to Viceroy Wavell, on how the Muslim League high command distributed party tickets.

Government of Sindh
21st October 1945

Dear Lord Wavell

Liaquat Ali Khan and other members of the League "High Command" have again been to Karachi to allocate the few remaining tickets. They have been given to adherents of the Khuhro faction, and four candidates of the G.M. Sayed faction, including one of my ministers, Mohammed Ali Shah, have been deprived of their tickets on the ground that they have been helping Rashdi against the official Muslim League candidate, Yusuf Haroon. It remains to be seen whether these deposed candidates will put in nomination papers today, in spite of their promise to accept the League's decision and not to oppose any one with the League ticket.¹⁰¹

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

After a short while, Jinnah arrived in Karachi and G.M. Sayed called upon him. Jinnah insisted that Sayed accept the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board. Sayed told him that the Sindh League Council members were wiser in this matter, and could better understand the political scenario of Sindh as opposed to the Central Parliamentary Board, whose vision was limited to Karachi and not the rest of the countryside. The central members of the party had never ventured outside Karachi so their understanding of the problems of the masses was fairly limited.

Both men stuck to their point of view. Jinnah again summoned G.M. Sayed and asked him to accept the decision of the Central Board. G.M. Sayed refused to accept this decision, unless it was endorsed by a majority of the Provincial Council. Following are two reports by Sindh Chief Secretary G.W. McElhinny to Viceroy Wavell on how the matter was viewed by the British administration.

Government of Sindh
2nd November 1945

Mr. Jinnah has paid another visit to Karachi but seems to have been no more successful than before in uniting the two sections of the Muslim League, viz., the section led by Mr. G.M. Sayed, who claims to be the champion of the Muslim masses and agricultural labourers against the Zamindars and Nawabs. It seems possible that Mr. G.M. Sayed's group may form a Muslim League forward bloc and set up their own candidates against the regular candidates of the League.¹⁰²

Yours sincerely
G. W. McElhinny

Government House Karachi
3rd November 1945

My Dear Lord Wavell

Mr. Jinnah has again come and gone. He has me down heavily on the side of the ministry and against the (G.M.) Sayed faction and Sayed seems to be still hesitating how far he dare carry his open opposition to the official Muslim League. Most of the Muslim League "tickets" have been distributed by the Central Parliamentary Board to candidates belonging to the premier's party, but in seven or eight constituencies official Muslim League candidates have not been chosen. Possibly the idea is to give these to G.M. Sayed's faction if in the meantime he comes to heel and promised to be a good boy. But whatever the pretences of reconciliation may ultimately be, it is quite certain that in many of the constituencies rival "independent" candidates will be put up, against the official ones and by Nihchaldas and the Hindus generally. The Hindu press represents G.M. Sayed's revolt as a move for clean government, anticorruption and help for the underdog, but considering that Sayed's principal supporters are men like Gazdar, Ali Mohammed Rashdi and Shaikh Abdul Majid, the gullible public can hardly be expected to swallow this.¹⁰³

*Yours sincerely
H. Dow*

Parting Ways with Jinnah's League

Dreams Come Unstuck

G.M. Sayed now had only two choices open to him. He could either accept the decisions of the Muslim League high command, or resign from the party altogether. G.M. Sayed has narrated the situation prevailing as under:

Here I was face to face with the Quaid-i-Azam of the Muslim India, storming and raging; just because I had tried in my own humble way to live up to those ideals for which he praised me once; just because I was vigilant in protecting the honour and prestige of the provincial organisation, he had once asked me to guide; just because I was vain enough to strive and express the inarticulate voice of the Muslim masses whose interests the Congress had already failed to represent; and just because I was earnest enough to rise and defend the glory of Quaid-i-Azam in whose name lacs of Sindhi Muslims had been taught to love and honour and identify with their own salvation.

But in reality the Quaid-i-Azam was angry and furious, because his will had been thwarted. He was unequivocal in his censure of me. He dismissed the whole band of League workers represented in the Provincial Council, as a mere mob. He denied the provincial organisation's all rights and privileges concerning its very existence and its prestige in the eyes of the people of this province. He was angry because he was the leader and his commands possessed the sanctity of inviolable law.

No, this was not a conflict between two highly assertive personalities who were determined to have their own way, this was rather the inevitable conflict between two essentially different attitudes and ideologies, that had gathered its momentum as years had rolled by. He was the mighty angel from the top that viewed the surface with an indifferent sweep, and whose unchallengeable authority could not be dictated; mine was the humble view from the bottom, working its way from the concrete realities of my province. I felt confident that my feet were planted on solid earth and this conflict had arisen out of the very real problems that had cropped up within my range of experience. These problems had to be solved first before there could be any bigger problems demanding solution.¹

G.M. Sayed had issued a statement on 28th October which highlighted the details of his differences with the League high command and the Sindh Cabinet. He also issued a second statement on 26th December 1945, clarifying his position and setting down his view of the developing situation with great courage.

Text of G.M. Sayed's statement:

The inevitable has come to pass, my worst fears regarding the reactionary leadership of the Muslim League Organization have come true. The entire progressive element in the (Muslim) League of this province has been knocked off. Not a single person from my group finds a place in the list of League candidates selected by the Central Parliamentary Board. The last stroke was delivered by cancelling the tickets of four of my friends in spite of the clear and unambiguous promise (from the party central command) that no step would be taken against them on their alleged defaults, and on the basis of which I alone had agreed that the Sindh organisation would respect and carry out the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board. Even though these decisions reflected the wishes of persons who have monopolised the League in the name of Islam and Pakistan for the preservation of their own vested interests. The cancelled tickets have been allotted to men, some of whom have never even been Muslim Leaguers. The perversity of the step can be evaluated by the fact that the party ticket withdrawn from a man of such an unassailable character as Hon'ble Mohammed Ali Shah was given to a person having to his credit (court) convictions under Section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and who, even today is being prosecuted on a similar charge.

I feel I owe it to my countrymen to give them a short history of the causes of our differences. People know that I was a member of the Congress before I joined the League. I parted company with the Congress on the ground that they allowed the considerations of their All-India policy to have a preference over the immediate good of our Province. This was unacceptable to me. I and my friends joined the League, worked hard for it and did everything to place it on a firm foundation, with a view to serve the interests of the masses of this province who are predominantly Muslims. But, alas, it proved an idle dream. While trying to get rid of the Hindu vested interests, we are being brought under the heels of the Muslim feudal lords. In the Congress there was some hope; in the League there is none.

I would briefly mention the points of our differences:

- 1. In determining the course of conduct, we are made subordinate to the good of the people of the province, to the requirements of their all-India policy which today, as it is known to many, is, for all practical purposes, controlled and laid (down) by the Muslims in the Muslim minority provinces. These friends while claiming to set us free from the dominance of Hindu India are in fact clearly bringing us under their own dominance, and, in order to perpetuate their own monopoly at the centre, they are not only encouraging the reactionary elements in the Province, but, are even a party to the Muslim masses being kept eternally humiliated.*
- 2. No effort is made to purify the organisation: on the contrary, the reactionary elements are pushed to the forefront and all attempts to serve the masses are cleverly frustrated. In order, however, to distract the attention of our people from these failings, they take the easy course of singing the hymns of hatred against the Hindu community. This has resulted in our being rendered useless to the Muslim masses, incapable of fighting the British (as no Nawab or Jagirdar can ever make a sacrifice) and unacceptable to the Congress party from which we were kept as far apart as possible.*
- 3. With a view to safeguarding the interest of the class they represent, those in authority in the organisation, are anxious to see that the provincial assemblies are so composed as to ensure the return to the Constituent Assembly when it is formed, of only such men as would undertake to perpetuate the dominance of their vested interest. In the name of religion, they seek to out the Hindu capitalists and replace them with Muslim capitalists. They are prepared even to wait for the freedom of India until the Hindus have accepted the principle of Pakistan. Until that is done, they refused to make a common cause with the other progressive elements in the country in fighting the British. But, in their own sphere they are unwilling to grant to the representatives of the masses the place which is their due. In the name of Muslim solidarity, we are asked to swallow all that is*

done to keep the vested interests in power. When they are questioned whether it is for men like Sir Ghulam Hussain that we have been asked to secure Pakistan, we are snubbed and ordered not to raise the subject of economic divisions, until we have reached the goal. It is conveniently forgotten that even at this stage (of the struggle) it is necessary to lay down as to whom is the power to be entrusted in when Pakistan comes about. The feudal lords of the League have no scruples in interning the president of their own organisation if he dares to work for the peasants. They are ever ready to adopt Fascist methods to root out their opponents. And yet we are asked to trust them!

In reality the breaking point was reached long ago. We were nevertheless endeavouring to see if a provisional understanding could be arrived at for the duration of the election. To my great disappointment, I find however that while playing the tune of solidarity, they had no desire to work for it. In view of this, I have been painfully driven to decide:-

- i. To renounce my League ticket so as to enable the opponents to deal with it as they deem fit. As it is, they have already inspired some of their sycophants to contest against me. I have no desire to let them work under a handicap. Let them have an open opportunity to work against me.
- ii. To resign from the membership of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League.
- iii. To refuse to recognise the authority of the central organisation of the League till such time as the present leadership continues to monopolise the centre.
- iv. To reconstitute the working committee of the Sindh Muslim League.
- v. To issue tickets with the approval of the committee by the Provincial League to set up our candidates.²

The Muslim League High Command treated this statement as an act of disobedience and on 2 January 1946 took disciplinary action against G.M. Sayed, expelling him from the party.

Following is a brief text of the League decision:

"Disciplinary action against G.M. Sayed"

Disciplinary action against G.M. Sayed was taken by the All-India Muslim League Committee of Action in its 2nd January 1946 meeting held at Delhi, the following resolution was passed:

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League have carefully considered the statement dated 26 December 1945, issued to the Press by G.M. Sayed, President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, a copy of which he has sent to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. The committee is of the opinion that the above-mentioned statement is not only most mischievous and harmful to the best interest of the League, especially at this most critical juncture, but also is in flagrant violation of the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League.

The Committee, therefore, hereby removes Mr. G.M. Sayed from the office of the President of the Sindh Muslim League organisation for gross breach of discipline, and contumacious conduct and debar him from becoming a member of the Muslim League, until such time as the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League removes this ban.

Further the Committee directs the Vice-President Mr. M.H. Gazdar to take charge of the Provincial Muslim League Office and its funds immediately, and to submit a report in this behalf to the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League.

(2) In view of the extraordinary situation that has arisen in the Provincial Muslim League of Sindh, due to the removal of its President Mr. G.M. Sayed from office on account of his gross indiscipline and contumacious conduct and in view of the fact

that the elections to the Provincial Legislature are in full swing, the Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League deems it necessary to appoint the following committee to take immediate charge of the election work in the Province:

Mr. M.A. Khuhro, Member Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League; Mr. M.H. Gazdar, Vice-President of Sindh Provincial League; Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan, General Secretary of Sindh Provincial Muslim League; Mr. Ghulam Ali Talpur and Mr. Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, MLA Central, Convener of the Committee.

(3) In view of that fact that the following members of the Muslim League are contesting elections, against the official Muslim League candidates for the Sindh Provincial Legislative Assembly in violation of their solemn pledge and disregard of the Rules and Regulation of the Muslim League, the Committee of Action hereby expels them from the Muslim League for a period of five years: Sayed Mohammed Ali Shah, Pir Qurban Ali, Sayed Khair Shah, Sayed Ghulam Haider Shah, Khan Bahadur A.K Gabol, Sayed Saleh Mohammed Shah, Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri, Sayed Hassan Bux Shah, and Pir Ghulam Nabi Shah.³

The Governor's report to the Viceroy on the dispute between G.M. Sayed and the League leadership.

*Government House Karachi
4th January 1946*

Dear Lord Wavell

The differences between Mr. Sayed and the Muslim League have now developed into a definite split and in a number of constituencies candidates of Mr. Sayed's party will oppose candidates who have received the League ticket. No Muslim candidate is standing under the Congress ticket, as it is considered that a Congress ticket would be fatal to the chances of any candidate seeking election in a Muslim constituency.⁴

*Yours sincerely
Mudie*

G.M. Sayed also gave his version through a statement and clarified his position regarding the action of the Central High Command against him.

Karachi Tuesday (8.1.1946) Mr. G.M. Sayed President of the Provincial Muslim League has issued the following statement with reference to the resolution of the Council of Action removing him from the presidentship of the Provincial League and expelling him from the organisation itself. He also replies to the Nawabzada Liaquat Ali's statement.

I have read press reports about the resolution passed by the Action Committee of the All-India Muslim League, to remove me from the presidentship of the Sindh provincial Muslim League, up till now I have not received any official intimation about the Sindh resolution. But such a resolution, if actually passed, does neither affect my position as the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, nor shakes me in my resolve to stand up to the last for the cause of the Muslim masses, and with

that end in view, to strive for the purification of the Muslim League organisation from the influence of exploiters and self-seekers.

The constitutional position is that there exists the inherent and inalienable right of the Council of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League to elect its own President, and therefore, so long, as I have not lost confidence of the said Council, I cannot be removed from the said office, and, the presidentship of the Council of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League is, as provided in the constitution not P/1 (sic) within the gift of the All-India Muslim League. The Latter is not competent to take it away from me as it seeks to do by passing such a resolution, which, therefore, is clearly ultra virus and has no constitutional sanction behind it.

Expulsion from the League.

Similarly, my expulsion from the Muslim League is equally unconstitutional, inasmuch as, all that I have done, has been done by me in my capacity as the President Sindh Provincial Muslim League, and with the support of the Council of the Sindh Provincial League, but there is nothing that I have done in my individual capacity. Under the circumstances, all that the Committee of Action was competent to do would be to disaffiliate the Sindh Provincial Muslim League in which case too, I would continue to occupy and hold my position as the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, and the latter would function as an independent body until such time as the Committee of Action saw its error and revised its attitude. But the Committee of Action knows that I continue to enjoy the support of my Council and therefore, it has tried to sidetrack the issue, and attempted to take away from me what it is not constitutionally competent to do so.

Where any proof needed for the fact that I enjoy the confidence of my Council and that it is opposed to the decisions of the Central Parliamentary Board, and the Committee of Action, that proof is furnished by the appointment of the Adhoc Committee to do the election easing propaganda work for the candidates set up by the Central Parliamentary Board. The six persons nominated on the adhoc committee have been selected from amongst the minority group of the Sindh Provincial Council and as such do not represent the Provincial Council as a whole. This step of the Action Committee does show that it knows that the Provincial Council is not in a mood to support the candidates selected by the Central Parliamentary Board which has made the Action Committee to feel it necessary to have recourse to the appointment of this adhoc committee.

In short, the manner in which the Committee of Action has gone about its business will neither suppress the progressive elements in the Muslim League to which I have the privilege to belong, nor contribute to the cause we all in the name of the Muslim League are pledged to promote and I bear it to the world at large to judge for itself the bonafides of the Committee of the Action and how fairly and justly it has acted in this matter.

I also deem it necessary to refer to the press statement issued by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. He categorically denies the fact of the undertaking which, he and Qazi Isa gave to me on December 19, 1945 at Karachi to the effect that no disciplinary action would be taken against anybody, and that the status quo would be maintained. But the plain truth is that such an undertaking given to me, the fact of which was reported in the local press during the time that the two gentlemen were at Karachi, but they never challenged the truth of the report while they were here.

Adverting(sic) to the Committee of Action again, I must refer to my letter which I wrote as early as November last, to the Chairman of the Committee, informing him about Mr. Yusuf Haroon and the friends openly working against some of the candidates set up by the Central Parliamentary Board. To this day, the said letter has remained unnoticed and unanswered and no attempt has been made to verify the truth of the report. Had something been done things would have been prevented

from taking the course that they have done. But it appears that Mr. Yusuf Haroon and his friends had deeply ingratiated themselves with their friends at the centre who have done everything in their power to shield and support these favourites without any regard to the rules, or the good name of the organisation. I do not know if the Committee of Action is also not aware about the reputation, character and bonafides of the persons who have been favoured by the Central Parliamentary Board with Muslim League tickets under the baneful influence of the Haroon family and K.B. Mohammed Ayub Khuhro. But it may perhaps interest the Committee still to know a few facts:

Some of the nominees of the Central Parliamentary Board have never been in the Muslim League for a day.

Some of them have been and continue to be avowed supporters of K.B. Haji Maula Bux, the well-known nationalist candidate from Shikarpur constituency.

Some of them are working against other such nominees to the knowledge of the Central Parliamentary Board.

Some of them have secretly signed the pledge of the Jamiat ul Ulema.

Some others have pledged their support to the Khaksar constitution so as to secure the support of the Khaksars.

One of them who has been selected in preference to Hon'ble Sayed Mohammed Ali Shah, Minister, P.W.D., has to his credit two convictions under Section 110 of the Cr. PC, and is even now on trial for the third time under the same charge.

Another is on trial for more than seven months for forgery and defalcation of public funds.

Some of them have gained a reputation as fluid elements in the Sindh Assembly and have betrayed the Muslim League several times.

Some of them are known throughout the province as instruments of oppression, corruption and misrule.

Such are the favourites of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who are expected to uphold the honour and prestige of the Muslim League in Sindh.

I may also mention the last gift of the Nawabzada when he came down to Sindh along with Qazi Isa, ostensibly to work for the good name of the Muslim League. It had removed four tickets previously given by the Centre and confers them on men of obscure position, dubious influence and uncertain loyalties in preference to those who had been pillars of strength to the organisation. And where position and public character were above question, what is more important is the fact that the new favourites of the Nawabzada had all openly declared their intention to support the official candidates, and had not cared about their formal applications for the League ticket.

In view of all these facts to which the Committee of Action appear to have a blind eye, is it any wonder if the Sindh Provincial Muslim League has set up its own candidates? In order to save the reputation of the Muslim League and the future of the Province by attempting to keep out men of the type selected in the name of the Central Parliamentary Board.

I have no desire to carry the controversy any further. Whatever I have done is for the sole purpose of saving the face of the League and safeguarding the future of this province. Time alone will show whether we are real and honest Leaguers or the persons in whom Nawabzada Sahib and his friends have chosen to place their confidence. It is my earnest hope that the stand that I have taken as the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, based as it is on righteousness and the ideals of the

League, will be fully vindicated at no distant date and will prove to be a source of strength to the Muslim organisation in its march towards our destined goal of Pakistan for the benefit of our downtrodden and hard-pressed masses.⁵

Mr. Jinnah nominated Shahmir Kachhi as Muslim League candidate against G.M. Sayed in Kotri-Sehwan constituency and issued a statement in favour of Kachhi.

Text of statement:

I am sorry to say that at last at the most critical moment, Mr. Sayed has stabbed the Muslim League organisation in the back. The Committee of Action has expelled him from the League and he no longer stands on the League ticket. It was therefore too late to put up a candidate officially in that constituency as Mr. Sayed's action was deliberately timed so as to prevent the League from putting up a candidate but fortunately Shahmir Kachhi who has been a Leaguer and was a member of the Provincial Council happened to put up nomination papers and is contesting this seat against Mr. Sayed.

Although for technical reasons we have not been able to give him an official League ticket for all intents and purposes he is a Leaguer and I am assured that he will remain loyal to the League and as such I appeal to the Muslims of Sindh in general, and those of Kotri-Sehwan constituency in particular, to support wholeheartedly Mr. Shahmir, and thus demonstrate their disapproval and displeasure over the conduct and actions of Mr. Sayed, who as they know, has already been expelled from the League organisation.⁶

Qazi Javed, an intellectual from the Punjab, has described differences of G.M. Sayed and Mr. Jinnah as under:

When it comes to mentioning something about G.M. Sayed one does not only talk of his complaints and grievances (high-handedness) about the Punjab, but also about his ardent and long relationship with the Muslim League, and then the cutting of this relationship rather suddenly as mentioned before. He had joined the Muslim League in 1938 and then after five years as the president of the Sindh Muslim League he got the Pakistan Resolution accepted by the provincial Assembly of Sindh. Subsequently just two years later in 1945 he parted ways with the League and (this relationship) continued to remain detached (until his death). Why was it so? The answer to this question is generally given by saying that differences had been produced between G.M. Sayed and Quaid-i-Azam due to the fact that before the general election in January 1946, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was the chief minister of Sindh and he had chosen candidates at the behest of Quaid-i-Azam, which caused G.M. Sayed to be displeased with the Quaid-i-Azam. This point has also been mentioned by Mohammed Ayub Khuhro. But it has generally been refuted by other people. Khuhro has described the origin of this difference as going back to the Bombay session of the Muslim League in 1942 during which G.M. Sayed had advised the Quaid-i-Azam to carry out discussions with Mahatma Gandhi but this suggestion was also rejected outright. As a matter of fact both reasons could be considered as being correct, but the points of view of the two leaders were so different from each other that it had become impossible for the two to get along together with any degree of understanding. Quaid-i-Azam always kept in mind the political rights of the Indian Muslims as a whole where as G.M. Sayed looked for a spiritual revolution carried out through mystic routes. In order to understand the difference between the points of view of the two, we have to study the speech delivered by G.M. Sayed in the Karachi session of the League in 1943.

When Islam stepped in, Buddhism was the course of life with 'Sanial' of Mahatma Buddha. Islam just added affirmation (surrender and safety). Vedanta and oneness also interacted on each other in this land. On the one side oneness influenced Hindu Yogis who decreased idol-worship, on the other side Muslim saints were impressed by the renunciation and included music in Sufism.

Hindu-Muslims faiths thus came close to each other. The teachings of Baba Guru Nanak are an outstanding example and outcome of this hypothesis. The Muslim Sufis propagated the founding oneness in all religions under the guidance of Shah Abdul Latif, created a harmony and mutual respect among the believers of various religions. The proof of the same can be seen among the living based on love and peace in the inhabitants of this area, the untouchability of India can never be found, even if you search for it, in the daily life of Sindh."

Qazi Javed adds further: *It is now left to you to decide that a person who was earlier influenced by the teachings of Bhagat Kabir, Guru Nanak, the traditions of Mohenjodaro, the strand of unity in all religions and in the brotherhood of all man, and considered these to be his cultural heritage, should suddenly in 1943 start believing in the two-nation theory and should have started going along with the ideology of the Muslim League. This is why I do not consider it correct to look for the reasons due to which differences arose between G.M. Sayed and Quaid-i-Azam in the distribution of election tickets or due to a clash of personality. The real reason for this is to be found in the frame of mind of the two men and the mental distance between them, and the fact that they represented two opposites in their philosophical visions of the future of Sindh, and therefore could never have marched together for long.*

In reality these two visionaries had represented two opposing traditions and aspirations of the Indian Muslims viz. one tradition sought protection and security of the Muslims, whereas the other tradition was based on humanism which gives more importance to human values and tolerance rather than simply to Muslim values. Foremost among those who subscribed to the first tradition are Shurfuddin Yahya Muneeri and Mujadad Alaf Sani. Emperor Aurangzeb, and in our times Allama Iqbal also advocated this tradition.

As far as the second tradition is concerned, one can mention the saints and Sufis of the Chishtiya and Qadria orders, as well as Akbar the Great and Darashuko.

It is not possible to reconcile the two traditions with each other. This had been attempted by Shah Waliullah, but he was not successful in his effort.

In the realm of the philosophy these two approaches have been termed as Wahadutulshahood 'Patheism' (unity of appearance) and Wahadutulwajud 'Pantheism' (unity of existence). In the modern sense one can call this first group the group aspiring to a fundamentalist ideal, while the second group aspires to the modernist or progressive ideal.

I am fully aware that I have tried to oversimplify the definitions of these two schools of thought and it is like trying to encapsulate a whole river into a small case. But one cannot help doing such a thing in a short essay.

Now we can return to the discussion about G.M. Sayed and the state that Allama Iqbal and other intellectuals and ideologues of the Muslim League had visualised since they followed the thoughts of Shurfuddin Yahya Muneeri, whereas G.M. Sayed followed the second tradition i.e. he followed the views of Wahadutulwajood (Pantheism).⁷

The Muslim League ministry made a bargain with Shahmir Kachhi, a small landlord, to contest against G.M. Sayed, in return for which they would remit the sentence of his uncle Allan Khan. Although Kachhi had a close family relationship with G.M. Sayed, he competed against Sayed in the election.

A report from the Governor of Sindh to the Viceroy about the bargaining that went on between Kachhi and the cabinet and also the role of the governor.

Government House Karachi
7th March 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

I enclose a copy of McElhinny's report for the second half of February.

I was afraid at one time that the action taken by the provincial government might make the ministry's position more difficult, but I think that the reverse has been the case. Their fate is in the hands of the three European members and they, of course, approve neither of mutiny nor of riots. What was far more dangerous was the attack on government over the commutation of the death sentence of Allan Khan as reported in my letter No. 79/68 of 13th February. The Hindu press took this up on the lines that it was political jobbery of the worst type, and as such Europeans could not support it. As far as I know, however, the European members, though they disapprove the commutation, are not prepared on the ground to put G.M. Sayed into power. Actually I do not think that it was an act of political jobbery. It was said.... the ministry wanted to commute the sentence because Allan Khan has a cousin whom was opposing Sayed in the election. But before the matter came up in council he had withdrawn in Sayed's favour and the ministry owed him nothing. It is now said that it was Sayed who wanted the sentence commuted.

Personally I think it was merely an act of gross stupidity by Ghulam Ali the Home Minister, who persuaded the others. He is a good-hearted but stupid and obstinate little man. Whatever happens, it has a good lesson to them.⁸

*Yours sincerely
R.F. Mudie*

A few days before the polls, Kachhi withdrew in favour of G.M. Sayed who was then elected unopposed and became a member of the Sindh Legislative Assembly. In an election campaign of short duration, the G.M. Sayed group won a total of four seats, while 27 were won by the Muslim League, 21 by Congress, four by the Muslim nationalists of the Maula Bux Soomro group, three by Europeans and one by Labour.

G.M. Sayed group, formed a coalition together with Maula Bux Soomro Group, Congress and Labour, with strength of 29 in a House of 60 members. G.M. Sayed was elected leader of the coalition group.

The Muslim League had only 27 members, but the Europeans, who were always averse to joining any group, supported the League in the House on the insistence of the Governor of Sindh. Thus their strength was raised to 30.

The Governor of Sindh, R.F. Mudie, summoned G.M. Sayed, and the two men exchanged views on the prevailing situation. Sayed was amazed when the Governor began to persuade him to reconcile his differences with the Central Muslim League, as if the British Governor was a patron of the Muslim League. G.M. Sayed was perplexed as to whether the Governor was speaking on behalf of the Muslim League, in his own personal capacity, or on the direction of the British administration of the time. The Governor further said that the Sayed group was harming Muslim interests in India by being outside the fold of the Muslim League.

Meanwhile, an effort was made by Mohammed Hashim Gazdar, acting president of the Muslim League, to establish a stable government in Sindh with the coalition of the Congress and the Muslim League. For that purpose he held several meetings with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Valabhai Patel. He conveyed a message to Jinnah in this respect and

held talks with Sir Ghulam Hussain, G.M. Sayed and Maula Bux Soomro. He secured the agreement but the short time available did not permit him to realise his aim.

Viceroy Wavell's report to the Secretary of State Amery on the current political situation in Sindh.

5th February 1946.

At the moment it appears that there will be an anti-League coalition Government in Sindh, but I doubt very much whether the Congress have been wise in their tactics in Sindh. It is known everywhere that the Sayed group has devoted their efforts to commanding the highest price and that Sayed himself if he accepts the premiership will be a bought man. And not a stable one.⁹

The Governor asked Ghulam Hussain on 6 February to resign. Governor Mudie called upon Sir Ghulam Hussain on 8th February to form the government and Hussain was sworn in as a premier on 9th February along with Khuhro, Talpur and Pir Illahi Bux.

Patrick French emphasised the action of the Governor as under in his book Liberty or Death:

In their election there was no clear mandate for any one party, and a minority League administration was formed under Ghulam Hussain at the discretion of the governor.¹⁰

The Governor's action of calling upon Hidayatullah to form the ministry was termed unconstitutional by G.M. Sayed. He emphasised it in his following statement:

The Governor of Sindh has appointed his Cabinet under the Premiership of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and a "Communique" issued from Government House explaining the various circumstances, which governed the communiqué, has followed this. I am afraid the position as explained in the communique is not correct, and I think, at the very outset, I must take the public into confidence regarding that aspect of the matter.¹¹

The report by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State on the instability of the few weeks old Government.

*The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
18th February 1946*

The elections continue. Neither in Assam nor in Sindh has it been possible to secure a coalition between the Congress and the Muslim League, but this was to be expected. The Sindh Government looks extremely insecure and may well be defeated as soon as the session begins on 12th March. The prospects of getting the budget through without resort to Section 93 do not look bright. There have been two examples in the last week of the corrupt nature of Sindh politics. In connection with the appointment of High Court Judge the Muslim ministers put in a presentation that the post must go to a Sindhi Muslim. The object of this was to secure appointment of the Premier's nephew who is said by the Governor to be neither the most senior nor the most efficient of the district judges of Sindh. Secondly the ministry decided unanimously that the mercy petition of one Allan Khan should be accepted and the sentence of death commuted. The reason was a purely political one. Allan Khan's brother agreed to contest a fairly hopeless constituency (against G.M. Sayed) on behalf of the Muslim League. Allan Khan's

offence was described as follows by (Hugh) Dow in a letter to me. 'He collected a band of desperadoes, and with them raided the police station, overawed the police and stole their muskets and ammunition; went on and set fire to the post office; and having thus created terror enough to secure himself from interruption came across his enemy, a respectable Hindu merchant and Zamindar, (who had been given the title of Khan Sahib) at the head of a marriage procession. The band fired indiscriminately at this procession, wounded the Rao Sahib severely, and killed four other people in the procession. The case was brought to trial, the accused was sentenced to death and six other persons to various terms of imprisonment. Dow insisted that the proposal to commute the sentence, which is a matter for the provincial government, should be taken in a council meeting. The case came up after Mudie had taken over and since the Governors' special responsibilities were not involved, Mudie had to acquiesce. But it is a shocking decision.

I shall be surprised if Congress get their money's worth for the large sum they are generally supposed to have paid to G.M. Sayed and his associates. I think they are already regretting their investment. Asif Ali accused the Governor to me of partiality in not asking G.M. Sayed to form a Ministry.¹²

Note by Field Marshal Viscount Wavell on the opinion of Asif Ali about forming a coalition consisting of all political groups.

Interview with Maulana Azad and Mr. Asif Ali.

25 February 1946

He then went on to Sindh, where he said an all-party government might have been formed, if the Governor had not prematurely sent for Hidayatullah. He said he was afraid the result would be the fall of Government early in the budget session. I asked him who was proposed as the leader of his all-party government, and he said that his idea was that the leader should be chosen by representatives of the various parties. I said that I was doubtful whether Sindh politics would work that way, and that I was sure the Governor had done and would do his best to form as stable a Government as possible. I then said that I was very glad to hear that Azad was in favour of coalition government, that I was glad to note that he had tried to form them in Assam and Sindh.¹³

The Sindh premier felt that a strong opposition would remove him from office, so he started a new campaign for elections, even though elections had been held only one month ago and he had formed the new ministry with the outright help of the Governor only a few weeks ago.

A cable from Wavell to Lord Pethick-Lawrence on Sir Ghulam Hussain actively seeking new elections had this to say:

New Delhi, 3 March 1946 11.25 p.m.

Received: 3 March, 9.20 p.m.

The Sindh and the Punjab ministers are obviously going to have an uneasy time, and I see from the papers that the Sindh premier has actually suggested that there should be fresh elections in order to secure a more stable balance in the legislature. I doubt whether Khizar in Punjab, with his coalition of the Unionists, the Congress, and the Sikhs, will be able to get his budget through; but if he cannot, it is possible that the Muslims League could not get a budget passed either. Jenkins will find no bed of roses awaiting him in Lahore.¹⁴

G.M. Sayed moved a no-confidence motion against the ministry, and the Assembly carried it out on 19 March 1946. G.M. Sayed presented his version on the floor of the House: Sayed said that he had devoted all his energies to expanding the presence of the Muslim League in Sindh province, but some people who did not like this, as well as his progressive group's more advanced approach to the political situation. These people engaged in intrigue and ousted G.M. Sayed's group from the League. The Muslim Leaguers deceitfully propagated against them at the time of election, that they were agents of the Hindu lobby. But Premier Ghulam Hussain had sought help from the Congress and Mahasabha to form his ministry. The Congress refused to enter into a coalition with the League because it had already pledged to form a coalition with G.M. Sayed and his friends, and he (Sayed) was unanimously nominated the leader of the opposition coalition consisting of Congress, the G.M. Sayed group and the Nationalist Muslim group headed by Maula Bux Soomro.

Meanwhile, at the time of the passing of the no-confidence motion, moved by G.M. Sayed against the minority Cabinet chosen by the Governor, some members on the Government side and one European member appealed to G.M. Sayed to settle the issue, in the interest of forming a stable Government in the province. G.M. Sayed responded positively to this suggestion, and he called upon Sir Ghulam Hussain at his residence where they both agreed to resolve the matter. Sir Ghulam Hussain in turn tried to persuade M.A. Jinnah to agree to this resolution, but Jinnah refused to enter into any settlement with the G.M. Sayed Group. Sayed stated on the Assembly floor that the Muslim League was anxious to enter into a coalition with the Congress party, but refused to enter into a settlement with progressive Muslims.

Further, Sayed said that he would not accept an inefficient and corrupt government going by the name of the Muslim League. He said that his mission was to quell the wave of communalism roiling Sindh, and his intention was to actualise the peace, harmony and economical and educational development in the masses. These ideals were far superior and attractive to him than the policy of any party. He said that if the Muslim League would rid itself of the black sheep within its fold, than he would find no differences with it. Otherwise, in the presenting conditions, he had no alternative except one, and that was to support the no-confidence motion.

Qazi Mujtaba, a noted Communist and League loyalist, under the influence of the Haroon family, surprisingly decided to go on a hunger strike outside G.M. Sayed's residence, unless Sayed yielded and withdrew his opposition against the ministry. However, after a few days, the hunger strike came to an abrupt end, and the no-confidence motion was narrowly defeated by 30 votes against, versus 29 votes for, in the Assembly. The report of the Sindh Chief Secretary G.W. McElhinny to the Home Secretary of India, A.E. Porter, on 21 March 1946, and another report by Governor Mudie to Viceroy Lord Wavell on 23 March 1946, throw some official light on the situation.

*Government of Sindh
21 March 1946*

Dear A.E. Porter

The Legislative Assembly started its session on March 12th; the common talk in Karachi being that the Ministry would not last till the end of the week. It now appears that this common talk is merely wishful thinking on the part of the Hindus of Karachi and the atmosphere during the debate on the no-confidence motion, which was still unfinished when the Assembly rose on Saturday, was that the crisis was over and that the Muslim majority was not going to allow the Ministry to be overthrown for the benefit of the Hindu Congress.

A curious incident was a fast by Qazi Mujtaba at the house of Mr. G.M. Sayed. Qazi Mujtaba has hitherto been more as a would-be-Labour Leader and Communist than as a Muslim Leaguer. There was some danger of breach of the peace between Nationalist Muslim Volunteers and Muslim League volunteers at Mr. Sayed's house.

So far the two parties have done nothing more than shout slogans at each other. On the morning of March 16th Qazi Mujtaba announced that he would give up his fast as the purpose of it had been served and Mr. Sayed had promised not to continue his hostility towards the League.¹⁵

*Yours sincerely
G. W. McElhinny*

Second letter by the Sindh Governor to the Viceroy.

*Government House Karachi
23rd March 1946*

Dear Lord Wavell

So far, the ministry has weathered the storm: that is to say, neither Gazdar nor one Pirzada Abdul Sattar, who thinks that he has bad luck in not being made a minister, has so far attacked the other side. Gazdar made a speech on the no-confidence motion against the ministry, which could not be called anything but unfriendly, at least as reported in the papers. But there is said to be no change of his leaving the government party.

The Pirzada is a bit more doubtful. Gazdar wants a job and Ghulam Hussain has one up his sleeve for him, but apparently thinks it wise, as in the case of two portfolios that are vacant, to trust to results rather than to promise complicated negotiations, in which both the League and the Congress "High Commands" are involved, are going on about G.M. Sayed's crossing the floor. They are too complicated for me. I merely note their existence; the real question of substance, which has hardly yet emerged, is what attitude Sayed will adopt about Pakistan when he sees the Secretary of State as Leader of Opposition in Sindh. He has told me and the premier that he will support Jinnah and Pakistan. If he does this his Congress friends will have, I think, to leave him that might clear the way for the Congress-League coalition government, but I doubt whether the Congress high command would allow that. In any circumstances the absurdity of one is obvious to everyone. If we get through the session, which must now end on the 28th or 29th March to let various people go to Delhi, there will almost certainly be a ministered and party reshuffle before the next session. 16

*Yours sincerely
Mudi*

Meanwhile a meeting of the Viceroy, Cabinet delegation and the Governors of the provinces was held at Delhi on 28 March 1946, where they discussed the political situation in India. The Governor of Sindh, Sir Francis Mudie, shared his views on the then prevailing situation in Sindh. Sir Mudie claimed that the people in Sindh did not believe in Pakistan as a Muslim state like other Provinces, and that they have their own philosophy about the new state.

Report of the conference 28th March Delhi

THE GOVERNOR OF SINDH (Sir F. Mudie) reported that the present extremely unstable position was that the government party in the provincial legislature consisted of 28 Muslim Leaguers, while the Opposition consisted of 21 Congressmen and 7 Muslims (4 of whom constituted the G.M. Sayed group). The Sindh Muslims did not believe in Pakistan in the sense of a Muslim state completely separate from the rest of India; but as one remaining in association with the rest of the country though on a new basis which would ensure to its inhabitants freedom from Hindu domination. Their leaders were large Zamindars who scorned the idea that Britain was about to quit India and would not resort to violence if she did not. Seen from the local point of view, therefore, the problem was one of deciding upon the best procedure and machinery for establishing a minimal centre.¹⁷

Just before the end of the session, Mir Bande Ali Khan revolted and voted against the ministry on a cut-motion and the ministry was defeated. Again, the Governor came to Hussain's help and sent Mr. Faruqi, his secretary, to threaten and also offer him a ministry at the same time, thus the Governor saved the ministry. The next day, Pirzada Abdul Sattar, also threatened to leave the treasury benches, and he was also awarded a ministry.

The Cabinet Mission reached Delhi and summoned the leadership of the Subcontinent to discuss the communal problems with them. As opposition leader of the Sindh Assembly, the Viceroy also invited G.M. Sayed on 18th March to Delhi. But in a Government letter dated 21st March, G.M Sayed was informed about a change of time.

Letter from the Viceroy's House to G.M. Sayed:

*The Viceroy's House, New Delhi
21st March 1946.*

Dear Mr. Sayed

With reference to my letter of the 18th March, I am desired to ask you to come for your interview with His Excellency and the cabinet delegation at 12.30 p.m. instead of 12 noon on Tuesday the 2nd April. 18

*Yours sincerely
G.E.B. Abell*

On 2nd April 1946, G.M. Sayed met the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy and discussed with them the future of the Subcontinent .

Following is the text:

Note of meeting between Cabinet Delegation, Field Marshal Viscount Wavell and Mr. G.M. Sayed on Tuesday, 2nd April 1946 at 12.30 p.m.

The Secretary of State said that the Delegation would be grateful for Mr. Sayed's views on several issues, of which perhaps the first in importance was the question of Pakistan.

Mr. Sayed said that he believed in the independence of areas with Muslim majorities. In Western India such areas should be joined in a Federation, of which each constituent state should be represented in the Federal Government on an equal basis and not in proportion to population. There should be similar Federation of Muslim areas in Eastern India.

Apart from these two Muslim Federations, the remaining Provinces of what is now British India should form a Hindu Federation and there should be a fifth Federation consisting of such of the larger States as might be able to retain a measure of autonomy. The smaller States should be merged either in the Muslim or Hindu Federation or in the larger State. A separate Sikh State was impracticable unless there was extensive transfers of population, since the Sikhs were not in a majority in any district.

Each of five Federations in the future India would have its own constitution-making body; or there might even be a separate Constituent Assembly for each of the existing Provinces. Once the five Federations were established they should agree to delegate their powers in respect of foreign affairs and defence to a common central agency for a period of ten or fifteen years. At the end of this period the constituent Federations would have the right to secede from the common centre, though it was to be hoped that they would remain together. It depended upon the wishes of each of the Constituent Federations how far they delegated further powers (e.g. in respect of communications or customs) to the common centres and in theory it was certainly desirable that they should do so. But for the time being the feeling among the Muslims against any sort of Federation with Hindu India was so strong that it would be a great concession on their part for them to be brought to agree to a common centre of foreign affairs and defence only.

Speaking as one who stood outside the two main parties, he deplored the intransigent attitude of both Congress and the Muslim League. Each was taking up a very strong stand on its own principles and would not listen to those who, like himself, urged more moderate views

At the Simla Conference each side had refused to compromise on points of secondary importance, for example, the right of the Muslim League to speak for all Muslims. So long as this attitude persisted there was no possibility of a settlement. The arbitrary dictates of the party High Commission were destructive not only of Provincial Autonomy but also of the freedom and welfare of the Indian people.

Nevertheless, Congress and the Muslim League had the Indian masses behind them, and it was essential that they should come to terms. There was no possibility of the Indian problem being solved without a settlement between them. If the Muslim League were bypassed, the Muslims would stand solidly with Mr. Jinnah and disturbances would result. His own group agreed with Mr. Jinnah's aim, though they differed from him on question of method and of economic organization. On the latter issue they were in favour of a Socialist India and held that both the Congress and the Muslim League were dominated by capitalists.

The Delegation must not negotiate separately with each of the two organisations; not they should make statements, e.g., to the effect of the minorities would not be allowed to veto the will of the majority, which would only encourage the intransigence of the majority party.

Instead, they must bring the Congress and League leaders face to face, for only by this means would agreement between them be possible. If the delegation could not get the two parties to agree they would not satisfy either side, and the British would have to remain in India for some time in order to keep the peace. But ultimately each party would come to realise that they would have to accept the imposed solution.¹⁹

Patrick French in his book *Liberty or Death* had expressed his view as under.

*The local Sindh Muslim League under G.M. Sayed was in open revolt, forming a breakaway group known as the Sayed League, which wanted an autonomous "Sindhi Pakistan" or Azad (independent) Sindh with no Punjabi interference.*²⁰

G.M. Sayed's opinion was different from the opinion of the Congress and Muslim League parties. He emphasised that he was disappointed with the noncooperative conduct of both parties and disagreed with their theories. The Congress was of the view that the Indians were one nation and India was one country and the Muslim League subscribed to the view that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations – a theory that was equally unrelated to reality.

The Subcontinent is a multinational land, each with their own culture, language and geographical, traditional and historical background and entities. His constitutional solution was moderate and closest to the American model, where each state had the right to make their laws according to their geopolitical and socioeconomic conditions -- a loose federation of different federating units where the centre had minimum rights to intervene in the affairs of its units. He condemned both major parties for their stubborn attitude.

His version was clear, that the foundations of the country that was emerging must be based on a solid economic footing and not on religion. He believed that his economic programme was not like the Russian and Chinese types but was based on the geographical condition of the states. But the Cabinet Mission felt that his support for Socialist theory was dangerous for their future strategy, so he was not tolerable to the British administration on account of these bold views.

It can only be theorised that if the Congress and Muslim League leadership and the British administration had accepted the constitutional plan of G.M. Sayed, the division of the Punjab and Bengal states wouldn't have taken place. A dispute like Kashmir would not have arisen and the migration and killing of millions of people and destruction of property worth millions of rupees during the population transfers of Partition would not have transpired. Also, civilian rule would have continued in the western part of the Subcontinent without the political role of the military and no communal-minded Government could have gained power in the central and the eastern parts of the Subcontinent, and also quite possibly, the tragic events of the formation of Bangladesh would not have occurred.

This moderate opinion gives us an idea of his foresight, during a period when the wave of communalism had created an irrational and emotional desire in the leadership of the major parties and their followers to follow divergent paths.

G.M. Sayed's rational thought, bold stand and vision about the Subcontinent and its inhabitants were superior to the remedies advocated by the major two parties, the Congress and Muslim League, respectively.

But it was a tragedy of history that people followed the two major parties largely along communal lines and the Subcontinent underwent an upheaval of enormous proportions which was driven by communal hatred. More than five decades have gone by but this land [South Asia] is still without peace and prosperity and there is no sign of harmony. The visionary Hindu politician of Sindh, Nihchaldas Vazirani corresponded with Congress leader Sardar Valabhai Patel about G.M. Sayed's views, and insisted that the leadership of the Congress accept the moderate version of G.M. Sayed, but he got a poor response.

The following is the correspondence between Valabhai Patel and Nihchaldas Vazirani.

Karachi

23 May 1946

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have not written to you nor got into any telephonic talks with you after you left Karachi. That duty, by common consent, had been assigned to my friend, Lalji Malhotra. He is however out of station, having gone to Kashmir for a change. I am therefore taking the privilege of writing to you this letter.

I have no doubt in my mind that your strong stand has achieved success for India. I have always believed that weakness never pays. I have read Mr. Jinnah's statement. He has pleased himself by calling the two alleged groups as two Pakistans. This indicates that he or his Working Committee is going to accept the proposals. A bully is always a coward and he and his Muslim League Nawabs answer that description fully.

Mr. G. M. Sayed's group has passed a resolution saying that all have failed because they have not made each province a separate independent unit. The resolution is to the effect that all these [provincial] units should have a common centre and that each unit should receive equal representation at the centre. He is against grouping or sub-federations. So far his proposals are not bad.

His proposal, even if accepted, will give preponderance to the Congress. Of course he has added that in the representation given to each unit, Hindus and Muslims should have equal numbers. That of course is absurd as I told him that 8 or 10 percent of the population couldn't have parity with 90 of the population in some provinces. Poor man is neither here nor there. He thinks he has now got an opportunity to strike at Jinnah and his League.

In Sind the Cabinet is divided into two definite parties. One wing is led by Sir Ghulam Hussain and has as its members Mir Ghulam Ali and Pir Illahi Bux; Khuhro leads the other with Mir Bandeh Ali Khan and Pir Abdul Sattar as members.

I would seek your advice as to the member who should represent the Hindus of Sind in the Constitution-making body. There is Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram outside the Assembly. He, however, now leads a retired life and I don't know whether he would undertake the trouble and responsibility of going to a Constitution-making body.

From inside the Legislature the aspirants might be Professor Malkani, Professor Ghanshyam and Mr. Sidhwa. You know each one of them. As for myself, if you or the Congress members of the Legislature are of the view that I should undertake this duty, I shall do so. But otherwise I won't like to have a division over this question for my sake.²¹

Wishing your health and complete success,

I am,

*Yours sincerely
Nihchaldas C. Vazirani*

Letter by Sardar Valabhai Patel to Nihchaldas.

2 June 1946

My dear Nihchaldas

I have your letter of 23 May, perhaps for the first time after I left Karachi. I had not heard anything from Sind since a long time.

We had a busy time for about two months in Delhi and Simla. So far we have done a very good job of the thing and I hope we will hear no more of that mischievous cry of Pakistan. In any event, the Muslim League will expect no such thing from the British government or to secure any assistance from that quarter for that purpose.

Regarding the clause of grouping, I feel certain that the Muslims of Sind, as a whole will not like to be ruled by Punjab and have a capital in Delhi for the Union and one at Lahore for the Group. In my opinion, no province will be willing to sacrifice provincial autonomy. It is against human nature and this grouping is not going to help the Muslim League at all. But our objection to it is on principle. The Cabinet Delegation cannot and should not force any province to go into a group against its own will, although it has freedom to opt out later.

I have seen the Syed group's resolution. I dislike entirely their demand for equal representation in the centre. The Muslim League asked for parity but I opposed it stoutly. Parity in any shape or form is against the very principles of democracy and no amount of quibbling can justify it. Indeed Syed has got a very good opportunity to strike at Jinnah because Jinnah and the League have secured nothing for the Muslims after a struggle of five years against the Congress and after the spreading of so much communal bitterness. His main demand of Pakistan is buried forever. His demand for parity is not accepted. The Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces have lost weightage in the Constituent Assembly. They will be in a hopeless minority. The principle of representation on a population basis is accepted. The only thing that he got, as a face-saving device, is grouping which his own people will seriously oppose.

The Muslim Leaguers in their convention at Delhi took oath under which they are bound not to enter the Interim Government till the principle of Pakistan is accepted. All of them are now anxious to go in spite of the pledge.

You will soon find cracks and quarrels in the Muslim League everywhere. You are suggesting Sheikh Abdul Majid as representative for the Constituent Assembly as a good nationalist. Perhaps you may be right but I can trust nobody who wants more representation for his community at the cost of the other community. All nationalists must accept the principle of representation on a population basis. No device to turn a majority into a minority can be accepted under any circumstances. In our anxiety to placate the Muslim League, we have diluted nationalism to such an extent that it has almost lost its original genuine appearance.

I am not in touch with Jairamdas [Daulatram] at all. He is so much involved in his domestic affairs, owing to his daughter's illness, to which he is so much devoted that he will hardly find time for the Constituent Assembly. Besides, his health is also not quite all right. In the Constituent Assembly we want men who can make a good contribution in the complicated task of Constitution-making or drafting and we certainly want men of ability and experience. We have not yet decided about the question of selection but we hope to do so and issue instructions, as soon as we are able to settle with British Government finally about the points that we have raised in our resolution.²²

I am,

*Yours sincerely
Valabhai Patel*

Second letter by Nihchaldas Vazirani to Sardar Valabhai Patel

New Delhi

8 June 1946

My dear Sardar Sahib

I acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter of 2nd instant.

I hasten to bring to your notice one point, which has not yet been mentioned in the press. It is about grouping. The point is whether any province has the right by a majority vote of the Assembly to opt from the group in which it is completely put in, after the Constitution is made and election is held in pursuance of that Constitution.

According to me this point has been purposely left vague. You would notice that it had been expressly mentioned in the Para giving right after 10 years to provinces to ask for the revision of the Constitution that that object could be achieved by a majority vote. No such provision of majority vote has been made in para 19 (VIII) that deals with the question of opting out. It appears to me that the group body, say, of Punjab, NWFP, Balochistan and Sind, can by a majority provided for in the Constitution that they would be framing, that no unit can opt out except by a two-thirds majority. If that is permissible then neither the NWFP nor Sind can ever opt out. That would result in perpetual injustice to these provinces and Pakistan would be established in practice forever.²³

Yours Sincerely

Nihchaldas Vazirani

The third letter from Nihchaldas Vazirani to Sardar Valabhai Patel.

*10 June 1946
Karachi*

My dear Sardar Sahib

As regards grouping, the [Cabinet] Mission's statement mentions that at initial stage the provinces shall belong to the various sections. The respective sections shall then decide whether they will form themselves into groups or not and if they decide to form a group, then they should further decide what subjects should be assigned to the group.

Now take B-Group. The provinces put in that section is Sindh, British Balochistan, N.W.F. Province and Punjab. Supposing three provinces -- Balochistan, the NWFP and Sindh -- by a majority of three provinces out of four, say they shall not form a group, will their voice prevail, or is that decision also to be taken by a majority of the members of the Constituent Assembly belonging to that sections? I think if three out of four provinces say no, their voice should prevail. On the other hand, according

to the representation in the Constituent Assembly, the Punjab gets 28 members, Sindh only 4, N.W.F. Province 3, British Balochistan 1 -- total 36. Out of this total of 36, only 8 members belong to three provinces and 28 to one provinces. Is it the intention that one Punjab can compel the three provinces to form a group against their will and also to decide what subjects should belong to the group? That would be unjust.

I suggest that if on the question of representation the Congress in the interim government there is going to be a good solution, then at least this point should be got clarified or suitably amended so as to give a right to the units of the section to decide by a majority vote that there shall be no grouping.

The mission has made a distinction between section and group. They are not likely to amend the clause in such a way as to make it optional for the provinces to get into a particular section or not, because they stand committed on that point. But as it is already provided in White Paper that the respective sections shall decide whether they shall form groups or not, they can say that for the purpose of coming to that decision each unit shall have an equal voice. It would be sheer injustice to give the power to the representatives of a single province to decide that three other autonomous provinces should compulsorily group with that one province against their will.²⁴

Your sincerely
Nihchaldas Vazirani

The second letter by Sardar Valabhai Patel to Nihchaldas Vazirani.

New Delhi
12 June 1946

My Dear Nihchaldas

I have received your letters of 8th and 10th inst.

There are certain points in the Cabinet Mission's proposals, which bear different interpretations, and there are some, which require explanation. But it is unnecessary to go into the details of these contradictions and omissions or ask for their explanations, as the document is final and the proper time for interpretation will come when the Constituent assembly meets. I have no doubt in my mind that according to the legal interpretation of the document, the provinces are free to join or not to join, even in the first instance and after the group constitution is framed, they have further right to opt out of the group.

I have seen the point raised by you also. I don't think it is wise to open up these matters at this stage. If we find the proposals otherwise satisfactory and the interim arrangement is made to our satisfaction, it would be wise to accept the proposals. But it is just likely that the whole thing may break on the question of composition of the Interim Government. This, in our opinion, is a vital matter and the result of our discussions will end one way or other in a day or two.

I have seen the statements of Sayed and his party but they are in a small minority and would not be able to affect the decision. If the majority of Muslims in the Sindh realise that they will lose their provincial autonomy, they are bound to oppose it and when the time for consideration of grouping will come, the people of Sindh will realise its full implications. Nobody wants to sacrifice one's own provincial patriotism and I have little doubt that this formation of groups will create distensions in the Muslim League itself. But we must wait till the proposals are accepted and the time for the meeting of the Constituent Assembly comes.²⁵

Yours sincerely
Valabhai Patel

Meanwhile on 9th April 1946, M.A. Jinnah and the League introduced a fresh resolution at the Legislators' Convention at Delhi, which was against the spirit of the 1940 Resolution.

The brief text of the resolution is reproduced here:

*That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sindh and Balochistan are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a Sovereign Independent state and that an equivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.*²⁶

Regarding the resolution of 1940 and the resolution of 1946, a question was put to G.M. Sayed that he was among the founders of Pakistan and had been a colleague of M.A. Jinnah for sometime, and that he had helped to pass the Pakistan Resolution in Sindh Assembly. So why was he opposing Pakistan and struggling for a Sindhu Desh? And why had he changed his views immediately?

This was G.M. Sayed's reply as given during an interview to some intellectuals.

Both the 1940 Pakistan Resolution of the Lahore Muslim League, which was seconded by Haji Abdullah Haroon from Sindh, and the similar 1943 Resolution, which was moved by me in the Sindh Legislative Assembly, envisaged "Independent and Sovereign States" of Sindh, Frontier and Baluchistan as "Constituent Units" till 1946. Neither Mr. Jinnah nor his League gave any clue or indication for Pakistan as a Unitary State in which Sindh, Frontier and Balochistan would remain in permanent minority, singly or even jointly, under the irreducible majority of the Punjab. In 1946, however, Mr. Jinnah changed his mind, and at the Convention of Muslim League Assembly members at Delhi, a contrary decision was illegitimately taken and announced to the latter affect, namely, establishment of a centralised hegemonic state of Pakistan, to which the said minority nationalities including Sindh were to remain permanently enslaved.

On this move, we revolted against the Muslim League and called the same year, a Convention at Delhi of seven organisations, namely:

(1) Jamiatul Ulema-i-Hind, (2) Ahrar Jamait, (3) Jamait Khaksar (4) All-India Muslim National Conference, (5) All-India Momin Conference, (6) All-India Shia's Conference and (7) the Sindh Mahaz headed by Shaikh Abdul Majid and myself. And prepared a plan for the confederation of India and placed the proposal in the hands of Panditji and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. But the Indian National Congress did not heed these proposals.

*I, therefore, do not hold myself as one of the founders of Pakistan as it resulted from partition of India in 1947.*²⁷

Regarding this rendition of G.M. Sayed, the Governor of Sindh, Francis Mudie's two letters to Viceroy Wavell would provide worthy information.

Government House Karachi
13th April 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

*I have written to you separately about the political situation and have nothing to add about that except that the ministers have returned from Delhi, apparently quite pleased with them. Jinnah has pardoned Bande Ali Khan who would have nothing to do with Sayed, so my hope that the ministry would be reconstituted has come to nothing. Sayed has also come back from Delhi and is demanding that Sindh should be a "Sovereign State" with little or nothing to do even with the Punjab and that each province should have its own Constituent Assembly.*²⁸

*Yours sincerely
R.F. Mudie*

Letter by Mudie to Wavell.

*Government House Karachi
24th May 1946*

Dear Lord Wavell

The reaction of Sayed and his group was interesting. They condemned the proposals on the ground that Sindh should not be compelled to have anything with Punjab and should have the right to "opt" out of everything and become a Separate Sovereign State. Sayed is trying to play up to the anti-Punjabi sentiment in this province. To some extent he has the backing of the Hindu politicians who see in his criticisms a stick to beat the League.²⁹

*Yours sincerely
R.F. Mudie*

If Congress and Muslim League had accepted the foresight of G.M. Sayed, the civilisation process of the Indo-Gangetic plain would have continued along natural lines. And an atmosphere of peace, harmony, coexistence and cooperation would have prevailed and communal conflict would have been avoided, and a healthy atmosphere for cultural and social activities could have flourished.

More than five-and-a-half decades have now been spent in confronting each other along lines drawn up along communal basis, rather than these national energies being used to promote economic development, human rights and democracy. The rest of the Subcontinent should have enjoyed the fruits of freedom and also the socioeconomic and political areas would have been nurtured. Instead, the entire leadership of the Subcontinent became drowned in emotionalism and irrational behaviour, but G.M. Sayed's thoughtful rationalism stood firm.

For the bright future of the Subcontinent and his ideal for Sindh, he shunned all aspirations and desires, and on the eve of his former party -- the Muslim League -- about to achieve total power in what was to become Pakistan, he refused to take part in any game of communalism.

For this, he was punished with imprisonment in solitary confinement for more than 30 years of his life in what became the new state of Pakistan. He did everything within his powers to establish Sindh as a model of peace and prosperity, and shunned all personal desires to acquire wealth and fame. He thus recoiled from becoming a fake hero unlike so many contemporaries of his era.

Leon Trotsky once wrote: "Heroes are instantly blinded by their own effulgence". Thus G.M. Sayed rejected heroism and neither did coins or crown hold any captivation for him. Maulana Azad in his letter to Viceroy Wavell expressed his apprehension about provincial autonomy and the upper hand of Bengal and the Punjab.

Meanwhile, the G.M. Sayed Group managed to topple the Government of Sir Ghulam Hussain. Governor Mudie, who wanted the ministry to continue, was very apprehensive and in his following reports, he informed the Viceroy about the existing political situation in Sindh.

Governor House Karachi
11 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

I don't know what will happen when our Assembly meets at the end of this month or in July. There are the usual stories that Khuhro, in League with Sayed will try to unseat Sir Ghulam. This is possible as Sayed hates Sir Ghulam, on the other hand, Khuhro is afraid that Sir Ghulam will intrigue with Sayed and the Hindus of his party to oust him. It is possible, too, that Bandeh Ali will try some more of his tricks as he is dissatisfied at not being home minister.³⁰

Yours sincerely
Mudie

A letter by Mudie to Wavell conveyed the former's discomfiture with the coalition of G.M. Sayed and the Congress party.

Government House Karachi
21 June 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

Politically little has happened since I last wrote. Khuhro, our most important minister, has been in Delhi most of the time. If the Congress agrees to come into an interim government at the centre, which does not contain a Nationalist Muslim, I do not see why we should not get a coalition ministry here. So far, this has been blocked by the Congress refusal to come in without bringing some of the Sayed Group with them. If the Congress insist on (bringing in) their Nationalist Muslim (allies), on the other hand, Sayed & co. will be encouraged and our difficulties will continue if they do not increase.³⁰

Yours sincerely
Mudie

Field Marshal Viscount Wavell's interview with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, after the latter had complained against the Sindh Governor's undemocratic action to prorogue the session of the Sindh Assembly.

22nd June 1946

He then spoke about the prorogation of the Sindh Assembly by the Governor, which he described as most extraordinary and unfortunate, especially since the opposition wished to discuss a motion about Sindh's participation in group "B" in the Constituent Assembly. I told him that the Governor was considering calling a further meeting of the Assembly at an early date, but that I rather doubted whether the Sindh Assembly was the right place to discuss the grouping question, which was a matter of the Constituent Assembly.³²

Mudie, in his letter to Wavell, narrated that a coalition of the Congress and the Muslim League was possible due to the moderate attitude of the Sindh people.

Government House Karachi
5th July 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

I had a talk with Khuhro after he came back from Delhi and was surprised to find that he considered agreement over the interim government quite a possibility. His idea was Congress-League parity, with the Congress allowed to nominate a Muslim if they wanted. I find that people here have no real conception of All-India politics.³³

*Yours Sincerely
Mudie*

Pandit Nehru commented about the political dilemma in Sindh at his Press conference of 10th July 1946. Text follows:

SINDH POLITICS

He referred to Sindh politics and said there was a large group there whose profession was to go from one group to another, and come back to it across the floor. It is an astonishing phenomenon. Sindh politics are the most corrupt in India. It is a disgrace and a scandal. I shall add this that a very big responsibility for this must rest with the present Prime Minister. I want to name him -- Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. There has been too much hush-hush about this. It is becoming an open sore in India. It is the lowest type of politics. There are a number of legislators in Sindh who have no politics in the strictest sense of the word. Pandit Nehru stated that the Muslim League Ministry in Sindh was formed because the Governor, Sir Francis Mudie, wanted it in spite of everything. It is there now presumably because he decided it should continue. It is clear after the last changeover from Muslim League to the Coalition Party that there is an absolutely clear majority against the Ministry. The Sindh Assembly is meeting today or tomorrow to elect members to the Constituent Assembly. I understand that a No-Confidence motion has been tabled, and obviously if the motion is placed before the House, it will be passed and the Ministry will cease to exist.

All manner of intrigues are going on to prevent the motion being considered. It will be said probably that the Session has been called only to elect members to the Constituent Assembly. This means a deliberate attempt to carry on with a Ministry, which does not enjoy the confidence of the House. The whole thing, concluded Pandit Nehru, is a scandal and the chief actors in this scandal are Mudie and Hidayatullah. The sooner they are pushed out of their jobs the better.³⁴

Following the announcement of the Cabinet Mission proposals, a special session of the Sindh Assembly was called to meet on 11 July 1946, in order to elect its representatives to the Constituent Assembly. During the session two members from the treasury benches -- Khan Bahadur Fazal Mohammed Leghari and Sardar Khan Khoso -- left their group and joined the Opposition. The Opposition numbers, strengthened to 31, moved a motion of no-confidence. Three other members from the ministerial side, Gazdar, the acting president of the Sindh League, Yusuf Chandio and Ali Mohammed Mari in their

statement censured the ministry in very strong terms. All seemed to be over for Sir Ghulam Hussain's ministry and only a sudden miracle could save it.

When the day came to take up the no-confidence motion for discussion, the Governor came to Ghulam Hussain's help and he sent an order proroguing the Assembly. An unusual justification was put forward that as the session was specially called for elections to the Constituent Assembly, the House could take up no other business. This lame excuse, which was against the norms of established democratic practice, was only concocted to save the minority government. It must be recalled that during the same period at a similar session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, a no-confidence motion against the Khizar Hayat ministry had been allowed for discussion that was moved by the League opposition. G.M. Sayed wrote a letter to the Governor and asked him to call the session as soon as possible. The Governor replied to Sayed on 25 July 1946.

Governor's Camp, Ziarat
25 July 1946

Dear Mr. Sayed

I am now, after consulting the Chief Minister, in a position to reply to your letter of 13th July, asking me to summon the Sindh Legislative Assembly to meet on the earliest possible date and suggesting that there is no objection such a meeting being held during Ramzan, for which there are precedents. I have been unable to trace these precedents. On the other hand, I am advised that a meeting during that month would cause serious inconvenience to those Muslim MLAs who have no house in Karachi.

I have therefore decided to summon the Assembly as soon as possible after the end of Ramzan that is in the first week of September. A communique to that effect will be issued at once, and, as soon as I have been able to consult the Speaker, the date will be notified in the Gazette.³⁷

*Yours sincerely
Francis Mudie*

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Viceroy on the action of Mudie.

*India Office.
5 August 1946
Received: 5 August 1946*

I note what you say in paragraph 10 about the unfortunate divergence between the Governors of the Punjab and Sindh in their actions over the prorogation issue. I am inclined to agree with you that Jenkins was right and Mudie wrong.³⁵

As if in support of this contention, a meeting of the citizens of Karachi was held at Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, and they passed resolutions and sent proposals to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on the unconstitutional practices of the Governor of Sindh.

This public meeting and representatives of all sections of the people of Karachi and Sindh condemn the autocratic and unconstitutional acts of H.E. the Governor of Sindh. Also in violation of the provisions of the Government of India Act and in

defiance of the Rules of the Assembly, he has reputedly gone out of his way to foist upon Sindh the Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah Ministry and to continue to keep it in office despite the verdict (respect) of the Sindh Assembly.

(b) This meeting records its indigent protest against the manner in which H. E. the Governor has, in utter disregard of the rights of the constitutional opposition in the Sindh Assembly namely the Sindh Assembly -- a coalition party. He effectively misled that party by his unconstitutional procedure in order to achieve his above object of installing and continuing in power a ministry looking for the support of a majority in the Assembly.

(c) This meeting is of the emphatic opinion that Sir Francis Mudie has proved himself to be a "menace" to the orderly and constitutional progress of Sindh and this meeting therefore urges upon H.E. the Viceroy and his Majesty's Government that in the interest of better relations between parties and communities in this province, Sir Francis Mudie should immediately be recalled from his present post.

(d) This meeting places on record its sense of surprise that the Hon'ble Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah, the Speaker of the Sindh Assembly, both at the last budget session and the recent so called "special" session of the Assembly had singly failed to maintain the traditions of his high office by setting in a manner which betrays partiality, a bias in favour of one party in the Assembly, the Speaker has proved himself unworthy of the high position in which he ought to be the custodian of the rights and privileges of the House of Legislature and not to the mouthpiece of the permanent executive.

(e) This meeting appoints the following committee consisting of:

- 1-Mr. G.M. Sayed
- 2-Mr. Vishramdas, (Mayor)
- 3-Mr. Maula Bux Soomro
- 4-Prof. Ghanshyam
- 5-Dr. Choithram

- 6-Shaikh Abdul Majid
- 7-Mr. Mohammed Azam Qazi
- 8-Maulvi Mohammed Usman
- 9-K.B. Gabole
- 10-Mr. Ahmed Khatri
- 11-Mr. Deen
- 12-Mr. Nihchaldas.C. Vazirani
- 13-Mr. Jetley

To formulate some decisions and take such action as might be necessary and incidental to give practical effect to the previous resolutions including a deputation to the Viceroy and also a legal challenge to the constitutional authority which has reduced democracy in Sindh to a farce.

The committee is hereby authorised to obtain expert legal advice and have recourse to the High Court or the Federal court or both every means open to it.³⁶

Under these circumstances, the G.M. Sayed Group looked forward to and make appeals to the Viceroy, Secretary of State and the Interim Government headed Jawaharlal Nehru to intervene against the undemocratic attitude of the Governor. Even Nehru protested to the Viceroy but the Viceroy, in support of the Governor, denied the ground

reality, citing lame excuses. Following is the correspondence between Nehru, Lord Wavell, Lord Pethick- Lawrence, A.E. Porter, A.P. LeMesurier and G.M. Sayed.

Meanwhile, the opposition had sent to the Governor, 31 signatures in support of the coalition party. The ministerial side with the help of the Governor regained the support of Khan Bahadur Leghari. However, Sardar Khan Khoso stood firm.

A session of the Sindh Assembly met on 5th September to pass the supplementary grants. The government side felt that they were in a minority and they persuaded the Speaker to resign, which he did. In reply, the opposition asked the Deputy Speaker, Jethi Sepihmalani, to do the same. Both groups had an equal strength of 30 each. That created a deadlock. No member was ready to occupy the chair of the Speaker. In these circumstances, the normal practice was that the European member presided over the session, but the European members did not play their role on the direction of the Governor. The ministry was unable to provide a new Speaker or to pass the supplementary grants. In the failure of the government side, the only constitutional way forward was for the Governor to call upon the opposition leader to form the ministry.

But the Governor had again applied an unconstitutional method and rather than providing an opportunity to the opposition leader to take over the reins of the government, he prorogued the session.

Following are the correspondence and discussions between Nehru, Patel, the Viceroy, Secretary of State, and the Governor of Sindh, Prime Minister of U.K. and G.M. Sayed. This worthy correspondence would provide an opportunity to the reader to analyse the role of the British administration and understand why they were desirous of concentrating on these modes.

Mr. Menon to Mr. Abell

New Delhi 3rd September 1946

In Maulana Azad's letter to H.E of 20th May the underlying fear of the Congress in entering into a group is expressed in the following terms:-

As section "B" and "C" have been formed it is obvious that one province will play a dominating role in the section, the Punjab in section "B" and Bengal in section "C". It is conceivable that the dominating province may frame a provincial constitution entirely against the wishes of Sind or NWFP or Assam. It may even conceivably lay down rules, for elections and otherwise, thereby nullifying the provision for a province to opt out of a group. Such could never be the intention as it would be repugnant to the basic principles and policy of the scheme itself.³⁸

Following is a Conversation between the Viceroy and Sardar Patel, 5 September 1946.

He then spoke about the position in Sindh, and accused the Governor of partiality. I said that Sindh politics were very peculiar, and that I thought the Governor was doing his best in a very difficult position; he was bound to take the advice of the Chief Minister as far as possible.³⁹

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Wavell about Sindh.

5 September 1946

You will remember that some time ago I drew your attention to the extraordinary happenings in the Sind Legislative Assembly on the occasion of the election of members of the Constituent Assembly. The Speaker suddenly adjourned the Assembly,

although there were important motions of no-confidence in the Ministry before him. The Governor of Sind played a very unusual and partial part in these happenings.

Ever since it has been fairly common knowledge that the Governor of Sind has been doing his utmost to support the present ministry. On the pretext of the month of Ramzan the Assembly was not convened for over a month, although meetings of other Assemblies were held in other provinces during the month, and had been held in Sind also in previous years. It was obvious that if the Assembly met, the present ministry would be defeated. Therefore every effort seems to have been made to postpone the meeting of the Assembly and meanwhile to create conditions which would in some way help the present ministry.

It is reported that the Governor tried his utmost to induce the three European members to support the ministry. It was also hoped that in a number of election petitions the Coalition members might lose and thus reduce the number of coalition party. Suggestions were also made to add some more ministers so as to give some inducement to the waverers. Meanwhile some of the Sind ministers delivered speeches, which are very remarkable for their open invitation to violence and the shedding of blood.

In spite of all this it appears that the strength of the opposition was greater than that of the Government. A press message today announces how Sind Government has met this situation. It is stated that the League party in Sind Assembly met on the night of 4th September at the residence of the Prime Minister, and the five ministers as well as the speaker gave their resignations "to use them in any manner he thinks best in the interest of the League organization". This has been obviously done to leave the House without a speaker for a while and thus possibly get the Assembly adjourned again.

Meanwhile, no doubt, steps would be taken for election petitions to be heard and disposed of, as far as possible, in the interest of the League party. The resignation of the speaker also gives a much-needed vote to the government. Even so the Government party would be in a minority of three. If the three Europeans and the Speaker join them, then they just equal the Coalition party.

All the manoeuvring and open intrigue is bad enough. Politics may not always reach a high standard of conduct, but normally there are certain low standards, which it avoids. But what is peculiarly objectionable is the part the Governor of Sind is playing in this unsavoury game. It is almost an open part and he has consistently followed it for a considerable time. This was bad enough previously, but now, with the formation of the new government, national and popular in character, at the Centre, it can only lead to conflict with the Central government. The governor, I take it, is responsible to the governor-general and through him to the interim government. If that is so, he has shown little sense of responsibility and his prejudices appear to have led him to misuse his position.

My colleagues and I feel strongly on this subject and I am, therefore, drawing your attention to these developments.⁴⁰

Wavell to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

New Delhi,

6 September 1946, 3.30 p.m.

No. 1870-S. A deadlock is likely in Sind Legislature. The parties are equal and whichever party provides the speaker, becomes a minority. Consequently the speaker has resigned, and the deputy speaker who belongs to the opposite party is likely to resign also. If that happens I have told the governor to prorogue the House for a few days and report to me. Mudie is in favour of dissolution and thinks that after a fresh election a more stable government may be procurable. The crux of the situation is that there are now eight Muslim members who are against the Muslim League ministry and in the present state of communal feeling those seats may go to Muslim Leaguers in a new election.

2. Alternative seems to be a period in Section 93. Advantage of this is that election in present super-charged communal atmosphere is avoided. A period in Section 93, which might conceivably lead to Coalition Ministry being formed, would probably be acceptable to Congress and dissolution to the Muslim League.

3. I have no great faith in Mudie's judgment but I have hesitated to reject his advice in favour of dissolution and a fresh election. Constitutionally it seems the correct course but there are obvious dangers to law and order.

4. Should fresh circumstances alter the case I will telegraph again, but on assumption that there is deadlock because neither party will accept the speakership, do you agree to dissolution and fresh election during next 2 months?⁴¹

Field Marshal Viscount Wavell to Pandit Nehru

Wavell Papers, Official Correspondence:

India, January 1946 - March 1947, p.148

No. 1322 - G.G. 8th September 1946

Thank you for your letter of the 5th September. I will discuss with you on Monday when we meet, but perhaps I should correct what appears to be misapprehensions in your mind about the constitutional position vis-à-vis the provinces. In the field of provincial autonomy, the Central Government as such cannot interfere with a province. The only control from the Centre is exercised through the superintendence and control of the governor-general over the Governor when the latter acts in his individual judgment or discretion. In such cases the governor-general exercises his control and superintendence in his personal capacity and not as Governor-General-in-Council.⁴²

Pandit Nehru to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell

Wavell Papers. Official Correspondence:

India, January 1946-March 1947, pp. 149-59

8 September 1946

Thank you for your letter of the 8th September. I am aware that legally speaking the constitutional position vis-à-vis the Provinces is that the Central Government is not supposed to interfere in provincial subjects. I had suggested no such interference. But in view of the change at the Centre it seems to me that the old legal position regarding the governor necessarily undergoes some change also by convention and practice. Otherwise there may be conflict between the governor-general in council and the governor-general acting in his individual capacity or discretion. There are a number of matters, which are at present to be dealt with by the governor-general in his individual capacity. If they are decided in a manner, which does not fit in with the general policy of the Central Government, there will be difficulties and friction. The natural development following the recent changes in the Government at the Centre is that the Governor-General-in-Council might consider all such matters in the Governor-General's discretion. Even if this is not done formally, an informal consultation appears to be necessary to avoid conflicting policies being followed. This does not affect the strict legal position.

I drew your attention to the developments in Sindh because the activities of the governor there had been obviously partial and in some cases undesirable. These activities appear to be continuing, and only today I heard that he had suddenly postponed the meeting of the adjourned Sindh Assembly to the 14th. Why he had done this is not clear, and normally this would be considered a very unusual course even though it might be within his competence. What happens in Sindh or elsewhere affects the whole of India, and the central government has to face the consequences. Even apart from our interest in Sindh, we cannot remain silent spectators of developments, which would create trouble in the whole of India. We have to face a difficult situation in the country and every act has its repercussions elsewhere. It will become impossible for such a situation to be handled satisfactorily if a policy is pursued in one part of India, which adds to the difficulties in another part. The problems are not isolated but closely interconnected. When a governor acts in a way, which not only seems to us constitutionally improper but also is definitely harmful, we have to take notice of this fact. The position in Sindh has been deterioration for some time in the past and, as far as we can see, the Governor has helped in this process. This brings not only the government of Sindh but the governor also into disrepute. The cabinet cannot ignore these developments which affect it so vitally.

You have, no doubt, followed the statements and speeches delivered by some of ministers of the Bengal and Sindh governments as well as in the press supporting them. There are open incitements to merger. The Bengal prime minister, in the course of an interview to the foreign press on the 22nd August, stated that if Bengal's Muslims take to the warpath "there will not be a single Hindu left alive in eastern Bengal". Whether all this is the responsibility of the governor-general alone or the Governor-General-in-Council may be a legal point for consideration. Meanwhile the incitements to violence and murder continue and affect the entire situation in India for which the central government is responsible.⁴³

A cable from Secretary of State Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell.

India office

Immediate

5 September 1946, 9.10 p.m.

16436 your telegram 1870-S. Sindh deadlock

If apprehended situation arises strictly correct constitutional course for governor would seem to be to ask Congress leader whether he can satisfy government [governor?] that he can form a government with a majority. This seems to be the only course, which would avert criticism of the governor on grounds of constitutional propriety. But it would be open to criticism on political grounds. For Congress could only form government if Europeans supported them, as well as Sayed Group. Moreover I recognise dangers of a Congress coalition in Sindh locally and I think that effect on Jinnah would be very adverse.

If you and governor judge these objections to be decisive, I agree to dissolution. I don't think resort to S.93 would be justifiable.

If as seems certain Congress could not form stable ministry from present assembly (particularly in light of Mudie's forecast in paragraph 2 of his letter of 21st August that opposition will lose some of 4 seats in which petitions are pending) it would be very desirable that before dissolution this should be demonstrated the case. I should expect that neither Sayed group nor Europeans would support a Congress coalition and the former at any rate might be hoped to indicate as much publicly. This would give some justification for Governor not adopting constitutional course of sending for Congress leader.⁴⁴

Lord Pethick-Lawrence's letter to Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister.

India Office

9 September 1946

Secretary of State's Minute: Serial No 52/46

Prime Minister

Your Minute M.299/46 of 8th September,

The strength of the parties in Sindh Legislature is as follows:

Muslim League 27

Congress 22

Nationalist Muslims (pro-Congress) 4

Sayed Party (Independent Muslims) 4

Europeans 3

Total 60

The Sayed Party at the time of the election professed themselves to be supporters of Jinnah's Pakistan policy but in opposition to the Muslim League on the local Sindh issue. They found a coalition with Congress and the Nationalist Muslims in opposition to the League, who were invited as the largest party to form a ministry and had the support of the Europeans.

The only conceivable alternatives to holding an election in Sindh are, a Government of Congress supported by the Nationalist Muslims, the Sayed Party and the Europeans, or to put the Province under Section 93 administration. The real remedy, a genuine Congress/League Coalition Government, is not I imagine a possibility unless there is a Congress/League settlement at the Centre. On paper, a Congress government appears a possibility but it would be very provocative to Jinnah at this juncture to set it up. The Europeans might not be willing to support it in which case it would not have a majority, and it is uncertain whether the Sayed Party would give it more than benevolent neutrality. Moreover, there is a probability that the present Opposition will lose some of [the] four seats in which election petitions are pending.

I therefore sent the reply, of which a copy is attached, to the telegram to which your Minute refers. This contemplates that in the last resort there should be dissolution and a new election. If, in the light of what I have said above, you feel that this is mistaken, there is no doubt still time to send a modifying telegram.

"P.S. It is reported in the Times today that Suharwardy, Prime Minister of Bengal, is seeing Jinnah. There is little doubt but that this is in order to discuss the question of a Congress/League coalition being formed in Bengal as the result of strong representation made by the governor and the viceroy to Suharwardy. If a coalition were formed in Bengal, one might also be formed in Sindh. I am therefore telegraphing further to the viceroy drawing attention to this and suggesting that he should tell the governor that he should, as his first move, urge a full Congress/League coalition."⁴⁵

Mr. Attlee to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

10 Downing Street, Whitehall,

8 September 1946

Prime Minister's Personal Minute:

Serial No. M 299/46

Secretary of State for India.

I should have thought it madness to have an election in Sindh of all places at the present moment.⁴⁶

C.R.A

Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Viscount Wavell.

India Office

9 September 1946

Immediate,

No. 16479.

My telegram 16436 of 8th September. Sind Deadlock

It is reported in the Times that Suharwardy is seeing Jinnah. I presume that this is to discuss possibility of Congress /League Coalition in Bengal. Which lock in such a Coalition and I think that Mudie's first move should be to urge this. If coalition should come about in Bengal there seems no strong reason why Sind should not follow suit. In any event government's position will be strengthened if he urges such a coalition at the outset.⁴⁷

Field Marshal Viscount Wavell to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

New Delhi,

9 September, 10.20 p.m.

Immediate,

No. 1894-S. Your 16436 of September 8th Sind deadlock. The opposition consists of Sayed's Coalition Party, in which the elements are Sayed group, Congress and Maula Bakhsh group. I agree that for reasons mentioned by you; it would be wrong to approach Sayed as leader of coalition party. Sayed claims in writing that he could form the ministry, but it would merely perpetuate present difficulties if he were asked to form one. There will certainly be objections to dissolution from the coalition party and perhaps from Congress, but it is clear that dissolution is the best course in the event of deadlock.

Premier has pressed for assurance now that there will be dissolution. I have refused to commit myself to Governor has promise of dissolution would be used by premier to influence voting on the no-confidence motion. I have told Mudie that a decision must be reached after result of voting on no-confidence motion is known.⁴⁸

Field Marshal Viscount Wavell to Lord Pethick -Lawrence.

Private and Secret

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi

10 September 1946

Nehru also suggested that they would discuss in Council the alleged misbehaviour of Mudie in Sind, and maintained that in the new circumstances the Governor-General must consult the Interim Government in all matters relating to the direction and control of governors. I explained the Constitutional position to him at once in an interview, and also wrote confirming that I could not agree to this.⁴⁹

A letter of the Governor of Sindh to G.M. Sayed.

Government House Karachi

10th September 1946

Dear Mr. Sayed

Many thanks for your letter of today's date. The situation brought about by the resignation of both Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly at a time when the government and the opposition are equally divided is, I believe, without precedent. I am giving the many difficult questions that raise the most careful examination and in the meantime have adopted what appears to me to be the only possible course of prorogation.⁵⁰

Yours sincerely

Mudie

G.M. Sayed wrote a letter to the Governor of Sindh stating his reservations about the undemocratic attitude of the Governor and three European members of the Sindh Assembly on their out-of-the-way support to the minority ministry of Sir Ghulam Hussain and somewhat injudicious behaviour towards the opposition.

It could be said that Sir Francis Mudie had sowed the seeds of an autocratic system in this land during a sensitive time when the future of the Subcontinent and its constitutional institutions were still nascent and about to undergo the new ordeal as India and Pakistan came into being. The role of the Viceroy and the British colonial administration was no more different than Governor Mudie's role. It could be argued that this disposition has provided a fertile soil for despot-minded persons to continue their undemocratic behaviour, and to subvert and destroy democratic institutions for their petty interests, an unfortunate autocratic practice still being perpetuated by the rulers of Pakistan till 2004.

11.9. 1946

Dear Sir Francis Mudie

I am beholden to you for your letter of yesterday's date. It is reassuring for me to learn that your Excellency has been closely examining the various aspects of the situation which has arisen following the recent developments. Personally I think the position is crystal clear and your Excellency should experience no difficulty in coming to the correct decision. However, since Your Excellency thinks it is necessary for you to consider all the pros and cons, I hope you will be pleased to bring within the orbit of your examination the following points also:

So far as the life-span of the present ministry is concerned I think there can be no doubt that it has reached its terminating point, and whatever action Your Excellency might take one thing is indubitably clear, namely that the ministry must at once go out of office. It has failed to fulfill all conceivable demands of constitutional laws and usage; it has no majority; it has brought about complete strangulation of the legislature; it has failed to emerge out of the hot waters even after having dragged the Speaker into the vortex of party politics; it has not been able to register any improvement despite the fact that it had dangled at the rebel element a fresh bait of four vacancies of ministers; it had not been able to take any advantage of Your Excellency's indulgence in having suddenly altered the date of Speaker's election and thrown it beyond the time fixed for the consideration of the no-confidence motion pending before the legislature and then proroguing the House before the altered date, thus preventing Miran Mohammed Shah from revolting and seeking re-election; it had not shown results despite the freedom it has had, and which it has freely exercised, to exploit Your Excellency's own name as also the executive machinery for creating a favourable psychological atmosphere; it has failed to wean away even one out of our 30 members notwithstanding all threats and inducements and it has not furnished the signs of stability in spite of all the conveniences and considerations which Your Excellency has been pleased to lavish on them and some of which I have pointed out in my letter of September 5th. To illustrate these points I might only refer to two definite incidents of recent occurrence:

1. While the meeting of the ministerial party was going on at the Premier's residence on the night of the 4th September, and there was serious discontent among the members, it was so arranged that after every 15 or 20 minutes a person should come to inform the members that you have been reportedly anxiously inquiring about the welfare of the party affairs. I do not know whether there was really anything at the other end of the telephone but this arrangement did create an awesome atmosphere in the meeting and produced an impression on the discontented element that your Excellency being so intensely interested in the welfare of the ministerial party no considerations of the Constitutional properties would have force enough to unseat the futile ministry and would only make matters worse for them so far as their day-to-day relationship with the executive was concerned.

2. Your Excellency will recollect that K.B. Fazal Mohammed Khan Leghari had joined our party in the last July session and he had personally interviewed your private secretary and assured him of his firm resolve of sticking to the coalition party. Very questionable methods were resorted to by some of your ministers to compel him later to leave us. The dreams under which he has been placed should be evident from the following note which he sent on the 7th instant to Mr. Mohammed Ali Shah (a Coalitions member) in reply to his request to talk to him in the lobby:-

"I have no permission to come out. If I come out I shall be accompanied by others. Please forgive me."

Now what I venture to stress is that despite resorting to outrageous methods such as these, the ministry succeeded only in landing the Province, the Assembly, and the Administration in a full-fledged deadlock. To retain this ministry in office anymore, and either to take back the four ministers who have resigned or new ministers in their places under present

circumstances, would constitute a course which I am confident will never commend itself to your Excellency. Therefore, whatever step your Excellency might hereafter choose to take should, in fairness, be preceded by the immediate expulsion of whatever remnants of the present ministry still remaining in office.

So far as the position of my party is concerned, it is unfortunate that Your Excellency has not yet been pleased even to give it a trial. Your Excellency took in the present ministry while its inherent following consisted of only 28 as against 29 constituting our party, and even now, it continues to be in office while its intrinsic strength is only 26 (and overall voting strength only 30 including the ex-speaker) as against our strength of 30 strong.

I might assure Your Excellency that the moment the present ministry has quit and the atmosphere of terrorisation it had generated has dissipated, there will be more members joining our Party. I am confident of giving the Province a stable ministry and of providing the legislature with the necessary office bearers if only Your Excellency feels inclined to treat us on a par with the other side.

In conclusion one more point calls for a casual observation from me. I genuinely feel that the time has come when the three European members reconsider their entire position and give up the impossible task of keeping the dead weight of the present unpopular and repeatedly discredited ministry on the shoulders of the masses of this province. It should be manifestly clear to anybody that but for the interference of these three gentlemen there would be today no deadlock in the province and no tension through which the people have been passing since some months. I really wonder why they have not yet considered the consequences of this attitude of mind on their part; namely, whether it is advisable and desirable in these tense times when mutual relations between Indians and Europeans are in the course of readjustments they should so injudiciously expose themselves to the grave charges of making mighty contribution towards creation of deadlocks and accentuation of strife between various Indian parties. This attitude I am afraid is liable to be interpreted as a studious and deliberate effort on the part of Europeans to bring about failure of democratic institutions in this country with a view to retain their own strangle-hold over our people. Hoping Your Excellency would appreciate my standpoint.⁵¹

Yours sincerely

G.M. Sayed

Sayed in his letter to the Governor, requested him to form the ministry with himself as the opposition leader.

His Excellency the Governor of Sindh

Karachi

12 September 1946

I have the honour to refer to Your Excellency's letter of 10th instant and to quote below some of the parliamentary precedents in the United Kingdom and dominions that have been brought to my notice.

I first refer Your Excellency to the authoritative books on Constitutional Law by Mr. A.B. Keith. The first example I cite is quoted at page 168 of Responsible Government in the Dominions by Keith, Volume 1 and at page 95 of Imperial Unity and Dominions by Keith. The facts of that precedent are as under.

2. After the general elections in Newfoundland in 1908, the equality of parties made it clear that it was not possible either to have the Speaker elected or to carry on the government satisfactorily and the Prime Minister asked for further dissolution. The

governor declined this request and in his place appointed the Leader of the Opposition to the post of Prime Minister on the undertaking that he would spare no effort in order to secure that the work of government be carried on smoothly.

In our case we are prepared to give that undertaking, not only that but we are reasonably confident of securing more support.

The next precedent is quoted at page 175 Volume 1 of Responsible Government in the Dominions by Keith and page 96 [off Imperial Unity and the Dominions by Keith. In 1911, the government and Opposition parties got equally balanced in New South Wales, on account of two of the members of the Government Party having resigned. Owing to the equality of strength, the government could not get any motion carried, (because the Speaker declined to be a partisan). The Ministry asked for prorogation of the House on the ground that they expected to have two members elected in a short time but the governor declined to oblige the Ministry and he actually invited the Leader of the Opposition to form the government.

3. I would also invite a reference to page 171 of Imperial Unity and the Dominions by Keith where an example is cited of the Ministry in New Zealand which honourably resigned even though a motion of no-confidence brought by the Opposition against it was defeated by the casting vote of the Speaker. The Prime Minister said, he did not want to carry on without a majority and then the Opposition was called upon to form the Ministry, which they did.

4. I would also invite attention to the authoritative book bearing the title of Cabinet Government by W. Ivor Jennings.

It is stated at page 302 that the Ministry is entitled to support from the Crown only as long as it can command the majority in the House of parliament. It is further stated at page 17 that government without constant conventions also demands that course. At page 368 it is stated that it is not untrue to say that the most important part of parliament is the Opposition in the House of Commons. At page 46 it is stated that where government cannot get passed supplies or legislation, it cannot be suffered to continue, even if the Opposition agrees to its continuation. Under such circumstances no step should be taken except in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition. At page 365 it is stated when government has no majority, the major party in Opposition can always point to the weakness of the government and can always assert that since the government cannot obtain a majority, it is better to give the Opposition a chance.

5. I would also invite attention to page 154 volume 1 of Responsible Government in the Dominions by Keith. It is stated that whereas in the United Kingdom the advice of the outgoing Ministry for dissolution is invariably accepted, the governor in the Dominions have not merely a right to exercise their discretion, but they would be worthy of censure, if they did not do so. It is further stated therein that if the dissolution were advised soon after the general elections, it would be wiser to allow the formation of a new Ministry in the hope that things will gradually be cleared up. Advice of the outgoing Ministry which has no majority, means that there may be an alternate government which could carry on for the rest of the period, either because it has already secured a superiority in numbers or because, if given an opportunity to form a Ministry, it will succeed in detaching enough support of the government to have a working majority.

I might mention that I have every reason to believe that some of the members continue to be in the Ministerial Party because of fear of harassment in case they left.

5. Your Excellency has conceded that the government, even with the inclusion of three European votes, has no majority and has only an equality of votes. A very important government business, viz. Of supplementary demand for carrying on the work of the Lower Barrage costing Rs 30 crores was fixed for the 10th instant. The government could not get that grant passed and it could not spare a member to act as a chairman. Government had placed on the agenda more than a dozen bills; none of them can be passed by them. I invite a reference to page 356 of May's Parliamentary Practice where it is stated that where

government can get only equality of votes, it should be considered that its measures are defeated. Although that principle was laid down in the case of division in the House of Lords, that principle is of general application and is based on a Latin maxim from Roman Law. It is obvious that no measure can be got passed without having a majority, which this Ministry admittedly does not possess. I have quoted a number of precedents, which show that when the strength of a Ministry is reduced to equality, it is tantamount to its defeat and that Ministry cannot be retained in office. I hope there would be no difficulty now for Your Excellency to come to a correct decision.

Owing to urgency of the situation and owing to the fact that the whole of India is anxious to follow all the developments in this province, I am, in anticipation of your permission, releasing this letter to the Press.⁵²

Yours sincerely

G.M. Sayed

Leader,

Sindh Assembly Coalition Party.

Field Marshal Viscount Wavell to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

Immediate

New Delhi, 12 September 1946, 2.15 PM

Received: 12 September, 12.30 PM

1918-S. Your telegram 16479 September 9th Sindh. I asked the governor to secure a Coalition and he handed on the request to his premier. Premier's refers to form a Coalition failed. Congress refused to treat with him, except through G.M. Sayed, with who the League refused to deal. Similar attempts [made] at time of formation of Ministry and later broke down on this point. I have now agreed to dissolution and fresh election.⁵³

Meanwhile, the Government suffered grievous shock when its two parliamentary secretaries, Sayed Nur Mohammed Shah and Yusuf Chandio in a statement condemned the government policies and disassociated themselves from the ministry.

The Government side lost the majority but the Governor of Sindh was too willing to make a supreme effort in the history of democratic parliamentary practice and he announced the dissolution of the Assembly.

G.M. Sayed in his letter to the Viceroy had informed and appealed to him beforehand to stop the Governor from taking an unconstitutional action, and save the parliament of Sindh, till providing a chance to the opposition leader to form the ministry. But it seemed that the Governor and Viceroy with the blessings of the British government were in a hurry and had made up their mind to dissolve the Assembly and to become part of this dirty game.

Letter from Viceroy House to G.M. Sayed regarding the dissolution.

90/14

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi

13th September 1946

Dear Sir,

I am desired by his Excellency the Viceroy to acknowledge with thanks your undated letter received here today, in which you ask that immediate dissolution of the Sindh Legislature should not be ordered. H.E. notes your views, but the decision that the Legislature should be dissolved has already been taken and announced.⁵⁴

Yours faithfully

G.E.B. Abell

The Governor dissolved the Assembly and announced the schedule of fresh elections -- the polls were to be held on 9th December 1946. It was the democratic right of an opposition leader to form the ministry if the incumbent ministry had failed to demonstrate its majority or was not able to pass any grant. But Mudie did not provide an opportunity to G.M. Sayed, the opposition leader, to do so. If Sayed, as leader of the opposition, had failed to demonstrate his majority then Governor Mudie would have had the right to dissolve the Assembly, or it could be that he thought that Sayed's government could become a hindrance in the colonial administration's hidden objectives and agenda, and through an autocratic act he dissolved the Assembly.

This act of the Governor requires a full investigative research by scholars of history and politics, as to why he came down in support of the League ministry? Also why did he deny G.M. Sayed as the opposition leader, the right to form a Cabinet?

In my humble opinion, I think that this act was a major turning point in the Subcontinent's politics, as this was not only a change of the Cabinet but rather a modification of the political situation which would have suited not only the present colonial ends, but also future the post-colonial objectives. The colonial administration had already worked out that there must be a communal branching, so as to continue the policy of divide and rule, and after Partition, to continue in a major role in the Subcontinent, but in a different style. The administration of the time genuinely felt a danger from the premiership of G.M. Sayed, and used undemocratic methods to prevent him from getting the post.

The first danger apprehended was that, as leader of the House, G.M. Sayed might table and pass a resolution in the Sindh Assembly, that Sindh should be a free, independent and autonomous state. Ninety-four years before the British had conquered Sindh while it was an independent state.

The second danger to British interests was that if Sayed became the Chief Executive of a politically important province like Sindh, he would use all his energies to get the different political leaderships and groups of Sindh to settle their disputes not on a communal or sectarian basis, but on the natural basis that the Subcontinent's multicultural nationalities would have equal status with their own free will.

This moderate formula of governance by G.M. Sayed was a negation of the Congress party's one-nation theory under which Delhi was the centre of the Subcontinent, as well as the Muslim League's two-nation theory which was based on communalism and that construed Hindus and Muslims as a separate nation. This political idea was not suited to the present and future sectarian division programme of the colonial administration. So not only did the administration not allow G.M. Sayed to become the next premier of Sindh, but also arranged for him not to be elected member of the parliament, and they succeeded in keeping him away from the political parliamentary role. But at what cost? They put a black mark on their head, which will never be removed till later generations can justify it. After dissolution of the Assembly G.M. Sayed along with Mr. Ghanshyam, the parliamentary leader of the Congress in the Sindh Assembly, met with the Governor and asked him for an impartial Cabinet, that will supervise the process of fair and free elections. But the Governor continued his undemocratic attitude and chose his own former Cabinet. Report by the Governor to the Viceroy.

Government House Karachi

14th September 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

I am very much obliged for your permission to dissolve the Assembly. The announcement was on the whole well received in the papers, except of course by Sayed, inspired by Nihchaldas, who says that I should have given him an opportunity to form a government first. He has been pestering me with letters giving precedents mostly from Keith's Responsible Government in the Dominions. His whole argument really amounts to this that the governor merely because he acts in his discretion, should ignore the advice of the premier if that is contrary to the leader of the opposition. The dismissal of Allah Bux because he resigned his title was an unfortunate precedent, justifiable, if at all, only by the fact that we were at war.

Sayed and Ghanshyam had advised me for interim coalition government to carry on elections, but I told them that I do not like to impose irrelevant colleagues upon him, both Sayed and Ghanshyam disagree with me.⁵⁵

Yours sincerely

Mudie

The Governor again set an indecent precedent and asked a controversial and unpopular premier to form the interim Government, and did not even bother to consult the opposition leader in this regard. G.M. Sayed and Maula Bux Soomro fielded 16 candidates and started electioneering. They had the feeling that the Sindh governor was in the forefront with his efforts to keep G.M. Sayed and his colleagues away from the Assembly. He issued directions to the bureaucracy to help the ministry in winning the election. The minister himself was two steps ahead of the Governor and did everything in his power to win the election. The Punjabi ICS officer, Masood, broke all records while helping the Government efforts. As the Collector of Nawabshah, he arrested a number of supporters of Sayed, including Abid Shah, a landlord and worker of Mohammed Ali Shah, a candidate of the G.M. Sayed Group.

Masood issued orders to arrest Abid Shah as well, who was detained, arrested, handcuffed and walked through the bazaars of Nawabshah with a rope around his waist. This is just one example of the terror perpetrated by a Government official at the time of elections in Sindh. The observation of Dr. Hamida Khuhro demonstrates the arbitrary manner in which he ruled.

The elections were scheduled for 9 December and the results of the Muslim League were expected to be better this time round as public feeling ran high in its support. But there was still the question of Sayed and his followers whose coalition with Congress had proved such a headache for the League Ministry. Mr. Jinnah asked the Sindh leaders to see to it that Sayed and his group should lose their elections and sent his cadres who were students of Aligarh Muslim University to instigate propaganda against G.M. Sayed.

Students, workers and imported orators, however good and devoted could not be expected to obtain the desired results and once again it was the governor and bureaucracy under his control that was to make the crucial difference. Mudie asked the officials to see to it that the Muslim League including that of Sayed and Mohammed Ali Shah of Nawabshah won certain key seats.

In this latter district, the District Collector, a Punjabi ICS officer Masood, created a legend in high-handedness, harassing the supporters of Mohammed Ali Shah, threatening to put them in jail as "badmashes" and "actually went and took statements of the few irresponsible men and got Abid Shah (a supporter of the candidate) arrested, handcuffed and taken through the bazaar of Nawabshah with a rope round his waist." Official pressure certainly won this seat for the Muslim League and that for Hidayatullah's son in the Thatta constituency. Here Government's interference was also quite blatant.⁵⁶

Pandit Nehru to Field Marshal Viscount Wavell.

Wavell Papers. Official correspondence:

India January 1946-March 1947, PP.156-7

21st September 1946

I have had occasion to mention to you several times that the developments in Sindh were disturbing in many ways. For several years past Sindh had been a black spot in the Indian political horizon and its Governments has become associated in the public mind with nepotism, incompetence and corruption. Its chief function appears to be to keep itself in office. Even though it might not perform the normal functions of government at all. About six weeks ago the Assembly was suddenly adjourned by the speaker, at the instant of Government, although notice of a vote of no-confidence was given and was on the agenda. This raised, as it was bound to do, a public outburst against this government, the speaker and the governor, for it was clearly abuse of the constitutional process in order to keep the government going although it had no majority in the House. You recognized that the proceedings had been improper and pressure was brought to bear on the authorities concerned to convene a meeting of the Assembly soon to consider the motion of no-confidence. The excuse of the month of Ramzan was brought forward to postpone the Assembly session although such sessions have often been held during that month.

At last a session was held and a curious series of happenings took place unparalleled in Indian constitutional-history. Every effort was made to avoid a vote and ultimately the government prorogued the Assembly. It was quite clear before this happened that the majority lay with the opposition. The Governor however, paid no heed to this and appointed Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and other colleagues of his to carry on the work till the next elections were held. Today's newspapers contain the report that all the four ministers, who have previously resigned, have been reappointed. Thus we go back to the previous stage in a more aggravated form and a minority ministry has been imposed on Sindh by the governor on the eve of election.

I do not wish to enter into any argument about this matter, but I do wish to say that the behaviour of Sindh ministry and the governor amounts to a racket and a public scandal, and I am astonished that all this should have the support of higher authorities. This is setting a very bad example to the rest of India, and my colleagues and I take the strongest exception to it. I should be grateful to you if you will convey our views on the subject to his Majesty's government.⁵⁷

Field Marshal Viscount Wavell to Pandit Nehru.

No. 1322-G.G.

22 September 1946

Thank you, for your letter about Sindh. I do not deny that Sindh politics are often unedifying, but the recent action taken by the governor has had my approval. The new elections will be held as soon as possible and for the brief period until results are known, the premier must be given the team he requires to carry on the administration.

I will send your letter to the Secretary of State.⁵⁸

Nehru's letter to Wavell on Sindh politics:

23 September 1946

I have read your letter of the 22nd September about Sindh with deep regret. If what I consider a racket and a public scandal have your approval, then it is obvious that our standards and sense of values differ considerably. It would also appear that our objectives are different. To me it is obvious that in the present set up of the Sindh government, with the present governor and premier and ministers, it is difficult to conceive of a free and fair election. When there is no freedom or fairness even in regard to Assembly meetings and the governor tries his utmost to support and encourage a minority and discredited ministry, then this process is likely to be continued in an intensive and aggravated form during the elections.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the policies and objectives pursued by the governor-general in Council are in conflict. The interim government may not be directly and legally responsible for certain matters which are at present in the domain of the governor-general. But it is inevitably influenced by what happens. As you have yourself pointed out; a strict legal view often does not fit in with practical aspects of affairs, especially during a period of swift transition. The interim government is placed in a difficulty when the governor-general pursues policies, which are in conflict with the policies and objectives of the government.

The matter is of importance and likely to have far-reaching consequences. I trust that His Majesty's Government will be kept fully informed of our views in regard to it. I am sorry I cannot see you this afternoon as I am participating in a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee then.⁵⁹

Wavell's letter to Nehru.

24 September 1946

No. 1320

I have received your letter of the 23rd September about Sindh. Your letter is strongly expressed and you imply that our objectives are different. My objective is to make possible the framing by Indians of an agreed constitution giving protection to all, and the peaceful transfer of power at the earliest possible moment thereafter. I am sure that your objective and that of the other members of the interim government is the same.

I have also to administer the existing constitution to the best of my ability "without fear or favour, affection or ill will", in the words of oath.

Whether my judgment in a particular matter is right or wrong is another question. But the present constitution does not bring the control of the governors within the ambit of the governor-general in Council; and when a provincial election is in the offing and one of the major parties is not represented in the interim government the importance of nominating the constitutional position is clear as it can ever be.

I shall certainly support the Governor in doing everything in his power to secure free elections. The Sindh ministry have already issued instructions to district magistrates enjoining them to keep the peace and see that government servants remain neutral and I expect you have seen the premier's statement on the subject which appeared in the Press on the 22nd September.

I am sending copies of this correspondence to the Secretary of State.⁶⁰

Wavell's letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi

25 September 1946

Nehru's letter about Sindh shows a desire to trespass on the provincial field and on the governor-general's control over the governors. He sent me another letter asking to keep informed of all-important correspondence between Political Departments and the states. Though we can certainly give him information about the matters of joint administrative interest and he will get such information on the proposed consultative committee, I do not propose to inform him about everything important passing between the Political Department and the States. This would cause much trouble with the Rules and is quite unjustified, as the Central Government will not inherit paramountcy.⁶¹

G.M. Sayed wrote a letter to the Viceroy complaining about the interference of the Punjabi ICS Officer Masood during the election and has requested the Viceroy to hold free and fair elections.

Hyder Manzil Karachi,

3rd October 1946

To,

His Excellency the Governor-General of India,

New Delhi.

Your Excellency,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of my letter (with accompaniments) to His Excellency the governor of Sindh regarding the blatant and reckless interference in the Sindh Assembly elections by a district collector, which seems to be but a foretaste of a greater interference on a province-wide scale by the executive in Sindh. As will be observed from the enclosures this officer had the impertinence to coerce an Ex-Minister of the province to join the ministerial party and seek its ticket in the elections.

When this is how he deals with a man of that position it should not be difficult to imagine what must be, and would be, his conduct in respect of men in comparatively smaller situations. This, I venture to submit, is hardly consistent with any notions of purity and freedom of elections, or of non-interference of government officials in political matters. In the district in which this particular collector holds office, and where as many as seven Assembly seats are to be contested, there exists a considerable state of demoralisation and excitement. Unless something is done to check this rising tide of official terrorism it is bound to spread all over the province and free elections would be impossibility.

Such being the position, I submit that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take steps in the matter and secure to us substantial measure of security against official interference in the forthcoming elections. As governor-general of India it is within Your Excellency's powers to protect the constitution from this kind of contamination.⁶²

Yours sincerely

G.M. Sayed

Leader of the opposition

Governor Mudie's letter to Wavell.

Government House Karachi

3rd October 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

If the Congress wanted a Hindu-Muslim government, which every one admits is the only possible answer, they would form a coalition with the League and not with Sayed & co. It cannot be the Akhund Hindustan-Pakistan quarrel that prevents their doing so here, as Sayed believes in an independent Sindh which is one step further removed from a united India than Pakistan is.⁶³

Yours sincerely

Mudie

Nehru's letter to Wavell.

3rd October 1946

You have told me on several occasions of your desire not to interfere with Provincial autonomy. Because of this things have happened in Bengal and Sindh which have shocked vast numbers of people in India and yet there has been, what is scrupulous non-interference with the Ministry, even though that Ministry should be responsible for disaster and corruption on a big scale. Apparently this conception of Provincial Autonomy differs in the United Provinces or some other Provinces; it applies chiefly to Bengal and Sindh.

I realise that in strict law the Interim government cannot interfere with the functioning of the Bengal and Sindh governments or with the activities of the Governors there. But whatever the law may be on the subject, I should like to make it perfect clear that the interim government has taken and takes the most serious view of happening in Bengal and Sindh.

I have received the copies of communications addressed to the governor-general by Mr. G.M. Sayed, the leader of opposition in the Sindh Assembly. These communications give details of very serious misbehaviour by district officials. That is not surprising when the governor himself is adopting that attitude. But it makes clear that the present government there and the governor are not interested in free and fair elections, but are likely to do their utmost to prevent a proper election so that the people of their choice might get elected. Vague statements of good intentions mean nothing at all when in practice behaviour is in opposition to the statements.

Whatever the law may be it cannot be thought right or desirable to flout public opinion and to act in direct opposition to the declared wishes of the interim government. In our view the limits of democracy have been transcended in both Bengal and Sindh. When a governor has lost the respect of a very large number of the people of the province and is considered to be partial to particular groups, then his utility ends and his continued presence is a challenge and a provocation.

Previously I have written to you about some of these matters and requested you to inform HMG of our views in regard to them. I do not want HMG to remain in ignorance now, and then to be confronted suddenly with the graver developments. I trust, therefore, that you will be good enough to inform HMG of the views of the interim government in regard to the matters referred to above.⁶⁴

Yours sincerely

Jawaharlal Nehru

Sayed's letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence and others.

6.10 1946

Mr. Krishna Menon

India League London

Mr. Reginald

Member Parliament London

Lord Pethick-Lawrence

Secretary State of India

Whitehall London

You are aware of circumstances under which Sindh Assembly has been recently dissolved by Sindh governor, fresh elections are being held. Although Assembly preferred deadlock to transacting government business, governor discredited ministry in office pending elections. At the top of it now government officials most recklessly blatantly and desperately interfering in elections and working for government party. Specific instances of official terrorism communicated to governor and governor-general. Free and pure elections impossible if government servants and executive operate as electioneering agency in defiance election laws and constitution. Request you depute one or two members Parliament interested in development of democratic institutions in India to be present in Sindh on the eve elections and watch how blatantly executive interfere in them. Elections taking place second week December.⁶⁵

G.M. Sayed

Opposition Leader Sindh Assembly

Field Marshal Viscount Wavell to Pandit Nehru.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi

11 October 1946

I have already made enquiries about the allegations made by Sayed of interference by an official in the Sindh elections. Such interference, if substantiated, will not of course be tolerated. Clear instructions have been issued on the subject, and the governor will do all he can to ensure free and fair elections.⁶⁶

Yours sincerely

Wavell

Letter of Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Viceroy Wavell.

India Office, 11 October 1946

Received: 19 October 1946

I have received a telegram from Sayed of Sindh alleging that Sindh government officials are blatantly interfering in the elections and working for the government party. He asks me to arrange one or two members of Parliament to be present at the elections in December in order that they may see for themselves the extent of this interference. I am not sending any reply to this. I remember that widespread accusations of this kind were made in the provincial elections in the spring and I daresay that Indian officials find it almost impossible to remain wholly impartial. We cannot expect the same standards in these matters as prevail in the country. It is quite likely, however, that questions will be put in Parliament about these accusations, and I should be obliged if you would ask Mudie to include in his fortnightly report a paragraph dealing with the conduct of the elections which will provide an authoritative basis for dealing with any such question.⁶⁹

Muslim Leaguers by now had stooped to distributing party tickets to personal aides and influential persons without considering whether the ticket holder had contributed in any manner to the Muslim League. Also, the party high command feared G.M. Sayed's political clout in Sindh.

Report by the Governor to the Viceroy.

Government House Karachi

21st October 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

The League Parliamentary Board, consisting of Liaquat Ali Khan, Chaudhry Khaliqzaman and Hussain Imam, visited Karachi after the close of the fortnight and came down fairly heavily on Ghulam's side. They even gave a ticket to Anwar, Ghulam's son, a fat, and rather useless, young man. Ghulam's game, apart from his quarrel with Khuhro, was to give tickets to wealthy Zamindars who might otherwise have financed Sayed. I am told that Patel refused to finance him unless he joined

the Congress, which would, of course, have ruined his chances. The position will be clear after the candidates have been nominated, on 1st November.67

Yours sincerely

Mudie

A letter from viceroy to secretary of state.

New Delhi

22 October 1946

I have asked Mudie to comply with your request that he should include in fortnightly reports a paragraph about the conduct of the elections.70

Mudie's letter to Wavell about Sindh elections.

Government House Karachi,

6th November 1946

Dear Lord Wavell

The main interest here of course, is the elections. Nomination day was the 1st November. 15 Congressmen and the four Leaguers (including Khuhro and ex-speaker) have been returned unopposed. So have the representatives of the Europeans and of commerce and industries, for the landowner constituency (two seats) there are three candidates, the two sitting members, Mukhi Gobindram, ex-minister, and the premier, and Maula Bux. Maula Bux had to leave his old constituency, Shikarpur, because his nephew Rahim Bux is standing for it on the League ticket. For the labour seat, Beechar, the sitting member is being opposed by one Qazi Mujtaba, who has the same loose connection with the League that Beechar has with the Congress.

There will be contests in four General and 30 Muslim seats. The Congress is generally considered as certain to win the former, their opponents being nuisance candidates. For the 30 contested Muslim seats there are 29 League candidates and 13 followers of Sayed. None of the other Muslim candidates, of which there is quite a large number, are serious except in one constituency where an ex-parliamentary secretary, who was not given the League ticket at this election is standing as an independent candidate against the both League and Sayedite. The story of the League's failure to put a candidate for one constituency is interesting as illustrating election tactics in Sindh, particularly Sayed's. The sitting member for this constituency is one Bhurgri. He has an elder brother who joined the Muslim League immediate after dissolution, and as family has considerable local interest he was given the League ticket for his brother's constituency, it being generally understood that in these circumstances the younger Bhurgri would not stand. However, both brothers were nominated to the constituency and next day the elder Bhurgri withdrew leaving the field to his younger brother. The League is now trying to adopt one of the independent candidates from this constituency as the League candidate.

Things like that make forecasting the election results almost impossible. Ghulam Hussain accuses Khuhro of working against him and intriguing with Sayed and has appealed to Jinnah to keep Khuhro in order and come to Sindh himself as soon as he can. I have not heard Khuhro's views about Ghulam.

I have heard of no further accusations against official's partiality. But they are bound to be made by both sides. Apart from Masood's case, which seems to be dormant, I have heard of accusation against only two other officers, both are working for Sayed. Recently however, I have heard of none. As regards Sayed's accusation against Masood in his letter to Patel, Masood was to have gone on leave for six weeks when relieved by Tomkins, but Tomkins arrival was delayed by riots in Nasik, so Masood did not take his leave as it was too late. Tomkins, who is one-year junior to Masood, has now been sent to be additional district magistrate of the Sanghar District. I spoke to Tomkins and told him to take care of Masood. I think that may work as they know each other well and are friends. The premier agreed to this proposal at once, though he had a suggestion of his own for Tomkins' posting.⁶⁸

Yours sincerely

Mudie

A letter from A.P. LeMesurier, Chief Secretary of Sindh to A.E. Porter Home Secretary of India, about Sindh elections.

Government House Karachi

4th December 1946

Dear A.E. Porter

The tempo of the election campaign has definitely quickened. The real contest is between the Jamait party led by G.M. Sayed and the Muslim League. Mr. Sayed's supporters convened a meeting at Tando Mohammed Khan in Hyderabad district on the 17th November. Something of a melee ensued and the meeting had to be abandoned. A further meeting was convened for the 22nd when great efforts were made to prevail upon the district magistrate to ban this meeting. But after elaborate police precautions had been taken the meeting passed off without untoward incident. However, the district magistrate considered it advisable after this experience to issue an order under Section 42 of the Bombay Police Act, prohibiting the carrying of arms, including lathis and axes in the Tando Mohammed Khan sub-division of Hyderabad district.

Considerable excitement and tension are reported from the Sehwan sub-division of Dadu district. Mr. G.M. Sayed's own village of Sann is situated there. As might be expected the incidents in Bihar are the mainspring of the election propaganda.⁷¹

Yours sincerely

A.P. LeMesurier

G.M. Sayed's Group almost lost the election this time. Only two candidates, Maula Bux Soomro on the general seat for landlords, and Sardar Khan Khoso won their elections. The overall position of the different parties was this. The Muslim League won 34 seats out of 35, the Congress 21, Europeans 3 and Muslim Nationalists 2.

The undemocratic tactics of the Governor, the bureaucracy and the ministry to defeat the Sayed Group became crystal clear when the Election Tribunal in its verdict upheld G.M. Sayed's plea and disqualified his rival candidate Qazi

Mohammed Akbar. The court also fined Qazi Mohammed Akbar a few thousands. But this opponent then travelled to the village of Sann in Dadu district to especially request G.M. Sayed to waive payment of the fine, and Sayed forgave him and waived the fine. That the ministry or the bureaucracy committed the irregularities is understandable but the interference of the Governor and outright help of the Viceroy to the Governor raised many questions.

G.M. Sayed felt that the British colonial administration had used Muslims to further their strategy of divide and rule, and power-hungry elements among the Muslim community were used as instruments to further their future interests.

His opinion was that a well-thought out mutual understanding between Congress and Muslim League for the inhabitants of the Subcontinent would be a better way out for the future of all, as well as for peace and prosperity of the region. As a visionary and philosopher, he felt that the path of disharmony would eventually be harmful and dangerous for the Muslims of the Subcontinent. He showed his ire with British officialdom for letting the Muslims down in a dressing down to a British military officer.

A letter from Mudie to Wavell.

Government House Karachi

24th February 1947

About a fortnight ago, General Boucher, who commands the Airborne Division, was travelling in the train with a Muslim, who, from his description, must, I think, have been G.M. Sayed, and was treated to a long tirade on how the British were letting down the Muslims by deserting them.⁷²

Sir Ghulam Hussain formed the new ministry on 3 January 1947, with the blessing of Jinnah. And Jinnah again disappointed Khuhro by not appointing him as the parliamentary leader of the Muslim League in Sindh.

Soon, the Sindh Assembly passed the Rural Credit and Transfer bill instead of the Land Alienation bill.

The Land Alienation Bill was not a new issue. The Muslim members, especially G.M. Sayed, were very anxious about it since the birth of the Assembly. G.M. Sayed had tried his best in every ministry to get it passed into law, but owing to the lack of unity among the Muslim legislators, opposition from the Hindu community and non-cooperation of the Governor on the issue, the Assembly could not pass it.

Sir Chhoturam presented the same bill in the Punjab Assembly and it was passed. The Governor later ratified it.

Report by Governor Mudie to Viceroy Mountbatten.

Government House Karachi

7th April 1947

The Sindh Rural Credit and Land Transfer bill was drafted to take the place of a bill from which Governor Dow had withheld assent on 16th March 1945. The previous bill was drafted along the lines of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act and divided Zamindars into agriculturist and non-agriculturalists, which gave rise to considerable communal wrangling and for that reason assent was withheld. The present bill is drafted on the lines of U.P. Regulation of Credit Act, which was passed by the Congress government. It affords better protection to Zamindar, as it does not encourage the growth of agriculturist moneylenders and avoids any dispute regarding the definition of an agriculturist. The Baniyas of course, like it no more than its predecessor, but it is less easy to attack.

Actually its passing has aroused little criticism because of the agitation against the Sindh Land-Holders-Mortgage-Bill, which was introduced and just passed just before it. This bill was introduced to deal with --- which land had been mortgaged by conditional sale, the (bill?) being set forth in a written document and the conditions being agreed to orally. In such cases it is said that the Bania often repudiates the oral agreements. The main provision of the bill allows a Zamindar to apply to the court for a declaration that the transaction is a mortgage and not a sale in which case contrary to the ordinary law he is allowed to give oral evidence which is at variance with the sale deed. There is a similar provision in the Dekkan Agriculturist Relief Act but the present bill goes rather further. The Muslim Zamindars, who are the backbone of the League, are very insistent on the bill and the Hindu Zamindars, most of whom are Baniyas, are strongly opposed. Some of the latter have gone to Delhi to see what can be done about it. The bill has to be reserved for your assent. My personal opinion is that though some of the provisions of the bill may be difficult to put in practice, the principle is all right. Politically, difficulties will arise if assent is withheld. When I send up the bill, I will send up a memorandum from the leader of the Congress party in the Assembly asking that assent be withheld with a note giving my own views.73

Yours sincerely

R.F. Mudie

This bill was forwarded to the Viceroy for his approval. The Viceroy did not approve the bill and returned it with the comments that after Partition, the decision will be taken by the executive of the new state. When Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan, he refused to approve the bill. It was the first great shock to Sindhi Muslims. They were not able to regain their lands, which had been mortgaged to the Hindu moneylenders and these lands were allotted to migrants.

The Sindhi Hindus were unrealistic about land alienation, which was the main conflict between the two communities. They did not withdraw from the possession of mortgaged Muslim agricultural lands, though they had to leave their ancestors' soil of Sindh during Partition. The Muslims who knew that Hindus were stubborn about the Land Alienation Bill, were not able to get their agricultural lands returned back to them, even after attaining their own Muslim sovereign state of Pakistan.

Krishna Menon shared his views with Mountbatten about different political issues and also discussed the negative role of Dow and Mudie as Governors of Sindh, and serving at different posts in the Subcontinent. Record of interview between Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and Mr. Krishna Menon.

Mountbatten papers. Viceroy's interview

17 April 1947,

7.40 p.m.

He confirmed that Congress viewed with the gravest suspicion the governors of the NWFP, Punjab, Bihar, and Sindh. He said they were all notorious imperialists who in the old days have worked on the "Divide and Rule" principle. He said that Mudie was widely held to have joined forces with the Muslim League to get them into power, and that Dow's reputation was so notorious that it made it very difficult for the ministry (which he admitted was weak) to work with him. He thought Jenkins was doing his best in the Punjab, but held him in part to blame for allowing the critical situation to develop which had resulted in government under Section 73.

He said that Caroe and all his political officers, British and Indian, had been preaching the anti-Congress doctrine for so long to the tribes, that even if some of them wanted to, they would find it difficult to sing a different tune with success.⁷⁴

On 3rd June 1947, the British announced the Partition formula, known as the Partition Plan. Its salient features were.

1. India's division into two States.
2. The two States were to form their own constituent assemblies.
3. There would be a referendum in the NWFP to decide whether it wanted to join India or Pakistan.
4. There would be no fresh elections in the NWFP but the people of the province would be asked which country they wanted to join, Pakistan or India.
5. The provinces of Bengal and the Punjab would be partitioned.
6. In Assam, the people of Sylhet would, through a referendum, be asked which country they wanted to join.
7. India would get Calcutta while Lahore would be part of Pakistan.
8. A boundary commission would be appointed to demarcate the frontiers between the two countries.
9. A commission would be appointed to divide financial and military assets between the two countries.
10. British sovereignty ending over India, the princely states would be given the right to choose which of the two countries to join.
11. The British would hand over power to the two States in August.

Ghaffar Khan in his meeting with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad declared that it was irresponsible behaviour by the Congress party to abandon the Nationalist Muslims and smaller nations at this juncture of the fight for independence. In a

bitter mood, he is reported to have said: "The Congress threw out NWFP to the wolves". Sindhi historian K.R. Malkani, in his book "Story of Sindh", elaborated that "the Congress threw out not only NWFP to the wolves as complained by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, but it also threw Sindh to the wolves."

Dealing with a New Front

Opposition with a difference

G.M. Sayed in the purview of losing the poll and due to the announcement of the 3 June Partition Plan of the sub-continent called a meeting of his colleagues on 24 June, 1946, at his hometown Sann under the presidentship of Shaikh Abdul Majid.

The following leaders were present:

Rais Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri, Hyderabad; Sayed Mohammed Ali Shah, Darbelo; Sayed Hassan Bux Shah, Mehrabpur; Sayed Ghulam Hyder Shah, Mirpurkhas; Pir Ali Mohammed Shah Rashdi, Karachi; Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur, Hyderabad; Maulvi Abdul Haq Rabbani, Nasarpur; Hakim Maulvi Mohammed Maaz, Nawabshah; Pir Ahmed Shah Rashdi, Sukkur; Maulvi Khair Mohammed Nizamani, Hyderabad; Pir Hujatullah Shah Rashdi, Mehar; Mohammed Suleman Magsi, Dadu; Sayed Jaindal Shah, Arazi, Sayed Asadullah Shah, Bajara; Mohammed Hashim Mastoi, Nawabshah and Hakim Mohammed Yakoob Qadri, Karachi.

The conference was held over two days and a decision was arrived at: participants agreed to launch a mass awareness programme in Sindh. An understanding with the nationalists of other provinces would be helpful for promoting the cause. On that occasion, G.M. Sayed made the following speech, as reported in "The Case of Sindh."

We should not be disheartened by past events, actually this is a test case for the sons of the soil. We should be united in facing coming difficulties and problems in Sindh. In the interest of Sindh, we did revolt against the central Muslim League to show our solidarity with the cause of Sindh.

Division of India has already taken place according to the wishes of undivided India's two major parties, the Congress and the Muslim League. I wouldn't like to dwell on what our views on the constitutional issue were before Partition because after Partition the chapter of constitutional politics has ended. The Congress and the Muslim League were formed for the purpose of carrying on the freedom struggle, this aim has now been achieved, so their role has also come to an end. The new parties should be formed and run on socio-economic basis.

The Partition of the sub-continent was a tragedy, however. Communal hatred between the two major communities of India was one important outcome of the above. In the freedom struggle for Pakistan, the Muslim masses had their own hopes but it seems that the Muslim elite class participated in the freedom movement only in so far as it replaced the Hindu capitalist. The Anglo-American bloc took special interest to stop the wave of socialism coming to the Middle Eastern countries, through Pan-Islamism. The modern definition of a 'nation' relates to territory, economics, language, customs, culture and history. New nations are coming up based on this definition. Sindh, too, also has all the necessary attributes of a nation. A negative approach regarding their basic rights could produce an atmosphere of mistrust and disharmony rather than one of peace and tranquilly.

Our motherland Sindh is under the darkest of clouds, these circumstances are compelling every Sindhi to struggle for the cause of Sindh.¹

On 26 June 1947, the Sindh Assembly met and a proposal was passed to join the Federation of Pakistan, in pursuance of a paragraph of His Majesty's Government's 3 June Partition Plan. The 33 legislators of the Muslim League voted in favour,

20 of the Congress voted against and two members, --- Khan Bahadur Haji Maula Bux Soomro and Sardar Khan Khoso, --- both nationalist Muslims, remained neutral. The three Europeans also did not cast their vote. The Speaker, while announcing the count of the votes, declared: "Sindh has arrived at the portals of Pakistan first. Congratulations!"

Some nationalist leaders, including G.M. Sayed,--- in the developing political scenario of the sub-continent --- had protested to the imperial powers that now that they were departing the subcontinent , they should restore the "Gadi" of the family of Pir Pagaro, and release his Hur followers who had been put into pacification settlements. The colonial administration adopted its own view about this.

Letter of Chief Secretary of Sindh to Viceroy.

Government House Karachi

19th July 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten

Not the least disqualifying feature is the beginning of an attempt to revive an agitation for the restoration of Pir Pagaro's "Gadi" and for the release of Hurs those who are now under detention or in settlements. It is incredible to what lengths political irresponsibility will go. Only the other day Mr. G.M. Sayed is reported to have issued a statement in support of this move.²

Yours sincerely

A.P. LeMesurier

Independence Day was set for 14 August 1947.

Jinnah was of the view that the entire Punjab and Bengal should be parts of Pakistan but the Congress party claimed that the basis of Partition was communal, so these territories, in which Hindus were a sizable minority, should also be divided on communal lines. According to the freedom award, both provinces were divided into two parts. Jinnah protested to Mountbatten but the die had already been cast.

The Partition of Bengal and Punjab provinces compelled the two communities to flee their ancestral homes in these provinces, and the same events were repeated in the Muslim and Hindu minority provinces of India.

The Congress and other nationalist parties had accepted the division of the Subcontinent with a view to solving the communal problem, but it only made the situation worse. Hindu-Muslim riots broke out all over India during which hundreds of thousands of people, including innocent children lost their lives, uncounted women were physically abused and property worth millions of rupees was destroyed. Millions of people were compelled to migrate from the land of their ancestors and hatred and terrorism replaced love.

Under this chaotic situation, the Sindhi Hindus were given no choice but to leave their homeland and the banks of the Indus River. This tragedy was a terrible lesson for the leadership of both the countries to rethink and sort out their past errors but they were not ready to remedy the almost insurmountable problems that arose because of those errors.

The view of G.M. Sayed, which he shared with the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on 2nd April 1946, at Delhi, was that the malady of communal hatred should be addressed. His efforts in 1942, and 1945 to bring the Congress and the

Muslim League together for a dialogue was a golden opportunity for the two concerned groups to resolve their differences and settle the communal problem. But unfortunately different groups had their own hidden agendas and vested interests and treated the move in a lukewarm manner, the Subcontinent was thus denied peace and prosperity.

The British did not conquer the Asian Subcontinent using religion as a basis. Yet now they were departing and dividing the Subcontinent along Hindu-Muslim religious lines.

Also they made a blunder in changing the natural geographies of the states and created presidencies for their administrative and political purposes. They had converted the Asian Subcontinent into British India that was against the natural nurturing of different cultures, traditions and also reordered their original territories. G.M. Sayed, a man of strong feelings, was saddened by these tragedies, but he and his colleagues were handicapped because the entire Subcontinent was inflamed by religious hatred.

G.M. Sayed's observations on division.

The Partition Plan was accepted by the Congress and other nationalist parties as a solution to the communal problem but it only exacerbated it, and Hindu-Muslim riots assumed All-India dimensions during which hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives including innocent children. Countless women were raped, and property worth millions was destroyed and hundreds of thousands people were forced to migrate from the land of their ancestors. Love was replaced by hatred and terrorism. Sindh was no exception, and the Sindhis were divided into two with around 1,300,000 people leaving their homes and hearths for India, with the rest mourning their departure along the banks of Indus.³

In Pakistan, only Mr. Jinnah felt that the chapter of communal fanaticism had ended, so in his speech on 11 August 1947 to the Constituent Assembly, he emphasised this new thought of his, but his other colleagues did not bother to follow it in a true sense.

On that occasion, Mountbatten also delivered a speech and said, "The statement of the Independence Council is a real path towards peace and harmony." He said the Council expressed the desire that in both countries citizens would be treated fairly without any discrimination of caste, creed and race. There would be freedom of association and speech and everybody would be permitted to perform his religious rites. Languages and cultures would be secure and both Governments are willing not to harm their pre-Partition opponents. Honouring the above principles is equivalent to honouring the rights of one-fifth of the human race.

G.M. Sayed lost his battle in this pre-planned game. His hopes did not take shape, all his struggle for the prosperity of his motherland Sindh were jeopardised, but he did not lose heart. However, this new political scenario profoundly changed the pattern of politics and after a thorough study of the situation, he issued a statement:

Probably after winning the battle of Pakistan, the views of Jinnah have changed and his thinking is now on the right track. He is trying to wash his hands off what he and his followers did in past decades. This has produced a ray of hope for peace and a more cordial atmosphere. Jinnah's speech is supportive of our opinion of the fake slogans introduced by the Muslim League that we had opposed.

"He is saying: "you are free, you are free to go to your temples. You are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed. That has nothing to do with the business of the state"...and the Assembly agreed.

"Is it not against what Muslim League had propagated before partition -- the slogan, 'Islam in danger'? I don't like to reproduce speeches of Quaid-i-Azam in which he claimed that he is a vanguard of Islam. He commented a number of times about the establishment of an Islamic state, this opinion had produced religious disharmony in the masses. But it is wonderful that after obtaining power, Mr. Jinnah in his first speech distanced himself from all slogans and separated politics from religion."

Citing the system in England, he says:

"Now I think you should keep it in front of you as an ideal. And you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as a citizen of the state.

"About the Federation, our views have always been clear. Sindh is for Sindhis and Punjab for Punjabis, etc. In his speech, Jinnah had accepted this principle of federation and the rights of the federating units."

"I hope that Jinnah could keep himself away from his corrupt, dishonest followers who, through their malpractices, had damaged Muslim society."

"In India the Indian leadership had forgotten their old grievances and they accepted Dr. Ambedkar in the cabinet. I am hoping that our leaders will do the same with their opponents.⁴

These were the wishes of G.M. Sayed. But from 1947 up to 2004, whoever became the Chief Executive of the country attempted to damage his opponents in all respects -- economically, socially, politically and sometimes even physically.

The most important aspect of all this upheaval was migration of whole communities which affected the entire Subcontinent. Sindh was no exception, and 1.3 million Sindhis migrated away from Sindh during Partition. Under these circumstances, G.M. Sayed issued a statement and appealed to Sindhi Hindus not to leave their native land.

Text of statement:

The migration of Hindus from certain urban areas has created the impression that either the Pakistan government and provincial government or the Sindh Muslims are not prepared to protect the honour, lives and properties of the Hindus of Sindh. Thus leaving them no alternative but to flee from this province.

I believe that in spite of what has happened there is no justification to form any such opinion. It is regrettable that a few stabbing cases should have occurred, which has created a scare among the Sindhi Hindus.

A strong action on the part of the Government in Nawabshah would have certainly created a salutary effect all over the province. I still hope that the provincial government should enquire into the Nawabshah occurrences. But on the whole there is nothing to complain against the attitude of the Sindh government. The Sindh Premier and his colleagues seem determined to prevent and suppress goondaism wherever it exists. The premier has gone round, issued statements, addressed public meetings, met the leaders of minorities, have convened conferences of district officials, strengthened the police organisations, established peace-committees and assured everybody of the determination of the government to maintain law and order. The Sindhi

Muslims are not only sympathetic towards Sindhi Hindus but at times they have protected them at the cost of their own lives. Our party has left no stone unturned in spite of our handicaps to rouse the Sindhi Musalman to protect the Sindhi Hindus not only in their own interest, but in the interest of the Muslim minorities in Hindustan as well.

I am proud to say that the collective effect of the above efforts has resulted in the maintenance of harmonious relations between communities and peaceful conditions in the entire province.

I make a personal appeal to the Hindus in Sindh not to migrate from this province and assure them that every Muslim of Sindh is anxious to continue the age-old cordial relations between the two communities and protect them at any cost on this land of Sufis and saints. I will not be surprised that their grievances pertaining to their share in the Ministry and the administration will ere long be removed and redressed. If they make a common cause with us in our allegiance to Pakistan, I am absolutely sure that all of us are going to play a leading role in progress, prosperity and the peace and glory of this province in Pakistan Dominion.

Let me hope that this exodus will stop and all those who have migrated will come back, relying upon our sympathy and protection and the good intention of the Government.⁵

G.M. Sayed, together with Shaikh Abdul Majid and Jethmal Parsram, set up a committee to resolve the problems of the immigrants of both sides. This committee started its work with G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Jethmal Parsram visiting the refugee camps and providing medical aid and shelter to the refugees. But the Government did not tolerate these positive activities of G.M. Sayed and his colleagues, and it asked the refugees not to cooperate with them.

The Hindus and Muslims made another subcommittee under the supervision of Jethmal Parsram and Shaikh Abdul Majid and they invited Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy to come to Sindh. Suharwardy came to Karachi and proposed the name of Mohammed Ayub Khuhro as the chairman and a number of Hindus and Muslims as members. Yusuf Haroon, Professor Ghanshyam, Kumari Jethi Sepihmalani, G.A. Allana and M.P. Tehalramani were inducted as members of the committee.

This committee appealed to the Hindus not to leave the province, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro and members of the committee toured different parts of the province and exchanged views with the Hindus and Muslims about the situation and offered them their help and services.

G.M. Sayed, Sahibzada Abdul Sattar Jan Sarhandi, Jethmal Parsram, Naraindas Malkani and Comrade Abdul Qadir also visited Hyderabad and Nawabshah districts. G.M. Sayed made a speech there and spoke to Hindus to obtain current information about the situation. The Hindus complained against two collectors -- Masood of Nawabshah and Khan of Upper Sindh and told the delegation that they both were responsible for creating an unusually tense atmosphere. Masood was already notorious for his high-handedness during the 1946 elections. While the rigging of the elections may not have been a good act, but instigating or planning to murder people was the worse.

Another so-called "gift" to Sindh after the creation of Pakistan was Karachi's separation from the province, when the Centre decided that Karachi should not be a part of Sindh.

Although the Sindh Assembly had passed a bill against the separation of Sindh's heart, Karachi, from the province and a delegation of the Sindh Muslim League, consisting of Sayed Ali Akbar Shah, Mohammed Hashim Gazdar and Qazi

Mohammed Akbar had met Jinnah at Ziarat, in Balochistan where he was resting due to his poor health. The high delegation of the League had requested him not to separate Sindh from Karachi, but the request received scant attention.

G.M. Sayed had opposed that move, and since the authorities were afraid that Sayed probably would organise a protest movement, the new Governor of Sindh, Sir Ghulam Hussain, issued an order in June 1948 for Sayed's detention for three months at his hometown Sann. Thus Sir Ghulam was able to fulfill his desire to remove G.M. Sayed from the new arena, a desire that was unaccomplished and unfulfilled during the British Raj when he was the Premier of Sindh. As Sayed returned from his tour of Upper Sindh, the authorities detained him in Sann.

Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, a leading figure of the Muslim League, was dismissed from chief ministership under alleged charges of corruption. Khuhro had not wanted the centre interfering in the affairs of the province, and had also stood firm against the idea of separating Karachi from Sindh.

G.M. Sayed was released from Karachi prison three months later. Meanwhile Sir Ghulam Hussain expired, and Sayed, always humble and gracious, went to his residence to offer condolences to his relatives. The centre was unable to choose anyone from among individuals in Sindh to be the next Governor of the province, and so imported Justice Deen Mohammed from Punjab to be the Governor of Sindh.

In 1949, Pir Illahi Bux was disqualified by the Election Tribunal from being the chief minister of Sindh on charges of rigging the elections in G.M. Sayed's constituency, and was replaced by Yusuf Haroon as the new chief minister of Sindh.

After his removal from chief ministership, Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali decided to take up Sindh's cause against the interference of the centre in the province, so they consulted Mohammed Hashim Gazdar so as to convene an All Parties' Conference on the issue.

The first meeting was attended by Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Pir Illahi Bux, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Mir Ali Ahmed Khan, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi, and Sindhi students, workers and peasants.

A number of participants spoke and enlightened the audience about the conference's aims. Work for the conference started with full enthusiasm, but after the statement of Chaudhry Khaliqzaman, central president of the Muslim League, that this conference was against the Muslim League party, Ghulam Nabi Pathan not only disassociated himself from the committee but also started opposing the conference.

Under these circumstances, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi called a meeting at the office of Sindh Observer newspaper. The meeting was attended by G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, Mohammed Hashim Gazdar and the host, where they discussed the implication of the statement of Chaudhry Khaliqzaman, and disassociation of Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan from the Committee. The participants asked Khuhro if, under this situation, he was willing to attend the conference. Khuhro replied that Sindh was under turmoil and difficulties, and he was ready to face any victimisation for the cause of Sindh, and that the convention must be held. But after some time, Khuhro changed his mind.

Yusuf Haroon, who was the chief minister for ten months, still did not succeed in securing the Assembly seat due to the double-faced policy of the Centre. Yusuf Haroon complained to G.M. Sayed over his support for Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, saying that the Mir could easily be purchased.

Eventually Yusuf Haroon contested from Dadu. Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi opposed him in that constituency. G.M. Sayed, Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur participated in the election campaign on Rashdi's behalf, and Yusuf Haroon, feeling that he had a small chance of winning at the polls, requested the Governor to postpone the elections.

Mir Ghulam Ali, together with G.M. Sayed, went to Karachi. It was expected that, as Yusuf Haroon was not an elected member of the Assembly, he would put in his resignation. But G.M. Sayed was amazed when Yusuf Haroon purchased Mir Ghulam Ali's loyalty the next day in return for a ministership. Under these conditions, Hashim Gazdar felt it was better to drop the idea of a convention.

Peoples Party

After Partition the need arose for an opposition party that could check the activities of the ruling group, engage in healthy constructive criticism, and provide suggestions to the Government. In support of this, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan offered his unconditional support to Jinnah and to some extent the latter agreed that the relationship should be revived. One conservative faction within the Muslim League, which did not like that Pakistan should go along the path towards democracy, poisoned the atmosphere by sowing the seeds of mistrust between Mr. Jinnah and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, which resulted in these two leaders never meeting each other again.

G.M. Sayed and Shaikh Abdul Majid also wrote a letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, unconditionally offering their services for the welfare of the masses of the newborn country, but did not receive any reply.

Under these circumstances, leaders from all provinces met at G.M. Sayed's Hyder Manzil residence at Karachi on 8th May 1948, where they constituted a new party, which was to be formed on a non-communal basis, and with a new socio-economic programme for the country. Among those local leaders who attended were:

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan,	NWFP
G.M. Sayed,	Sindh
Shaikh Abdul Majid,	Sindh
Abdul Samad Achakzai,	Balochistan
Amir Ahmed Khan,	NWFP
Shaikh Zaheeruddin,	Punjab
Shaikh Hassamuddin,	Punjab
Munshi Ahmeduddin,	Punjab

Delegates from all over Pakistan discussed and shared their views and emphasised that the party's formation was a step towards the establishment of a democratic system in the country, because without a healthy opposition, the basic rights of the people would be negated.

At this meeting, Sayed said that this party would struggle for the rights of the constituent units of the federation and basic rights of the people, including freedom of speech and equality of opportunity for the citizens of Pakistan.

The people of Sindh had launched the struggle for freedom to see a self-governing Sindh in an independent Pakistan, autonomous in its local affairs. For thousands of years, the Sindhis have had an identity of their own and have respected the identity of other nationalities in the Federation of Pakistan, viz. the Punjabis, Balochis and Pushtoons, and the Bengalis. At the same time, we expect them to reciprocate these sentiments.

The authorities have planned to administer Pakistan under a theocratic system through a strong centre. This is unnatural and far removed from ground reality. Such a course can only foster disharmony and mistrust between the federating units. It is our firm opinion that we will oppose it at all democratic forums.

We believe that the citizens of Pakistan, belonging to whatever class, caste or creed have equal rights.

We had not formed the party to capture power. Our aim is only to raise awareness among the masses for their rights and to watch over the government's actions so that it does not deviate from the path of democracy and justice.⁶

As the president of the first formal opposition party of Pakistan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, addressed the delegates:

At present the world is passing through a crucial stage. After the Second World War, there was hope that the powerful nations would assume the path of wisdom and would work in the interest of peace in the world. It was also expected that the United Nations Organisation (UNO) would safeguard world peace, but our hopes are dashed when we see powerful countries moving towards a Third World War. This war can only damage the world. Under these conditions, it is the duty of every wise man or woman to launch a struggle to save the world from this dirty game.

We hope that Pakistan and India would resolve their disputes through dialogue. Cordial and peaceful relations between them would contribute to a better atmosphere between the two countries that would be good not only for the sub-continent but for the rest of the world.

Before partition, Khudai Khadmatgars, the party of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan before Partition, were of the view that the establishment of Pakistan would not be good for the Pushtoons.

Now that NWFP has become a part of Pakistan and we are citizens of the newborn country, our opponents are propagating the idea that we are not loyal to Pakistan.

This attitude would only harm Pakistan. I believe in non-violence, which is a path of love and truth. Violence feeds on hatred and lies. Violence may provide a temporary success but will do incalculable damage in the long run. The Muslim Leagues are crying that Pakistan is in a danger. For the sake of Pakistan's solidarity, the opposition unconditionally offers support to the current rulers.

In the end, I must make it very clear, that it is not a tenet of the newborn Peoples Party to oppose the (Pakistan) government or the Muslim League party or to try to remove it from power.

When G.M. Sayed persuaded me to help form a central party I told him clearly that if the party's aim was to capture power, I would have nothing to do with it, but if it was for the awareness and welfare of the masses, I would be ready to join it. I have come here and have become a member of the party on these assurances of G.M. Sayed.⁷

After the conference Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was invited to Sayed's residence at Sann, and he stayed there for three days, during which the two veteran leaders discussed the political situation and jointly arrived at the following decision:

1. This Government should continue its tenure according to its policies.
2. The new party would only work for the prosperity of the masses.
3. Should the Government place a ban upon their social welfare work, they would not resist the order.

As Ghaffar Khan began his tour of NWFP to introduce the programme of the new party to the masses, the Government issued orders for his arrest. He was detained by the police and then sent out of the province. Other leaders, such as Dr. Khan Sahib, Qazi Attaullah, Amir Ahmed Khan, Amir Jan, Abdul Ghani Khan and several others were arrested. The property of Khudai Khidmatgar workers was confiscated and the houses of workers were torched and their property in NWFP was looted, and administrative measures were made to break up the party's programme.

The local leaders were abused by the administration. Several were stripped naked at their hometowns and village squares (chowks) and the faces of many political workers were blackened with soot after they were detained. And one worker was even stripped naked by force in public in the presence of his wife. Two workers were killed in Shiwa village of Mardan district and their wives were abused.

On 12 August 1948, police opened fire at a peaceful meeting of Khudai Khidmatgars at Charsadda, and according to an official handout, 17 persons were killed and 70 injured. The actual casualties were rumoured to have been more than the officially reported figures.

Immediately after the birth of Pakistan, the authorities therefore laid the foundation of undemocratic and violent politics through state terrorism. This was the precedent for their successors to continue with this violent practice to achieving nefarious aims, but at what cost to the body politic, and the manner it would impact politics in future generations? Democracy is a system through which Europe and America have not only provided a peaceful atmosphere to their citizens but the principles of co-existence are accepted by all the citizens without discrimination of caste, creed and class. The state or any other group has no right to violate their basic rights. Their governments and citizens are very anxious and sensitive even about the rights of the citizens of the undemocratic countries. Through that system, their society is all the richer in all walks of life.

Those nations have developed their economy, social and industrial sectors, they have made progress in science and technology and developed a strong media.

Whereas the actions of successive Pakistani governments have dragged the nation back decades, and provided an opportunity and the forum for violence-minded individuals to do as they liked. The first opposition party of the nascent Pakistan was smashed by the Government through the use of administrative machinery and undemocratic methods, and the precedent thus laid down to subdue a valid opposition has continued till this day. Not only that, we are still not moving along the path of constitutional rule. Every ruler appropriates the chair of high office with novel ideas of his own regarding the form of government he will constitute and then head, and this has not allowed the country to become politically stable.

G.M. Sayed started his tour of Sindh to convey the programme of the party to the masses. He toured Hyderabad, Matiari, Hala, Saeedabad, Nawabshah, Qazi Ahmed, Bherya, and Khairpur Mirs. On 30 April 1948, he went to Rato Dero to attend the yearly session of the peasant's conference. He continued his tour and visited Larkana, Shahdad Kot, Shikarpur, Jacobabad, Thal, Gharhi Khairo, and Sukkur. There, he met with his old colleagues and workers and exchanged views with them. He asked them to be prepared to face the forthcoming difficulties in Sindh.

At this point in time, Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur suggested to G.M. Sayed that he should tour the Muslim holy places and Europe for a change, which would do wonders for his failing health. Sayed considered this suggestion a good idea and so on 26th November 1948, he applied for a passport at Karachi. But on 17 February 1949, he received a letter from Passport Officer S.F. Feroze, stating that the Government was not willing to issue him a passport. No reason was mentioned for the refusal. This was a violation of a citizen's basic right and a manifestation of dictatorial rule.

During 1950, Sayed continued his coordination with his colleagues through meetings. He published books, leaflets and pamphlets to awaken the masses. Also, he organised conferences of peasants.

In January 1952, a few months after the tragic assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, G.M. Sayed summoned a meeting at his residence at Karachi to review the situation and to decide a future strategy. After deeply reviewing the situation, he and his colleagues set up a committee to consult and discuss with different political groups in the country about launching a programme for democratic rights of the citizens of Pakistan, as well as autonomous and sovereign status of the federating units, viz. Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Balochistan.

The committee comprised the following persons: G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Raees Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri, Pir Illahi Bux, Ghulam Hyder Shah and Mohammed Amin Khoso.

An ad-hoc advisory committee was also set up to help in implementation of different programmes of the committee and give advice to the aforementioned committee. This advisory committee consisted of the following persons: Haji Maula Bux Soomro, Mohammed Usman Soomro, Saeed Haroon, Haji Arab Kehar and Abdul Qadir Shaikh.

To strengthen the relationship between the refugees who had opted for Pakistan, some of whom were still arriving from India, and the local inhabitants, a communication programme with men of letters in Urdu was chalked out. For reviewing the political situation, a convention of all opposition groups on an all-Pakistan or all-Sindh basis was proposed in April 1952, on the platform of Sindh Peoples Front.

And yet it must be said, that on one side, opposition groups were struggling for their democratic rights and on the other, the rulers were only busy suppressing the opposition groups and trying to upstage one another.

After the dismissal of Khuhro from the premiership, the powerful establishment of the Centre did not allow Yusuf Haroon to secure a Provincial Assembly seat. There was whispering that his close associates did not look after Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, at the time of his illness. The murder of Liaquat Ali Khan brought to the fore these petty differences, and the political immaturity of the Muslim League leaders was evident. Though the Leaguers were handed over power in the nascent state of Pakistan, the question arose whether they were fit to rule at these posts, or were they imposed upon the Muslim masses expeditiously by League party leaders and rulers under the slogan of 'Islam is in danger'. This is still a very big argument in Pakistan as this very same slogan has continuously been shrieked to the populace in Pakistan for the last 50 years, whenever ulterior motives are involved.

In 1952, G.M. Sayed was invited by the organisers of the World Peace Conference to attend and address the convention in Vienna. The speech that Sayed gave at the conference indicated his depth of foresight and his thorough study of the world political scene. What Sayed foresaw when he gave his speech at the conference in 1952, the world has witnessed many times over during the last 50 years. The West has never paid attention to his thought and vision, because they have their own vested interests, and Pakistan has had to face several grievous tragedies. It can also be said that the 9/11 attacks in the United States are a glaring example of what he had warned about.

Following is the brief text of the speech to the World Peace Conference:

In Pakistan, we are afraid that with the demand for Pan-Islamism, with the demand of unification of the Middle-Eastern countries and with the passing of the Objectives Resolution, the reactionary propaganda may have its effects and the so-called religious groups may be successful in intimidating and cowing down the regime in power with their demands and make them fall prey to doctrines.

This conference, Mr. Chairman, is endeavouring to advance the cause of peace and I would like to emphasise to the delegates of this conference in general and to those from the UK and America in particular that the efforts of the American and British governments wanting to unite the Muslims on the basis of their so-called religious beliefs are fraught with dangerous possibilities. Let them know that it is due to the patronage of these powers that religious bigotry, fanaticism and Fascist tendencies are being advanced and strengthened and it is due to this patronage that the Middle Eastern countries are moving away with democracy and civil society. It is painful for me also that many of our Muslim countries are being made to sell bases for the armies of imperialistic powers. What consequences will result from these commitments made by our national governments are not difficult to foresee. Our countries lie helpless with the armies of foreign powers on their soil and their national sovereignty will vanish. It is most mortifying for many of us to find the governments of our countries selling away our national honour and prestige.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, the result of all these trends has been that the present regime in power does not even allow opposition within the limits of the constitution in our country. People, who oppose the current regime, are put behind bars for voicing sentiments and views that are likely to disturb the so-called religious groups. There are pertinent examples of the famous Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan from NWFP and Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai from Balochistan. Both have been rotting behind the bars for the last five years without any trial. Let me remind you, Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates that these are the people who fought against British imperialism for years and were foremost in the ranks of our freedom fighters. And what hardships they had to withstand at the alien ruler's hands. Our country is passing through a most critical stage in its life and we need the sympathy and help of peace-loving people of the world. I would request all the delegates of this conference to help us stand against the dark-forces gathering in the name of religion. Ladies and gentlemen victories of peace are no less than victories of war. This peace conference is a great landmark in the history of the peoples of the world. I pledge the cooperation of the peace loving people of our country.⁸

Long live peace

After six years of independence, in 1953, the Government decided to hold elections. If I may digress to explain how rights were denied at very high levels. During these six years Pakistan was without a Constitution. Although Mr. Jinnah inaugurated the first session of the Constituent Assembly on 11 August 1948, his followers and colleagues did not bother to continue his mission for their own ends. Later, on October 1954, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved and Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed dismissed the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly Maulvi Tamizuddin. The Maulvi moved the Sindh Chief Court which restored the Assembly. The bench was headed by Justice A.R. Cornelius, a Christian and two Sindhi Judges, Justice Mohammed Bux Memon and Justice Bachal Memon, but Justice Munir, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, who belonged to Punjab province, acting in the interest of the Centre, rejected the order of the Sindh Chief Court. That was a dark day for democracy, basic rights of citizens and the right of autonomy of the federating units. It can be said that arbitrary actions like these finally led to East Pakistan going the way of Bangladesh.

G.M. Sayed called a meeting of various groups of Sindh to take part in the 1953 elections, at which the following persons were present: G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri, Hyder Bux Jatoi, Mohammed Maaz, Aladdin Sammo, Sobho Gianchandani, Abdul Qadir and Sayed Shamsuddin Shah.

At this meeting a joint declaration was unanimously passed, and a document signed to consolidate their efforts into one front. The new party was named the Sindh Awami Mahaz, and it was decided that its programmes would be non-communal and socio-economic. The party contested the provincial elections and won seven seats, with G.M. Sayed being elected unopposed from Sehwan sub-district.

G.M. Sayed was elected parliamentary leader of the group in Sindh Assembly. On the floor of the Assembly, he assured the Treasury benches of his unconditional support in their positive work regarding the welfare of the citizens of Sindh.

"The Opposition has the right of healthy criticism," he said. He reiterated his opinion for the rights of the federating units and further said that they will continue their struggle inside and outside the Assembly for the cause of Sindh.

Thus began a great period in the progress of Sindh as G.M. Sayed entered the Assembly. The perspective for the future changed, and the Ministry began preparations to start development schemes in the province.

Among some of them were the following. A literature and language board (Sindhi Adabi Board) was established and Sayed became its first chairman. A Cultural Centre was set up at Bhit Shah, along with the Sindh University and radio station at Hyderabad. A committee of experts was set up to prepare a Sindhi language dictionary, archive the collection of folklore of Sindh, adopt anti-famine measures in the arid Thar area, supply water for Kohistan and a hill station at Gorakh in the Kirthar Mountains in Dadu district. These were some of the projects initiated by the Assembly.

A plan was also prepared to move a case in the Federal Court for the return of Karachi to Sindh. In this connection G.M. Sayed had tendered a memorandum to the Governor that was endorsed by the House, under Rule 115 of the Rules of Procedure.

Brief text of the resolution:

To,

His Excellency, the Governor of Sindh, Karachi.

May it please Your Excellency,

This Assembly is of the view that:

(a) Separation of the "Karachi Federal Area" from Sindh was in violation of the terms and conditions of the Lahore Resolution of the then All India Muslim League, on the sole basis of which Sindh originally became a party to the Pakistan movement, and

(b) The Sindh Legislative Assembly of 1948 that gave its subsequent consent to this dismemberment to Sindh had no right of any kind to do so as it had neither asked for, nor had it received any such mandate or authority from the people of Sindh, at the time of its election in 1946. Under the circumstances, Sindh should either get back what it has lost together with adequate compensation for her capitalised and revenue assets in this area, which she could not utilise for this period. Or an early

referendum should be made among the people of Sindh on this issue considered in all its implications such as the terms and condition on the basis of which the area should or should not be given up by Sindh.

The Legislative Assembly, being further of the view that the Province of Sindh, from a historical, geographical, economic, linguistic, and cultural viewpoint constitutes a distinct nationality, believes that she, as such possesses:

(a) The right to have equal representation with other similar nationalities of Pakistan on legislative organs of the state;

(b) The sole right to man all the services within her own boundaries:

(c) The proportionate right to the Federal Services, including the Defence Services;

(d) The sole right to appropriation and use of all her natural resources, and all her industrial and commercial possibilities:

(e) The right to receive education up to the highest standard in her own language:

(f) The right to single compact political life of all the Sindhi-speaking population living in areas geographically contiguous to each other, such as Sindh including Karachi Federal Area, Khairpur State, parts of Bahawalpur, Lasbela State, etc., and

(g) All such other political, economic, cultural and other rights to which a people forming a distinct nationality are entitled to on the basis of the universally recognised principle of the self-determination of nationalities.

This Legislative Assembly of the Province of Sindh, accordingly, submits that Your Excellency may be pleased to convey its views and feelings as are expressed herein-above to His Excellency the Governor General of Pakistan for his gracious consideration, for which act of your Excellency's kindness this Assembly will remain grateful.⁹

G.M. Sayed

And, other legislators

The above petition has been submitted to H. E. The Governor of Sindh by Mr. G.M. Sayed, MLA, through the Hon'ble Speaker of Sindh Legislative Assembly under Assembly Rule 115. We, the undersigned, fully support the application. Meanwhile, the Assembly was working fast to formulate a Constitution. Sayed issued a statement about the new Constitution and wrote an open letter to the legislators.

Text of the memorandum:

Dear S M.L.As,

I am referring my press statement about the constitution of Pakistan, for your perusal.

At the last sessions of the Provincial Legislative Assembly we passed a communication addressed to the Governor of Sindh, demanding amongst other things, full provincial autonomy for Sindh as one of the federating units of Pakistan State.

Just now the Constituent Assembly is in session and the issue of allocation of subjects between the provinces and the centre will come under discussion. You will agree with me that this is the time for us all, as representatives of Sindh, to press the powers that be, that full and unimpaired provincial autonomy be guaranteed to the provinces, and accordingly only three subjects

namely, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Currency be allocated to the centre, leaving all other subjects in the domain of Provincial Governments.

It is therefore very important that we strengthen the hands of our Chief Minister Mr. Pirzada Abdul Sattar and Mr. A.K. Brohi, Law Minister, Government of Pakistan to put our point of view at the occasion of deliberation on those matters in the Muslim League Constituent Assembly Party meetings and in the Constituent Assembly itself. I have therefore to request you kindly to send telegrams and letters to the Sindh Chief Minister and Pakistan Government, Law Minister Mr. A.K. Brohi on:

- 1. Allocation of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Currency to the centre; and Appointment of a Commission for that.*
- 2. Appointment of a Commission for the merger of the Princely States in West Pakistan with their related neighbouring provinces on the basis of linguistic affinity and geographical contiguity. I'm sure, you will exert yourself in every possible way as one of Sindh's prominent leaders, to bring Sindh's unanimous opinion on these points to the powers that be, in which I trust, you will have the full support of your people in Sindh.¹⁰*

Yours faithfully

G.M. Sayed

G.M. Sayed had also wrote a letter to Chief Minister Pirzada Abdul Sattar about the Constitution of Pakistan.

Hyder Manzil

126, Muslim Colony, Karachi

10th October 1953

My Dear Pirzada Sahib,

The people of Sindh, as you are aware, have demanded through press and other platforms and at the last session of their Legislative Assembly that no Constitution will be acceptable to them unless it provides:

- 1. Sindh as a unit of Pakistan with equality of representation with other similar units.*
- 2. Full autonomy for Sindh along with other units with minimum possible subjects of common interests viz., Defence, Foreign policy and Currency, to be handed over to the centre as Federal subjects; and*
- 3. For abolition of Princely States, and redistribution of areas in West Pakistan into three provincial units, on the basis of linguistic affinity, geographical contiguity and historical sanctions and for appointment of a commission for bringing it about.*

You as the Chief Minister of Sindh deserve thanks of the people of Sindh in securing equality of status for Sindh in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature and having stood so firmly against the merger of Sindh into one Province for the whole of West Pakistan, or a "Sub-Federation" of West Pakistan. Sindh can legitimately expect of your good self that you will exert yourself in every possible way for securing the fulfillment of their viewpoint in respect of the remaining rights as well.

Let me assure you, the people of Sindh, irrespective of party affiliations, wholeheartedly support you in all that do in this direction.¹¹

Wishing you every success.

I am yours in service of Sindh

G.M. Sayed

But the Centre and the Punjab had decided to abolish the federating units and declare West Pakistan a single unit under the 'One Unit' scheme. The 'One Unit' Scheme was thought up by civil servants and political leaders from the Punjab, so as to secure control over the resources of Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP in West Pakistan, and thereby obtain a symmetry with the Bengalis who, population-wise, were in the majority in East Pakistan. The intention of this move was to create an equal parity in legislator seats in the National Assembly between the eastern and western wings of Pakistan. This concept was brought about by politicians and bureaucrats in the western wing, who harboured latent fears of the clout in a democracy from the larger population of Bengal or the eastern wing of Pakistan was greater than the total population of West Pakistan. Had the principle of "One Man-One Vote" been established, then East Pakistan would have won more seats in the National Assembly, and would have gone on to have greater say in national affairs from the very beginning, with immense consequences for the immediate future direction of the nascent state of Pakistan.

The main architects of the scheme were Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed, Ayub Khan, Nawab Gurmani, Mohammed Ali Bogra and Iskandar Mirza. They went about trying to gain the consent of the provinces over the scheme, by obtaining the approval of the legislatures of the provinces in West Pakistan.

They managed to persuade Sardar Abdul Rasheed, the chief minister of NWFP, to go along with them. At first, he agreed, but he withdrew at the last minute. Feroze Khan Noon, the chief minister of Punjab, hesitated -- perhaps as a sham to outwardly show he was with the other provinces -- but ultimately he accepted the scheme. The Chief Minister of Sindh, Pirzada Abdus Sattar, was unable to support the scheme as in a statement, 74 members in the House of 109 opposed the Scheme. On 8th November the Pirzada ministry was suspended and the Centre approached Khuhro to form a Government, so that he could endorse the scheme.

Khuhro consulted with his old colleague and advisor, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi, who suggested that he obtain the reins of the province, and support the Centre conditionally. On 9 November 1954, Khuhro was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Sindh for the third time. On 11 December, the Sindh Assembly met in Hyderabad. In the House of 104, only 4 members, Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Bhurgri, Abdul Hamid Khan Jatoi, Shaikh Khurshid and Pir Illahi Bux voted against the resolution.

G.M. Sayed, who had already been arrested together with other leaders who opposed the 'One-Unit' scheme, such as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzi, Qazi Faiz Mohammed, Hyder Bux Jatoi and others, was not brought from jail by the Speaker so that he may cast his vote. In that particular session, G.M. Sayed was counted as an absent member of the House. The 100-member House voted in favour of the 'One Unit' scheme, without considering that, under this scheme, Sindh would lose its distinctiveness, and socio-economic and cultural basis and geographical position of a thousand years.

Following is an opinion of Mr. Rafique Afzal about the 'One-Unit' scheme, book, Political Parties in Pakistan:

The last provincial legislature to accord approval to the scheme was that of Sindh, where 74 out of 109 members, in a signed statement made on October 23, had opposed One-Unit. On November 8, the Pirzada ministry was dismissed (Abdul Sattar Pirzada claimed that he had been removed because of his opposition to 'One-Unit'. In fact, he had convened a meeting of the Sindh Assembly on November 15 which was to consider a resolution against 'One Unit'). Ayub Khuhro, a long-time rival of Pirzada, who was neither a member of the provincial legislature nor of the Sindh Muslim League parliamentary party, was commissioned to form a new ministry, apparently on the understanding that, in return, he would secure the legislature's approval for One Unit. Nearly a month later, on December 11, Ayub Khuhro was elected leader of the Sindh Muslim League parliamentary party, and the party subsequently passed a resolution in favour of One Unit. The same day, the Sindh legislature adopted a resolution to the same effect; only 4 out of 104 members present voted against it.

According to an Awami Mahaz representative, the grounds for the passage of this resolution was prepared by artificially creating a situation where, in his words:

Hyderabad was converted into a military camp to decide on a purely constitutional issue. The unification proposal has been passed with the aid of province-wide intimidation, coercion, repression and suppression of public opinion.

The methods Ayub Khuhro used to obtain legislative sanction for the One Unit scheme were later condemned as "Khuhroism" by Suharwardy in the second Constituent Assembly.¹²

The election to the West Pakistan Assembly was held and G.M. Sayed was elected a member. Sayed again stood up to unite all democratic and nationalist forces to put the democratic process on the right track and launch a protest against this unnatural scheme, by calling a meeting of West Pakistan's leaders on 26-27 October 1955, at his residence in Karachi. At this meeting Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G.M. Sayed, Abdul Samad Khan, Shahzada Abdul Karim and Mian Iftikharudin, all of whom were against the One-Unit scheme, formed an "Anti-One Unit Front".

A meeting of the Front was held at G.M. Sayed's Karachi residence on 26-27 October 1955 and it decided to chalk out a future programme for dismantling the scheme.

The following persons participated: G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Abdul Samad Khan, Abdul Wali Khan, Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri, Mohammed Hussain Lango, Qazi Faiz Mohammed, Hyder Bux Jatoy, Pir Illahi Bux, Arbab Sikander Khan, Arbab Abdul Ghafor, Abdul Hamid Jatoy, Mian Saad Gul, Abdul akbar Khan, Fazal Ahmed, Haji Mohammed Aslam, Sameen Jan Khan, Arbab Attaullah, Qadir Bux Nizamani, Rahet Khan, Mohammed Yusuf Khan, Zarin Khan and Amir Mahmood Khan.

G.M. Sayed and other leaders of the Front announced that the decision by the Ministry and other forces to pass the One Unit bill --the Constituent Assembly's fig leaf to legalise the scheme, was against the spirit of the 1940 Lahore Resolution. Imposition of One Unit on Sindh and other provinces was viewed as dangerous and a violation of rights of the smaller provinces, and the Front said it would oppose it on all democratic forums.

They said:

We are appealing to big provinces of the Bengal and the Punjab that in the interest and integrity of the new born country Pakistan, provincial autonomy for partner federating units must be protected.¹³

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who would later become the Foreign Minister, President and then Prime Minister of Pakistan arrived on the political scene on his return home from abroad, and the first thing that he did was to join the Anti-One Unit

Front. But very soon he felt that it was not the right direction to take for a new person in politics, if one aspired for power in Pakistan. So he disassociated himself from the Anti One Unit Front, and then issued a statement claiming that the Anti One Unit Front was an anti-Pakistan movement, and therefore he was resigning from the basic membership of the Front.

The leadership of the Front decided to form a parliamentary party, with the collaboration of various political groups, which they named the Pakistan National Party. The leadership of the Red Shirts, the Sindh Awami Mahaz, the Wrore Pukhtun, the Ustaman Gal and the Azad Pakistan Party respectively--Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G.M. Sayed, Abdul Samad Khan, Prince Abdul Karim and Mian Iftikharudin--had decided to organise a political party so as to play a more effective role in the current political scenario of Pakistan. This was because the ruling parties had ignored the basic rights of the citizens of Pakistan and smaller partner nationalities.

This non-communal party was organised in September 1956 with the main objective of dismantling One Unit, and also to bring about reforms in land and foreign policy. Though it had smaller strength in the parliament, it began working on its objectives.

Meanwhile the progressive and nationalist parties of East Bengal wanted to collaborate with each other to launch a combined struggle against the ruling class for obtaining real democracy and autonomy for the provinces and to ameliorate the condition of the downtrodden masses. Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani wrote a letter to G.M Sayed in this regard.

Birnagar

29. 6. 1957

My Dear G.M. Sayed

My Salam and best love to you.

I hope, by the grace of Allah you are all well. I left Dacca just after your departure and now I am in Birnagar in the district of Bogra, and taking rest for a few days as advised by my doctors. I am still suffering and yet I hope to start for Dacca immediately after the Eid festival and reaching Dacca I shall form a reception committee for the proposed Convention at Dacca on the 25th and 26th July.

I shall be highly obliged if you would kindly send me the names of persons from West Pakistan, whom you would want to invite to attend the Convention.

I am determined to work on the programme as was discussed with you at Dacca.14

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani

The political leadership from East and West Pakistan met at a convention of democratic workers in Dacca in July 1957 to form a grand coalition party, and officially formed the National Awami Party. Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani became the president of the party and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in charge of the party in the western wing of Pakistan.

The party leadership started its mass mobilisation programme and also organised the party from up to down, and the attractive economic and nationalist agenda and previous political role and the status of the political leaders had already had an impact on the masses and there was hope that the new party would sweep the forthcoming elections.

The main task for Sayed was the dissolution of One-Unit, for which he had formed the Front. His return to the West Pakistan Assembly provided him a chance to play a parliamentary role in this regard. Sayed knew very well about the psyche of central-minded parties and, as a veteran parliamentarian, he was well aware when to place his cards on the table.

Sayed told Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other colleagues that, as soon as he got a chance, he would try to get the One-Unit scheme dismantled. In 1957, the opportunity offered itself and Sayed cashed in on it with all his political skill. A struggle for power in the country ensued between the Republican Party and the Muslim League. The Muslim League, which was out of power, wanted to come into power.

The League leadership started negotiations with Sayed, whose group could tilt the balance of power. Sayed agreed to help them in the game of power brokering on the condition that the League would support the Sayed Group in passing a resolution against the One-Unit. They agreed to the suggestion, and an accord was signed. Party leaders Sardar Bahadur Khan, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Khan Abdul Qayoom Khan and Mohammed Ayub Khuhro represented the League, while G.M. Sayed and Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Bhurgri represented the Sayed Group.

Ahmed Saeed Kirmani told me that Daultana took Sayed to a secret meeting of the League legislators to convince them to dissolve the One-Unit. Sayed in his thought-provoking speech told them that Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and NWFP were natural lands which had a separate existence for a thousand or more years. So, through the One-Unit scheme, the persons, who have no perception of history, had introduced an unnatural scheme. Through this scheme they rolled the wheel of history back, he said, before appealing to all the members in general and members from the Punjab in particular, to help him and his colleagues in setting the wheels of history to move back in the right direction. If anybody wanted to fight against nature, he said, he could only say that history's many precedents were lessons for them.

As the budget session started on 20 March 1957, Sardar Bahadur Khan, the leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary party, asked the Chief Minister to demonstrate his majority in the House. Dr. Khan Sahib had no choice but to get the session adjourned by the Speaker. In 1957, Iskandar Mirza suspended the Assembly and imposed Governor's rule for two months under Section 193. The period was further extended for a few weeks.

At this juncture, the Republicans contacted Sayed to secure the support of his group. Sayed agreed to support them on the same terms as the League accord, with the additional condition that his party, i.e., the National Awami Party approve the scheme. Sardar Abdul Rashid, Col. Abid Hussain Shah and Sir Feroze Khan Noon, the leader of the party in National Assembly, signed the accord on behalf of the Republican Party.

On 17 September, the Assembly met. Rais Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri, a son of Barrister Ghulam Mohammed Khan, a legendary figure in the politics of the Subcontinent during the 20th century, and members of the Sayed Group moved a resolution against One-Unit. The Republican and the Sayed Group supported the resolution and the Muslim League remained neutral. The House passed the resolution.

Iskandar Mirza, the incumbent Head of State, and Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy in their joint statements resolved that they would not allow the One-Unit scheme to be undone. After winning the first victory in West

Pakistan, Sayed went to Dacca and approached Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani for his support in the National Assembly and East Pakistan Assembly to pass the same resolution like that passed by the West Pakistan Assembly.

The Maulana's reply was noncommittal. He told Sayed that as a Communist he was not ready to support this action because China had pressurised him not to go against the One-Unit. Difference in priorities between the Socialists and Nationalists forced a parting of ways. The first priority for Socialists was to tend to the country's economic programme, whereas the first priority of Nationalists was autonomy for provinces.

Not only Maulana Bhashani but also Sobho Gianchandani, the editor of Sayed's newspaper 'Qurbani,' was of the same view. Following the Communist line, he wrote an editorial against Sayed. In East Pakistan, the House passed the same resolution against the One-Unit. Now only the approval of the National Assembly was required. Seeing this development, the architects of One-Unit and supporters of a strong Centre felt that the days of their scheme were numbered, so they began intrigues of all sorts.

Iskandar Mirza invited Sayed and Abdul Ghaffar Khan to discuss the existing political scenario. He told them that he too was willing to dissolve the One-Unit and solve the problems of the Opposition, but the centre-minded politicians and the bureaucracy were hindrances.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sayed, on the face of it, felt that he was not being sincere, but he succeeded to some extent in convincing the two veterans to launch a movement. Later, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sayed reached the conclusion that Mirza was probably engineering his own plan, so they distanced themselves from any movement. Dr. Hamida has referred to this meeting in her book Mohammed Ayub Khuhro as under:

Mirza invited Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and G.M. Sayed secretly to dinner. A few days later, Khuhro met Mirza and asked him why he had been meeting Ghaffar Khan and G.M. Sayed. Even though knowing Mirza's penchant for intrigue, Khuhro was not expecting the blunt answer he got: "I want Ghaffar Khan to create trouble in the Frontier Province so that I can create grounds for the dismissal of the ministry. I am not happy with Noon. I do not want an election. I will bring in Martial Law for a short period and then appoint a ministry of my own choice.¹⁵

Ayub Khan, a man of shallow vision, who had introduced Fascist tendencies in the country, had his own view about the administrative system of Pakistan. A champion of the One-Unit scheme, he felt that this scheme could be saved only by an undemocratic act. The other conspirators of the One Unit scheme were in a turmoil and he decided to impose martial law to avoid elections due in 1958, where the chances of the National Awami Party winning were very bright. To save One Unit, he imposed martial law and thus killed two birds with one stone.

Recalling memories of the old days in 1994 at Hyder Manzil, Rais Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri told G.M. Sayed that he had once said that America's blessings were necessary to dissolve the One Unit. Probably if they had obtained American blessings, the result might have been the opposite of what had taken place -- the 1958 martial law.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan proclaimed that the CIA had inspired this coup (of 1958) and he said it was an attack on civil liberties of the people and the rights of smaller nations by foreign and local vested interests.

K.R. Malkani in his book 'Sindh Story' has narrated this coup as under:

Ayub Khan's brother Sardar Bahadur himself said that the military coup of 1958 was CIA inspired." He further reported that "As long as Ayub was the strong man of Pakistan, he visited USA every year and met CIA boss Allen Dulles every time he was there. Allen himself certified Pakistan under military dictatorship as being "a bulwark of freedom in Asia.16

G.M. Sayed, Ghaffar Khan, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai and other political workers were then arrested by the military regime. A dark period descended on Pakistan, and democratic process was stifled under the boots of the men in khaki. The growth of society was suspended, the pen was replaced by the gun. The wishes of the founder of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, to make Pakistan a developed country were dashed by a general. The country came under the reign of terror. Rationality was overtaken by militancy. The boat of democracy drowned in the river before reaching the bank. Bad days started for the younger generation, which has seen only military rule or its by-products: Z.A. Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, Mohammed Khan Junejo, Zafarullah Jamali and the like.

Ayub Khan was very angry with the Nationalists. During his regime, G.M. Sayed was either in prison or in solitary confinement for eight years from October 1958 to 1966. During the eight years of imprisonment, G.M. Sayed spent most of his time studying and writing books.

He wrote the following books in prison and published them after his release.

"Jein Ditho Aahi Moun" in Sindhi (My vision of Religion) published in 1968. "Janab Guzariam Jin Sein" in Sindhi (those, with whom I spent my life) published in 1967. "Jadid Siasut Ja Nao Ratan" in Sindhi (Nine Gems of Modern Politics) published in 1967. "Sindh Ji Bombay Kha Azadi" in Sindhi (Separation of Sindh from Bombay) "Shah Bhattai Joon Wayoon and Kafiyaoon" in Sindhi, (Lyrical poetry of Shah Abdul Latif published in 1968) and edited several books "Rehan" in Sindhi. Conversation (Letters of Friends) published in 1965. "Sahar Ja Seengar" in Sindhi (Ornaments of the Beloved) published in 1969. "Khat ain Mazmoon" in Sindhi (A collection of letters) published in 1970.

According to his approach, Ayub Khan started his political journey from the local body institution, which could never have been a substitute for a genuine legislature. After some time, he felt that this system was not a real basis to cover the liabilities of the parliamentary system, and so he arranged fictitious, non-party polls in 1962, to introduce a controlled form of democracy, which he called Basic Democracy.

Under this new system, G.M. Sayed's son Amir Hyder Shah contested the National Assembly elections and won a seat. Sayed Amir Hyder Shah sat in the Opposition benches Ayub Khan tried many times to bring Amir Hyder Shah to the Treasury benches. However, Shah stood resolute and did not join the Government side.

During 1965, Ayub Khan called presidential elections through the same Basic Democracy (B.D.) System. The Opposition parties chose Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the founder of Pakistan, as their candidate for the post of president, G.M Sayed's younger son, Sayed Imdad Mohammed Shah, told me that he and Rais Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri, consulted G.M. Sayed about the political situation and decided to support Fatima Jinnah in her presidential bid.

Khan Bahadur Khan, a brother of Ayub Khan, and an Opposition leader, wanted to meet G.M. Sayed but the Government refused to arrange his interview with him. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the then Foreign Minister, met G.M. Sayed as a representative of the Government and tried to secure his support. Bhutto's arguments bordered on the ludicrous because in his bid to win over G.M. Sayed he said that Fatima Jinnah was the sister of his enemy M.A. Jinnah. If that was so, why did he choose to support her candidacy?

G.M. Sayed clarified that his differences with Jinnah were political in nature, and not personal ones. He had disagreed with Jinnah's support to individuals rather than the party's council. But Fatima Jinnah was fighting on the side of democracy against a dictator. She supported their programme and it was a testament to her courage that she was standing against a dictator and it was his (G.M. Sayed and friends') duty to support her. Sayed in return asked him whether it was possible for Bhutto to support a person who was a champion of One-Unit? Bhutto thus returned empty-handed.

This election was a blatant example of rigging and high-handedness, with Bhutto being one of the main architects of these transgressions. There was speculation at the time that Maulana Bhashani, a champion of the rights of the lower classes, was purchased by Ayub Khan through Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

Shaikh Abdul Majid, Rais Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri and Sayed's son Imdad Mohammed Shah toured Sindh with Miss Fatima Jinnah and they also made speeches in favour of Miss Jinnah and for the restoration of democracy. They approached their colleagues and asked them to support Miss Jinnah throughout Sindh. However, the bureaucracy did interfere in the election process and the result was as expected. The bureaucracy won and the people lost. Ayub Khan was elected president for a second term.

That very year, there was a brief war between Pakistan and India in the Rann of Kutch. The following year, a war again broke out between India and Pakistan that lasted almost 17 days. The President of Pakistan felt that its continuation was not in the interest of the country and he persuaded the super-powers to intervene. However, his Foreign Minister, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, in his speech at the U.N., announced that "For Kashmir, we will fight for a thousand years."

Russia hosted an India-Pakistan summit at Tashkent, where the two countries reached an agreement and President Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, signed an agreement known as the 'Tashkent Declaration'. Unfortunately at Tashkent, the Indian prime minister expired the morning after signing the agreement. The earlier misadventures of the two countries shattered their economy and increased poverty. Meanwhile, differences between Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Ayub Khan on this and other issues burst out into the open. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, a long-time favourite of Ayub Khan, lost his confidence and Bhutto himself who used to call him father, had no more interest in him. Eventually, Bhutto resigned from Ayub Khan's Cabinet.

The people of Punjab were very emotional about the prosecution of the 1965 war, which was fought mainly in the Punjab heartland, and at one point when the Indian army thrust towards Lahore to capture it, a desperate defence of the historic city was undertaken. Under these circumstances, Bhutto felt that he should strike forward in the Punjab while the iron was still hot. So he started his campaign from Lahore, the capital of the Punjab.

He addressed public meetings there and he proclaimed that Ayub Khan had sold out on Kashmir at Tashkent. To create a dramatic effect, Bhutto often wept at these meetings and spoke about a secret Tashkent deal, which he said he would reveal at an appropriate time in future. But he never did. People became emotional too at this, and the handkerchief that contained his tears was later said to have been sold for several thousand rupees.

Ayub Khan, who had absolute control over power at the time, felt that his power was weakening. In that state of affairs, he removed Malik Amir Mohammed Khan, Nawab of Kalabagh, from the governorship of West Pakistan, replacing him with an ex-army chief from the Hazara clan, General Mohammed Musa, a person who had no political vision or knowledge about affairs of state.

During 1966, the Government released G.M. Sayed after keeping him in prison or solitary confinement for eight long years. Upon his release, G.M. Sayed reviewed the prevailing political scene and found that his close colleague and fellow campaigner, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was living in exile in Afghanistan. Another colleague Shaikh Abdul Majid, disgusted with the prevailing state of affairs, kept a low profile. Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was confined in Balochistan. Until the political atmosphere took proper shape, G.M. Sayed decided to unite the Sindhi nation on the basis of mysticism. He was already well aware how Shah Inayat Sufi in the early 18th century had united the people of Sindh on the platform of mysticism and then went on to fight against Mughal and Kalhora rulers. Sufi Shah Inayat had even accepted death with the following words:

Gone is my life in the way of God

Verily it was a great burden on me

The Arghoons also put Sufi Makhdoom Bilawal to death by wringing him in an oil-press. Shah Abdul Latif stood steadfast and firm in his belief against the injustices of his time, and against the Kalhora rulers.

Makhdoom Moeen Thattvi's role in this regard was a bright chapter of mysticism. Mysticism occurs in every religion -- in Judaism, in Jainism, in Christianity, in Hinduism, in Buddhism and even in Islam. It has deep roots. In Islam, Sufi's (mystic's) Imam (leader) is Hazrat Ali, the cousin of Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), who had been saturated with the knowledge of the Prophet.

In Islam there are two main schools of mystic thought.

1. Whahadut-ul-Wajood - Pantheism.
2. Wahadutul Shuhood -- Patheism.

The persons who are following pantheism, believe that man is an image of God. But the persons who believe in Wahadutul Shuhood (Patheism) are of the view that Creation and the Creator are separate.

The second main difference between them is that Whahadut-ul-Wajoodis prefer the message to rituals. They are followers of Tariqat (Method) rather than Shariat or Sharia (Islamic law). Ibn-ul-Arabi, who was born in Spain and buried in Syria and Bu Ali Sindhi, who was born in Sindh but who spent much time in Baghdad, gave this philosophy a shape during their preaching and won over many followers.

Wahadutul Shuhood prefers Sharia. This school of thought continued for hundreds of years but Mujadad Alif Sani advanced it in a proper manner. The two groups have a different approach and philosophy and define different subjects differently.

In the subcontinent, mystics like Makhdoom Moeenuddin Chishti, Nizamuddin Aulia, Sarmad, Mullah Shahi, Baba Guru Nanak, Baba Fareed Ganj Shakkar, Sultan Baho, Qalandar Lal Shahbaz, Bulhey Shah, Hazarat Mian Mir and others are the heroes and spiritual leaders of society.

Sindh is known as a land of mysticism. Bu Ali Sindhi, Moeen Thattvi, Shah Inayat Sufi, Shah Latif, Makhdoom Bilawal and Sachal's message and poetry have influenced its society. G.M. Sayed was a successor of these great preachers of love and humanity. He was a product of the essence of their philosophy.

For 20th century Sindh and the Subcontinent, his Twelve Sermons, delivered in the darkest era of Ayub Khan's rule, were a lesson to all who wanted to develop society and provide an atmosphere of peace and prosperity for fellow human-beings.

In my personal opinion, G.M. Sayed spoke like Jesus Christ and he told the people of Sindh that under these trying circumstances, they had only one option to follow, and that was the preaching of their predecessors. In these speeches, he discussed various aspects of a nation-state and obligations to society. In his first discourse, at the Mausoleum of Sayed Aali at Thatta on 23 June 1966, he said:

1. To survive as a nation, they must work for the cause of their cultural heritage and legacy, without discriminating between caste, creed and class.
2. To develop society, they must shun selfishness, personal differences, treachery, greed, psychological and social weaknesses and they should work like an institution.
3. For unity, progress, love, religious and political cooperation, patriotism and spirit of sacrifice, they must spread the message of the mystics and heroes.
4. To promote the above ideology, institutions for the purpose should be opened in every district.
5. The workers should come in contact with professors, teachers, students and men from all walks of life.

In the second cultural conference, held at the mausoleum of Hazrat Dad Shaheed, Dadu district on 1st August 1966, Sayed said:

The ego is at the root of every evil. Our Sufis inform us that Nature and ego are two separate things.

It is necessary for men to shun the ego and then all paths will lead to reality, Shah Latif in following verse said:

God and ego can not reside in one heart in the same way as two swords cannot be sheathed in a single scabbard. And the spirit of sacrifice is also a cure for all social evils.

He further said that patriotism is faithfulness, so the service to the Sindhi nation and the love of one's countrymen is a kind of maturity and defines the progress of his inner side and social instinct.

For this reason he could not agree with Allama Iqbal's philosophy of Khudi (ego). His opinion was Khudi opened a path to destruction, and was simply a vehicle to spread hatred between fellow human beings.

He also condemned the universal monopoly of religions through their ideas. He believed that monopoly of any kind, whether by nations, religions, countries or exploitation of the weak by the powerful, is a way that was dragging us towards disharmony and a chaotic situation, rather than in the right direction. Coexistence, cooperation, human harmony and love will guide us to the world of reality.

Human beings will honour one another's basic rights under these principles and justice will replace injustice.

He said that essence of all religions is oneness.

As Shah Latif said:

Where I see, I find clear manifestations of truth.

And in another verse, he said:

Should you acquire the ability to recognize the truth, you, too, shall see nothing but God. Sayed condemned every kind of religious bigotry and fanaticism.

G.M. Sayed appealed to Europe not to boost the forces of fundamentalism in Muslim countries for their petty interests. And he warned them this would become dangerous not only for Asia, but also for the rest of the world.

His speeches were a message to the Sindhi nation. He advocated the rights of all human beings. He explained that love was the key to all positive practices. This activity of Sayed on the basis of mysticism infused a new spirit in the Sindhi nation. These meetings continued from 1966 until the Ayub Khan regime put a ban on meetings of the cultural and literary institute -- the Bazam-e-Sufia-e-Sindh --- and arrested G.M. Sayed on 23 June 1967. The Sindhi cultural activities however continued till 1969. G.M. Sayed appealed to the Court against this unjust order and the Court then restored the activities of the Bazam-e-Sufia-e-Sindh. Literary circles and political workers were inspired by this spiritual-cum-materialist movement and they were encouraged to work for the cause of Sindh.

The struggle against One-Unit by the literary circles of Sindh and the big procession of Sindhi students of Jamshoro University and Liaquat Medical College on 4 March 1967, took place under the influence of these teachings of Sayed. One can say this about the cultural movement that it produced a group of dedicated workers in the province who chose to devote their energies to struggle for the rights of Sindh. The movement was a breath of bracing fresh air in a stifling political atmosphere. The talks and speeches of G.M. Sayed instilled a new spirit in Sindhi society, and were a tonic for their weaknesses.

Bhutto, who had meanwhile disassociated himself from Ayub Khan, launched a movement against him. National Awami Party (Bhashani group), Asghar Khan and several groups were also active in this movement. Ayub Khan then summoned a Round Table Conference of all political parties in early 1969, in a move to try to save his administration. For the purpose, he released several politicians. But G.M. Sayed was not among those released.

Sindhi literary circles, students and the common people launched protests and demanded Sayed's release. Addressing a procession at Garhi Khata, Hyderabad, Shaikh Ayaz said that any Round-Table Conference where G.M. Sayed was not present, would not be acceptable to Sindh. Under the pressure of this powerful protest, the Government issued a release order on 26 February, and Sayed was freed on 1st March 1969.

Although Sayed did not attend the Conference, Shaikh Mujibur Rehman and Abdul Wali Khan explained the demands of the federating units. Ayub Khan's conference failed due to the Jallao, Gheerao efforts of Bhutto and Bhashani and company, Ayub Khan had no option left to him but to quit office.

Yahya Khan took over the reins of the government as the Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan. G.M. Sayed called a meeting of his friends in March 1969, at Makhdoom House, Hyderabad, for the struggle for survival of Sindh, which was presided over by Shaikh Abdul Majid. Parliamentarians, literary figures, students, labour and peasant leaders and political workers attended the conference. In the meeting they once more decided to launch a protest against the One-Unit scheme and the autonomy that Sindh was robbed of by the centre by force.

At the meeting G.M. Sayed was elected President of the Sindh United Front which authorised him to attend the Round Table Conference on their behalf and put forward the case of Sindh before the delegates and sponsors of the conference. But due to the immediate failure of the conference, Sayed did not participate in the event.

G.M. Sayed then started work on two objectives. These were the dissolution of One-Unit and the attainment of autonomy for the provinces. For this purpose, he went to Balochistan and addressed a good gathering, organised by Nawab Ghous Bux Raisani, at Quetta. He discussed with political workers of Balochistan and organised a Balochistan United Front under the leadership of Nawab Raisani.

Then he toured and met the leadership of NWFP and convinced them to join with him in their struggle. He also made contact with the leadership of the Awami League in East Pakistan for the same purpose. He invited Shaikh Mujibur Rehman to Karachi and hosted a grand reception for him on behalf of the Sindh United Party, which was attended by intellectuals, politicians, businessmen, labour and peasant leadership and political workers.

In his welcome address, G.M. Sayed invited and persuaded Shaikh Mujibur Rehman to work together with him for the national rights of the provinces.

Following is the brief text of the speech.

Addressing Shaikh Mujibur Rehman, I said:

You know Shaikh Sahib, that we had approached your party on numerous occasions for this purpose (Dissolution of One Unit). Your great leader, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy had assured me of his full support when he was staying at my bungalow in Karachi. Unfortunately he is not among us today but we turn to you as his true successor and through you, we appeal to our elder brothers in East Pakistan to honour the pledge of their departed leader. We wish to make it clear that the 1956 Constitution is not acceptable to us under any circumstances because it was the handiwork of an undemocratically chosen Constituent Assembly. The solution to all problems faced by the smaller provinces and East Pakistan lies in unity among us. The people of the small provinces have high hopes in you. The demand for giving East Pakistan representation on the basis of its population together with total autonomy is as just as is ours. You and we are in the same boat. We will support you in every manner and we expect the same of you.¹⁷

G.M. Sayed managed to bring Shaikh Mujibur Rehman to his way of thinking, and an agreement was signed by the Awami League and Sindh United Front to launch a joint struggle against One Unit and achieving autonomy for the federating units of Pakistan. Also a pact took shape on 5 October 1969, between the Sindh United Front and the Awami League, to combine their forces in the forthcoming General Elections of December 1970.

CMLA Yahya Khan dissolved One Unit in mid-1970 under the pressure of the Nationalist groups. The first objective was achieved through the dismantling of One Unit but the constitutional framework, which was essential for the future structure of the country, where maximum autonomy for the provinces was the main issue, still required that the Nationalists play their due role.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who became an important figure in West Pakistan, succeeded in shattering the Sindh United Front. Makhdoom Talibul Maula, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and several others joined the Pakistan Peoples Party. Even Ghulam Nabi Pathan, who was secretary general of the party, abandoned G.M. Sayed on the eve of the General Elections. In 1946 too,

just before elections he had abandoned G.M. Sayed. It must be remembered that when Sayed had organised the Sindh United Front, he had invited people from all classes in Sindh to come and join the struggle on one platform for the cause of Sindh. The young Sindhi leaders expressed their reservations on the entry of Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi and others.

Sayed told them that for the great cause he had called upon all sons of the soil to actively assist them in their battle against the centre on the constitutional issue, but they were not satisfied. Also, veteran parliamentarians had some reservations about joining the younger Sindhi leadership.

G.M. Sayed firmly told both factions that now was not the proper time for fractiousness and pulling one another's legs.

The establishment had their own plan about the future of the country. First it gave its blessings to efforts made to strengthen Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto against Ayub Khan. Now the establishment wanted to clear the way for Bhutto to take over in West Pakistan. Also, it placed more electoral horses on the ground like the Qayyum Muslim League, under the leadership of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, to face the Nationalists in Sindh in general and in NWFP and Balochistan in particular. They had approached Shah Mardan Shah Pir Pagaro and asked him to disassociate himself from the Awami League and join the Qayyum Muslim League. G.M. Sayed also discussed the unfolding political scenario with the shrewd and farsighted Punjab politician, Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana. They reached a consensus that, in the interest of the country, the provinces would be autonomous.

G.M. Sayed filed papers to contest for a National Assembly seat, while Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi decided to contest a seat in the Sindh Assembly. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party fielded Malik Sikandar and Abdullah Shah as their candidates for the National and Sindh Assembly, respectively. Also, Saleh Shah Jilani was a candidate for the National Assembly from Qayyum Muslim League. Malik Sikandar wanted to bargain with Sayed for a National Assembly seat on condition that Sayed would support him for the Provincial Assembly seat but Sayed did not agree.

For the first time in the nation's history, the Election Commission had provided a facility to heads of the political parties to address the citizens of Pakistan on radio and television. As a president of the Sindh United Front, G.M. Sayed also addressed the nation:

In his speech he said he believed that the implementation of the 1940 Resolution would provide real peace and prosperity to Pakistan and advance the cause of democracy.

He said the experience of the past 23 years proved that those political parties which believed in a strong centre were not able to understand and solve the problems of the provinces, and had in fact complicated those very problems. He said the rulers had committed many blunders, and used the slogans of Islam and Pakistan to gain and hold on to absolute power. The bureaucracy had exploited these issues for their own petty interests because of this weakness.

He said that after 23 years there was no political stability in the country, citing the fact that Pakistan got its first Constitution in 1956, nine whole years after independence.

One feels as if one has arrived from another planet and at present we are still wandering here and there, still searching. We must go into our past and learn lessons from our mistakes. The people who are of the view that our love for our motherland Sindh is loftier than our love for Pakistan are right, but they are missing one thing, that our love for Sindh is not against our love for Pakistan. After all, Sindh is a part of Pakistan.

G.M. Sayed condemned the policy of the ruling elite with its focus on building and maintaining a strong centre. His opinion was that all the country's ills emanated from this idea. And his idea about the autonomous status of the federating units is based on ground realities rather than myth.

G.M. Sayed's idea was for the future constitution of Pakistan to be drafted on the principles of the 1940 Lahore Resolution and the 11th August 1948 address of Mohammed Ali Jinnah to the Constituent Assembly.

He recorded many times his constant amazement and apprehension that some conservative people wanted to introduce religion into the Constitution: "The Constitution is not a religious document, this will create a conflict among the different religious groups.

G.M. Sayed also condemned Bhutto's Islamic Socialism. He said that Islam and Socialism were two different and distinct things because in Islam there is the right of personal property, whereas socialism negates the concept of personal property. He repeatedly asked what connection did Islamic law (Shariat) have with the Constitution of Pakistan.

He ended his speech by stating his view that sovereign and autonomous, federating units would be the real solution to Pakistan's problems.¹⁸

Alas, on 7 December 1970 people voted in favour of Z.A. Bhutto's slogan of "food, clothing and shelter" (Roti, Kapra aur Makaan) and G.M. Sayed was defeated by the Peoples Party candidate.

G.M. Sayed was defeated in both the elections of 9th December 1946, and also on 7th December 1970, both these periods were crucial and Sayed was badly needed by Sindh and its people in the legislative assembly. He was defeated on these two occasions by vested interests who resorted to different tactics. In 1946, Sindhis undermined their own interests under the slogan 'Islam is in Danger' and again in 1970 under the spell of Bhutto's Islamic Socialism.

Meanwhile, Shaikh Mujibur Rehman sent a messenger to G.M. Sayed, offering him a National Assembly seat from East Pakistan. Sayed declined his offer with thanks. After a few days, when a party worker insisted that G.M. Sayed accept Mujib's offer, Sayed became angry with the man and told him, "My nation had not accepted me to represent them in the Constituent Assembly, so with what face can I accept the seat of the Bengalis?"

G.M. Sayed and other Nationalist workers had hoped that in Bengal, Balochistan and NWFP, Nationalist elements would have secured seats with a good margin. But then their expectations were dashed when Yahya Khan met Bhutto at Digh Lake, in Larkana district. There was speculation at the time that both had agreed not to transfer power to Shaikh Mujibur Rehman at any cost.

G.M. Sayed received this confidential information from Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi, and immediately left Karachi for Dacca on 6th February 1970. In Dacca, Sayed met with Shaikh Mujibur Rehman and discussed with him the unfolding political developments.

Next, he visited Khan Abdul Wali Khan but there was no positive outcome, because Wali Khan had some reservations regarding Pushtoon interests under Shaikh Mujibur Rehman's six-point programme.

Sayed recounted his last meeting with Shaikh Mujibur Rehman in his book *The Case of Sindh*.

I went to Dacca on February 6, 1971, and called on Shaikh Mujibur Rehman and told him of the Generals' plan. I was of the view that if the Awami League came into power, we could have a constitutional arrangement, which could safeguard the interests of oppressed Sindhi, Baloch and Pukhton nations and they could live with honour in a multinational union. The Shaikh told me that he was aware of the Generals' plan and that he would try everything possible to remain with his people and turn Pakistan into a true union of independent nations with the help of peoples' power.

The Shaikh advised me to leave Sindh for a while because the military action in Bengal would have repercussions on me.¹⁹

Sayed accepted the suggestion of Shaikh Mujib to leave the country and he subsequently flew to Saudi Arabia for pilgrimage of the Holy Places. During his stay in Saudi Arabia, Sayed made contact with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan by post in Kabul where he was staying in those days. Unfortunately, both veteran politicians of the Subcontinent could not change the course of events.

On 26 March, the army mounted an operation against the Awami League. Shaikh Mujibur Rehman and the office-bearers of the Awami League were arrested. Shaikh Mujibur Rehman was transferred from Dacca to Sahiwal prison in the Punjab. Bhutto, who was in Dacca at the time, returned to Karachi once the army had launched its operation saying: "Thank God, Pakistan is saved."

In Sindh, the martial law authorities arrested several Nationalist leaders. As soon as Sayed returned to Sindh, he was arrested by the military regime. The country was in the throes of agony, millions of Bengalis crossed over to the Indian state of Bengal and thousands of them were trained by the Indian army to fight against the Pakistan army. These trained militant groups comprising mainly Bengalis, and backed by the Indian armed forces, started a guerrilla offensive against the Pakistan army. The Pakistan Army had the support of religious parties, like the Jamaat-i-Islami and some other groups. They managed to secure the sympathies of one group of elected parliamentarians of the Awami League.

General Tikka Khan started the operation with the slogan that he needed "only the land of Bengal and not the people".

Meanwhile, a power struggle ensued between the army generals and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. The army was not ready to share power with Bhutto at that time, but a situation of war compelled them to relent. However, they let him take up not the first, but the second position in the country as deputy prime minister and foreign minister, while Mr. Nurul-Amin, a Bengali leader who had secured a National Assembly seat from East Pakistan, was given charge as prime minister of the so-called civilian government by the Army.

So Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, leader of the largest single party of the western wing of Pakistan, began working as a deputy to a man who had absolutely no say in parliamentary politics in Pakistan. Eventually war broke out between India and Pakistan, Bhutto went to the United Nations to present the case of Pakistan. He did not accept the terms of the Polish Resolution, which was an honourable way out for Pakistan to stop the chaotic situation developing in the eastern wing of Pakistan, and war provided India an opportunity to benefit from the situation.

Under these conditions, India, with its better planning, won the war and General A.K. Niazi, Commander of the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan, surrendered to General Aurora of India on 16th December 1971.

The politicians, civil and military bureaucracy of West Pakistan accepted defeat. They had refused to arrive at a respectable accord with their Bengali Muslim partners who have been in the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement. The

Hammoodur Rehman Commission Report and other independent information records, are witness to the atrocities perpetrated in East Pakistan.

A rebellion then occurred in the army's higher ranks and General Gul Hassan and other military top brass took over and deposed General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan and his associates. General Yahya was placed under house arrest by the new authorities. This new military leadership summoned Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto back from the United Nations where he was representing Pakistan, and asked him to rule West Pakistan which became simply Pakistan. Bhutto was made the world's first civilian Chief Martial Law Administrator on 20 December 1971.

His very first steps were to release imprisoned political leaders, including Shaikh Mujibur Rehman and G.M. Sayed, and lift the ban on the National Awami Party of Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

On his birthday celebrations, on 17 January 1972 at his hometown Sann, G.M. Sayed addressed a gathering and gave certain proposals to the new head of Government, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, on the constitutional structure. He recounted the reasons why Pakistan disintegrated and how it could be saved from further disintegration.

Bhutto totally ignored the suggestions of G.M. Sayed and chose the path of his predecessors. The country was thrown deeper into turmoil and those conditions continue till 2004.

If Bhutto had paid attention to the veteran politician's advice, the country isn't likely to have witnessed fundamentalism and undemocratic governance. Bhutto also would not probably have been hanged by the military ruler, General Zia-ul-Haq who succeeded him.

Following is the brief text of G.M. Sayed's speech:

Unfortunately, vested interests did not allow the establishment of democracy from the very beginning. That was why the country had not been able to give itself a constitution through elections. Vested interests had created a culture where governments could be changed when it suited them. In the beginning we used to have assemblies which were elected only in name, but then we gradually slid into dictatorship which took more than half of our years as an independent state. The dictators maintained their stranglehold in the name of controlled democracy, basic democracy and a strong centre.

The future constitution should have the consent of the units and it should be on the basis of the parliamentary form of government. The centre should have three subjects. It was time the President moved quickly in this direction, or the reactionaries would once again sabotage the democratic process.²⁰

In an ideal civilised world, suggestions from an elder politician are usually accepted with thanks. In this country, the tendencies are vastly different. Bhutto was politically nurtured under the influence of two dictators, Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan. Instead of sending a letter of thanks to G.M. Sayed for his advice, he directed his minister for Presidential Affairs J.A. Rahim to write a letter of warning to Sayed. The letter is a proof of the shallow approach and undemocratic behaviour of successive rulers.

Following is the text of the letter.

*Minister for Presidential Affairs
Government of Pakistan Islamabad*

Dated 5th February, 1972

Dear Mr. G.M. Sayed,

It has been brought to the notice of Government that on the occasion of your birthday celebrations on 17th January, 1972, at Sann, Distt. Dadu, you delivered a speech in the course of which you said the following-

- 1. (i) That the two-nation theory was of a temporary nature and you disapproved of it.*
- (ii) That it should be accepted that the people from the five provinces of Pakistan constitute five different nations and that they should be brought together in the form of confederation of five states.*
- (iii) That in order to achieve your objectives, you would start a movement through an organisation to be called Khuddam-e-Sind, which would serve a twofold purpose, namely, to prepare public opinion and to train personnel for guerrilla warfare.*
- 2. The Government has also been informed that some other speakers at your instance and under your patronage made speeches calling upon the people to declare the independence of Sind and launch guerrilla warfare for the same. The Government was warned that any interference on their part would be resisted with force of arms and that the water in the Indus River would be reddened with the blood of those who resisted the movement.*
- 3. Your attention is drawn to the fact that there are laws existing in Pakistan carrying severe punishment for activities designed to promote secession or disintegration of the state and particularly by resort to violence.*
- 4. I must now ask you whether the report, as mentioned above, is correct and whether you had associated yourself on that occasion with speakers who made such speeches.²¹*

Yours sincerely

J.A. Rahim

In his reply, G.M. Sayed rejected the allegations and reiterated his stand in the following letter to the President. Brief text follows.

From the very beginning I had tried to secure proper rights for the provinces in that part of South Asia which is called Pakistan, so that the people could live under a new relationship.²²

The Government of Pakistan then formed a commission chaired by Justice Hamoodur Rehman to investigate the reasons for the defeat of the Pakistan Army and breakup of the country in December 1971.

Justice Rehman wrote a letter to G.M. Sayed, requesting him to attend the commission hearings and narrate his views about the fall of Dacca, and defeat of the Pakistan Army.

This is the text of Sayed's reply to Justice Rehman's request.

Sann, District Dadu

14.02. 1972

To,

Mr. Justice Hamoodur Rehman

Chairman Commission of Inquiry, 1971 war

Rawalpindi.

My Lord

I am in receipt of your Lordship's letter No 90-CIW/72 dated 20th January 1972 inviting me to state my party's views on the subject matter under inquiry.

Your Lordship will recognise that the terms of references assigned by your commission are of a restricted nature confined only to military matters:

- 1. Surrender in East Pakistan, and*
- 2. Ceasefire in West Pakistan.*

About these I have no knowledge.

- i. Being not a military man myself*
- ii. Having not been associated with the inner counsel of the Pakistan Government which must have taken these decisions and*
- iii. Having remained in detention all those months.*

If the terms of reference has extended to the political background, or which these two military acts were but a reflex action (or a climax) I might have had something to say. But since that aspect or the matter does not fall within the purview of the terms of reference I am afraid I cannot be of much service to your august Commission.²³

Yours sincerely

G.M. Sayed

President Sindh United Front

A few days later Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who disliked Sayed's views for political reasons sent him a letter through the D.C. of Dadu.

Deputy Commissioner Dadu

No. PA/44 of 1972

Dated the 19th February, 1972

Dear Shah,

I am directed by the Government to request you to kindly meet the President of Pakistan on 22nd February, 1972 at 12:30 p.m. at Rawalpindi, and favour me with your consent so that I may inform the Government accordingly.24

Yours sincerely

Hamid Ali Memon

In reply G.M. Sayed wrote to the DC as under:

Sann,

19. 2. 1972

Dear Mr. Hamid Ali,

Your letter of today by hand. I am grateful to the President of Pakistan to have invited to meet him at Rawalpindi on 22nd February, 1972.

I feel honoured to get such invitation and would have willingly responded to such a call. But owing to bad health and short time at my disposal it will not be possible for me to meet the president on the date and time fixed for the purpose.

Therefore I would request you to convey my request to President to fix some other time if possible in Sindh. If the President is not likely to come to this side in the near future then any date fix after 10th Moharram, 25 February, 1972 will be welcomed. Please convey my request to the President.25

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely

G.M. Sayed

G.M. Sayed then received a telegram from the Military Secretary to the President on March 2, 1972, to meet President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on 5th March at Islamabad.

Two days later, G.M. Sayed and other Sindhi and Baloch patriots addressed a public meeting in Hyderabad, in remembrance of students lathi-charged, injured and arrested on 4 March 1967 on the orders of then Commissioner Masroor Hassan Khan. Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Abdul Hafiz Qureshi, Advocate, Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch and Iqbal Tareen also spoke at the gathering.

On 5 March, Sayed went to Islamabad and met with Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan. In Islamabad, the 45-year old Bhutto requested the 68-year-old veteran Sindhi politician to assist him in two areas -- in internal political matters and foreign affairs vis-à-vis India.

In Internal Affairs: Bhutto asked Sayed to help him in negotiations with the National Awami Party of Wali Khan. So Sayed persuaded Wali Khan and the Baloch leadership to arrive at a settlement with Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for democratic processes and rights of the provinces. With the effort of Sayed, both the groups started negotiations and reached an agreement. This treaty was called the 'Triangular Pact' between PPP, NAP and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Mufti Mahmood Group).

In Foreign Affairs: Bhutto asked Sayed to use his influence with the Nehru family to improve bilateral relations with India. Sayed promised that he would be very happy to play a role in improving India-Pakistan relations.

Sultan Khan, a diplomat, narrated the details of a meeting between G.M. Sayed and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto as under:

When he left the Foreign Office, Bhutto asked me to ride with him to President's House. On the way he informed me that he was expecting G.M. Sayed, a veteran Sindhi politician, who advocated the secession of Sindh from Pakistan. Bhutto spoke in the most derogatory terms about G.M. Sayed, but acknowledged that Sayed had the capacity to create mischief in Sindh and said, "I want to keep him quiet for some time, till I have made certain arrangements in Sindh.

When the car carrying G.M. Sayed pulled into the porch, Bhutto was there to greet him and in the feudal manner of greeting a senior person, Bhutto made the gesture of touching his feet, but Sayed held his hands and embraced him. Bhutto introduced him and asked Sultan Khan, "Do you know who Mr. G.M. Sayed is? Of course you don't, you are a bureaucrat. He is Sindh's great man. He is my Chacha (uncle) at whose feet I learnt politics.

The party moved on to the living room. There was a lot of talk about the health and welfare of respective family members, as well as lavish hospitality.

Bhutto came to the point after some time: "Uncle, I know the only person who can influence Indira Gandhi so as not to create more problems for us is yourself. She respects you as a leader in the fight for Indian independence movement. Please go and see her and tell her that we are going through a difficult situation and she should not create problems.

"Uncle" beamed a big smile and said that he would be happy to do his modest bit for the country and asked how soon he should leave.

Bhutto turned to me and said that I should immediately arrange for diplomatic passports for "Uncle" and an aide to go with him, and then looked at me in a meaningful way. I responded that the issuance of diplomatic passport was subject to strict regulations and I would have them examined. Bhutto put on a show of displeasure, "Uncle, you see what I have to put up with? These bureaucrats do not understand the serious urgency of the times we are living in, the passports should be issued immediately.

When he departed with due protocol and ceremonies, Mr. Sayed looked very pleased. Bhutto then asked me to forget about the passports. Instead, he instructed that I should play for time, getting forms filled up, photographs authenticated, returning these as defective in certain respects, etc. I could also plead non-receipt of mail to explain the delays. If you can keep his hopes of going to India alive for about two weeks, my purpose would have been served.

Bhutto loved playing these little political games and manipulating opponents. So long as his purpose was served, Bhutto did not worry that his credibility would diminish.²⁶

The Foreign Office officers, Sultan Ahmed, Iftikhar Ali, Birjis Hassan Khan, wrote letters to Sayed regarding the tour of India.

Eventually Sayed received a last letter mentioning that Bhutto was going to India and he would be happy if G.M. Sayed would join the group as a delegate. Bhutto also made the same offer, on the telephone, but G.M. Sayed declined to accept the offer saying that he would rather visit India with his own delegation, either before or after Bhutto's visit. But that offer did not suit Bhutto.

Letter from the Government inviting G.M. Sayed to accompany Bhutto to India, and Sayed's reply.

Mr. G.M Sayed

Patel Park

Off Britto Road,

Karachi-3

Most immediate

From Mr. Iftikhar Ali, S.K., PFS

Islamabad

June 18, 1972

Dear Mr. Sayed,

The President has desired me to say that he is now formulating the delegation for his forthcoming meeting with the Indian Prime Minister on 28th June, 1972. He would like to include you in the delegation if you are in the position to join. As the President desires an early answer, I would be grateful to hear from you in reply as soon as possible.²⁷

Yours sincerely

Iftikhar Ali

G.M. Sayed's reply to Iftikhar Ali:

Dear Mr. Iftikhar Ali,

I am grateful to the President for his invitation to include in the delegation for his forthcoming meeting with the Prime Minister of India on 28th June, 1972. I am, however, prepared to assist the President in his mission for solving the Indo-Pak problems. I have already explained to the President personally in my last meeting with him at Karachi, that my accompanying him along with sixty other persons will probably not serve in the useful purpose. I have already explained to him that if asked, I can take an independent mission, either before or after the summit meeting.

Assuring my good wishes and full support.28

Yours sincerely

G.M. Sayed

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto later became the victim of his own political trickery, which he used against each and every one he came across, whether of his own party or not. He even tried unsuccessfully to trick a seasoned politician and philosopher from Sindh like G.M. Sayed who was senior to him by several years and of the same generation as Bhutto's father Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto.

Bhutto's Machiavellian schemes led him to be entrapped by the apparently loyal but wily and cunning General Zia-ul-Haq. Bhutto had the power and used it to supersede several senior generals and appoint General Zia to head the Pakistan Army. The General later not only overthrew Prime Minister Bhutto and put him behind bars for 20 months, but also charge-sheeted him and eventually got Bhutto hanged.

Bhutto went to India the same year and talks were held with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at Simla. Eventually both leaders arrived at an agreement about the Kashmir issue, return of Pakistani prisoners of war from India, and other state matters. Bhutto was very happy with this achievement but he forgot that further serious efforts and homework were required to eliminate the root causes of tension between the two states and smooth relations between opponents.

He did not accept Sayed's offer in this regard and missed an opportunity to get help from a shrewd and experienced politician of Pakistan to bring permanent peace and harmony to the Subcontinent. He started strengthening the armed forces and refused to consider new efforts for peace in the region. The same situation prevailed in India which carried out a nuclear test in 1974 and opened the door for Pakistan to do the same. Bhutto followed India's lead.

During June 1972, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, the chief minister of Sindh at the time, and cousin of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, succeeded in getting the Sindhi Language Bill passed by the Sindh Assembly. The Urdu-speaking population of Sindh reacted immediately and launched protests against it and within a short time these became violent, many persons lost their lives and property worth millions was destroyed. Moreover, this spread hatred among the inhabitants of Sindh. The situation worsened with each passing day. Bhutto, in fear at the unfolding chaos, called the leadership of the Urdu-speaking community and G.M Sayed, Qazi Faiz Mohammed and Shaikh Ayaz to Islamabad for a meeting to resolve the issue. Sayed refused to go and be a part of the game that was in Bhutto's mind.

Through an ordinance, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto dishonoured the Sindh Assembly resolution which said that Sindhi should be the official language of Sindh, and Mumtaz Ali Bhutto the chief minister and other Assembly members had no courage to utter a single word to him about his undemocratic action.

This ordinance had several demerits but one thing was more damaging to Sindh's interests than any other: the two key provincial posts of Chief Secretary and Inspector General of Police would be appointed from other provinces.

Sayed then toured different districts of Sindh and addressed gatherings regarding this ordinance. The people of Sindh came in their thousands to attend these gatherings. This situation was not to the liking of the Peoples Party-led Government and Sayed was arrested on 8th August 1972, while he was touring the districts.

Mr. Stanley Wolpert gave his opinion about these riots in his book *Zulfi of Pakistan*. Following is the text:

By mid-1972, much of Sindh, especially the poorest overcrowded sections of Karachi, Hyderabad, and Larkana, were racked with deadly riots between Urdu-speaking Muhajirs (refugees) and their indigenous Sindhi-speaking neighbours. The riots posed a mortal challenge to President Bhutto's political powers and skills to resolve Pakistan's perennial ethno-linguistic-provincial problems. Sindh was not only the province plagued with recurring ethnic-linguistic violence, but it was the home base of Bhutto's power, and if Zulfi, with his "brother" Mumtaz as chief minister, could not control Sindh, then what hope was there for his rule to remain effective over any part of Pakistan?

The roots of Sindhi separatism extended even deeper than those of the Bengali separatism that had so recently given birth to Bangladesh. Leaders of the "Sindhi Desh" movement, like Dr. G.M. Sayed, traced the source of their claims to Sindhi "nationhood" as far back as Mohenjodaro in the Third Millennium BC long before the advent of Islam. At any rate, Sindh was the kingdom ruled by Raja Dahir, who spoke Sindhi and issued royal decrees in that ancient language, and whose poetry and literature remains a most precious cultural legacy to his millions of Sindhi heirs. Urdu, however, the language of the Mughal army camp around Delhi, was chosen by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, rather than his native Sindhi, to serve as the national language of Pakistan, though in 1947 Urdu was spoken by barely 10 percent of the entire nation's population. Most Muslim refugees from Delhi and Uttar Pardesh who fled to West Pakistan after its birth settled either in Karachi, the new capital, or elsewhere in Sindh and were native Urdu-speakers. Many Urdu words were borrowed from Persian as well as Arabic, enriching Urdu's lexicon with teachings of Islam as well as sublime poetry of Persia. Like most refugees, Pakistan's Muhajirs were hard working, frugal people eager to recoup their tragic partition losses, often finding more fecund fields for their talents and ambitions in their Islamic fatherland than they had in Mother India, whence they had fled. By 1972 some 30 per cent of Sindh's population was Muhajir, with almost 90 per cent of bustling Karachi consisting of Urdu-speaking refugees. Throughout Ayub Khan's era of military rule, as well as during the briefer Yahya Khan interlude, Urdu remained the single language of required instruction in all West Pakistan schools, and the language of administration as well as justice. Now, however, Sindh's government has introduced a new language bill that would bring instructions in Sindhi back to all public schools, even as Sindhi had already returned to regular daily use in Karachi's Government House and in its People's Party- dominated Assembly.²⁹

I must inform the reader that, later on in 1973, when I was in my teens, I was detained by the Bhutto government under Defence of Pakistan Rules 32 at Central Prison, Hyderabad. Zulfiqar Ali Shah Jamote, Mir Mohammed Wassan, Khalifo Aqil and Fakir Mohammed Amin Mangrio, followers of Pir Pagaro and Lala Qadir, Mushtaque Mehar and Rafique Indhar of Pakistan Peoples Party were all made victims of the Government at the time and were my companions at the Hyderabad Prison.

Every day many topics would come up for discussion as a matter of routine. During one of these discussions in Hyderabad Jail, Zulfiqar Ali Shah Jamote quizzed Lala Qadir about how the language issue arose and caught fire. In a frank mood, Lala Qadir informed us that when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto summoned him for a meeting, he went and saw Mumtaz Ali Bhutto present there, too. The former told him that G.M. Sayed has great influence in literary and student circles and that they had a plan to introduce Mumtaz Ali Bhutto as the hero of the Sindhi cause to minimise Sayed's influence in Nationalist circles. Their party (the PPP) would pass the Sindhi Language Bill, but to prepare the ground for its passage, he asked Lala Qadir to start a hunger strike. When Bhutto felt that the situation was ripe, the party would table the Bill in the Sindh Assembly.

He said that he carried out his end of the bargain and ended his hunger strike according to a pre-planned schedule.

Another point I must inform the reader is that in the early 1980s, I and Rashid Hyder Rizvi went to meet Rais Amrohvi for some work. During the discussion with him, I asked Amrohvi why he had written and published the famous poem "Urdu Ka Janazza hai Zara Dhoom sey Niklay", which appeared in the Urdu press during the crucial time of the Sindh language riots. He replied that he had written this poem in the early 1950s during the Bengali-Urdu conflict, and the Urdu-language Jang newspaper then published this poem during the language riots without his knowledge or consent. These and other factors demonstrate the fact that there was no real tussle between the Urdu-speaking and Sindhi-speaking peoples of Sindh, but some people with vested interests wanted to bring about a schism between the two linguistic communities to advance their own petty vested interests.

After some time, when the atmosphere cooled and the situation became crystal clear, Nawab Muzaffar Hussain a leader of the Urdu-speaking community, visited G.M. Sayed at Sann and discussed the past and present situation in Sindh and its possibilities for the future. They arrived at an understanding that the Urdu-speaking community and the Sindhis should live together in peace and harmony, and launch a peaceful struggle for the rights of Sindh together.

During 1973, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto succeeded in getting the Constitution passed by the National Assembly. The Treasury and Opposition benches voted in favour of the bill. Only Sardar Khair Bux Marri, Abdul Hamid Jatui, Mir Ali Bux Talpur and a few others did not sign the document.

After the Constitution was passed, Bhutto started to show his true colours. In his first attempt he toppled the democratic coalition governments of NWFP and Balochistan and dismissed the chief ministers of the two provinces, Maulana Mufti Mahmood of NWFP and Sardar Attaullah Mengal of Balochistan.

He also put behind bars the entire top-rank leadership of the National Awami Party, viz. Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Sardar Khair Bux Marri, Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Arbab Sikander Khalil, Mir Ghous Bux Bizenjo and its party workers by the hundreds.

Disassociation from Parliamentary Politics

Mass Struggle and Confinement

After the 1973 Constitution was passed, G.M. Sayed got fed up with parliamentary politics. He revolted and became a separatist. He started a movement for the separation of Sindh from the centre. His stance left many wondering. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto was of the view that G.M. Sayed started his campaign prematurely. Many intellectuals likened the step to a suicidal mission and many others declared it to be an immature and illogical movement.

Sayed had his own reasons, some of which were that within the framework of Pakistan under the 1973 Constitution, there was no provision to safeguard the rights of Sindhis. And Sindh became subservient to Punjab under this Constitution.

So he declared that the remedy for all the ills of Sindh lay in opting for an autonomous and sovereign status for the province. After he made known the above views, several politicians and the Government made up their minds that he was a traitor. In reply to these allegations, G.M. Sayed told the press that he was a separatist, not a traitor, and there was a great difference between what a traitor was and what a separatist espouses. He said that the people who were calling him a traitor didn't know the difference or distinction between a separatist and a traitor. Separation is a basic and natural right of persons and nations.

The Government took serious note of Sayed's views and put him behind bars from 12 May 1973, and he was kept in solitary confinement up to 1987.

To counter Sayed's movement the Bhutto regime also bribed and hired Sayed's old political colleagues. However, Sayed's slogan caught the attention of, and attracted young Sindhi youth by the thousands. Several workers lost their lives and thousands of workers were put behind bars and tortured for their political beliefs.

Meanwhile, the Vice-Chancellor of Sindh University Ghulam Mustafa Shah, invited Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, then Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs, to award him an honorary doctorate in law. On that occasion, the followers of G.M. Sayed gathered at the university function to protest. They shouted slogans against the 1973 Constitution on the occasion. On hearing this, Abdul Hafiz Pirzada became emotional, lost his temper, and abused the protesters. One protestor, Mohammed Ismail Wassan, reacted to this and slapped the federal law minister, and the police arrested the assailant on the spot. The Superintendent of Police of Dadu became so nervous as this violent situation developed, that he suffered a severe heart attack at the venue, and expired there and then.

Chief Minister Mumtaz Ali Bhutto ordered several workers of the Jeay Sindh Movement to be arrested and put behind bars. Also, Ismail Wassan and five other persons were arrested and tortured by the police, and thereafter implicated in a number of cases and sent to prison.

Another ugly incident took place when some workers of the Movement became emotional on the torture and confinement of their colleagues and kidnapped Badi-ul-Hassan Zaidi, a provincial minister. The Jeay Sindh Movement declared that this act was carried out by individuals not related to the party, and put pressure on party workers to release the minister, and he was set free within 24 hours.

In March 1977, again General Elections were held in Pakistan. The Opposition parties united on one platform and gave this alliance a name. The Pakistan National Alliance was thus born in opposition to Bhutto's Government, and participated in the forthcoming elections.

Bhutto swept the National Assembly polls with a thumping majority. The Opposition rejected the results of the polls and declared them to be fabricated. It announced a boycott of provincial assembly elections in the four provinces, and began an agitation campaign against the high-handedness of the Bhutto regime during the elections. Bhutto thought that the Movement would not gather momentum and would be quashed by the administration in a few days, but he miscalculated and his hopes were dashed when the Movement grew and even became violent. Bhutto arrested all the leadership of the PNA. Pir Pagaro was also detained for a few hours in Hotel Intercontinental (now Pearl Continental). Bhutto visited the Pir and persuaded him to withdraw from the agitation, but the Pir refused to do so. Eventually, he reviewed his position and started negotiations with the Opposition alliance.

Bhutto was also very anxious to meet G.M. Sayed who was under house arrest but there was no way to do so now, because he had severed all routes to G.M. Sayed's door. Bhutto instead ordered the Sindh administration to gather the detained leadership of the Jeay Sindh Movement. Shah Mohammed Shah and some other leaders were brought from different jails and taken to meet Bhutto in Karachi.

Bhutto began the conversation by saying that "forces" had united to topple a Sindhi prime minister. That these forces were against him only because he was by birth a Sindhi and he requested them for their help. The Jeay Sindh Movement's detained leadership replied that they were not authorised to make any commitment to Bhutto, but they suggested that the best course of action would be for Bhutto to contact G.M. Sayed.

Bhutto, who had already officially labelled G.M. Sayed and his followers as "traitors", had no face to request these "traitors" for help. Finally, the army intervened and General Zia-ul-Haq, the Chief of the Army Staff, launched a coup against Bhutto on the midnight of 5th July 1977. Bhutto and his colleagues and also the Opposition leadership were arrested by the Martial Law authorities and detained at Sihala rest house at Murree.

The Zia regime then proceeded to release Wali Khan, Nawab Khair Bux Marri, Arbab Sikander Khalil, Mir Ghous Bux Bizenjo, Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Sher Mohammed Marri and several workers of the NAP and also the other leaders and workers of different political parties, but it did not release Sayed and his followers. The Zia regime announced that General Elections would be held within 90 days. Meanwhile, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was arrested in the murder case of Nawab Ahmed Khan Kasuri. He obtained bail from a single judge bench of the Lahore High Court, but a two-judge bench of the same court then rejected his bail. He was arrested, spent two years in Kot Lakhpat jail and was finally hanged there in 1979. The Peoples Party launched a protest, but the military administration had Bhutto executed so that they could get rid of him forever.

The regime postponed the election till the completion of the accountability of the politicians and others was completed.

General Zia then sent messages to G.M. Sayed, who was under house arrest in his village Sann, through Maula Bux Soomro, Illahi Bux Soomro, A.K. Brohi and Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur asking to meet him.

G.M. Sayed, on his part, refused to meet General Zia without there being any specific agenda to discuss. Sayed even questioned the various messengers at length, asking each of them whether they had obtained permission from the GHQ before speaking to him. The messengers in turn narrated Sayed's views to General Zia who appreciated them.

After some time Sayed underwent heart trouble and after Government permission was given, he was admitted in Dewan Mushtaque Ward of Liaquat Medical College Hospital at Hyderabad. Meanwhile, General Zia held an administrative meeting in Hyderabad and also paid a courtesy call on Sayed during his treatment in the hospital.

General Zia came to the hospital and asked G.M. Sayed why he had refused to meet with him. Sayed told him that he was the representative of the establishment which harboured its own views about political issues in the country. Sayed said that as he had always struggled against those policies, he was apprehensive that instead of leading to a cordial atmosphere, the meeting might degenerate and create bitter feelings. General Zia asked Sayed's opinion about his programme of Islamisation. Sayed told him frankly that whether it was Ayub Khan's programme of Basic Democracy, or Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's programme of Islamic Socialism, or his (Zia's) programme of Islamisation, the primary objective was the same: To hang on to power by these means.

Other parties and persons at the time voiced their own opinions about General Zia's courtesy call on Sayed. On the one hand, some were of the view that Zia had met with a "traitor" of Pakistan, while others were critical of G.M. Sayed publicly asking why he had given his valuable time to a dictator. Thus the Zia-Sayed meeting in a hospital ward came under extensive discussion in various daily newspapers and weekly magazines of the country.

Sayed later remarked in an interview that General Zia was the first ruler of Pakistan who had the courage to listen to his point of view. The second time General Zia met with G.M. Sayed was at the funeral of Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur. And the third and last time they met was at the wedding ceremony of the daughter of Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo at Matiari town in Hyderabad district. At this third meeting General Zia told Sayed that he wanted to see his personal library at Sann, but they never met again.

During 1983, the Opposition parties launched a movement against the Zia regime for the restoration of democracy, also known as the MRD or Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. The people of Sindh struggled with great daring, thousands of people were sent to prison and hundreds lost their lives. About the blood shed by Sindhis, Sayed appealed to international forums and the United Nations to play a role in stopping the killing and victimisation of Sindhis by the Zia regime.

During the year 1984, due to the untiring efforts of Rashid Hyder Rizvi and others, a major change in Sindh occurred. The Urdu-speaking community celebrated the 81st birthday of G.M. Sayed in Karachi. The event was widely attended and addressed by community leaders and intellectuals, including Altaf Hussain, Ali Mukhtar Rizvi, Rais Amrohvi, Inam Durrani and others. People from all walks of life in Sindh hailed this change.

They were all expecting a fruitful outcome from these celebrations, but it was not to be and the situation deteriorated and within a few years riots broke out between Sindhi and Urdu speakers in Hyderabad, Karachi and other urban parts of Sindh.

The same year, on 17 October 1984, some workers of the Jeay Sindh Movement who were on way to the Chandka Medical College, Larkana to attend a function, were ambushed and attacked by armed forces at Tori Phattak, Dadu district. About seven workers lost their lives, and many others were injured in shooting by military forces. The attack, later to be known simply as the Tori Phattak incident, occurred only 25 kilometers from G.M. Sayed's hometown.

During 1985 Sayed celebrated his birth anniversary at his hometown, Sann, in Dadu district. The same year, the nonparty General Elections were held in Pakistan. Sayed's late friend Sayed Jaindal Shah's son, Koral Shah, contested from Sayed's constituency and won the election. Sayed's son Imdad Mohammed Shah also won the election.

The Peoples Party and other political parties boycotted the election and a new parliament was introduced by the military regime on a nonparty basis. Mohammed Khan Junejo became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The establishment

approached Sayed's son Imdad Shah to become the Chief Minister of Sindh, but he declined both the chief ministership and any post in the Treasury benches. Rather, he said, he would prefer to sit on the Opposition benches.

On 17 January 1986, Sayed invited Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to participate in his birthday celebrations. When Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan came to Karachi, Sayed's followers and the leaders and workers of Awami National Party warmly welcomed him at Cantonment Railway Station, Karachi. He went to Dr. Hamida Khuhro's house in a big procession. Dr. Hamida Khuhro hosted a luncheon and also arranged a meeting which was addressed by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Sayed Imdad Mohammed Shah and herself.

The next day, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan left Karachi for Sann. Along the route from the Jamshoro toll plaza to Sann, a distance of 80 kilometers, thousands of people welcomed Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who finally reached Sann at 12:30 p.m., where the proceedings took place.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Sayed, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Dr. Hamida Khuhro and several other speakers addressed the big gathering.

In his speech Sayed said:

All of Sindh lay in fetters and for the last 24 years, imprisonment, lashes, bullets, gallows and all others means of torture have become our fate. Further, he said, Sindh was being brutalised in an age when the world had entered a new era.¹

Khan Abdul Ghaffar stayed there for one night and both the veteran politicians exchanged recollections of their struggle. The Muslim League, the Congress, Azad Muslim Conference, Khaksars and the role of the civil and military bureaucracy of Pakistan after Partition, and the attitude of centre-minded parties and religious and Communist groups, came under discussion. The next day, G.M. Sayed saw his old friend off with tears in his eyes and people present also saw tears in the eyes of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

In the middle of the same year, G.M. Sayed was admitted in the private ward of Jinnah Post-Graduate Medical Centre, Karachi. Khan Abdul Ghaffar arrived in Karachi and paid a courtesy visit on Sayed. Again in 1987, G.M. Sayed had invited Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and other politicians to his birthday celebrations. Politicians from the centre-minded parties made emotional speeches on the floor of the National Assembly lamenting that a so-called "traitor" should not be allowed to deliver his views and celebrate his birthday. The print and electronic media however highlighted the birthday proceedings.

Then two Government officials of the Zia regime, Abdul Subhan Memon and Sayed Khuda Dino Shah arrived in Sann to serve Government orders on G.M. Sayed. This writer who was discussing the distribution of invitation cards with G.M. Sayed received the two officials and this is what transpired:

Subhan Memon said that they had been instructed by the Government to convey a message to G.M. Sayed who was present. That the Government had placed a ban on G.M. Sayed celebrating in birthday, and they had arrived to serve the order upon him. Sayed refused to obey the order, and directed me to issue a statement that the birthday celebrations would take place on January 17th as planned.

As his representative, I issued the press statement and had the same published in the newspapers.

The Government then sent paramilitary forces and the police to cordon off Sayed's hometown, and these forces took up positions around Sann.

The Government also pressurised his two sons, Sayed Amir Hyder Shah and Imdad Mohammed Shah, to persuade Sayed to accept the Government order. Also a threat was issued that the Government would take G.M. Sayed forcibly out of the town by commando action, Sayed's son Amir Hyder Shah consulted Sayed but Sayed was firm on his stand.

Some Government officers expressed their apprehensions that there might be clashes between Sayed's followers and the law enforcement agencies, and so the Government backed down. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrived in Karachi to go to Sann for the birthday celebrations, but the Government refused to let Bacha Khan, as he was affectionately known, to attend the birthday party.

The same year, an incident occurred 25 kilometers from Sann, when Benazir's personal staff was ambushed and kidnapped by dacoits. Benazir, who had planned on going to Larkana by road, changed her programme and went to Larkana by air instead. She however sent on her personal staff by road to Larkana, when they were attacked. As soon as G.M. Sayed received this information, he summoned his elder son Sayed Amir Hyder Shah and told him that as this incident had occurred near their hometown, it was their paramount duty to contact the culprits responsible. Sayed Amir Hyder Shah called on the elders of the area and asked them for their help to free Benazir's personal staff from the bandits.

The efforts of Sayed Amir Hyder Shah and the elders of the area tribes succeeded and the bandits freed Benazir's staff. It is still a mystery why Benazir's staff was ambushed and attacked by bandits near G.M. Sayed's hometown.

The same year in 1987, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan fell ill and was admitted in Lady Reading Hospital, Peshawar. Sayed sent a cable to his son, Wali Khan, asking about the health of his ailing father. Sayed also sent a copy of the cable to different newspapers for publication. He also wanted to visit Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan personally, so he drafted a request to the Government to permit him to travel to Peshawar to see the ailing Pushtoon leader. Meanwhile, owing to the serious condition of Bacha Khan, he was shifted from Peshawar to India. G.M. Sayed summoned me with instructions to cable General Zia for permission to visit Bacha Khan in India.

After two weeks Sayed received intimation from the Government that he had been permitted to visit Bacha Khan in India. G.M. Sayed, his son Sayed Imdad Mohammed Shah and attendant Mohammed Soomar Thebo, left for Bombay by PIA.

At Bombay airport, Sindhis who had fled Pakistan warmly welcomed G.M. Sayed and arranged several receptions in his honour. Sayed paid Ghaffar Khan a courtesy call, and there he met Wali Khan, Yunus Khan, Ajmal Khattak and others.

During his stay at New Delhi, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited G.M. Sayed and they discussed the pre-Partition struggle and current political situation of the Subcontinent. Also the then leader of the Opposition party in the Indian parliament, L.K. Advani of the BJP, visited Sayed and discussed several issues with him, particularly the condition of the Sindhi Diaspora.

At that meeting, G.M. Sayed told L.K. Advani that he had many reservations about the BJP's communal agenda, and narrated his experiences about this crucial issue during previous decades. He told his companions that the British had used communalism as a big instrument in their 'divide and rule' policy in India. This was an instrument, which they spread by using fundamentalists to further their imperialist interests.

G.M. Sayed said that fundamentalism was a fire that had always been used as an instrument for destruction, and it was this fire of sectarianism which had compelled the Sindhis to abandon their homes and the soil of Sindh. The Punjabis in

Punjab, Bengalis in Bengal and the other peoples in the rest of India also had to migrate on religious grounds and Bengal and Punjab were divided and the Kashmir issue was born.

He further said that in 1952, in the Vienna Peace Conference, he had warned Britain and the United States that they shouldn't boost fundamentalism, otherwise they would pay the penalty in the end. He told L.K. Advani that this slogan would result in further deterioration of the condition of the peoples of the Subcontinent.

In September 1987, Sayed started a tour of Upper Sindh from Sehwan Sharif. He toured the entire district of Dadu and went to the Larkana district as well. The Government felt that Sayed's tour had infused a new spirit in the Sindhi national movement, so they arrested Sayed again while he was visiting Mumtaz Ali Bhutto's house, and jailed him at Karachi's Central Prison.

Meanwhile, in the third week of January 1988 in Karachi Central Prison's rest house where he was detained, G.M. Sayed received the shocking news that his old friend and comrade, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, had expired in Peshawar.

This was one occasion when G.M. Sayed cried in his prison. He was 84 years old, imprisoned and was not able to attend the last rites of his dear friend of 60 years.

Rajiv Gandhi took a special flight to Peshawar to attend the funeral of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and to condole with his relatives and descendants. Not to be outdone, the next day, General Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of the Army Staff and President of Pakistan, also arrived in Peshawar for the funeral and paid his condolences to Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

People arrived at Jinnah Bagh, Peshawar, in their thousands to see the last of their venerated Pushtoon leader. After two days, according to the will of the late leader, his body was taken to Jalalabad where he had spent his days in exile, for burial. A big procession with his coffin left Peshawar, Pakistan, for Jalalabad, Afghanistan, 130 kilometers away, and along the entire route people from surrounding villages and settlements collected and were standing beside the road to pay their tributes to the late great leader of the Pushtoons.

At Jalalabad, some fundamentalists were reported to have planted a bomb which exploded killing and injuring several people.

Vankatraman, the president of India, Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, and people of Afghanistan and Pakistan in their thousands were present at the last rites. This writer was a witness to these events, and placed flowers on the coffin of Bacha Khan at Peshawar, on behalf of G.M. Sayed, besides accompanying the procession of mourners and attended his funeral rites at Jalalabad, in Afghanistan.

During 1988, Sayed felt that a grand alliance of the inhabitants of Sindh was the need of the time, so as to cope with the existing and future problems. It came under discussion in the Supreme Council of Jeay Sindh Movement. Some people were of the view that the alliance should comprise the progressive parties, but eventually it was decided that this coalition must be above the issues of caste, creed and class. Invitations for this meeting were issued to Sindhi political groups of all persuasions and prominent Sindhis.

The meeting was held at Sann and it was attended by Mahmood Haroon, Sardar Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Illahi Bux Soomro, Dr. Hamida Khuhro, Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman, Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani, Rasool Bux Palejo and others. The participants agreed to form an alliance and the Sindh National Alliance was born.

Meanwhile, violent riots broke out between the Urdu-speaking community and Sindhis. This writer was in Karachi at the residence of Rashid Hyder Rizvi, when we heard the news on BBC that in Hyderabad a violent clash between Urdu-speaking Mohajirs and Sindhis had occurred, and the Government had imposed a curfew and deployed a heavy police force there. Meanwhile, Aqil Lodhi arrived at the residence and we discussed this problem, and in consultation with others, we reached a consensus that a meeting between G.M. Sayed, Altaf Hussain and other leaders must be held.

I contacted Altaf Hussain over the phone and persuaded him to look upon the matter for the future of Sindh and its inhabitants. After some discussion he asked for a face -to- face meeting. The next evening Rashid Hyder Rizvi and I visited Altaf Hussain at his residence.

Altaf Hussain, Imran Farooq, Azim Tariq, Tariq Javed, Rashid Hyder and myself discussed our views about the riots, and reached a consensus that a peace committee should be formed, to calm the tense situation in Sindh, and this committee needed G.M. Sayed's blessing. The next day, early in the morning, Sayed's grandson Dr. Zia-ul-Haq Shah, Rashid Hyder Rizvi and this writer left for Sann to discuss the issue with G.M. Sayed, regarding the above meeting.

Sayed agreed saying that there is no substitute for a dialogue, and for this purpose, he handed me a press statement. We returned to Karachi at 3 p.m. and at 4 p.m. I issued Sayed's statement to the press. At 5 p.m, I contacted Altaf Hussain and fixed a meeting at 8 p.m. the same day. Rashid Hyder Rizvi and myself went to his residence, met and discussed with him and gave him the photocopy of Sayed's press statement, and told him that we had done our job and now the ball was in his court. Altaf Hussain did the same and he issued a statement and announced the names of the members of the Committee.

The members of the committee met at Hyderabad several times but due to the constant intrigues by vested interests, they were unable to resolve the issue. Conditions took a bad turn, then the massacre of Hyderabad took place on 30th September 1988, and people lost their lives in the hundreds. As a reaction, hundreds of people were killed in Karachi on 1 October 1988.

The SNA's role during the riots was very positive and they visited the houses of the victims and provided them full-fledged help. Rashid Hyder and myself continued our diplomacy on a separate track to help defuse the chaotic situation and succeeded in arranging a meeting between Altaf Hussain and G.M. Sayed.

Altaf came to Hyder Manzil, G.M. Sayed's residence at Karachi, in the morning. Sayed, Altaf Hussain and their teams talked frankly about the common problems and reached a consensus that the dirty game was played by the people who did not want to see an atmosphere of peace and unity develop among the two major communities of the province.

After lunch, a one-on-one meeting between G.M. Sayed and Altaf Hussain took place for one hour. Then Sayed called Rashid Hyder and they talked for more than half an hour on the issue. Rashid Hyder narrated the conversation to me as under:

History's oppression compelled different communities in the entire sub-continent to leave their homes and to become refugees. The policy of the Muslim League in this regard was not correct. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and myself had made efforts to stop migration, for this purpose we had made a committee but it was the Muslim League that created hindrances in our positive work. However the leadership of the Congress and the Muslim League and their followers were not capable of understanding the repercussions of their policies and the world's biggest massacres snatched away the lives of millions and destroyed property worth billions of rupees. In that chaotic situation, Sindhis had warmly welcomed their refugee guests.

Sayed told Altaf that he suggested to the Urdu speaking community "to own Sindh as a motherland" today. I say to you that if the people of Sindh do not pay attention to these words, then definitely they will suffer.

Then Sayed read out the following Persian verse:

The ignoramus does what the wise man does

But after making a lot of blunders.

Also Sarwar Awan, leader of the Punjabis and Pathans met with G.M. Sayed and complained that he hated the Punjabis. G.M. Sayed replied that he was a mystic and he did not hate the Punjabis. He said he however hated their attitude towards the other smaller nationalities and ethnic groups of Pakistan. They had lost their cultural heritage and forgot the message of love and unity of Baba Bulley Shah, Shah Fareed, Haq Baho and other mystic poets of Punjab and were influenced by the emotional and expedient ideology of Allama Iqbal. They were men who were not even ready to introduce the Punjabi language into their curriculum.

Meanwhile, elections were held in Pakistan in 1988. The Sindh National Alliance took part in the election, but like a newborn baby running a race, it did not win a majority at the polls. Although the candidates gave a tough time to their opponents, the Alliance lost at the elections.

The Peoples Party became the largest single party of the Lower House. After reaching an understanding with the establishment, Benazir became the first woman prime minister of Pakistan. She also formed a coalition government with the support of the MQM in Sindh and National Awami Party in the NWFP, but failed in the Punjab and Balochistan. Nawab Akbar Bugti and Nawaz Sharif formed their governments in Balochistan and the Punjab, respectively.

At this juncture, G.M. Sayed called a meeting to restructure the Alliance. The meeting was held at the hometown of Abdul Hamid Jatoi. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Abdul Hamid Jatoi, two veteran parliamentarians, were expecting to become the new heads of the Alliance.

Eventually, as a leader of the alliance, Sayed's choice lay with Abdul Hamid Jatoi, and Dr. Hamida Khuhro, Abdul Hafiz Pirzada and Gul Mohammed Jakhrani became the office bearers.

Next, in May 1989, G.M. Sayed toured the three districts of Lower Sindh -- Thatta, Tharparker and Hyderabad. There was apprehension that he would be arrested, but the tour ended at Old Hala at a luncheon meeting where Irfan Mehdi Sayed, Abdul Hafiz Qureshi and others addressed an open gathering.

On 1 October 1989, G.M. Sayed again began his tour of Upper Sindh. He left Karachi by PIA for Sukkur to begin the tour, and this writer was one of many at the airport, to see Sayed off. At Sukkur Airport, countless numbers of people came to welcome the veteran Sindhi leader, but before the flight landed there, an untoward incident occurred. An unidentified person set fire to the Pakistan flag at the airport. The leadership of the Jeay Sindh Movement told the administration that this was an individual action of a single person, and the party was not responsible, and had no intention to perpetrate an action in this manner.

Sayed's flight landed and his followers warmly welcomed him. The independent information media declared it to be among the biggest processions of the century. Sayed then addressed a large gathering at Locus Park, Sukkur. There, the leadership of the Movement condemned the persons who had set fire to the Pakistan flag.

G.M. Sayed then proceeded to Shikarpur to condole with Illahi Bux Soomro over the death of his father, Haji Maula Bux Soomro. At Shikarpur, thousands of people arrived to welcome Sayed, who attended several gatherings there and also attended a reception arranged by Abdul Qayoom Mangi.

Sayed then proceeded to Jacobabad district. As he entered the district thousands of people welcomed him. G.M. Sayed addressed several gatherings and attended receptions.

On 3rd October, two days later, I applied for a visa to visit the United Kingdom. The visa section asked me to provide them some documents. I returned to my hometown Sehwan to collect the required documents and then I went to Kandhkot, in Jacobabad district to attend the reception of Yusuf Jakhrani, which he hosted in Sayed's honour and to apprise G.M. Sayed about my forthcoming visit to the U.K. I reached there late and did not attend the reception, but I met with G.M. Sayed and persuaded him to provide me a letter to submit to the U.K. High Commission.

Meanwhile, G.M. Sayed attended receptions in the suburbs of Kandhkot town, and then left for Kashmore and attended a reception there by Gul Mohammed Jakhrani, and he also addressed the gathering. At 11.30 p.m. Sayed signed my letter and handed it to me.

Then I went along with Abdul Hayee Baloch, secretary-general of the ex-Balochistan National Alliance, and others to Giddu rest house for the night. As we all awoke in the early morning, a man arrived and informed us that the armed forces had surrounded the Kashmir rest house. We rushed there and saw that the Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police of Jacobabad, and another official were sitting and waiting outside Sayed's bedroom. After some time G.M. Sayed summoned both the Government officials and also his colleagues, Abdul Hafiz Qureshi, Mir Hyder Talpur and others into his bedroom. The DC and an SSP served an order upon Sayed directing him to remove himself from Jacobabad district immediately.

As Sayed and his colleagues left the rest house, the DC started shouting in an abnormal and emotionally charged tone of voice: "Don't allow Sayed to go out."

Abdul Hafiz Qureshi, senior advocate of the Supreme Court, who was sitting in Sayed's vehicle, asked the DC what the problem was. The DC replied he had another order from the Government of Sindh for G.M. Sayed. Mr. Qureshi asked him to produce the order. He said it was being typed down. Hafiz Qureshi told him that if there was no other order to be served on Sayed at the present time, then he would be leaving for Sann, and the Government should serve the second order upon Sayed there. But the Jacobabad police blocked all roads and compelled G.M. Sayed's caravan to go towards the Punjab border.

After a journey of half an hour in the Punjab, G.M. Sayed, Dr. Hamida Khuhro and Abdul Hafiz Qureshi discussed the situation among themselves. Dr. Hamida Khuhro then returned back to Sindh, and G.M. Sayed's caravan started for Quetta and Nal, in Khuzdar district, to condole the sons Bezan and Hasel Bizenjo, over the death of their father, Mir Ghaus Bux Bizenjo. The Punjab administration officials met Sayed and asked him about his itinerary while in the Punjab. Abdul Hafiz Qureshi replied that Sayed would go on to Quetta and address the press there. Then he would travel to Naal to offer his condolences over the death of Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, and then return to Karachi.

Near the border with Balochistan, Sayed felt tired and the caravan stayed overnight at a rest house near Chotti Zarin, the hometown of former President Farooq Leghari. At Chotti Zarin, an elder of the Leghari tribe, Nabi Bux Leghari, made arrangements for Sayed's caravan to rest. At around 11 p.m., the Assistant Political Agent of Barkhan arrived at the rest

house to question Sayed. The advocate, Abdul Hafiz Qureshi, told him that G.M. Sayed was sleeping and the man went back. Early the next morning, the same officer returned again and served an order to G.M. Sayed, to immediately leave the district of Dera Ghazi Khan.

Sayed and his caravan however continued onwards to Balochistan. At the provincial border the administration obstructed Sayed from entering Balochistan, and again enquired about his itinerary in the province. Abdul Hafiz Qureshi again informed the Government officers about their programme. The officers said they would convey the details to the higher authorities sitting in Quetta. As the caravan was waiting for his reply, the Assistant Political Agent of Barkhan arrived along with armed forces personnel and served an order for the arrest of G.M. Sayed. The Punjab police handed over Sayed and his colleagues, to the Sindh police at the Sindh-Punjab border.

In the custody of Sindh police, G.M. Sayed was taken to Sukkur airport and from there in a special midnight flight to Karachi on 11 October, to be detained at his Hyder Manzil residence. His other colleagues were taken to the Central Prison at Sukkur.

Later on it transpired that the entire train of events which began at Sukkur, was staged all along by the Government. This included the setting on fire of the Pakistan flag before Sayed's arrival, right up to the crafty measures to arrest Sayed, and which ended with the arrest of the whole group.

This so-called democratic government of Benazir Bhutto lodged several fabricated cases against G.M. Sayed and his followers, and also introduced special trial courts because her regime did not trust the workings of the civil courts. On Sayed's arrest the people of Sindh observed a black day and all business in the province came to a standstill.

Sayed's followers then decided to launch a court-arrest movement for his release. Meanwhile, Manzoor Wassan, a provincial minister, went to the Central Prison at Sukkur to negotiate with the leadership of the Movement, and implored them to postpone the court-arrest action. He was informed by the leadership that they were not authorised to arrive at a commitment with the Government and suggested that the best course for the Government was to contact G.M. Sayed.

The Benazir regime declined to contact Sayed and the court arrest movement started according to schedule, and over 3,000 workers courted arrest. The Government, instead of withdrawing the concocted cases, took many irregular and undemocratic actions, in its bid to crush and smash the peaceful court-arrest movement.

Sayed and his colleagues were in prison during the entire period of Benazir's regime. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed her on 5 August 1990. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Opposition leader in the National Assembly, was sworn in as caretaker Prime Minister. Jam Sadiq Ali took the oath as the caretaker Chief Minister of Sindh. Shortly thereafter, the provincial government withdrew the cases against G.M. Sayed and released him, but it did not withdraw the cases against persons also accused along with Sayed. But then in December 1990, all those co-accused were freed on bail.

Meanwhile, General Elections were held in Pakistan and Nawaz Sharif became the next Prime Minister of Pakistan and Jam Sadiq Ali the Chief Minister of Sindh. Sayed's elder son, Sayed Amir Hyder Shah, contested the provincial assembly seat against the Peoples Party candidate Abdullah Shah and won the election.

During 1991, Sayed again celebrated his birthday at Sann where he addressed a gathering. During that period, the Gulf War broke out, and the majority of Pakistani political parties, whether from the Left or Right, supported Saddam Hussain. But Sayed condemned this aggression against Kuwait, stating that a big nation had no right to invade a smaller nation.

The same year he toured Thatta district twice, first to condole the death of Sayed Qadir Dino Shah Shirazi at Thatta. He also stayed one night at Keenjhar Lake and enjoyed music on the bank of the lake. In the morning he visited the grave of Nuri at an islet in the lake, and the second time he visited the village of Sayed Juman Shah to condole with his son Amir Ali Shah and also went boating at Ambar Creek.

On 10 January 1992, G.M. Sayed hosted a lunch for Jam Sadiq Ali, which was attended by parliamentarians, scholars and political workers. At the luncheon, Sayed suggested that every son of the soil in general, both among the existing ministry and elected parliamentarians of Sindh in particular, should work for the welfare of the province. Jam Sadiq Ali also addressed the meeting.

On 13 January 1992, a launching ceremony of Sayed's book (Latif's Message) was held at Hyder Manzil, Karachi. The book was in Urdu. It was presided over by Rais Ghulam Mustafa Khan Bhurgri. Mr. Bhurgri, Professor Karrar Hussain, Dr. Hamida Khuhro and others enlightened the audience on the book.

On 17 January 1992, G.M. Sayed's birthday celebrations were held at Nishtar Park, Karachi. Thousands of people attended the meeting and heard the speeches of Sayed, Abdul Hafiz Qureshi, Fatehyab Ali Khan and others.

G.M. Sayed dwelt upon the new structure of the U.N. and about the New World Order. There is no denying the fact, that the present structure of the U.N. was hurriedly designed after the ravages of the Second World War. Therefore, in its structuring, no serious thought was given to the prevailing situation. In the initial stage, the four Big Powers were allowed the right of Veto. Communist China was kept at bay for a considerable length of time, and then it was not only admitted to the world forum but was also given the power of the Veto. Similarly, some other countries, too, were deprived of membership. A much better structure of the U.N. would have been to entrust Veto powers to groups or blocs of countries which had been granted that right. For example, apart from the USSR, all the rest of the countries believing in the ideology of Communism, have been treated as a single community and given the right of a Veto. Similarly, the groups of thickly-populated countries and the group of thinly-populated countries should also have enjoyed that power. Also, a right of Veto of spiritual countries and veto power to capitalists as a single bloc.

He further said that before redesigning and reshaping the U.N., the smaller nation's right of self-determination and sovereign status must be accepted, otherwise any changes in the U.N. would be far from reality, because then it would be an organisation of the states, not nations.²

The central and provincial governments took notice of the speeches by Sayed and others and lodged an FIR against them, accusing them of treason. G.M. Sayed was again arrested on 20th January 1992.

Ghulam Murtaza Sayed then spent this last period of his life in jail as a prisoner at the pleasure of the Government of Pakistan, till he breathed his last on 25 April 1995. This last period in prison was for about three years and two months.

Sayed often talked about the political situation of the Subcontinent and of Sindh in particular in his speeches, where he dilated upon the difficulties faced by his beloved province before and after Partition. He often said that the day is not far off when, God willing, the yoke of subjugation shall be cast off. He also talked about the newfangled idea of a New World Order and about the role of the U.N. in the world, and emphasised that it had lost its significance. The Capitalist and Communist blocs had placed barriers in the path of small nations for their vested interests, he added. The Communist countries have yielded to the upsurge of Nationalism, and the fast changing world scenario will not allow this bloc's monopoly for long. If a superpower like the Soviet Union cannot survive long, then the Capitalist aim to exploit the

developing nations and keep them under bondage should not last long either. Only time can prove the truth about these perceptions of G.M. Sayed.

Both G.M. Sayed and Peter Taylor's opinion about the structure of nations are one and the same. It requires attention of the men of letters of the world to spread this idea in the entire universe, because unless rights are given to persons as well as nations, the world will not see peace and harmony.

Peter J. Taylor has defined Nationalism in his book "Political Geography" as under:

World order and harmony depends upon expressing this mosaic in a system of free nations-states.

A1: The world consists of a mosaic of nations.

A2: World order and harmony depends upon expressing this mosaic in the system of free nation-states.

B1: Nations are the natural units of society.

B2: Nations have a cultural homogeneity based upon common ancestry and/or history.

B3: Every nation requires its own sovereign state for the true expression of its culture.

B4: All nations (rather than states) have an inalienable right to a territory or homeland.

C1: Every individual must belong to a nation.

C2: A person's primary loyalty is to the nation.

Only through the nation can a person find true freedom.

Invading other countries had changed the real structure of the world. Conquest by powerful countries had introduced a new form of colonial system, that distorts the natural nurturing of society and created unrest among the subdued nations.

Capitalists, religious-minded people and Communists frequently talk about the social and economic rights of the human being, but they paid only lip-service to these fundamental ideals, invading other countries when they felt like it, crushing civil society for their vested interests, and shattering the autonomous status of smaller nations. China invaded Tibet, Russia in central Asia, Poland, Afghanistan and Finland, Germany in Austria and Poland, British in the Asian Subcontinent and Far East, France in Africa, at present USA-British and other European countries in Iraq. Have these invading countries produced peace in the world, or did they destroy the world?

The Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Iranians, Turks and Mongols were all martial and superior nations and their conquered, did provide world harmony or it had destroyed the cultures and had stopped the growth of civilizations? Yes of course there is no justification through materialist and spiritual values for their brutal actions.

The concept of superior religion, race and nation have created an atmosphere of inequality and it had provided a way to colonial powers to destroy or loot or to enslave other weak nations in the name of religion, race and superior nation equipped with modern technology and weapons.

At present three international trends have influenced and also unbalanced the natural order of the world.

Sayed has own views about human harmony and prosperity of the universe. He was of the view that for peace and affluence in the universe, the honouring of the rights of small and big nations is necessary and unless this situation materialises the love of one human being for another and the rights of nations will never be gained.

He was against the creation of nations on the basis of religion, Communism or Capitalism or capturing the resources of other nations on the basis of power and skill.

He had moderate views about mysticism; in his opinion the mystic message of Sindh could be best expressed in the line, "Religion is a personal affair of the person and the state has no right to impose its ideas on citizens". And this, he believed, was the best way for the world to conquer hatred and avoid war.

His modern philosophy which can be summarised as follows "from love of the nation to love of the human being" is based on coexistence, cooperation and human harmony. He rejected the Capitalists' and Communists' theory of obtaining development through materialist ends and even the clergy's theories of development. He always said that just as the outer development of a person was necessary, in the same manner using a spiritual approach, the evolution of the inner self of a person was necessary.

He considered spiritualism and materialism to be two sides of the same coin. Without the emergence of these two, every thing will continue in a negative and not a positive direction, and the creation of this universe will remain meaningless, unless the wise men of both the materialist and spiritual philosophies do not review their opinions.

He was the ambassador of that philosophy and may be a future time will arrive when the world will appreciate his thoughts.

The shortsighted rulers of Pakistan did not even bother to listen to Sayed's views, and he was put behind bars instead and suffered for his beliefs. But it is the foremost duty of the intellectuals and wise men of this universe to spread these ideas so that tragedies such as the First and Second World War and the World Trade Centre attacks on 11 September 2001 may be averted.

During his final years of detention during the Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto regimes, the Government did not bother to produce G.M. Sayed at the trial courts, except for once, when he personally petitioned the High Court of Sindh through his advocate, to direct the trial court to begin proceedings.

Sayed wanted to present his statement, but the judge was on leave. Although Sayed did not present his written statement in the trial court, he published it in book form, and named it The Case of Sindh. It is a document of his mission, experiences and also a brief political history of the Sub-continent during the 20th century.

Centuries ago, the judge who condemned Socrates to death by drinking a potion of poisonous hemlock, at least permitted the condemned man to record his point of view before the court for posterity. But in this age of science and technology, electronic media and human liberty, Ghulam Murtaza Sayed was not permitted by the rulers of Pakistan to record his point of view in the very same court where the state had charge-sheeted him. These orders were carried out during the two so-called democratic governments of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto.

Amnesty International declared G.M. Sayed to be a prisoner of conscience and appealed to the people of conscience everywhere to send him letters about his long life, health and freedom.

The peoples of Europe wrote letters in thousands to G.M. Sayed. One teenage girl wrote: "I will light a candle in the Church till your release." On Christmas Day in 1994, Sayed wrote a letter of thanks to them through Amnesty International.

I have received your letters. I am thankful for your support in our struggle against human rights violations in Sindh and in the entire world.

Peace, liberty, universal harmony and mankind's unity is the message given by Sindh through the centuries. I am the harbinger of that message.

I am hoping that New Year would bring peace in the world and a spirit among peace loving people to launch a joint struggle against poverty, illiteracy and for achieving human rights.

In future your words and deeds regarding our struggle would be appreciated.⁴

*Your sincerely
G.M. Sayed*

In the middle of March 1995, Sayed was admitted to Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Centre with a chest problem. Owing to his serious condition, the family filed an application in the court to have G.M. Sayed shifted abroad for better medical treatment. Naseerullah Babar, the home minister, instead chose to play a game of hide and seek.

Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah was not allowed by the so-called democratic government of Benazir to get proper treatment overseas at his own expenses. He died on 25 April 1995 in the Intensive Care Unit of JPMC, Karachi.

This was not a new chapter written by the rulers, because, in the Subcontinent, Shah Inayat in Sindh, Sarmad in Delhi had already been put to death, while Makhdoom Bilawal was wrung through an oil press by Afghan invaders. History is replete with similar examples.

From their perspective G.M. Sayed was a traitor and it could be argued that this was fit treatment for a traitor. But if we look closely at the situation in Pakistan, we will realise that even the Founder of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, did not give proper treatment when he was dying. Fatima Jinnah never forgot the manner in which her brother shuffled off this mortal coil. The first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated. Deaths of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Ziaul Haq and others are examples of their internal disputes and attitudes.

Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah's last rites were observed at his hometown Sann on 26 April 1995. He was buried near the grave of his forefather Sayed Hyder Shah Sanai. Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Christians and Muslims participated in his last rites in a bid to pay homage to the departed soul. A man of conviction, honest to the core, a humanist and a great patriot had left this world, but his message is a bright chapter for Sindh and the entire world.

He will be remembered for his erudition, urbanity and great generosity and, above all, his untiring devotion to the cause that was dearest to his heart -- Sindh. He loved Sindh, lived for Sindh and died for Sindh. The basic message of Sindh is non-violence, co-existence and cooperation. History will remember him as a preeminent ambassador of peace, goodwill and tolerance.