

## Part II

# The Partition of Sindhi Language

In the overall concept of this work the ‘Sarab Punjabi Manifesto’ this part II is ‘The Partition of Sindhi Language’. But putting myself in place of Sindhis, this is my manifesto of Sindhi Language. Therefore I re-name it appropriately as explained in the text as ‘The Sindhi Language and Land Manifesto’.

## The Sindhi Language and Land Manifesto

### Chapter 1

### Sindhiyat

Partition of Sindhi language means that the Hindus who were forcibly expelled from Sindh were cut off from their homeland and therefore from their language. Those who did this caused a loss to Sindhi language. Anyone who genuinely loves Sindhi language, this is his personal loss. This is Sindhiyat. And therefore, Sindhiyat exists in such a person who cannot accept the forced expulsion of Hindus from Sindh in 1947. Now, therefore, the future of Sindhi language depends on those who uphold Sindhiyat. It is true that history cannot be rolled back. But Sindhiyat means solidarity with those who were expelled from Sindh in 1947 as well as love for Sindhi language. Both attitudes go together and they are inseparable. Further, Sindhiyat means building of new relationships for the future which will be the right investment for Sindhi language. I believe without overwhelming Sindhiyat in Pakistani Sindhis, flowering of Sindhi language will not be possible. And as communalism and sectarianism are counter to civilization therefore Sindhiyat is a civilizational effort. And struggle for Sindhi language is really, at a deeper level, a struggle for civilization. In one sense what a ‘beautiful’ situation exists for Sindhis today. If they work passionately for their language, they will be equally working passionately for civilization in Sindh, in Pakistan and in fact the world over. And in spite of apparent glittering, ‘*chamak*’ and so-called development all around the world is really hungry for civilization.

Irrespective of the numbers of the Hindus who were forcibly expelled from Sindh in 1947 in the wake of the Partition of India, present Sindhis of Pakistan under the prevalent norms perhaps need not think about them. But those who are aware, feel and think that the expulsion of Hindus was not right should connect this with the fact that the expulsion of Hindus damaged their own language. To be aware and sensitive about this fact is fundamental for an all-inclusive future of Sindhi language. The resentment against the expulsions, therefore, is natural. Because how any society, whatever the prevalent ideology, can be devoid of a right, civilized, and historically valid reaction to a catastrophe it had gone through? Yes,

### Sarab Punjabi Manifesto

it is possible that due to evil forces in the society such reaction may not be widespread. We must believe that conscience of any society never dies. Therefore *Sindhiyat* in Pakistan as explained above is a natural phenomenon. If less potent today, tomorrow it will be more potent and the day after still more. But those who were expelled had to experience the separation, their feelings had to be more intense. Therefore, I feel comfortable in saying that comparatively more *Sindhiyat* exists in Indian than Pakistani Sindhis. The good news is that overall, there is 'sufficient' capital available for Sindhi language for an all-inclusive futuristic enterprise.

But for all-inclusive futuristic and 'must successful' enterprise, there has to be right narrative, hope on solid ground and passion for the future. Apart from the views of Sindhis in Pakistan or India, it is not a complicated matter to arrive at a reasonably correct conclusion and turn it into a narrative which is explainable and defensible. If a settled society is disturbed by an external catalyst, which breaks long established human relationships, it damages that society in ways many of which may never become a part of human consciousness because this is not always practically possible. And I think this happened with Sindhis and Sindhi language. In spite of that, the overriding and big fact that the expulsion of Hindus in 1947 from Sindh damaged Sindhi language is ever present testimony in the 'hands' of Sindhi language. Who did this? Why they did this? And why they damaged Sindhi language?

It should be pointed out here very clearly that by this I mean only the damage due to the expulsion of Sindhi Hindus. But that was not all. The coming of *Mohajirs* from India started a perennial process of damaging Sindhi language in many ways. Unfortunately, both i.e. the forcible expulsion of Hindus and the coming of Muhajirs are connected with 1947. Therefore, if the significance of 1947 in conjunction with the expulsion of Hindus and coming of Muhajirs in Sindh is not rightly fathomed by Sindhis, they will not be able to come out of the wilderness.

While considering and thinking about this, they should forget about the settled ideas, theories, ideologies etc. you come across today. In the recent history of Sindh, 1947 and coming of *Muhajirs* were the game changers. Whosoever reached the conclusion that Sindhis should not have accented to the idea of Pakistan because later it adversely affected Sindhis, was wrong. Sindhis had no other option. In spite of wrongs, the wise although difficult try to look forward. But it is a common historical experience that generally no people can rightly react against a wrong done to them and eventually they come up with a wrong reaction. This should be avoided by Sindhis.

Give even a small opportunity to pessimism, it is difficult situation for Sindhis. How to build the case of Sindhi language? Does it mean that presently Sindhi's case does not exist? It seems so. To an adverse situation, there is always human reaction. And human beings continue to react. But it is a rarity that a leadership emerges which is able to build its case rightly, enters the arena and fights to win.

## Sindhiyat

In the struggle many things change, mistakes happen, but overall the general direction is normally well established and recognizable.

What is building one's case? It should be natural and not manufactured. And it should be sustainable. To elucidate the points, Jinnah's case for Pakistan was not natural but manufactured. *Mohajirs* based mainly in Sindh stand fundamentally on a manufactured case. Z.A. Bhutto's case for his political career was a manufactured case. The case of Indian National Congress was natural and sustainable. When Mahatma Gandhi entered Indian politics, he further strengthened and ensured the naturalness and sustainability of the party's case. The case of African National Congress led by Nelson Mandela was natural and sustainable. Taking into account all vicissitudes, the case of Palestinian people against Israel is natural and sustainable. What about 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the Chinese Revolution? Civilizational and valid historically, history would have been far poorer without them. And near home, Iranian revolution of Imam Khomeini was natural and has proved to be sustainable.

The movement and platform built for fighting any case of a people cannot be personal. Therefore it should be in the position, when time comes, to pass on the leadership to the next generation. And the movement has to create its place in the hearts and minds of the people.

What are the difficulties for building Sindhi's case? Had *Mohajirs* not appeared *en masse* in Sindh after 1947, it can be said that the Sindhi language would have been comparatively in a good position. It would have been better placed than any other real\* language in Pakistan. Due to the coming of *Mohajirs*, their state of mind and consequent behaviour, Sindhi language got a set-back. This was not the right gift of 'independence' for Sindhi language. But *Mohajirs* had the claim to be the makers of Pakistan and the argument was never downgraded, dismissed and thrown out. And issues of set-back to Sindhi language are connected with 1947 and founding of Pakistan. Pakistan exists on lands of Sindhis. If *Mohajirs* have pushed Sindhi language back, should Sindhis react against Pakistan itself? The right and enlightened course was to understand the issues truthfully. But this is the most difficult task. Therefore normally politics anywhere in the world is poor, rather very poor, hence our problems.

\*Not excluding any other language, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, and Baluchi are the real languages of Pakistan. What is called Urdu is not a language. It is actually Hindi written in Persian script. I believe many people who are at the appropriate levels perhaps know this. But so far, it has not been taken up publically by anyone except me. The question is how was it possible to make a language out of merely a script? And, this is what, historically 'Urdu Party' had tried to do.

No doubt it all happened due to the making of Pakistan, but now we, I mean the Sindhis, own Pakistan. By having ideas against Pakistan, Sindhis hand over Pakistan to those whom they want to defeat. Therefore it is not the right approach.

### Sarab Punjabi Manifesto

Looking at the larger picture, one finds that not only Punjabi, but Hindi and Sindhi languages also got partitioned. The reasons are fundamentally the same. Therefore an integrated and comprehensive approach to the issues we confront is necessary. Anyhow, for a beginner, the simple explanation of the partitions of Punjabi, Hindi and Sindhi languages first of all lie in the Muslim intervention in the subcontinent and conversion of local people to Islam. All other things come after that. By the time we were reaching near 1947, the case of Sindhi language was settled and the present script of Sindhi had become acceptable to all. It means Sindhi language was ONE, while Punjabi and Hindi, even so far have never been so lucky. And then came the Partition of India in which Sindhi Muslims were willing partners. Not only willing partners, it is boasted on their behalf even today that it was only the Sindh Assembly which passed a resolution in support of Pakistan. Presented by the late G.M. Syed on the lines of the Lahore Resolution, it was passed on March 3, 1943. But, as I explain below, the Partition of India practically swept away the gains of Sindhi language of about one century. I believe, a study is needed to understand the losses and estimate their extent. And these losses were not one time affair. They are continuing to occur every day. It is like slavery which is there with all its consequences continuing not as long as you are slave, but even long after that. What an irony? It was like Sindhis happily inviting their would-be executioners.

The provinces of future Pakistan i.e. Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, and N.W.F.P. had 55, 57, 71, and 92 per cent Muslim populations respectively. Obviously and naturally, the percentage Muslim share, due to separate electorates introduced by the British, of any province in its legislature must have been determined on the basis of the percentage of its population. But on Urdu Party's demand, the British reduced the representation of these provinces to 48, 49, 57, and 72 per cent respectively. And in return they increased the representations of the Urdu Party in the provinces where they happened to live, but, obviously as minorities.

The Muslim representations in Urdu Party's provinces were increased from 15 to 29 per cent for U.P., from 5 to 14 per cent for C.P., from 11 to 24 per cent for Bihar & Orissa, from 9 to 17 per cent for Bombay, and from 8 to 13 per cent for Madras. The 1937 elections were conducted under this arrangement. It seems unbelievable. Further, in the process, Punjab and Bengal which were Muslim majority provinces were reduced to Muslim minority provinces! Such was the culture of those under whose leadership Pakistan was created!

Therefore, Sindh and others were already paying a price to Urdu Party before Partition. This has never been made a part of the consciousness of the peoples of Pakistan. Those who could commit such nonsensical acts before Partition against other provinces when they were not rulers, what would be their behaviour when their ideology and their fake 'language' would rule supreme. It was the duty of those to understand and act accordingly who claimed the leadership of Sindhis and did politics in Pakistan in the name of Sindhis. But they themselves were Urdu Party Juniors, because they had become rulers of Sindh due to Pakistan coming

## Sindhayat

into being of which Urdu Party claimed to be the so-called creators. No Sindhi politician proved to be the genuine leader of Sindhis. Those who became anti-Pakistan put themselves and their followers on a path where no thinking was required. It means they avoided thinking and hard work. This was absolutely suicidal and nothing but escaping from facing the reality of the occupation and partition of Sindh which began with the partition of India and making of Pakistan.

It is time Sindhis define the question of their language. Establishing the sovereignty of Sindhi language over Sindh is fundamental to the future of Sindh and its people. How Mohajirs will be made to understand this is a part of building Sindhi's case. The test of rightly building Sindhi's case and the rightness of the consequent struggle will be that Mohajirs will start understanding the issues and not react as they have been doing so far. If not, defeat should be made clearly visible to them.

And then there is the question of retrieving the lands of Sindh. The land question is biologically connected with the language question. To me it will be the politics of land and language put on the right track within the morally defensible limits which will deliver Sindh, Sindhis, and awakened Mohajirs from the present destructive situation. What hurricane of 1947 deposited at the shores of Sindh cannot be the final. It was at the most an accident. The final will only be decided by Sindhis themselves if they are able to discover the right path their politics should tread. To me it is clear that they have to discover the naturalness and sustainability of their politics. Without naturalness and sustainability, even a right cause becomes a lost cause. Not always apparent and obvious, we have to discover them. I know that presently all opportunities exist, but Sindhis have to discover and avail them. And they have to do this themselves. ■