

## Chapter 4

### **The Invisible Partition and Occupation Sindh**

No Punjabi or Sindhi, whatever the religion, wanted to leave his home in 1947. But they had to leave. Who made them leave their homes? Without this clarity, 1947 is a wilderness. And do criminals not always attempt to throw their victims in wilderness so that they themselves remain hidden and unidentified? The same applies to the crimes committed in politics. Successful political crimes do not let victims know the truth. In fact the capacity of a people to know the truth is taken away. They are brainwashed and ideology rules supreme. Criteria of truth and falsehood is changed. What previously was never heard of, not defensible or wrong behaviour for a society or in a society no longer remains so. On the contrary, it prevails. Demagogues become popular leaders. First, there cannot be many who are able to rightly understand this. Those who react can have at the most some sort of tangential understanding of the reality. If at all some are able to understand and are really competent, it becomes difficult for them to find a place to stand. Normally, it becomes impossible to them to build an alternate narrative and find an audience. Interesting thing is that all this is not new in history. And no society is immune from this. And every generation has to deal with its past, if and when it deals, as far as it thinks it affects its present and the foreseen future.

Our today's or future's likely problems in Pakistan have direct connection with 1947. Therefore unless we reach 1947, understand it, investigate the issues satisfactorily and make the results a part of a new political narrative, 1947 is not leaving us. The new political narrative must be able to stand with conviction amidst any community of Pakistan and show the right way. And it is not possible to ask Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtuns, Baluchis, Mohajirs and Kashmiris to stand on a common agenda if it is not truthful and does not appeal to basic goodness which is always present in humanity anywhere in the world. Can we believe that present politics of manipulation through money, state power, and external forces will ever give respectful life to our people? The outlook, behaviour, and expectations of the people have to be changed. They have to be persuaded truthfully to unlearn what wrongs they were made to learn before and after 1947. I must believe, be hopeful and say that time is not far off or perhaps we have almost reached there when these miracles can happen. At that stage will really start the great journey of Pakistan and the region. And then we will be one of the front player for the future of the world and civilization.

And for all these right things to happen, one thing apart from others is that Sindhi language must be sovereign in Sindh and be a national language of Pakistan. To happen this, I am very confident in saying that Sindhi language has a 'veto' in its hands. But this is not the veto of the powerful. If Sindhi language is not allowed to

### Sarab Punjabi Manifesto

become sovereign in Sindh, Pakistan itself can never become successful and therefore a sovereign country. Without success of Sindhis, Pakistan cannot succeed. It may look bizarre and very unusual to the most. The reason is that 1947, in particular, has distorted and disoriented us so much that we are unable to see even simple facts around us. And when we suffer, our explanations are too farfetched.

Presently Sindh is in a state of invisible occupation, partition and therefore a sort of apartheid. To me it is very clear that struggle for Sindhi language is the way forward for Sindhis. What to talk of Karachi which although practically a ‘non-Sindhi’, thank God is still a Pakistani city, even Hyderabad is not less demonstrative of the invisible partition and occupation: ‘The heart of Sindh as many call Hyderabad, was the former capital of Sindh, ruled by the Kalhoras and Talpurs from the Pacca Qila until the British conquest. After the British left, Hyderabad was again the capital of Sindh Province from 1947 to 1955 but involuntarily. The city is now divided along Sindhi-Mohajir lines to the extent that the warring ethnic groups have different hospitals and in many cases, even their places of worship and graveyards are divided. The original old city, now dominated by the Mohajirs, seems besieged by the surrounding Sindhi suburbs. [1]

[1] <http://www.apnahyderabad.com/hyderabad/history.asp>

It has been said that the story of Sindh is different from Punjab. But we should go into it not forgetting, whether Punjab or Sindh, that sameness of the origin of the crimes of 1947. It has been observed that “there was no eruption of murderous hatred between Sindhi Hindus and Muslims. They did not lynch each other en masse as was the case in Punjab. The violence against Sindhi Hindus and their mass migration to India was a tragic loss scripted, orchestrated and implemented by non-Sindhis in Sindh. As result of varying trajectories of interfaith relations during the Partition period, the intelligentsia of Sindh and Punjab evolved and adopted different views towards Hindus , and India. The Sindh story is not the same. Ram Jethmalani, a leading lawyer in India today and a member of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), was a young advocate in Karachi in 1947. His senior partner was none other than A.K. Brohi, a right-wing Sindhi lawyer who became federal law minister during the Zia period. Jethmalani has no compunction in saying that there was no love lost between the two because of Partition. Jethmalani stayed back in Karachi and only left for Mumbai in 1948 when Brohi told him he could not take responsibility for his safety as the demography of Karachi had changed with the arrival of migrants from the northern Indian plains. That arrival was accompanied by violence against Sindhi Hindus.” [2]

[2] Manto and Sindh Haider Nizamani 26 May 2012 DAWN

And who orchestrated the exodus of Sindhi Hindus after Partition? The same author writes:

## The Invisible Partition and Occupation Sindh

“The exodus of Hindus from Sindh cannot be seen in isolation from the influx of refugees in Sindh and the setting up of the central government of the newly-founded state of Pakistan in Karachi. Sindh’s governor, Francis Mundie, described Sindh in the days leading up to Partition as a place which “characteristically carries on almost as if nothing had happened or was about to happen”. It changed when, according to Hamida Khuhro, Karachi rapidly became “a vast refugee camp”, ... “The events took an ugly turn in Karachi and Hyderabad (where) the new arrivals were entering and occupying houses where the owners, particularly Hindus, were still living, and throwing out the owners”. ... According to Brown University’s associate professor of history Vazira Zamindar’s book [\*The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia\*](#) (Columbia University Press, 2007): “Ayub Khuhro, the premier of Sindh, and other Sindhi leaders also attempted to retain Sindh’s minorities, for they also feared a loss of cultural identity with the Hindu exodus.” The Sindh government “attempted to use force to stem” the exodus “by passing the Sindh Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance” in September 1947. ... “The Sindh government set up a Peace Board comprising Hindu and Muslim members to maintain order in the troubled province. PV Tahalramani was secretary of the Peace Board. He is the one who rushed to Khuhro’s office on January 6, 1948, at around 11am to inform the chief minister that the Sikhs in Guru Mandir areas of Karachi were being killed. According to Khuhro, senior bureaucrats and police officials were nowhere to be found and he rushed to the scene at around 12.30 pm where he saw ‘mobs of refugees armed with knives and sticks storming the temples’. The prime minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, was angry with Khuhro when he went to see him on January 9 or 10. Liaquat said to Khuhro: ‘What sort of Muslim are you that you protect Hindus here when Muslims are being killed in India. Aren’t you ashamed of yourself!’ In the third week of January 1948, Liaquat Ali Khan said the Sindh government must move out of Karachi and told Khuhro to ‘go make your capital in Hyderabad or somewhere else.’ Liaquat said this during a cabinet meeting while Jinnah quietly listened. The Sindh Assembly passed a resolution on February 10, 1948, against the Centre’s impending move to annex Karachi. The central government had already taken over the power to allotment houses in Karachi. Khuhro was forced to quit and Karachi was handed over to the Centre in April 1948. The above facts made me write that the violence against Sindhi Hindus and their mass migration to India was a tragic loss scripted, orchestrated and implemented by non-Sindhis in Sindh.” [3]

Who orchestrated the exodus of Sindhi Hindus after Partition?

[3] Haider Nizamani Published: June 4, 2012 *Published in The Express Tribune, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012.*

What else is occupation? And what happened to the ‘occupied’?

### Sarab Punjabi Manifesto

“The exodus of the middle class crippled the Sindhi society. It denuded it of all the characteristics that are associated with this class. Are Pakistani Sindhis of today least entrepreneurial, docile and homebound because the class that had the skills, energy and will had quit its homeland in 1947? It is not all about a stereotype but about the overall economic aspirations of Sindh as a society – if you minus the middle class ambitions, the sum total is bound to hit rock bottom. The niche created by the gouging out of Sindhi middle class was evened immediately by those migrating from various parts of northern India and since they found themselves in a privileged position they didn’t feel compelled to find a common cause with the other two – the upper and the lower classes of Sindh. Amid the riotous events of the Partition, Sindh lost its cultural composure. I don't know how it would fair if compared with the loss of geographical territory. Sindh today has a lower and upper class that is culturally and linguistically Sindhi, while its Urdu-speaking middle class is not only alien to both, it insists on a distinct identity and independent politics. The Partition choked Sindh right in the middle. It deprived it of its capacity to channelise the struggle among its various classes into a progressive political discourse. Earlier, the economic structure of Sindh had a clear religious divide as its middle class professed a faith different from the majority of the upper and the lower tiers of the society. In 1947, it achieved a religious unanimity but lost the cultural harmony among its classes. I wonder, had it preferred the latter, would it be less divided and violent than it is today.” [4]

[4] The invisible partition of Sindh Tahir Mehdi August 16 2013 DAWN

That the Urdu-speaking middle class is alien to both the upper and the lower classes of Sindhis and it insists on a distinct identity and independent politics is true. But it is a superficial and simplistic aspect of the reality. And it does not look at all alarming. Here is the deception for Sindhis, Pakistan and the region. Because the alarming thing is that the Urdu-speaking community in Pakistan seems to be ‘metamorphosing’ into some ‘Jewish/Zionist’ like entity. What it means? It means many things. But, for example, one scenario which is relevant to us is that when a comparatively well-placed minority community, more educated and advanced than the majority, is in a permanent uncontended state of mind and it has discovered the weaknesses of the majority or the society, has learnt to exploit them for the attainment of its objectives; has learnt to manufacture lies and mastered the art of propaganda and agitation; and it not only continues to agitate for more and more but wants exclusive political power at whatever cost to others, it is on the Jewish/Zionist\* path which is fatal and ruinous for all including themselves.

They tried this in 1947 and were successful to the extent that they became the most benefitted community in Pakistan. But the bad luck was that they had to share the political power with others. Due to their background, this was not acceptable to them. The numerical superiority of Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtuns and Balochis became the hindrance. Had living and sharing with others been acceptable to their temperament, there would have been no need of Pakistan. During their pre-

### The Invisible Partition and Occupation Sindh

Partition struggle, the platform was Islamic and anti-Hindu. Post-Partition, they did not take much time to discover their new and against all others Muhajir platform. But the struggle is the same—separateness and exclusiveness. Whosoever in the world is ready to help them in their project to attain political power, they will go along with and work for him in return. In this sense, Muhajir community is a ready prey to be exploited by some interested power as they were exploited by the British for their imperialistic objectives in pre-Partition India. Others in Pakistan are not understanding this. They believe that Pakistan is final, but Muhajirs have discovered that this is not final. Obviously, they could not have realized this before 1947.

**\*Why Israel will not get Recognition? By Manzoor Ahmed Manzoor Lahore 2008, published by the author. ■**