

The Great Game and The Indus Valley

Khadim Hussain Soomro

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Great Game
and
The
Indus Valley**

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Sain Publishers Sewahan Sharif

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Dedication

Dedicated to the people of the Indus Valley and in particular to the indigenous people of Sindh (lower Indus Valley) who have always stood for a multi-cultural and multi-religious society, and have worked, struggled and sacrificed their lives for coexistence, cooperation, peace, tolerance and harmony. Loving humanity, civilized behaviour, judicial minds, non-grabbing and non-exploiting and shunning of ego, has been their legacy.

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Author's Note

Human beings' greed, ego and a superiority complex have produced unrest, uproar and bloodshed. The logic supporting these was to introduce 'civilization', modernism, technology and even religion. In the modern era Russia and the British have been engaged in a 'Great Game' and two World Wars have been the result of USA, British, Germany, Japan, France, China and Italy's petty interests and ambitions.

Mankind suffers economically, socially, and culturally and it has certainly paid a penalty for its irregular acts of blood-shedding, looting and land grabbing.

The Indus Valley, hosting an ancient civilization and being the soil of interfaith, peace, love and tolerance, had been affected by the adventures of super-powers and war-monger countries. Throughout the centuries the Indus Valley was being observed by the greedy eyes of Iranians, Afghans, Greeks and Arabs and, from the seventeenth century, by Western powers.

This book is the story of the 19th and 20th century Indus Valley. Although the English authorities made pledges with rulers of this land, every time they violated the agreements and, finally, they achieved their aim and conquered the country.

Subsequently our sufferings and losses were uncountable and our position unrecoverable. I wish to present to the world how an ancient civilisation and its people were victimized and destroyed in the Great Game of super powers and Indus valley became a victim of global adventures of super powers. The decision of Pakistan's rulers to become part of the Cold War gave

monetary benefits to the country, but their unwise act led to a loss of moral values and social and political order, and also made it economically dependent on the super powers. The Indus Valley, a centre of human values and soil of multi-cultural and multi-religious society, became a paradise for extremists.

Indus Valley people through the centuries have believed that service to mankind is more important and powerful than any military might, strategic competence and technology. We conclude that civilisations may be saved if life is built in the new synthesis, which Sufis preached. The following verse of Shah Latif is a lesson for the colonial mind, people and nations:

*Don't the arrow in the bow aim,
In order, O friend, my life to claim
Within me none else but you reside
Shooting me would be your own suicide.*

I have authored biographies of three great legends of the Indus Valley and South Asia, 'G.M. Sayed, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro and Allah Bux Soomro'.

1. The Path Not Taken

G.M. Sayed

Vision and Valour in Politics

2. Freedom at the Gallows

Life and Times of

Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro

3. Allah Bux Soomro

Apostle of Secular Harmony

And one book on colonial entry and exit.

British in Sindh

Immoral

Entry and Exit

The three stalwarts mentioned above did struggle to free their motherland from the yoke of the British.

Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro was twice sent to prison for nine years and eventually put on the gallows by British authorities. It was a treason case against the British Crown and he was only age 34 years.

Allah Bux Soomro was dismissed from the premiership of Sindh by the British authorities and while the Asian subcontinent's political situation needed his political acumen, he was assassinated at the age of 43 years.

At the politically critical time of subcontinent, in 1946, G.M. Sayed wanted to play a vital role for peace and brotherhood among different communities of Asian subcontinent; but through manipulation he was eliminated and became victim of the New World Order of World War II.

The question in my mind is; why were these stalwarts eliminated and why through the centuries culturally, economically and socially rich inhabitants of Indus Valley became impoverish and backward? Three great stalwarts of Sindh were eliminated because of their bold views on patriotism and humanism.

Capitalists, religious-minded groups and communists frequently talk about the social and economic rights of the human being, but they paid only lip service to these normative ideals.

Sindh and Sindhis are continuously struggling for a multi-religious and multicultural society; as a result, they came under the wrath of colonialists and vested interests and are facing hardships and sufferings. But still they are of the view that the purpose of universe creation is a harmonious society – which is above caste, creed, sex and class, where human beings should live in peace and harmony.

If Europe and the USA appreciated the opinions of the above great visionary personalities of Sindh, they would never have faced an incident like the attack on the World Trade Centre {09.11.2001}. And also a peaceful

society in the subcontinent and the entire world would have existed.

The Sindhi Sufism reflects a positive attitude towards mankind with emphasis on love and harmony. As Shah Latif Shah Latif said:

*Let us go to the weavers, who possess such subtle
love,
They connect all the day, never learnt they to
disconnect.*

Today the entire world is in a volatile situation. The capitalist either belongs to religious or materialist groups, their aim is how to grab the resources of weak people and nations. According to the Sindhi saying:

"They are riding on a blind horse"

So, obviously in this situation, it is quite clear that there is no chance that the blind horse will stop. Now, the question is, in this disarray, what can we do?

I hope an international organisation of open-minded politicians, scholars, lawyers and civil society can play a pivotal role.

The role of Mikhail Gorbachev, Bill Clinton, Nelson Mandela, Kofi Annan, Dalai Lama and sitting and former Secretary Generals of the UNO are very important.

Christ was of the view:

If I give all I possess to the poor
and surrender my body to the flames but
have not love, I gain nothing. And now
these three remain: faith, hope and love.
But the greatest of these is love.

There are three kinds of love:

*Love for sweetheart
Love for nation*

*Love for human being
Superior one is love for human being.*

Bill Clinton and Mikhail Gorbachev played a vital role for their nations. As international figures, the time and responsibility of history demands from them to work for the welfare of human beings, above caste, creed, sex and class. Otherwise, as Lord Buddha says:

"Sorrows are the product of wishes"

The ambitions of the colonialists and imperialists will give to human beings only sorrows and sorrows.

To present the case of Indus Valley and its inhabitants, I have received help from scholars in the USA and in Britain:

M.E. Yapp, Peter Hopkirk, Robert A. Huttenback, Peter J Taylor, J.A. Norris, E.B. Eastwick, James Outram, Priscilla Napier, Jones Allen Keith, Patrick French, Sarah Ansari, Peter Mayne, Stanley Volpert, H.L. Peacock, Dr. H.Witeveen, Sir Percy Sykes and H.T. Lambrick

I also received material from The British Library in London, the National Archives London and Sikh Encyclopedia by Harban Singh. I have visited Library of Congress Washington DC, USA, where I discussed the political scenario of the Asian subcontinent with experts and analysts.

I am thankful to these research scholars who spared precious time and through their scholarly work highlighted the problems and the sufferings of South and Central Asian people and the role of adventurer powers. From their and my own books I concluded that the main reason of victimization of great legendary Indus Valley was 'The Great Game'.

I have received the substance and material for my book from works of American and European scholars and written a new book: 'The Great Game and the Indus Valley'.

For editing the manuscript, my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Charles Graves.

My thanks are due to Sayed Jalal Mahmood Shah, Mr. Fazalullah Qureshi, Mr. Ashfaq Memon, Barrister Muhammad Omer Soomro, Father Younis Alam, Sayed Ghulam Shah, Mr. Naseer Memon, Mr. Yousif Haider Shaikh, Mr. Sajidullah Siddiqui, Dr. Aslam Marri, Prof. Adeel Khan, Engineer Abdul Jabbar Memon, Dr. Imran Liaquat Hussain and late Asadullah Abro.

Khadim Hussain Soomro

Preface

The delta of the Indus is known to historians as the home of city-dwelling Sindhi people, the peaceful descendants (so it is said) of civilizations 5000 years old or more of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. How did the known ancient civilised and tolerant people in the 20th century become implicated in the national rivalries?

The author helps us understand at least one underlying factor: the rise of communalism based upon religious belief which became the bane of Sindh at least in its 19th- 21st century impact. He presents us with Sindh leadership in the early 20th century combating the growing divisions between Muslims and Hindus (and Sikhs) and makes a case for the faults of the British colonial rulers which led Sindh in communal fire, though Sindh people resisted.

Communalism is not necessarily bad, but Sindhi leaders, especially G. M. Sayed, had a vision of statehood quite different from that proposed by the British and others who pursued the one nation theory and two-state theory up to the 1947 creation of the states of Pakistan and India. The Sindhi alternative to this was multi-cultural and tolerant, a concept finally disavowed in the 1947 arrangement. Like the Sikhs of the Punjab, Sindhis were divided because of 'partition' and many Hindu Sindhis moved eastwards into India.

The author, by presenting a multitude of original documents and correspondence between the British and others (Russians, Afghans) and the peoples (Sindhis, Sikhs, Pashtons, Bengalis, etc and their political organisations - Congress party, Muslim League etc.) in the Subcontinent, shows the whole political process leading up to the division.

Besides his books on famous Sindhi leaders such

as Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro, G.M. Sayed and Allah Bux Soomro, the author is also known for his 2008 treatise *The British in Sindh – Immoral Entry and Exit* where he presents to the English-speaking public all the relevant documents about the relation of the British Empire to Sindh and the Sindhi leadership. The present volume is a worthy successor where he presents not only the Sindhi material but also the correspondence and official documents leading up to the 'partition'. This is presented within the context of the 'Great Game' between the British and the Russians and the general 19th-20th century history of Afghans, Sikhs, Bengalis etc as well as the rise of the major religious- and ethnic-based political parties.

Some contemporary commentaries are also used as source material. Mr. Soomro sometimes presents his own comments upon the present-day great-power influence in the region of the Subcontinent.

Why cannot the Subcontinent, with all its riches and experience over many centuries of foreign domination allow its multi-cultures to arrive at conclusions of a mutual sharing of resources? Mr. Soomro's book, while presenting in understandable order the documentary materials, leads us to the situation I have described above. His work introduces a continuing reality, that the rights of certain people in South Asia are still not recognised. Unfortunately the 'great powers' do not (in the name of 'respect for national sovereignty of the nation-states') wish to meddle. This leaves only one solution: that the nation-states themselves face then problem of their own disaffected groups, begin a constructive dialogue with them and seek the 'regional South Asian solution to the problems'. But will these nations be able to rise to the challenge? Will the only solution be further oppression and misunderstanding making the peoples even more victimized and frustrated? Democratic and intelligent leadership is much needed in all these issues. Woodrow Wilson, in his "Fourteen Points" plan for the post-colonial era of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires of 1918 raised the issues of national groups under their rule and their future status. These peoples, given recognition, are

nowadays finding their place in the democratically-organised European Union. A new Woodrow Wilson was apparently not available after the 1947 end of the British Empire in South Asia. There were no “Fourteen Points” related to ethnic and cultural rights of the people in that region. We are looking now for indigenous persons of Wilson’s type who can fight for the indigenous rights in the post-colonial South Asia. All South Asian peoples deserve recognition and a fair hearing. Let us listen to persons like Mr. Khadim Hussain Soomro who are struggling to promote these issues.

Mr. Khadim Hussain Soomro is the founder of the Sindh Sufi Institute and has published materials on its conferences held in Pakistan, e.g. Interfaith Conference on Karachi – Karachi, a Centre of Interfaith and Tolerance (July 2010) and Sufi Meetings – Speeches of Khadim Hussain Soomro (compiled by Younis Alam) under the auspices of the Minority Rights Commission of Pakistan (September 2011). On 6 January 2012, in Karachi on the platform of Sindh Sufi Institute he organized a seminar on Sufi Shah Inayat, a Sufi Socialist of early eighteenth century. . He has also been a major speaker at seminars organized by the World Sindhi Council (London) and by our Interfaith International NGO in Geneva at the United Nations. He is an international proponent of the Sufi way of life and demonstrates in his life and multiple writings a multi-religious, tolerant approach to the weaknesses and problems of communalism.

Charles Graves, D. Theol
General Secretary
Interfaith International



G.M. Sayed



*Shaheed Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro
The British Library London-File:F208120
Presented To: Sayed Shah Mardan Shah Pir Pagaro
BY: Khadim Hussain Soomro*



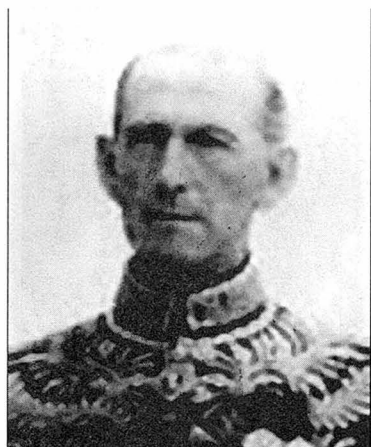
Allah Bux Soomro



The British Library London
The author is standing near the entrance



Lord Mountbatten



Lancelot Graham



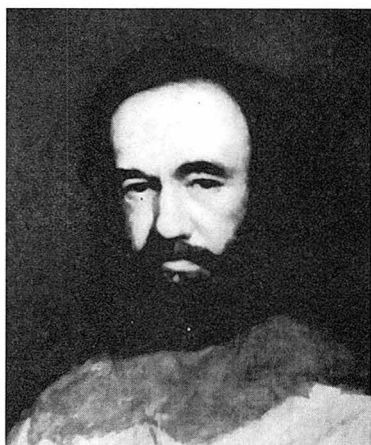
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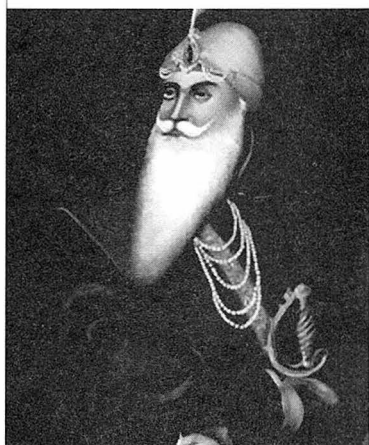
Mir Naseer Khan



Lord Auckland



Lord Ellenborough



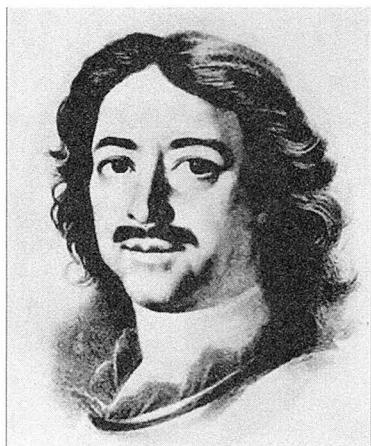
Ranjit Singh



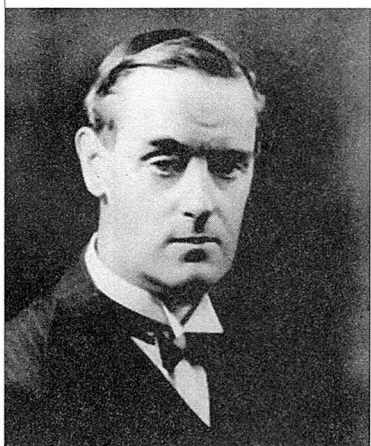
Amir Dost
Muhammad Khan



Queen Catharine



Peter The Great



Lord Linlithgow



Lord Wavell

European Entry to the Indus Valley

Alexander the Great was the first European who entered in Indus Valley and the second attempt was by the Portugese. In 1555, with the help of Mirza Essa Khan, Portugese Commander Pedro Barroto Rolin with eight thousand soldiers entered Sindh. They attacked Thatta city, killed thousands of people and looted the city.

In 1613, the first English ship arrived at Deebal Seaport of Sindh.

In 1635 Thomas Row, an envoy of British King James I, arrived in Sindh and the same year a commercial centre was established in Thatta (it was closed in 1662).

In 1699, again the British sent their representative, Captain Hamilton, to Sindh. On 22 September 1758, a commercial treaty was signed by local Kalhora rulers and Robert Simpton, the representative of the British. On 12 October 1758, the treaty was reviewed. British opened its commercial centre in Thatta. The treaty again was reviewed on 13 April and 22 April 1761. After the fall of Kalhora rule in 1783, again the British administration tried to formulate a new agreement with the Talpur rulers of Sindh.

On 2 March 1800 British representative Nathan Crow arrived in Hyderabad, capital of the Talpur rulers. After negotiations Sindh Ruler Fateh Ali Khan allowed British to carry out trade in Sindh.

Daryano Mal alias Seth Daryano was a famous businessman, highly skilled person and grandson of port city Karachi's architect Bhojo Mal. In 1799, Nathan Crow, an agent of the British, arrived in Karachi. As Daryano saw Englishman and the English fleet at a

seaport of Karachi, he believed that the British stated aim to use the city and port for commercial purposes was a lie and their actual aim was political.

Before Nathan Crow reached the court of Talpur rulers in Hyderabad, Daryano Mal had already sent a delegation to Talpur rulers and informed them about the game plan of the British and requested them not to make any commercial treaty with the British. On the approach of the Iranian advisor Agha Ismail, the Talpur rulers granted permission to the British to establish business centres in Karachi and Thatta. And they ignored the request of Daryano Mal.

Daryano Mal, a true son of the soil, did not give up and he used a big trump card. He wrote a letter to the King of Kabul Zaman Shah and informed him that frequent commercial activities of the British were not only dangerous for Sindh but also for Afghanistan.

Zaman Shah took seriously the letter of Daryano Mal and he warned Sindh rulers Mir Karam Ali and Mir Murad Ali to stop activities of the British and to close their Business centers, otherwise to be ready for dire consequences.

Daryano Mal's letter became fruitful, and the Afghan Ruler Zaman Shah began to consider the British-Sindh relation a threat to Afghanistan. He warned Sindh rulers to disassociate themselves from the British or to get ready for an Afghan Attack. This warning of the King of Kabul compelled the Talpur rulers to do according to his advice. Talpur rulers ordered the British agent to close the business centres. This was shocking news for the British administration, but they had no choice except to wind up commercial centres from Sindh.

On 2 October 1800 Fateh Ali Khan asked British envoy Nathan Crow to close their commercial centre. The British diplomat felt uneasy but he had no choice except to shut the business centre and the British loss was 11 thousand pounds.

Meanwhile Fateh Ali Khan expired and in 1802 Ghulam Ali Khan succeeded him as chief of the Talpur dynasty.

He showed his will to make a new commercial treaty with British. But due to the expulsion of British envoy Nathan Cròw in 1800, the Governor General of India, Sir George Barlow, was very reluctant in 1806. His view was:

“Neither just nor expedient to have recourse to hostile measures for the purpose of avenging the insult offered to the British Government by the expulsion of Mr. Crow.”

British Relations with Sindh P.5

East India Company was firm that before any agreement between two counties, Sindh must settle losses of the company.

British Access in the Indus Valley

In 1806 a new development took place. The Raja Ranjit Singh and British became political allies under the Anglo-Sikh Treaty of 1806. Following is a summary of the political and strategic situation and the text of the Anglo-Sikh Treaty of 1806.

“ANGLO-SIKH TREATY (1806) followed Jasvant Rao Holkar's (a Maratha Chief) crossing over into the Punjab in 1805 after he was defeated at Fatehgarh and dig in December 1804 by the British. Accompanied by his Ruhila ally, Amir Khan, and a Maratha force estimated at 15,000, Holkar arrived at Patiala, but on hearing the news that the British general Lake was in hot pursuit, both the refugees fled northwards, entered the Jalandhar Doab, and ultimately reached Amritsar. Ranjit Singh, then camping near Multan, hastened to Amritsar to meet Holkar. He was hospitable and sympathetic towards the Maratha chief, but was shrewd enough not to espouse a forlorn cause and come into conflict with the British, especially when he was far from securely established on the throne. Through diplomatic negotiation, he brought about reconciliation between Holkar and the British commander-in-chief. A treaty of friendship and amity was entered into by (Sardar) Ranjit Singh along with Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluvalia of Kapurthala with the East India Company on 1 January 1806 whereby it was agreed that, as long as these Sikh chiefs had no friendly connections with enemies of the British or committed no act of hostility, the British armies would never enter into the territories of the said chieftains, nor would the British government form any plan for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property.

The Anglo-Sikh treaty of 1806 brought the Sikh chief into direct contact with the British government. Ranjit Singh's reluctance to precipitate a clash with the British saved the infant State of Lahore from being

overrun by Lake's armies. The Maharaja not only kept the Punjab from becoming a theatre of war between two foreign armies, but also saved the Maratha chief from utter ruin and had his territories beyond Delhi restored to him."

Encyclopedia of Sikhs --- Harban Singh

At the end of 18th century a French threat to enter into South Asia was expected. Napoleon was determined to send the French Army across Asia Minor to India. The two powerful rulers of Punjab and Mysore, Maha Raja Ranjit Singh and Tipu Sultan had good communication with France.

Sindh Chiefs had good relations with Tipu Sultan and Maratha Rajas, and the British administration feared any commercial treaty or friendly relation between France and Sindh

In 1807, Lord Minto took oath as Governor General of India. About Sindh he followed the policy of his predecessor but Napoleonic France was a threat to British-India. This situation impelled Lord Minto to change his policy and for a renewal of relations he sent David Seton as British envoy to Sindh.

Lord Minto's opinion regarding French invasion in Sindh:

"I do not allude at present to any expedition or any actual invasion of the British territories in India by a French army; but many considerations denote conclusively the extension of the enemy's views to this country."

British Relations with Sindh P. 5

Through the centuries Iran had relations with Sind. Before the reaching of Seton at the Court of Talpurs, on 4th June 1807, the Iranian government sent its diplomat Fateh Ali Khan to Sindh rulers to get them to agree to a Sindh-Iranian-French treaty and a facility for French ships at the sea ports of Sindh. Fateh Ali Khan also offered Ghulam Ali the baylarbey of Kabul and Kandahar. The French envoy in Baghdad approved the same offer.

Napoleon's cherished desire was to conquer the Middle East and India. He studied books on both lands and his ambition was, as he narrated himself: I saw myself founding a new religion, marching into Asia riding on an elephant, a turban on my head and in my hands new Koran I would have written to suit my needs."

Meanwhile Seton arrived in Karachi and straight away went to Hyderabad to present the opinion of the British and to get Sindh rulers to agree to Anglo-Sindh political and commercial relations. Thus, again in 1808, British representatives and Sindh rulers reached an agreement but the British higher authorities were not satisfied with the treaty and they wanted more facilities. Finally, the Viceroy did not ratify it.

In 1809, for a new treaty, the British sent a delegation of 30 persons to the Sindh rulers. As the delegation reached to the sea port, the Karachi citizens, under the leadership of Daryano Mal, protested and they warned the Governor of Karachi, Abdullah Leghari, if this delegation will come out of the port, it will be roughed up.

Henry Pottinger, a member of the delegation made a comment explaining that episode:

"Our delegation was like a prisoner at Karachi seaport."

After many efforts, the Talpur rulers managed a way forward for the British delegation and they reached Hyderabad.

Seton and the Amirs of Sindh reached on agreement but one condition of the Amirs i.e. 'Mutual Defence' was not accepted by Viceroy Lord Minto and Duncan, the governor of Bombay.

After the Anglo-Sikh treaty of 1806, the British had good relations with Raja Ranjit Singh. The British administration was well aware that Raja Ranjit Singh also had an interest in Sindh, and after the mutual defence treaty with Sindh the British would be morally bound to

become an ally of Sindh against any aggression of Ranjit Singh. So in a gesture to not annoy the Maharaja they did not endorse the treaty.

The British envoy became successful in his mission; the Amirs accepted a native representative of the British in Hyderabad, yearly visits of the delegations of both countries were agreed upon and also there was a promise by Sindh that they would not join hands with France.

British government accomplished several accords with Sindh rulers and in nearly every agreement contained an important article showing their moral responsibility but they did not observe it.

One article stated:

“The British Government should not see the Talpur dynasty with a covetous eye.”

But the fact is they always looked upon Sindh and Indus Valley with a covetous eye.

Before presenting the content of the treaties and the plan of the British how to capture Sindh, here is a dialogue between iron man and visionary leader of the Sindh, Allah Bux Soomro with G.M. Sayed, on the reality of the Treaties, Resolutions and promises.

“G.M. Sayed you live in a dream world about the 1940 Resolution, that is why you are ignorant of practicalities of politics. In practical politics, there is little room for promises, resolutions and principles. Read history and you will find that religious edicts and agreements among nations, have often been sacrificed at the altar of power, facts, individual and group interests and local situations, requirements and considerations.”

The Case of Sindh P. 46

“The connection of the British Government was naturally more intimate with the Hyderabad family, who governed the lower valley of Indus, than with the more

remote Branches of Khairpur and Mirpur. After his accession Ghulam Ali deputed an agent to Bombay in 1800, to apologise for the expulsion of the British Agency by his late brother. Friendly relations, however, were not at once established in consequence of the demand of the British for compensation. But in 1808, when the British Government were concerting measures against the threatened invasion of French and the Persians by way of Afghanistan, it was deemed expedient to waive the demand. Captain Seton was sent as envoy to Sindh on the part of the Bombay Government, and concluded an offensive Government, however, refused to ratify it, as it committed them to too close a connection with Sindh; and they sent an envoy of their own, Mr. N.H. Smith, to make new negotiations.

A Treaty 'No. IV' was concluded in 1809 with the three surviving brothers of the Hyderabad family. This treaty provided for the exclusion of the French from Sindh and the interchange of agents between the British Government and Sindh.

Treaty of 1808

Translation of a deed of agreement sealed and delivered by Mir Ghulam Ali, Hakim of Sindh, to Captain David Seton at Hyderabad, the 18th July 1808.

This agreement has been drawn up in consequences of Captain David Seton, on the part of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq., Governor of Bombay, having arrived at Hyderabad and having formed a firm alliance between the Government of Sindh and the Honourable Company and Honourable Governor aforesaid.

Article I

That a firm alliance shall exist between the two States and the friends of one the friends of the other, and the enemies of the one the enemies of the other, and this shall remain forever.

Article II

When the assistance of troops is required by either

of the parties, it shall be granted when asked.

Article III

That the disaffected of one government shall not be protected by the other.

Article IV

That when the servants of the Sindh Government shall wish to purchase warlike stores in any of the parts belonging to the Honourable Company, they shall be permitted to do so, and be assisted in their purchases, and on paying their value be allowed to depart.

Article V

That an agent on the part of the Honourable Company, for the increase of friendship and goodwill, shall reside at the court of the Mirs of Sindh.

Article VI

The claims on account of former loss in the time of Mr. Crow shall be dropped.

Article VII

That a British factory in the town of Thatta only, on the same footing as in the time of the Kalhoras, shall, after the full satisfaction, perfect confidence, and with the leave of this government, be established.

And through the blessing of God there shall be no deviation from the firm alliance.

Dated 1st Jamadi-us-Sani 1223, or 24th July 1808

But the administration did not ratify this agreement and a new treaty was concluded between British and Sindh Rulers. Treaty with Ameers of Sindh, August 22nd, 1809.

Article I

There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Sindh, namely, Meer Ghulam Ali, Meer Karam Ali and Meer Murad Ali.

Article II

Enmity shall never appear between the two States.

Article III

The mutual dispatch of the Vakeels of both governments, namely the British Government and Sindhian Government, shall always continue.

Article IV

The Government of Sindh shall not allow the establishment of the tribe French in Sindh.

Written on the 10th of the month of Rajeeb-ool-Moorujub in the year of the Hijra 1224 corresponds with the 22nd of August 1809.

N.B. Edmonstone
Secretary”

Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Volume VIII

The Sindh-Persian-French alliance did not materialize, and Talpurs made an agreement with a power that was always in a mood to get more resources and land. Not only commercially but due to its strategic coastal area between the Indian Ocean and the Gulf, Sindh was very Important for the British.

The triangular deal between Sindh-France and Iran would have been better than their coalition with the British. Owing to the Persian relations, and with the Afghans, it could stop any aggression of Ranjit Singh against Sindh. The union with France would make Sindh a modern country and powerful in its armed forces.

Simultaneously France would beneficiary from Karachi port and its interest would make the port modern. Imports and exports would increase the revenue of Sindh and it would become well-to-do. The French military experts like its Sikh and Maratha army could train the Sindh army, and the modern weapons of the French should make Sindh self-sufficient in war technology.

Because of fear or self-interest, friendship of the British preferred by the chiefs of Sindh was a bonanza for the British, and they enjoyed all its benefits and rewards.

The British kept Sindh away from Europe and Persia and in isolation it would easily fall. The ruler of Bahawalpur State and Kuch State did not like this action of the Sindh rulers and warned them that they would pay a penalty for seeking British friendship.

The same year an Anglo-Sikh Treaty was signed by the British and Raja Ranjit Singh, Sikh ruler of Punjab.

Napoleon's victories in Europe had alarmed the British, who, fearing a French attack on the country through Afghanistan, decided to win the Sikhs over to their side and sent a young officer, Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, to Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court with an offer of friendship. Metcalfe met the Maharaja in his camp at Khem Karan, near Kasur, on 12 September 1808, taking with him a large number of presents sent by the Governor General of India. He told him how the English wished to have friendly relations with him and presented to him the draft of a treaty. Ranjit Singh did not credit the theory that the British had made the proposal to him because of the danger from Napoleon. On the other hand, he showed his willingness to cooperate with the British, provided the latter recognised his claim of paramountcy over all the Majha and Malva Sikhs.

He suspected that the real object of the British was to put a seal on his southern boundary and draw a permanent line between his dominions and their own. He rejected Metcalfe's terms and made his own, seeking the British to recognize his authority over the Sikh country to the south of the Sutlej. Metcalfe expressed his inability to make any changes in the draft of the treaty he had brought, but offered to forward Ranjit Singh's proposal to the Governor General. Ranjit Singh suddenly struck camp and crossed the Sutlej.

Metcalfe followed him from place to place, without being able to secure another interview with him

for any serious discussions. Ranjit Singh overran the territory on the left bank of the river, thus shrewdly imposing on his English guest the role of a witness to his *cis* Sutlej acquisitions. Ranjit Singh's bold and skilful policy would have borne fruit, had not the situation in Europe changed. As the danger of Napoleon's attack lessened, the British became arrogant in their attitude.

On his return to Lahore, Ranjit Singh received a message from the Governor General that the British had taken the Sikh chiefs south of the Sutlej under their protection. The British sent a force under the command of Colonel David Ochterlony who, passing through Buria and Patiala, came very close to the Sutlej and stationed himself at Ludhiana. Ranjit Singh also started making warlike preparations. Diwan Mohkam Chand was asked to proceed with the troops and artillery from Kangra to Phillaur, on the Sutlej.

The guns were mounted on the Fort of Gobindgarh in Amritsar and powder and supplies laid in. The chiefs and nobles were asked to keep their soldiers in readiness. A large body of troops gathered in Lahore in a few days' time. Meanwhile, Metcalfe, who had followed Ranjit Singh to Lahore, presented a new treaty which was based on terms first offered by the British and the proposal made by Ranjit Singh.

The treaty in this form was acceptable to the Sikh ruler. Although it stopped him from extending his influence beyond the Sutlej, he was left master of the territories, south of the river, which were in his possession before Metcalfe's visit. The treaty was signed at Amritsar on 25 April 1809. It provided that the British government would count the Lahore Darbar among the most honourable powers and would in no way interfere with the Sikh ruler's dominions to the north of the Sutlej.

Both governments pledged friendship to each other. Ranjit Singh appointed Bakhshi Nand Singh Bhandari to stay at Ludhiana as his agent with the English. The English sent Khushwaqt Rai to Lahore as their representative at the Sikh court. Although the treaty

of 1809 halted Ranjit Singh's ambitions at the Sutlej and prevented the unification of the Majha and Malva Sikhs into a new commonwealth of the Khalsa, it gave the Sikh sovereign one clear advantage. Security on the southern frontier allowed him freely to consolidate his power in the Punjab, evolve a centralized system of government, build up a powerful army, and pursue unhampered his conquests in the north, northwest and southwest.

The text of the Treaty with the Rajah of Lahore 1809

Whereas certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted, and both parties being anxious to maintain the relations of perfect amity and concord, the following Articles of treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by Rajah Ranjit Sing on his own part, and by the agency of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.

Article 1. Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore. The latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers; and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the Sutlej.

Article 2. The Rajah will never maintain in the territory occupied by him and his dependants, on the left bank of the River Sutlej, more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.

Article 3. In the event of a violation of any of the preceding Articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship on the part of either State, this Treaty shall be considered to be null and void.

Article 4. This Treaty, consisting of four Articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsar, on the 25th day of April, 1809, Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe

has delivered to the Rajah of Lahore a copy of the same, in English and Persian, under his seal and signature, and the said Rajah has delivered another copy of the same, under his seal and signature; and Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe engages to procure, within the space of two months, a copy of the same duly ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Rajah, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Rajah shall be returned. Seal and signature of Signature and seal of C.T. METCALFE RAJAH RUNJEET SING Company's Seal MINTO (SD) Ratified by the Governor General in Council on 30th May, 1809.

Cunningham, Joseph Davey -A History of the Sikhs- London - 1849

Through this treaty of mutual interests Ranjit Singh and British both were very happy and to some extent they saved their strategic interests. British got a powerful friend and a buffer zone between Afghanistan and British-India and Ranjit Singh became safe from any interference or aggression of the British. It also provided Ranjit Singh an opportunity to extend the Sikh territorial boundary.

In 1817, Ranjit Singh permitted the Governor of Multan, Sanwal Mal, to attack Mithan Kot, a geographical portion of Sindh under the Talpur rulers of Khairpur State. Sanwal Mal attacked the Mithan Kot and grabbed the land of Sindh from Mithan Kot to near Kashmore. Although British had a friendship treaty with Sindh but neither morally nor practically did it come to help Sindh and even it did not warn Ranjit Singh in favour of Sindh.

In 1820, a new crisis came in the relations between Sindh and the British and a situation of war arose between them.

There were disturbances by the Khoṣa tribe in the border area of Sindh and Kutch. In 1820, the forces of the British and the Sindhis had launched a joint operation against the Khoṣa bandits. By an adverse mishap, a clash between Sindh and the British troops cropped up and

several soldiers of Sindh were killed. In reaction Sindh rulers attacked Luna a situation which the Bombay Government took seriously. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, suggested to Central government an attack upon Sindh, Mountstuart has a long cherished desire:

“Britain should obtain full control over all states east of the Indus, annexing the states of Lahore and Sindh in the process, and carry the frontier forward beyond the Indus to the line of Sulaiman range, extending forward into the Mekran in the South.”

Strategies of British India P. 198

Hasting, the Governor-General of India, did not accept the proposal of the Governor. M.E. Yapp narrated the opinion of Hasting, with his own comments:

‘Few things ... can be conceived more impolitic than war with Sindh, and its successful prosecution would not only be unprofitable, but an evil’.

Hasting wanted no entanglements with Sindh. The occupation of that country would be an embarrassment. It was true that in the future, Britain might be forced to move forward in self-defence, but for the present, there was to be no war. When the Bombay Government protested against this decision he overruled them.

Strategies of British India P.181

British and Russian 'Great Game' in the Indus Valley

In 1820, after the wars with France, a new real threat was realised by the British i.e. the Russian advance and incursion towards Central Asia, Afghanistan and the subcontinent, this concern tempted the British to standardize their relations with the Sindh. The following comments of Lord Wellington showed his anxiety about Russian aggression.

“The Directors (of East India Company) are much afraid of the Russians, so am I I feel confident we shall have to fight the Russians on the Indus.”

First Afghan War P.18

Peter the Great, the great ruler and creator of modernisation of Russia's plan was that Russia might conquer the Asian subcontinent or make commercial and strategic relations with it. In 1725 a peculiar rumour was made known in Europe that Peter in his last will persuaded the Russians to open a golden route to India and to get the benefit from its incomparable riches. His belief was that it was the historical destiny of Russia to dominate the world. In that perspective India and Constantinople were twin keys. In 1791 Catharine, the Russian empress, upon the suggestion of a French man, Monsieur de St Genie, conceived a plan to minimize the influence of the British in India, under the slogan of restoring the rule of the Muslim Mughal Emperors. But due to the cold shoulder of her Chief Minister Count Potemkin, that plan did not materialise.

To complete the plan of Peter the Great and Empress Catherine, in the second decade of the nineteenth century the Russian administration made plans to gain access to India. This was a threat to British interests and so the British became very much alert and conscious of danger.

Agha Mehdi, an Iranian-Jew and business man who became an agent of Russia, due to high services in Central Asia, was given a Russian name by Tsar Alexander. It was Mehkti Rafailov. Alexander sent him on a mission to contact Ranjit Singh of Punjab and to offer him friendly and commercial relations with Russia.

In Leh, he was intercept by Moorcroft, a British secret agent, who was working for British interests. Moorcroft with sharp perception became aware of Rafailov's mission to Punjab and the letter of Tsar Alexander to Raja Ranjit Singh. He immediately informed the British administration in Calcutta about the Russian interest in the Asian subcontinent's wealth.

Mysteriously Mehkti Rafailov was assassinated at the passes of Shahrah Kurakorm. His death is still a mystery.

This new situation compelled English administration to seek after the Sindh rulers for a new treaty and they convinced the chiefs of Sindh to prohibit Europeans from entering the territory of Sindh. British authorities and Sindh chiefs signed an agreement on 9 November 1820.

Another Treaty 'No.V' was concluded with the two surviving brothers, Karam Ali and Mubarak Ali, by which they agreed to exclude Europeans and American from their territories, and to prevent entry within the British dominions. The subjects of the two governments were to be permitted to reside in each other's territory on condition of orderly and peaceable conduct.

The British authorities managed to convince the Amirs that Europeans and Americans should not be permitted to live in Sindh. In 1820s, the British were against the entry of Americans in Sindh but "decisions of history" can be very bitter. The British Empire, where 'the sun did not set', came to its knees and in 1947 Britain surrendered its political claim on the subcontinent in favour of the USA.

Treaty between Honourable East India Company

on the one hand, and the Ameers of Sindh on the other. November 9th 1820.

'The British Government and the Government of Sindh having in view to guard against the occurrence of frontier disputes, and to strengthen the friendship already subsisting between the two states, Mir Ismail Shah was invested with full power to treat with the honourable the Governor of Bombay and the following articles were agreed on between the two parties.

Article I

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government on the one hand and Meer Kurreem Ali and Meer Murad Ali on the other.

Article II

Mutual intercourse by means of Vakeels shall always continue between the two Governments.

Article III

The Ameers of Sindh engage not to permit any European or American to settle in their dominions. If any of the subjects of either of the two States should establish their residence in the dominions of the other, and should conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner in the territory to which they emigrate, they will be allowed to remain in that situation; but if such fugitives shall be guilty of any disturbance or commotion, it will be incumbent on the local authority to take the offenders into custody, and punish or compel them to quit the country.

Article IV

The Ameers of Sindh engage to restrain the depredations of the Khosas and all other tribes and individuals within their limits, and to prevent the occurrence of any inroad into the British dominions.

Bombay, 9th November 1820

M. Elphinstone

In the name of Merciful God. This is the treaty which I, Meer Ismail Shah, Vakeel of Shah Meer Kureem Ali Khan Rookn-ood-Dowla and Meer Shah Ali Murad Khan Ameer-ood-Dowla, concluded with Mr. Elphinstone Governor of the populous port of Bombay, on Thursday in the month of Suffer 1236 Hijra. If it pleases God, there will be no difference hair's breadth.

Seal of Ismail Shah

Note- The foregoing Treaty was approved by the Supreme Government on the 10th February 1821."

Treaties, Engagements and Sands VIII

The English people were proud on their merchant navy and seafarers:

" ... The ships of the English swarm like flies; their printed calicoes cover the whole earth, and by the side of their swords the blades of Damascus are blades of grass. All India is but an item in the ledger books of merchants, whose lumber rooms are filled with ancient thrones! --- whirr! Whirr! all by wheels! --- Whiz! Whiz! all by steam!

The Pasha to the traveler in King Lake's Eothen (1844)"

First Afghan War P.3

The British authorities planned to survey the Indus River and occupy it for commercial purposes, from Sindh to Central Asia. Charles Metcalfe opposed the plan.

"The "chairs" were, however, desirous of being much better informed than we are now as to the actual state of Sindh ... particularly as to the navigation of the Main Stream of the Indus."

British Relations with Sindh P. 20

Ellenborough decided that, as a preliminary step to the opening of the Indus, the river would have to be at least rudimentarily surveyed. Although previous attempts

to do so had been upset by the Amirs, who feared that British information of the river would invite occupation, a new game was played by Ellenborough and he found a way to disguise his purpose. Ranjit Singh had sent a present to William IV at the time of his coronation; Ellenborough now proposed to reciprocate by sending a gift of a dray horse and four dray mares to the ruler of Punjab on behalf of the British monarch. The horses would of course be accompanied by an emissary who would "assume no ostensible character but that of an Agent deputed solely for arranging the safe passage of the horses and of presenting them to Raja Ranjit Singh".

The real purpose would be to survey the Indus and its tributary streams from its mouth to Lahore and to obtain the support of Raja Ranjit Singh for the British commercial schemes on the Indus. The company hoped that the produce of both England and India could be sent up to the Indus to points of entry port from where it could be transshipped to the Markets of Afghanistan and Persia. It was thought that in this way the British would not only undersell the Russians but could obtain for themselves a large portion of the trade of Central Asia.

The Governor-General decided to send Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, brother of the Doctor Burnes, to head the expedition. He had been engaged in a survey of the Northwest frontier at the time the idea was conceived and hence was considered well qualified. Ensign Leckie was to accompany him, and the destination of the presents was to be kept secret until the boats bearing them had left Mandavi. Then letters were to be sent to the Amirs, "but so as to arrive too late to prevent the receipt of any answer having for its object the prevention of the mission, until the boats shall have advanced too far to admit of being stopped". To insure the passage of the presents by the river a large carriage was added to the consignment. The Amirs were to be told that the presents had to go by water because of their size. Progress was to be slow to allow for a full survey of the river. Only Charles Metcalfe, now a member of the Governor-General's Council, sounded a note to dampen the general enthusiasm. He wrote:

“The scheme for surveying the Indus under the pretence of sending a present to Raja Ranjit Singh seems to be highly objectionable. It is a trick, in my opinion unworthy of our government, which cannot fail when detected, as most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom, we play it. It is just such a trick, as we are often falsely suspected and accused of by the Native Powers of India, and this confirmation of their suspicions, generally unjust, will do us more injury by furnishing the ground of merited reproach than any advantage to be gained by the measure can compensate.”

One more report on the British plan about Indus River.

“The object of British policy should be to substitute British influence for Russian influence in Bokhara, using commercial means. But this was impossible while we depended upon the Ganges and a long overland route to Bokhara. The Indus would provide a better route, and if we used it we could ‘not but hope that we might succeed in underselling the Russians and in obtaining for ourselves a large portion at least of the internal trade of Central Asia’. But we must not allow the chiefs of Sindh and the Punjab to believe that we think of conquest, ‘our first object being to introduce English goods and not Englishmen into Cabul and Central Asia”.

Lord Amherst, the previous Governor-General, now once more established on his Kentish estate at Sevenoaks, had suggested making a gift of dray horses to Ranjit Singh in return for his gift of horses to King George IV some years before. The horses would go from England to Bombay and thence up the Indus, preferably in a well-armed and well-manned vessel. The escort to the horses should be an able and discreet officer who might take advantage of his visit to Lahore to acquire knowledge of local conditions. He would be officially no more than an escort, but in his informal conversation with Ranjit Singh he might impress upon him the commercial value of the Indus and canals, for canals might one day link the Persian Gulf with the Bay of Bengal. Ellenborough

foresaw that the whole scheme would fall to the ground without the cooperation of the Sindh Amirs. Bentinck should take care to make the passage of the horses acceptable to them.

We are far from desirous of having any collision with the people of Sindh, but we cannot permit any jealous feeling on their part to close the navigation of the Indus should it appear to offer results not only commercially but politically important.

In concluding his instructions to Bentinck, lord Ellenborough warned him to do nothing rashly, but authorized him to risk something for the attainment of a great job."

The First Afghan War, P.40

British Governor General Ellenborough wished to fly the British flag on Indus River.

"We have already observed that Ellenborough looked forward to seeing the British Flag floating upon the waters of the Indus to the source of its tributary streams. His words could be interpreted as a dream of a conquest or as a vision of processions of British merchant vessels flying the Red Ensign. Whatever he meant, these were private thoughts in a public dispatch he must be more circumspect. It was enough to warn Bentinck that the Sindh Amirs must not be permitted to stand in the way of navigation on the Indus.

The entry of the British provided them a golden chance to assess the socio-economic and political conditions of Sindh and make a plan for full control on Sindh and the Indus River. Dr. James Burnes, who visited Sindh in 1827 strongly advocated British control of the territory:

The river Indus might once more become the channel of communication and wealth between the interior of Asia and the peninsula of India; while Sindh herself... would rise renewed to claim a due importance in the scale of nations, and profit by her benefits which nature has bestowed on her... A single glance at the Indus will show the easy passage to the very heart of their (the Amirs')

dominions, which the river offers to a maritime power.”

The First Afghan War P.41

In 1829, the English diplomat Dr. James Burnes visited Hyderabad and discussed with Baloch Chiefs the Anglo-Sindh relations and diplomatically he praised the bravery of the Baloches.

There is a famous saying of the English:

Respect Baloch
Buy Pashton
Oppress Sindhi and
Beat Punjabi

Following is a courteously eulogizing of Dr. Burnes for Baloches to get concessions for English:

“Of his Majesty and the Royal Family and many other circumstances connected with England they spoke with knowledge that surprised me, and once observed that English sailors and Beloche soldiers were the best in the world. They knew the character and fall of the Emperor Napoleon, but were ignorant of his death. Of vaccine inoculation they had heard by report, and when I explained its advantages they declared their intention of establishing it in Sindh, and requested me to assist them with the means of doing so. Among other subjects I told them the grand discovery of steam engines; but in this, and respecting the revenue of Great Britain they evidently considered I was making use of Traveller’s privilege...

From a conversation between Dr. James Burnes and the Amirs of Sindh, in narrative of a visit. (1829)”

The First Afghan War P. 3

From the 18th century, the British’s sole aim was to make Sindh a colony and to use the Indus River for military and commercial purpose. To achieve their aims they took different types of steps at different times. Initially, they started with commerce and then, at the time of Afghan war, using Sindh as a political ally. Finally, they annexed Sindh, fully realizing its strategic, military

and commercial importance.

In first quarter of nineteenth century they were very sensitive about Russian influence in Sindh as well as in South Asia. The following intentions of British high officials about Russia and Indus River are an open secret:

“The directors are much afraid of the Russian. So am I, and the Russians begin to threaten us. They hint that they have open to them the route to Baghdad, and they announce the presence in Petersburg of an Afghan chief, and of ambassadors from Ranjit Singh. I feel confident we shall have to fight the Russian on the Indus, and I have long had a presentiment that I should meet them there, and gain a great battle. All dreams, but I have had them a long time.

(Lord Ellenborough, Political Diary, 3 September 1829)”.
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The First Afghan War, P. 18

James Burnes had written that the British must obtain the benefits of the Indus River and Sindh; those that nature had confer upon them:

It is scarcely possible to conceive a more easy, or as far as the people generally are concerned, a more willing conquest, were our victorious arms turned in that direction ... Were such an event to happen, as happen in all probability it will, from causes as controllable as those which have led to the already mighty extension of our Empire, there is no district which would better repay the fostering care of a mild and enlightened management than Sindh... Then the River Indus might once more become the channel of communication and wealth, between the interior of Asia and the Peninsula of India, and Sindh herself, equally interesting to us from classic association and from sympathy in her present sufferings, would rise renewed to claim a due importance in the scale of nations, and to profit by the benefits which nature has bestowed upon her.

American writer Robert A. Huttenback unveils the ambition of Auckland.

“Despite his policy toward Afghanistan the development of trade on the Indus was perhaps Auckland’s chief goal. He wrote: “If I can open channels of commerce to Central Asia and if I can make the Indus thoroughfare for navigation, that gold and silver road (as the Burmese would call it) which it ought to be, I shall not care for much else.” He informed Hobhouse that he planned to start a monthly boat service between Bukkur and Ferozepur, as soon as events will allow it.

After studying the opinion of Evans, Ellenborough became very aware about a possible Russian invasion of Central Asia and possibility of a Russian attack on South Asia. Also he made up his mind to “float the British flag on the Indus River.”

“On the following day Ellenborough again contemplated the possibilities suggested by Evans:

Upon the subject of invasion of India my idea is that the thing is not only practicable but easy, unless we determine to act as an Asiatic power. On the acquisition of Khiva by the Russians we should occupy Lahore and Cabul. It is not on the Indus that an enemy is to be met. If we do not meet him in Cabul, at the foot of the Hindu Koosh, or in its passes, we have better remain on the Sutlej. If the Russians once occupy Cabul they remain there with the Indus in their front, till they have organized insurrection in our rear, and completely equipped their army.

What Ellenborough, the British Government, and the British in India most lacked was reliable information about the geography, politics and economy of the Central Asian states. Ellenborough became obsessed with the idea of opening up Central Asia to British influence before the Russians got there. Within a few weeks of reading the book by Evans he was considering the navigability of the uncharted Indus. He read all available accounts by travellers and surveyors and began to envisage fleets of naval and merchant craft of up to 200 tons plying between Lahore and the sea: ‘...And no British flag has ever floated upon the waters of this river. Please God it shall,

and in triumph, to the source of all its tributary streams.”

First Afghan War P.30

After the approval of Raja Ranjit Singh, the British authorities sent Pottinger to Sindh to get permission of business and navigation from Sindh Amirs.

In October Bentinck and his suite, including Burnes, had a brief commercial encounter with Ranjit Singh at Rupar. It is as well to remember that successive Indian Government had placed a very high value on the friendship and alliance of Ranjit Singh; one cannot properly understand the First Afghan War without being constantly aware of the fact. It has been well said that ‘the Lahore kingdom was one of the few really successful buffer states in history. Much of the credit for the success and longevity of the alliance, starting with the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809, belonged to Ranjit Singh. British and Sikh soldiers had a healthy respect for each other, and the policy laid down by the Home Government in January 1830 depended not only on the opening of the Indus to British commerce but also maintenance of the alliance with the Sikhs. At Rupar in October 1831 the Governor-General and the Maharajah reaffirmed their alliance and came to understanding about their relations with Sindh and Afghanistan.

Confident of Maharajah’s approval and inspired by Burnes’s report on the Indus, Lord William Bentinck now issued instructions to Colonel Pottinger. He was to open negotiations with the rulers of Hyderabad and Khairpur at the earliest opportunity with a view to obtaining facilities for British commerce on the Indus. The relationship between what follows and the dispatch, which Ellenborough drafted in January 1830, is very clear:

The secret committee of the Honourable Court of Directors have expressed great anxiety to obtain the free navigation of the Indus with a view to the advantage that might result from substituting our own influence for that derived by Russia, through her commercial intercourse with Bokhara, in the countries lying between Hindustan and Caspian Sea, as well as because of the great facilities

afforded by the River for the disposal of produce and manufacturers of the British dominions, both in Europe and India.

The plan of Ellenborough, to do a secret survey of the Indus, was declared by some important (and full of moral values) gentlemen to be a trick and an immoral act of the British. Sir Charles Metcalfe, a member of the all-powerful Supreme Council, and former Secretary of the Secret and Political Department, openly criticized it and declared it against universal norms. "The scheme of surveying the Indus, under the pretence of sending a present to Raja Ranjit Singh, is a trick ... unworthy of our government", he complained. It was just 'the sort of deviousness', he added, 'which the British were often unjustly accused of, and would very likely be detected, thus confirming the suspicions of the native rulers'.

Burnes received orders from British administration to proceed to Sindh for the survey of Indus River. On January 21, 1831 he left Kutch with his navigation team, bodyguards and the coach and five horses for Ranjit Singh with main purpose to survey the Indus River.

He landed in Sindh and started negotiations with the chiefs of the country about his visit to Ranjit Singh through the Indus River. The chiefs of Sindh knew very well that there is a land route to Punjab from Delhi and other border areas and they were very suspicious about this plan involving travel through Sindh. Initially they showed their unwillingness but the fear of British and Raja Ranjit Singh compelled them to oblige Dr. Burnes.

As Lieutenant Alexander Burnes travelled on the Indus River, "a wise man saw him and he with a cry said, "Alas! Sindh is now gone. The English have seen the river which is the route to our occupation. The Evil is done."

Burnes arrived in Lahore, and though Ranjit Singh rarely embraced his guests he warmly held Burnes close and showed his high regard for him.

Burnes presented the letter of Lord Ellenborough

to Ranjit Singh, which expressed a personal message of William IV to Raja Ranjit Singh.

After the formal meeting, Burnes and Ranjit Singh came outside; Burnes handed over the five dray horses to him. Burnes stayed in Lahore for two months, and he was liberally entertained by Ranjit Singh including with Ranjt's famous locally refined 'hell-brew'. Ranjit Singh also had arranged a dance party of Kashmiri girls in honour of his English guest. Burnes who loved native girls fully enjoyed the event.

Burnes and Ranjit held many meetings on the geopolitical situation of South and Central Asia. Burnes had been of the opinion that Ranjit Singh was a simple man and a warrior but when he conversed with him, he was inspired by the talent and skill of Ranjit Singh.

To occupy the Indus and its River, here is the opinion of English officials and the observations of M.E. Yapp.

“The emotional attraction of the Indus is brought out clearly in the words of the last opponents of the Indus frontier, Lord Hardinge, whose comments afford a suitable conclusion to this chapter:

The very name of Indus is associated with ancient recollections, which render it difficult to suppress the desire to make that magnificent river the boundary of the British Empire. Young civilians and gallant soldiers ardently desire annexation --- and even sexagenarians might forget what is prudent in the patriotic pride of giving England's greatest conquest a frontier worthy of British India.”

Strategies of British India P. 199

Henry Pottinger landed in Sindh in January 1832 seemingly to talk with Mir Ali Murad Khan about the future role of the British in Sindh, but his actual mission was to establish the rule of the British there and to make Sindh a colony of the Britain. He also met with Mir Rustam Khan, chief of Khairpur state. He succeeded in

persuading him to sign a treaty of friendship, which they did on 4th April 1832. Soon after, on 20th April, Mir Ali Murad Khan of Hyderabad signed a treaty of good relations. Although Henry Pottinger succeeded in making this new treaty of friendship with the Sindhi Amirs his proposal for a British residence in their capital Hyderabad was turned down by the chiefs of Sindh.

The Sindh Rulers allowed the British to use the Indus for the purpose of commerce, but they did not allow the traffic of military transport and arms. Also, English sailors and merchants must use British passports and no Englishman should reside in Sindh.

The chiefs of Sindh were very conscious of the sovereign status of their soil. Although it was a dynasty of a clan, but as chiefs of a sovereign Sindhi nation, they had acted in a manner that nationalists would applaud in this modern era. They had kept the autonomy of the country in the face of strong imperialist pressure.

One thing must be noted: in the treaty of 1832 both parties had agreed to include an article about real friendship. The clause said:

‘The two contracting parties bind themselves never to look with an eye of covetousness upon the possessions of each other’.

Treaty between Ameers of the Sindh and the British Government, 1832:

A treaty, consisting of seven Articles, having been concluded on the 18th Zehay 1247 A.H., corresponding with 20th April 1832, between the Honourable East India Company and His Highness Meer Murad Ali Khan, Talpur, Bahadoor, ruler of Hyderabad, in Sindh, through the agency of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Pottinger, envoy on the part of the British Government, acting under the authority vested in him by the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, G.C.B., and G.C.H., Governor-General of the British possessions in India, this engagement has been given in writing, at Shimla, this day

the 19th June 1832, both in English and Persian, in token of the perfect confirmation and acknowledgement of the obligations which it contains, in the manner following:

Article 1

That the friendship provided for in former Treaties between the British Government and that of Sindh, remain unimpaired and binding, and that the stipulation has received additional efficacy through the medium of lieutenant-Colonel Pottinger, envoy, etc, so that the firm, connecting and close alliance now formed between the said States shall descend to the children and successors of the house of the above named Meer Murad Ali Khan, principal after principal from generation to generation.

Article II

That the two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with the eyes of covetousness on the possession of each other.

Article III

That the British Government has requested a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindustan by the river and roads of Sindh, by which they may transport their goods and merchandize from one country to another and the said Government of Hyderabad here by acquiesces in the same request on the three following conditions.

1st --- That no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river or roads.

2nd --- That no armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river.

3rd --- That no English merchants shall be allowed to settle in Sindh, but shall come, as occasion requires, and having stopped to transact their business, shall return to India.

Article IV

When merchants shall determine on visiting Sindh, they shall obtain a passport to do so from the British

Government, and due intimation of the granting of such passports shall be made to said Government of Hyderabad by the Resident in the Kutch, or other officer of the British Government.

Article V

That the Government of Hyderabad having fixed certain proper and moderate duties to be levied on merchandize and goods proceeding by the aforesaid routes, shall adhere to that scale, and not arbitrarily and despotically either increase or lessen the same, so that the affairs of the merchants and traders may be carried on without stop or interruption, and the custom-house officers and farmers of the revenue of the Sindh Government are to be specially directed to see that they do not delay the said merchants on pretence of awaiting for fresh orders from the Government, or the collection of the duties, and the said Government is to promulgate a Tariff or Table of Duties leviabie on each kind of goods, as the case may be.

Article VI

That whatever portions of former Treaties entered into between the two States have not been altered and modified by the present one remain firm and unaltered, as well as those stipulations now concluded and by the blessing of God no deviation from them shall ever happen.

Article VII

That the friendly intercourses between the two States shall be kept up by the dispatch of Vakeels, whenever the transaction of business, or the increase of the relation of friendship, may render the desirable.

W.C. Bentinck

Supplemental to the treaty with the Government of Hyderabad.

The following Articles of engagement having been agreed on and settled on the 22nd April 1832 between the Honourable East India Company and His Highness Meer

Murad Ali Khan, Talpore, Bahadoor, ruler of Hyderabad, in Sindh, as supplemental to the Treaty concluded, on the 20th April 1832, through the agency of lieutenant-Colonel Henry Pottinger envoy on the part of the said Honourable East India Company, under full power and authority vested in him by the Right Honourable lord William Cavendish Bentinck, G.C. B., and G.C.H., Governor-General of the British possessions in India, this engagement has been given in writing, at Shimla, this day the 19th June 1832, both in English and Persian, in token of the perfect confirmation and acknowledgement of the obligation which it contains, in the manner following:

Article I

It is inserted in the article of the perpetual Treaty that the Government of Hyderabad will furnish the British Government with a statement of duties, etc, and after that the officers of the British Government who are versed in affairs of the traffic will examine the said statement. Should the statement seem to them to be fair and equitable and agreeable to custom, it will be brought into operation and will be confirmed; but should it appear too high, His Highness Meer Ali Murad Khan, on hearing from the British Government to this effect through Colonel Pottinger, will reduce the said duties.

Article II

It is as clear as noonday that the punishment and the suspension of the plunderers of Parkhur, the Thull, etc, is not to be effected by any one government, and as this measure is incumbent on and becoming the States as tending to secure the welfare and happiness of their respective subjects and countries, it is here by stipulated that on the commencement of the ensuing rain of season, and of which Meer Murad Ali Khan shall give due notice, the British, Sindh, and Jodhpore governments shall direct their joint and simultaneous efforts to the above object.

Article III

The Government of the Honourable East India Company and of Khairpore, namely; Meer Roostam, have

provided, in a Treaty concluded between the States, that whatever may be settled regarding the opening of the Indus at Hyderabad shall be binding on the said contracting powers. It is therefore necessary that copies of the Treaty should be sent by the British and Hyderabad Governments to Meer Roostam Khan for his satisfaction and guidance.

W.C. Bentinck

Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Volume VIII

In 1909, the ruler of Bahawalpur suggested that Talpur rulers of Sindh do not become friends of the British. In 1833 the political situation compelled him to become an ally of the British. The British and Ranjit Singh were friends but vis à vis grabbing more and more territory their tactics were different. Ranjit Singh got many benefits from the British fear of the Russians. In 1818, his army, under the command of General Hari Singh Nalua, attacked Multan and he brutally killed the ruler there, Nawab Muzafar Khan Sadozai, and conquered the Multan. The Sikh Dynasty became thus a border neighbour to the Bahawalpur State. Like Ranjit Singh's exploitation of the fear of a Russian advancement to the Indus Valley, the British used the fear of Ranjit Singh's possible attack on Sindh and Bahawalpur as a trump card for making treaties with Sindh and Bahawalpur rulers. In 1833 the ruler of Bahawalpur has no choice except that he should get shelter of the British.

On 21st February 1833, a treaty was signed by the British and the Ruler of Bahawalpur:

Extracts from treaties concluded between Bahawalpur and the British:

“There shall be eternal friendship and alliance between the Hon'ble the East India Company and Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan, his heirs and successors.”

Article 1 – 21st February 1833

“There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Hon'ble Company and

Nawab Bahawal Khan Bahadur and his heirs and successors, and the friends and enemies of one party shall be friends and enemies of both parties."

"The Nawab and his heirs and successors shall be absolute rulers of their country, and British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality."

Articles 1 & 7 of the Treaty concluded at Ahmadpur, 5th day of October, 1833.

Google Website

In January 1834, Shah Shuja, an Afghan ruler, deposed by Amir Dost Mohammed Khan, and settled by British in Ludhiana Punjab, attacked Sindh, and defeated Sindh rulers at Rohri. He and his troops were there for nine months on the expenses of the Sindh government. Also he got a commitment from the Sindh rulers of a yearly tribute.

He left Sindh to try his fortune against Amir Dost Muhammad Khan and again to become crowned leader of the Kabul. He was defeated by Amir Dost Muhammad Khan at Qandhar. The defeated Shah Shuja returned to Ludhiana and lived there on a pension provided by the British. Raja Ranjit Singh also had greedy eyes on Shikarpur, a commercial city of Sindh.

Sindhi Muslims were agriculturists while Sindhi Hindus were merchants. "Sindhi Hindus are, by nature, very sharp and shrewd businessmen, they are good exporters and importers, and they had established a nice "*Hoondy*" transfer of money system from Shikarpur to Moscow. During the Russian Communist revolution of 1917, the Sindhi merchants of Shikarpur lost billions of rubles due to the change of currency after the Czar's era. At the time of the partition of the subcontinent, the majority of Sindhi Hindus migrated to India and other countries.

Endowed with sharp business skills, they were able to establish good business centres all over the world in quick order, without many assets of their own.

The world-famous, shrewd businessman and dynamic person, S.P Hinduja, and his family originally belonged to Shikarpur, Sindh.

Ranjit Singh was very ambitious to get possession of Shikarpur, but in his attempt of 1825, he did not succeed and in 1831, Bentinck became the barrier.

In 1831, Ranjit Singh and Lord Bentinck met at Rupar. Many things came under discussion; two political offers by Ranjit Singh to Lord Bentinck were very important.

1. Defence treaty against Russia
2. Combined attack on Sindh

The local hunter wanted to share the flesh of Sindh with an international huntsman. The global hunter had not only greedy eyes on Sindh but also on the land of Punjab, so his (Bentinck's) response was cold and Ranjit Singh's political game was spoiled.

There were different opinions of British officials concerning the attack of Ranjit Singh on Sindh. Metcalfe and Wade were in favour of Ranjit Singh's invading Sindh. However, Auckland and Bentinck believed they should use a fear of Ranjit Singh (by Sindh) and in so doing exploit the Sindh rulers and get more and more concessions.

In the summer of 1836, Ranjit Singh's army started an operation against the Mazari tribe and in October the fort of Sindh fell, and he proclaimed the rulers of Sindh his vassals and insisted on the cessation of Shikarpur.

Auckland had two choices: either to allow Ranjit Singh to settle scores with Sindh rulers and become in charge of the Indus River and coastal area of Sindh or to stop him.

Auckland felt that a war between Ranjit Singh and the Amirs of Sindh would be harmful for British strategic policy regarding the Indus and a source of chaos and bloodshed.

Also Auckland held the opinion that if Ranjit Singh would not accept the warning, it would create hostility between the two political allies. However finally Wade an English officer who was stationed at Ludhiana, sent to Ranjit Singh warning him not to proceed further in Sindh.

Ranjit Singh was very sharp person and he knew that a war with Sindh and British would be too much of an adventure and he drank the hot grog given him by English friends.

The fear of an attack by the Sikh Dynasty on Sindh provided an indirect opportunity for the British to achieve their goal and exploit Sindh rulers' fears for their vested interests.

Auckland favoured Sindh but he got high concessions from the Sindh rulers. The price was high but the Amirs of Sindh, like Ranjit Singh, drank the English hot grog.

The first condition was acceptance of a British agent at Hyderabad and the second was that Sindh solve all its issues with Ranjit Singh through the British: moreover, the troops to be stationed in Sindh would be paid for by the Sindh Government.

Auckland feared that the advantages resulting from the free navigation of the Indus had been exposed to imminent hazard by hostilities between the powers occupying the banks of the river, and wrote to the Secret Committee:

“Your honourable committee will perceive that our negotiation is now narrowed to two objects....the improvement of our relations with the Ameers of Sindh by stationing a British agent at their capital, and the adjustment, with the consent of both parties of the present differences of the Ameers and the Ranjit Singh---Should these objects be attained, of which there is every possibility, the preservation of tranquility along the whole course of the Indus will be natural consequence.”

First Afghan War P.321

The actual motive of the British was to use the ambition of Raja Ranjit Singh against Sindh and create differences with them and then conquer both, Sindh and the Punjab. A British official in his letter to Viceroy expressed his desire and a plan.

“Hobhouse had long advocated the annexation of Sindh and Punjab and his letters to Auckland make it clear with what pleasure he greeted the opportunity which the crisis offered to assure these older goals. In one revealing letter, dated 5 December 1838, but never sent possibly owing to objections from other ministers, he urged Auckland to secure permanent garrisons on the Indus, especially at Bakhar and Attak.

With garrisons in these two positions and with armed steamers which will, ere long, I trust, navigate the river, I should regard Indus as a barrier, almost impassable....and this proceeding will pave the way for that which, I trust, will be accomplished in my lifetime, namely the peaceful annexation of the Punjab and Sindh to our dominions.”

Strategies of British India P. 290

The year 1838 was a beginning of sorrows for the Sindh Amirs. On the plight of the Sindh, the remarks of J.A. Norris in his book, ‘The First Afghan War’, are very appropriate:

“The days of Sindh’s isolation now begin to be numbered, and already the stage is set for the triumphs and tragedies of 1838-42.

The First Afghan War P. 17

The Napoleonic adventures compelled two rival super powers, Russia and the British to compromise on their strategic positions. As a good gesture, the British sent Wilson - an army officer - to Russia. During his stay he witnessed the war between Napoleon and Russia and also a war between Russia and Iran. The defeat of the

Shah of Iran and its international interests induced British to intervene. British's truce offer was accepted by Russia and Iran, and a treaty of peace was signed by the Shah of Iran and Russia. In this war between Russia and Iran a brave British army officer – Christie - who was the Shah of Iran's son and successor Mirza Abbas's aide at the border, was killed by the Russians.

As an onlooker vis à vis Russian affairs and knowledgeable about the ambitions of the Russian expansionist Tsar Alexander, Wilson felt that Russia had become a real threat to British everywhere, in Europe, in the Black sea, in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and India. Wilson and other British officials were of the opinion that Russia was more dangerous than Napoleon. In India Governor-General Auckland was also much concerned about Russian covetous designs.

Due to the Anglo-Sikh Pact, both British and Ranjit Singh were satisfied. However, the conquest of Peshawar by Ranjit Sikh created a problem and it became a harbinger of the First Afghan war of 1838. As an ally of the British, Amir Dost Muhammad pressurised the British to use its influence on Ranjit Singh to vacate Peshawar and other Pashton areas in favour of Afghanistan. Due to strategic relations with Ranjit Singh, British were not in a position to force Ranjit Singh to quit Peshawar and the Pashton areas in favour of the King of Kabul. British greedy eyes were on Sindh and she was well aware that Ranjit Singh had plans to seize the Sindh. To avoid any attack on Sindh British had already warned Ranjit not to attack Sindh. The British administration had already made a request to Ranjit about Sindh and he did not ignore it. Possibly their request to return Peshawar to Amir Dost Muhammad, might be turned down by Ranjit. It would be a British diplomatic failure, and also would create confusion in the Anglo-Sikh relations. Dr. Burnes, a master of Afghan affairs and great diplomat, suggested to Viceroy Auckland, that the British should offer a deal to the king of Kabul that Ranjit Singh is near to death and after his demise Peshawar would be returned to him. But Lord Auckland felt that the proposal of Dr. Burnes was against his principles and he rejected the plan.

The British authorities were right: the conquest of Peshawar was a big honour for Ranjit Singh. It is a historical fact that mostly northern people have a tendency to attack southern people and this story usually happened in South Asia - the Central Asians and Afghans always aggressive against the subcontinent people. But Raja Ranjit Singh was the first ruler of the south who conquered Peshawar and went to the Jamrud passes, and became a threat to Jalalabad and Kabul. The great general of the west, Napoleon, at the time of his attack on Russia used these words:

“Always Northern people attack south; today I ‘m attacking a northern country - Russia - to break that record.”

Amir Dost Muhammad was of the opinion that British officials had not sincerely approached Ranjit Singh and that they had deliberately dishonoured his request.

In July 1837, Ranjit Singh wrote a letter to Auckland and he was furious on Amir Dost Muhammad:

“The ear of Dost Muhammad’s sagacity is closed by the cotton negligence. If he repent, offer obedience, and enter into a treaty agreeably to my wish, he shall be pardoned. Should he delay, the whole Sikh nation, being exasperated, will advance to Jalalabad, where it will be no avail to him to bite the hand of sorrow with the teeth of repentance.”

For return of Peshawar he played one more card and, in 1835, he wrote a letter to Russian ruler Tsar Nicholas for diplomatic ties. This was a big threat to the British.

Yan Vitkevich, a young energetic man, with fair features and knowing Central Asian languages, was given a task by Russian foreign Minister Count Nesselrode to meet with the Afghan king as a representative of Tsar Nicholas and to convey to him the Tsar’s message of good will.

Vitkevich started his journey and his first destination was Iran. When he arrived in Iran he was intercepted by Rawlinson, the British agent in Iran. A former general of the Russian army and at that time Russian Ambassador to Iran, Count Simonich was already in Tehran. The presence of Vitkevich in Iran was interpreted by the British agent that his actual destination was Kabul. This information produced tension among the British diplomats in Iran. Within no time they reported the presence of Vitkevich in Iran and his further move to Kabul to the higher authorities in Calcutta and London. This was burning news for Calcutta and London.

It is claimed by one Russian writer that on his way to Kabul the British managed an attack on Vitkevich but that he survived. Vitkevich arrived in Kabul and was expecting a welcome by King of Kabul but he did not see any symptom of that as he was waiting for a meeting. Amir Dost deliberately waited to see reaction to his Russian trump-card.

First Afghan War

In London and Calcutta the situation was alarming and they felt that if Vitkevich would be successful to get Amir Dost Muhammad's agreement on commercial and cordial relations between Russia and Afghanistan this would be a threat to British's vested interests. However, the British authorities were very confident that their highly skilled and experienced diplomat Captain Alexander Burnes could spoil the mission of Yan Vitkevich. Nevertheless, they made up their minds that 'enough was enough' and to halt the Russian influence. On the basis of their apprehensions the Governor-General of British-India Auckland decided to procure power in Afghanistan and put a puppet king there.

The British administration immediately sent Burnes to Kabul and he arrived in Kabul at Christmas Eve 1837.

Diplomatically, Burnes invited Vitkevich to dine together and exchange views. Both rival countries' agents met and shared their opinion. Burnes was inspired by general diplomatic talents and helped by Vitkevich's knowledge and fluency in French, Central Asian and Persian languages.

Meanwhile Burnes arranged a meeting with Amir Dost Muhammad and gave him a letter of Viceroy Auckland. In this letter Lord Auckland warned the king of Kabul, if he will give any help to Russian intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan, they will not prevent Ranjit Singh from attacking Afghanistan and also British will make all efforts to remove him from power.

Amir Dost Muhammad calmly viewed the situation and he did not become hyper. Though there was no hard reaction by Dost Muhammad Burnes felt uneasy

however, and he realised that serious consequences might be in store.

After a few days Amir Dost Muhammad warmly welcomed Vitkevich at Bala Hissar. Vitkevich gave him the letter of good will of Tsar Nicholas. Amir Dost Muhammad expressed the same spirit of good will for Russia and Tsar Nicholas.

On other side, the British were very sensitive about this and made all efforts to give a lesson to the king of Kabul. Burnes believed he had failed in his mission to Afghanistan and, after his last meeting with King of Kabul, he left Afghanistan for Calcutta. Vitkevich had accomplished a heroic mission which did bring Russia and Afghanistan closer and Afghanistan and British to the brink of war. And after some time that very thing happened.

Different names came under consideration and finally, a trump card, which had been put in custody by British earlier, was chosen. The deposed king of Afghanistan and rival of Amir Dost Muhammad, Shah Shuja (who was in asylum in Ludhiana) was asked to prepare his forces to get revenge on the king of Kabul, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and again become the king of Afghanistan.

There is a Sindhi saying:

The blind man prays for one eye, God blesses him with two eyes.

The British blessed the Pashton deposed king with two awards: the first was for revenge

The *Asiatic Journal* (in an article published in 1838 and quoted by George Buist) said that the Afghans 'are neither irritable nor implacable, but retain a long remembrance of injuries not retaliated: revenge is esteemed a duty'.

The second reward was to regain his crown. It is an opinion of the English analyst that avarice is a weakness of the Pashton. The role of the Afghans after the Russian invasion, 1979 to 1989 and up to today is an example of the Pashton general attitude. During 28 years they have killed millions of people, destroyed their motherland and have received billions of rupees from superpowers and the Europeans. Also, the Arab imperialist countries finance them as Muslim brothers.

Regarding the fortune of Afghanistan and Sindh, Tripartite treaty between Lord Auckland, Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja.

Tripartite Treaty

“As the rumours of Russian infiltration into Persia and Afghanistan spread in the late thirties of the nineteenth century, The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, dispatched Captain Alexander Burnes to Kabul to make an alliance with Amir Dost Muhammad. The Afghan ruler made Peshawar the price of his cooperation with the British could not afford without going to war with Sikhs.

Auckland had to choose between Dost Muhammad and Ranjit Singh. He chose Ranjit Singh and decided to seek his help in ousting Dost Muhammad and putting Shah Shuja on the throne on Afghanistan. In April 1838, Burnes' mission was withdrawn from Kabul.

In May 1838, Sir William Macnaghten was deputed to Lahore to engage the Maharaja in a treaty which aimed at the revival of defunct Sikh-Afghan agreement of 1833. After prolonged negotiations, the treaty was signed by Ranjit Singh on 26 June 1838 which is known as the Tripartite Treaty. The Treaty confirmed control of the Sikh kingdom, in perpetuity, over the Afghan possessions of Kashmir, Attock, Hazara, Peshawar and its dependencies up to the Khaibar, Bannu, Tonk, Kalabagh and other dependent Vaziri Districts the Derajat and the rich and the fertile province of Multan. For relinquishing its claims to Shikarpur, the Lahore Government, under British mediation, was to receive a

sum of 1,500,000 rupees out of the levy on the Amirs of Sindh. Shah Shuja surrendered to joint Anglo-Sikh authority control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan. The Lahore Government bound itself, for an annual payment of 200,000 rupees by the Shah, to maintain a Muhammadan auxiliary force of not fewer than 5,000 men for the Shah's aid. Shah Shuja was required to have a British envoy. It has been said that the real purpose of the British in working out the Tripartite treaty was to thwart Sikh designs on Sindh."

The First Afghan War of 1838 was the beginning of the Sindh chiefs' ruin. All their dreams came to naught; the English friendship from which they expected relief in fact became trouble for them. A Sindhi saying is:

*What I imagine a golden Necklace
It became a chain of slavery*

The English authorities, without the consent or the will of the inhabitants of the Indus named their force, 'The army of the Indus'. In Auckland's words:

"I have been discussing this morning with the commander-in-chief what shall be the name of his army...and we have decided that it shall be the 'Army of the Indus.'"

Auckland to Prinsep, 20 October 1838

First Afghan War P. 231

The British authorities wanted funds for the First Afghan War. They imposed an order on Sindh rulers to become a key depositor of funds for this adventure and to pay the old tribute-money (2 million rupees) of Shah Shuja. The Amirs showed a paper given them by Shah Shuja that barred them from privileges arising from the tribute on account of Shikarpur. Auckland, who had a phobia about restraining Russia in Afghanistan, did not care about the pact of friendship and gave a severe warning.

"Either they should oblige or Shikarpur would be captured and also Shuja would claim his authority over Sindh."

The Conquest of Sindh P. 87

Lord Auckland was well aware that Sindh had a permanent position in British India's new plan of security and at one stage he reached a decision to put off the expedition towards Afghanistan and settle with Sindh first.

The Sindh chiefs initially did not agree but the pressure of the British compelled them to obey the order. Initially they paid one million for the First Afghan War, and also logistic support.

There is a Sindhi saying:

The powerful's stick have two heads.

The war was between the British and Afghans or between the two heirs of Kabul, respectively Dost Muhammad Khan and Shah Shuja, but in fact Sindh was forced to pay the ransom to the English warlords.

The English and native British army's first centre was Shikarpur, and they got logistic support (the Talpurs provided camels, boats and grains to British troops) and they proceeded to Quetta, the route being very rough and mostly in arid zones. The English envoy met with Mehrab Khan, the Khan of Kelat, and asked him for logistic help. The area was under drought and it was quite impossible for the Khan to facilitate the movement of the British forces. The English envoy felt that the Khan did not like to cooperate with the English and the emissary also had doubts about the Khan's relations with Dost Muhammad. The English envoy became angry with the Khan and decided to settle scores with him.

Auckland and Ranjit Singh had good working relations and understanding, and during the British attack on Afghanistan, Auckland visited Sikh Dynasty where Ranjit Singh honoured him with dignified reception.

One evening the host Raja arranged a dancing show for his English guest, the East's 'dancing girls' simulative performance inspired the western Lord.

Through the centuries Lahore was a centre of culture, fine arts, music and dance. The Ravi River's

beautiful girls have an excellent proficiency and celebrity in their art. The BBC Television once made a documentary: "*Dancing girls of Lahore*". The documented girls Tairo's and Sairo's dance I myself witnessed at the annual Mela {festival} of Sakhi Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. It was an unforgettable event.

The next day, the lion of Lahore and Lord of England cheered with the whisky-filled glasses, and the intoxicated but shrewd Raja inquired from Auckland about their mutual trust and friendship. The American historian, J.A. Norris, told about it in his book, 'The First Afghan War':

"Ranjit Singh, who was famous for his capacity for strong drink, passed round the cup and said to Auckland: 'There is truth in people when they drink--- now shake hands with me and tell me you are my friend.' Auckland did so, and they parted."

The First Afghan War P. 240

Ranjit Singh was well aware that after his fall, the British would spread its boundaries up to Afghanistan; his successors had no capacity to maintain Punjab and expanded areas outside it and also had no power to face the British designs against the Sikh Dynasty.

For his personal satisfaction he quizzed Auckland 'are you my friend?' But in practical politics there is no room for such romantic politics. As an aggressor, what he had done with neighbouring States - Sindh and Bahawalpur - at the end of his life he was expecting the same from the British vis à vis the Sikh Dynasty. What you sow so shall you reap.

Even if Sikhs had a cordial relationship with Sindh and Bahawalpur State, British did not exploit and use the card of Ranjit Singh's fear and it appeared to Ranjit Singh that sovereign Sindh and Bahawalpur never would make treaties with British and allow its interference in their geo-politic and socio-economic matters.

On the contrary Ranjit Singh believed his cordial

relationship and mutual cooperation with Sindh and Bahawalpur State and also Multan would give him a super-card vis à vis the Indus Valley. And also Punjab-Bahawalpur-Multan-Sindh alliance would provide the Sikhs with commercial and political benefits and strength.

Due to these alliances, British could not get access to the Indus River, he believed. The states of Indus Valley should get the benefit of its navigation and also through Sindh, the navigation of the Gulf and other warmer waters. Alas, Ranjit Singh missed his chance and his aggressive actions against neighbouring sovereign States made the entire Indus Valley subservient of the British.

From his visit to Punjab Auckland had observed two things:

The power of the Sikh Army
The supposed power of the Sikh army after Ranjit Singh was gone

Auckland shared his views with McNeil and Hobhouse:

“Lord Auckland said, he had been ‘very much struck with the admirable appearance of the Sikh troops’. There can be little doubt that he congratulated himself on having maintained the alliance with Ranjit Singh and avoided all causes of offence after the affair at Shikarpur in 1836. Similarly Ranjit Singh was glad to be at peace with his powerful neighbour.

Auckland wondered what would become of that large Sikh army once it lost its powerful leader. Indeed he told Hobhouse that once matters were settled in other quarters his first care would be to strengthen his defences on the frontier with the Punjab.”

The First Afghan war, p. 242

The British army’s attack on Kabul proved successful and Dost Muhammad Khan fled to the northern area.

Auckland, intoxicated with the success of Kabul, and his meeting with Ranjit Singh, asked Pottinger to formulate a new treaty with the Amirs of Sindh and get more concessions from them.

Following is the reward the British gave to the Talpurs for cooperation in First Afghan War

1. Control of Karachi seaport.
2. A new treaty that practically made Talpurs a sovereign state subservient to the British.
3. British levy on the seaport and the Indus River.

Pottinger forced the Talpurs to pay out funds for the First Afghan War and Eastwick, Captain Outram and lieutenant Leckie disembarked at Hyderabad to persuade the Talpurs to make a new treaty. The delegation met with the Amirs and gave them a draft of twenty-three articles. Bewildered and shocked, Mir Nur Muhammad Khan opened a box and showed the past treaties to the delegation. He then asked:

“What is to become of all these? Since the day that Sindh has been connected with the English there has always been something new; your government is never satisfied; we are anxious for your friendship and we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops through our territories and now you wish to remain. This the baloochees will never suffer. But still we might arrange this matter, were we certain that we should not be harassed with other demands.

He asked about the subsidy to Shuja, which matter had been left in abeyance for more than four months. ‘Is this a proof of friendship?’ he wanted to know. “We have failed in nothing; we have furnished camels, boats, grains, we have distressed ourselves to supply your wants. He further said:

We ought never to have granted a road through our territories; that was my act alone, all the Baloochees predicted what would happen; this is the consequence of

friendship.

The English delegate Leckie's reply was 'putting salt on an injury'.

This is the consequence of a want of friendship you have only to thank yourselves . . . As to the benefits resulting from the introduction of a British force into Sindh, they were clear and palpable, employment would be given to thousands, a vast influx of capital would encourage commerce and manufactures, this would eventually find its way into the treasuries of their high promises. The Indus, now so barren, would teem with vessels, jungle would yield to the plough, and prosperity succeeds to decay and depopulation."

British Relations with Sindh P.49

Capture of Karachi by the British

The person who wanted to save Karachi from the outsiders, Daryano Mal, the great son of Sindh, expired in 1920. However, what he did to save Sindh and its commercial city and the Karachi sea-port should be regarded as a patriotic act in the annals of history. See the confession of Nathan Crow in his book, "Accounting the country of Sindh":

'His visit to Sindh was a political mission'.

Here is proof and truth concerning the opinion of the Daryano about the designs of the British against Sindh.

It was 1839. Karachi was calling, "save me from British aggression, alas, there was no Daryano Mal; instead of him there was Seth Nao Mal, an ally of the British, who made all efforts to surrender Karachi to English authorities".

The British Admiral Frederick Maitland, carrying the Bombay reserve force under Brigadier T. Valiant, reached close to Karachi seaport. The Governor of Karachi had been already ordered by the Amirs to

welcome and cooperate with the troops. According to instructions, when the Baloch soldiers saw the ship, they made a friendly fire in the air as a customary salute. The reaction by the British force was very aggressive and they then attacked the Manora Fort. The nominal force of the Fort resisted in name only, and then it surrendered Karachi seaport and the city to English troops. The governor of Karachi and the British commanders signed a treaty of surrender.

On surrender of Karachi the agreement between the Governor of Karachi, and British Naval officers. February 7th, 1839.

Hassel Ben Butcha Khan, Subdar in the employ of the Government of the fort and town of Kurrachee, and the late commandant of the fort on the point at the entrance of the harbour, has this third day of February one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine been sent on Board Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Wellesley.

The said Governor "Khair Muhammad" with full powers to treat with British authorities for the surrender of the said fort and town of Kurrachee accompanied by Synah Khan, in the service of Meer Noor Mahomed, who had been sent for the same purpose by Ali Rakhi to treat on the part of the civil government of the town.

It is therefore, this day agreed by the said Hassel Ben Butcha Khan and Synah Khan, in the name of said two governments on the one part and His Excellency Rear Admiral Sir Fredrick Lews Mitland, K.C.B, Commander-in-Chief Her Britannica Majesty's naval forces in the East India Company, and Brigadier Thomas Valiant, K.H., commanding the British reserve Military force in Sindh.

In the name and on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, on the other part.

Article I

That the full possession of the port and town of Kurrachee shall be this day given up by the aforesaid Governor to the British forces.

Article II

That the British land forces under the command of the said Brigadier Valiant shall this day or as soon as the Brigadier may deem it convenient, be allowed to encamp near the town, and that such boats shall be supplied by the native government as may be required by the British Army upon payment of the usual boat hire for them, as also such camels and other means of conveyance as may be hereafter necessary, upon the like terms; as well that all kinds of provisions and other supplies shall be furnished for the use of the said British forces as they may stand in need of and require, the same being paid for at the usual rates of the country.

In Consequence of the fulfillment of these terms, name of the Honourable East India Company, that the persons and property of all the inhabitants of the fort and town of Kurrachee shall be held sacred, and that they shall be at liberty to carry on their business as heretofore; that their trading vessels shall be allowed to enter the port, and trade as usual without the slightest interruption; and further that the civil government of Kurrachee shall be carried on by the authorities of the place.

In witness whereof we have, this third day of February one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine set our hands hereunto, on board Her Britannic Majesty's Ship Wellesley, of Kurrachee,

Freed Lewis Mitland,

Rear Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of H.B.M.
Naval Forces in India

T. Valliant
Brigadier Commanding Reserve Force in India

The Mark of Hassel Ben Butcha
The Mark of Synah Khan

We, whose signatures are hereunto attached, ratify the above as the acts of our servants, in which we fully concur.

The mark of Khyer Mahomed
The mark of Ali Rakhi
Witness, this day of February 1839
J. Gray Her Majesty's 10th Regiment

T. Postans
Lieut.
Interpreter to Reserve Force.

Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Volume VIII

The plan and long-standing desire of the British to grab Karachi seaport and city from Sindh was easily obtained by her and Sindh lost its lands and assets.

During talks between Amirs and the British delegation, the Amirs were of the opinion that the unethical attack on Karachi was an injustice and against international law, and that the British should vacate Karachi. The Chiefs of Sindh made the following demands to the British envoy:

1. Withdrawal of the British forces from Karachi and the town should again come under the control of the Amirs.
2. The English cantonments should be out of Karachi and Hyderabad.
3. The 3,000 Sindhi soldiers will serve the British only in Sindh.
4. The continuity of the Sindh rupee in open market.

Pottinger supported the demands of the Amirs and suggested to Auckland that "we do not lose sight of their interests."

Auckland did not agree with the proposal of Pottinger, and he sent another draft of fourteen articles. The fourteen-point summary was sterner than Pottinger's 23 articles.

After the fall of Karachi, the British asked Sindh

rulers for a new treaty. The Amirs were 'between the fire and the water', and they were well aware how the British had made self-seeking moves against their old ally, Dost Muhammed Khan. He lost his crown and was in exile, hundreds of miles away from Kabul. Under these circumstances the Amirs had only one choice, i.e. to obey the orders of the Governor-General of India. The destitute Amirs signed the treaty.

Treaty between the British Government and the Ameers of Hyderabad, viz, Meer Noor Mohamed Khan, Mir Nasser Mahomed Khan, Meer Meer Mahomed Khan and Meer Subdar Khan – 1839.

Whereas Treaties of friendship and amity have from time to time been entered into between the British Government and the Ameers of Sindh; and whereas circumstances have lately occurred with render it necessary to revise those Treaties; and a separate Treaty has already been concluded between the British Government and Meer Roostum Khan of Khairpur; the following Articles have been agreed upon by the contracting parties.

Article I

There shall be lasting friendship, alliance, and unity of interest between the Honourable East India Company and the Ameers of Hyderabad, Meer Mahomed Khan, Meer Nasser Mahomed Khan, Meer Meer Mahomed Khan, Meer Sobdar

Article II

A British Force shall be maintained in Sindh and stationed at Thatta, or such other place westward of the river Indus as the Governor-General of India may select. The Governor-General will decide upon the strength of his force, which it is not intended shall exceed 5,000 fighting men.

Article III

Mir Nur Mahomed Khan, Meer Nasser Mahomed Khan, Meer Meer Mahomed Khan bind themselves to pay severally sum of one Lakh of Rupees, being three Lakh of

rupees altogether of the company's currency, or that called Bakroo, or Timorree, in part payment of the expense of the British force every year. Meer Sobdar Khan is exempted from all contribution to the expense of this place.

Article IV

The British Government takes upon itself the protection of the territories now possessed by the Ameers of Hyderabad from all foreign aggression.

Article V

The four Ameers, party to this treaty, shall remain absolute rulers in their respective principalities, and the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into their territories, the officers of the British Government will not listen to or encourage complaints against the Ameers from their subjects.

Article VI

The four Ameers, being confirmed in their present possessions by the preceding Article, will refer to the Resident in Sindh any complaint of aggression which one of them may have to make against another; and the Resident, with the sanction of the Governor-General will endeavour to mediate between them and settle their differences.

Article VII

In case of aggression by the subjects of one Ameer on the territories of another, and of the Ameer by whose subjects such aggressions are made declaring his inability to prevent them in consequence of the offending parties being in rebellion to his authority, on a representation of the circumstances made to the Governor-General by the Resident, the Governor-General will, if he see fit, Order such assistance to be afforded as may be requisite to being the offenders to punishment.

Article VIII

The Ameers of Sindh will not enter into any

negotiations with any foreign Chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; their amicable correspondence with friends and relations may continue.

Article IX

The Ameers of Sindh will act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government for purposes of defence, and shall furnish for the services of the British Government a body of 3,000 troops, horse and foot, whenever required; these troops, when employed with the British forces, will be under the orders and control of the commanding officer of the British forces. The Sindh contingent troops, if employed under British officers beyond the Sindh frontier, will be paid by British Government.

Article X

The Bakroo, Timorree Rupee current in Sindh and the Honourable company's Rupee being of equal value, the currency of latter coin shall be admitted in the Sindh territories. If the officers of the British Government establish a mint with in the territories of the Ameers, parties to this Treaty and their coin the Bakroo or Timorree Rupee, the Ameers shall be entitled, after the close of the present military operations in Afghanistan, to a seigniorage on the coinage according to the customs of the country.

Article XI

No toll will be levied on trading boats passing up or down the River Indus, from the sea to the northernmost point of that stream with in the territories of the Ameers of Hyderabad.

Article XII

But any merchandise landed from such boats on their passage up or down the river and sold shall be subject to the usual duties of the country, provided always that goods sold in British camp or cantonment shall be exempt from the payment of duty.

Article XIII

Goods of all kinds may be brought by merchants

and others to the mouths of the Indus "Ghorabaree" at the proper season, and kept there at the pleasure of the owners till the best period of the year for sending them up the river; but should any merchant land and sell any part of his merchandise, either at Ghorabaree or anywhere else {else the British cantonment}, such merchant shall pay the usual duties upon them.

Article XIV

The provision of this treaty agreed upon by the Governor-General of India on the one part, and Ameers Meer Noor Mahomed Khan, Meer Nasser Mahomed Khan, Meer Meer Mahomed Khan, and Meer Sobdar Khan on the other part, shall be binding forever on all succeeding governments of India, and on the heirs and successors of the said Ameers in perpetuity; all former Treaties between the contracting parties not resigned by the provisions of the engagements remaining in force.

This Treaty consisting of fourteen Articles, having been signed in quadruplicate by the Right Honourable George Lord Auckland and, G.C.B., Governor-General of India, at Bussee, on the 11th day of March 1839, one of these four documents will be separately granted, through Colonel H. Pottinger, each of the four Ameers on his delivering a counterpart engagement, under his seal and signature, the British Resident in Sindh, Colonel H. Pottinger.

Dated the 18th March 1839.

Auckland

Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Volume VIII

The same year, on 20 June 1839, Ranjit Singh died. The British administration had always had an eye on the health of Ranjit Singh and was awaiting his last breath. English officials were well aware that the government of various Sikh Misl (Branches) was uniting because of the charismatic personality of Ranjit Singh. After his death there would be no person who could unite Sikhs and maintain the administration of the Sikh Dynasty, and also to face the English force and its political ploys.

The British Commanders decided to give a lesson to the Khan of Kalat, Mehrab Khan, for his non-cooperation in their war against the Afghans and the horrific acts of the belligerent tribes during the British journey from Shikarpur to Quetta. The Bombay contingent upon its return from Afghanistan under the command of General Thomas Wilshire attacked Kalat on November 13, 1839. Some chiefs (Sardars) of the Kalat already having been bribed by the English administration, the Khan's force offered no serious resistance. The Khan himself bravely fought but was killed by the British forces. The English authorities nominated Shahnawaz Khan, a puppet of themselves, as Khan of Kalat. Mehrab Khan's son Nasser Khan's reaction was very swift; he defeated the British forces and regained the crown.

There was hardly any justification for the attack. The state of Kalat, very arid anyway, was already in a drought and not in a position to feed thousands of soldiers and their animals. The Khan had nominal control over hostile tribes. As Macnaghten admitted and Mehrab's agent reported:

"I particularly enjoined the Belochie tribes to refrain from thieving and plundering the Feringhees (English troops), and it was just like telling a mad man 'take care and do not burn the Place' and he replies 'thank you, you have well reminded me' and fires at once."

Strategies of British India P. 265

On 16 May, 1840, an English officer made a mistake and disaster occurred near Kahan in the Marri area of Balochistan. The author of book, 'The First Afghan War', J.A. Norris narrated the story as follows:

"The Marris had been plundering along the road to Quetta from Shikarpur and the British political agent had decided to install a small garrison and a tax-gatherer, according to Buist....in Kahan itself. This was a typical instance of the foolhardiness of Ross Bell and his associates. Not only was it madness to station fewer than three hundred men in a hill fort in the heart of hostile tribal country; it was lunacy to send men on any kind of

march in the fierce heat of May. Auckland was in Calcutta, and Ross Bell was far from any superior officer. Captain Brown commanded the new Kahan garrison, which occupied the fort on 11 May. On the 16th May he sent his camels back under escort, having unloaded supplies for four months of garrison duty. The young subaltern in charge of the escort, Lieutenant Clarke, encountered no opposition for the first few miles, so he sent half of his men back along the road to Kahan. The Marris ambushed and killed most of them long before they reached the fort. Clarke and the remainder of the escort also walked into an ambush, from which only a few emerged alive. The Marris collected the camels and the baggage and began to give their attention to the business of laying siege to the intruders at Kahan. Clarke had died bravely on the mountainside from which the Marris had risen up in ambush. 'Thus', says Buist, 'in a single day, did the 5th Bombay Native infantry lose 148 men.'

First Afghan War P. 324

After the demise of Ranjit Singh the geo-political situation of the Indus Valley changed and, as was expected after the departure of Ranjit Singh, three things happened:

- A clash occurred between his sons for the crown of the Punjab.
- The unity of the various branches of Sikhs was shattered.
- Sooner or later British would take advantage from these weakness of his successors and would take possession of the Punjab

All things happened like this (for which the British were waiting) and these factors were discussed among the high authorities of the East India Company and officials of British. The destiny of Punjab was at stake. One group of the English was of the opinion to continue the Sikh dynasty up to its natural fall.

Another policy-making group of the English was

that a weak Sikh Dynasty would be dangerous for the borders of British India, and as soon as possible it was imperative to get control of Punjab and to craft the borders so as to gain direct access to Afghanistan.

British officials strategically postponed a war with the Sikhs and came to a decision to conquer Sindh.

The intellectuals, politicians and Generals of the British were agreed on one point: that the Indus should be the natural border of the British. Writer M.E. Yapp narrated his and the British officials' opinion:

“By 1840, of course, British India was in the middle of a new reconstruction of frontier policy, and the advance to the Indus Valley was beginning, for many reasons, to seem more desirable and more inevitable. There was also another aspect. No one, reading, brought out clearly in the words of one of the lost opponents of the Indus frontier, Lord Hardinge, whose comments afford a suitable conclusion to this chapter:

“The very name of the Indus is associated with ancient recollections, which render it difficult to suppress the desire to make that magnificent river the boundary of the British Empire. Young civilians and gallant soldiers ardently desire annexation... and even sexagenarians might forget what is prudent in the patriotic pride of giving England's greatest conquest a frontier worthy of British India.”

Henry Pottinger, a diplomat and broker between Sindh and the British in the 1840s, felt that aggressive British behaviour against Sindh was unjust and he honourably disassociated himself from the matters of Sindh. M.E. Yapp's scholarly observation on the extrication of Henry Pottinger:

“Throughout the whole period the main executive agent of British policy in Sindh had been Henry Pottinger. Ever since 1809, when he had first set foot in Sindh, he had played a continuously significant role as the provider of the information and as the shaper of policy in that

region. The 1839 Treaty, however, was his last contribution. Ill-health was the reason given for his retirement, but there is little doubt that Pottinger felt out of sympathy with recent changes. He disliked the new plan of forward defence and he disliked the new British attitude towards Amirs of Sindh. In the past he had been a strong advocate of a firm policy, but now he wanted more conciliation. He felt Amirs had been unjustly treated and in his later dispatches exposed some of the wild fabrication concerning their behaviour. It is now clear that many of the reports of their hostility were untrue and that complaints against them, both in 1838 and afterwards, were deliberately manufactured by British officials in order to excuse their own mistakes. Finally, Pottinger felt that events had passed him by in Sindh; the preference given to the opinion of Burnes over his own was especially humiliating. So Pottinger left India, to achieve greater fame as the negotiator of the Treaty of Hong Kong in 1842, as Governor of Hong Kong, and later of the Cape, and eventually to return to India as Governor of Madras."

Strategies of British India P. 261

Afghan crises were seen by the British policy-makers and intellectuals, being of the opinion that it was happening due to the expansionist and aggressive policy of the Russians: The Times newspaper was famous in its Russo-phobia, and the following free-style review of McNeill shows the frustration of the British regarding Russian expansion:

"From the frontiers of the Hungary to the heart of Nepal, from eastward of the Ganges to the Nile and Danube, the Russian fiend has been haunting and troubling the human race, and diligently perpetrating his malignant frauds and perfidies to the vexation and disturbance of his industrious and essentially pacific empire.

England ... has at length apparently shaken off her death-like sleep. She detected seasonably the treacherous conspiracy, framed and encouraged by the known agent of Russia, along the whole northern frontier of British India embracing Burmah on the one extremity, on the other Cabul."

Strategies of British India P. 301

Super power defeated by Afghan

In 1841, the Afghan crisis began. A translation of the message preserved by Dr. James Burnes shows a picture of the Afghan mess:

“The second day of November 1841 was the third Tuesday of the month of Ramadan, a month in which Muslim tempers are proverbially short. We know this because Dr. James Burnes preserved a translation of a message from the chief conspirator of the Afridi tribe astride the Khyber Pass.’

The fact is this, that on the third Tuesday of the blessed month Ramzan in the morning time it occurred, that with other heroic champions stirring like lions, we carried by storm the house of Sickender Burnes. By the grace of the most holy and omnipotent God the brave warriors, having rushed right and left from their ambush, slew Sikander Burnes with various other Feringees of consideration, and nearly 500 battalion men, putting them utterly to the sword, and consigning them to perdition.”

First Afghan War P. 365

The superpower British armed forces were in turmoil, the lion Afghans were in a mood to give lesson to the British. The caravans, while travelling in Afghanistan, always pray to God:

Oh God save us from:

Claw of the lion

The venom of the Cobra, and

The vengeance of the Afghans

The vengeance of Afghans was in full swing, the damages were uncountable and it was a complete disaster for the superpower. The British authorities were in dilemma how to show their face to the international community and how to account for their defeat at the hands of the barbarian tribes. There was no answer except humiliation.

The Khan of Kalat, Mehrab Khan, forewarned

Burnes about their Afghan adventure.

Mehrab Khan, as reported by Burnes, also tried to make British flesh creep by telling them what lay ahead:

“Wait till sickness overtakes your troops—till they are exhausted with fatigue from long and harassing marches, and from the total want of supplies; wait till they have drunk of many waters; and wait, too, till they feel the sharpness of Afghan swords.”

The First Afghan War P. 262

Sindh was the main hunting place for the British. On 18 October, Ellenborough wrote to Prime Minister of the British, Lord Peel:

“He wanted Karachi and Sukkur and Bukkur ceded to Britain in redemption of the annual sums paid by the Amirs for the maintenance of the British subsidiary force. ‘I wish to have nothing else on the Indus’. He mentioned advantages of Sukkur as an emporium, and the usefulness of the Indus as a route not only for the movement of British manufacturers into India but also for the speedy transport of the troops and equipment. This is no more than what I looked forward to twelve years ago.”

The First Afghan War P. 437

The same year, on orders of Lord Auckland, the draft of a new treaty was prepared and it was given to Talpur Amirs.

This was a fresh order by British authorities to the rulers of Sindh to sign it humbly or be prepared for dire consequences. In 1842, they amicably signed the treaty.

Draft of Treaty between the Ameers of Hyderabad and the British Government --- 1842.

Article I

The Ameers of Hyderabad are relieved from the payment of all tribute to the British Government, which, under existing engagements, would become due after the last of January 1843.

Article II

The only coin legally current in the dominions of the Ameers of Hyderabad after the 1st of January 1845 shall be the company's Rupee and the Rupee hereinafter mentioned.

Article III

The British Government will coin for the Ameers of Hyderabad such number of Rupees as they may require from time to time, such Rupees bearing on one side the effigy of the sovereign of England with such inscription as the British Government may from time to time adopt, and on the reverse such inscription of device as the Ameers may prefer.

Article IV

Such Rupees so to be coined for the Ameers shall contain the same quantity of silver and of the same fineness as the Company's Rupees; and for every Rupee so coined, the Ameers shall deliver to the officers of the British Government, who may hereafter be from time to time appointed to receive the same, a quality of silver equal to that contained in such Rupee, and of equal fineness, or approved bills of equal value; and such Rupees so coined for the Ameers shall be delivered to them within four months after the payment of the approved bills for the amount, without any charge for the coinage, with charge will be wholly borne by the British Government.

Article V

The Ameers, in consideration of the above engagement, renounce the privilege of coining money, and will not exercise the same, from the date of the signature of this Treaty.

Article VI

With a view to the necessary provision of wood for the use of steamers navigating the Indus and the rivers communicating therewith, the British Government shall have the right to fell wood within one hundred yards of both banks of the Indus within the territories of the

Ameers; but the British Government, being unwilling to exercise such right in a manner inconvenient or disagreeable to the Ameers, will exercise it only under the direction of British officers, and will refrain from all exercise thereof so long as the Ameers shall provide, at the places to be named, such a quantity of wood fit for the purpose of fuel at the price of, as the officers of the British Government may from time to time require.

Article VII

The following places and districts are ceded in perpetuity to the British Government: Karachi and Thatta, with such arrondissement as may be deemed necessary by Major-General Sir Charles Napier; and; moreover, the right of free passage over the territories of the Meers between Kurrachee and Thatta along such line, and within such limits the officers of the British Government shall alone have jurisdiction.

Article VIII

All the rights and interests of the Ameers, or any of them, in Subzulkote, and in all the territory intervening between the present frontier of Bahawalpur and the Town of Rohree, are ceded in perpetuity to His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the ever faithful ally and friend of the British Government.

Article IX

To the Meer Sobdar Khan, who has constantly evinced fidelity to his engagements and attachment to the British Government; is ceded territory producing half a Lakh of annual revenue, such session being made in consideration of the loss he will sustain by the transfer of Kurrachee to the British Government, and as a reward for his good conduct.

Article X

The Commissioner appointed by Major-General Sir Charles Napier for the execution of this Treaty will, after hearing the several Ameers, finally decide what lands shall be made over to Meer Sobdar Khan, in pursuance of the above Article, by the other Ameers.

Article XI

Inasmuch as the territories to be ceded by the several Ameers, under the provisions of this Treaty, differ in annual value, and the amount of tribute now payable by the several Ameers is not altogether the same, the Commissioner appointed by Major-General Sir Charles Napier shall here the several Ameers as to the annual value of the lands so ceded, and shall declare what payments of money, or what cession of land in lieu thereof, shall be made by the Ameers, who shall make cession of lands of inferior value, to such as shall make such cessions made by the several Ameers (always excepting Meer Sobdar Khan) shall be as nearly commensurate as possible with the tribute to the payment of which each was before liable.

The remainder of the tribute now payable, which shall not be absorbed in the making of such compensations, or lands yielding annual revenue of equal amount, shall be at the disposal of the British Government, but the British Government will retain no portion thereof for itself.

Shimla, November 4th 1842

Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Volume VIII

The British had good relations with Mir Sher Muhamamad Khan and the Khairpur state for all intents and purposes was a British colony. The Amirs of Hyderabad were still in principle self-governing, but their work and authority over their own subjects was much limited.

A stormy weather was hovering over the Talpurs and the nominal autonomy which made them still Amirs of Sindh was near to an end.

A meeting of British high officials was held in 1841, and they decided to get control of the Sindh. Following is a text of the meeting:

“In 1841, the Tory Cabinet leaned towards a permanent withdrawal from Afghanistan. The Conservative leaders had opposed the expedition in 1839 and Peel saw

no reason to change his opinion. The news of the Afghan rising confirmed his view of the strategy which he described as 'the most absurd and insane project that was ever undertaken in the wantonness of power'. It was Wellington, however, who formulated the Government's advice to Ellenborough. Wellington recommended that Ellenborough should first secure control of India, withdrawing all forces behind the Sutlej and building up the fortress of northern India. Ellenborough should leave the Punjab alone but try to secure control of Kashmir, which Wellington believed would give the control of the Punjab Rivers. He advised Ellenborough to retain control of Sindh and of the lower Indus and to preserve a bridgehead across the river at Shikarpur. This more aggressive policy on the lower Indus was revealed later to be the product of his curious fear of France. Mistakenly Wellington believed French influence to be strong in the Punjab and feared that it might become established in Sindh and, through the Indus, linked to French power in northern India. To avoid this possibility he urged the control of Karachi and the maintenance of a strong naval force in the east."

Strategies of British India P. 451

British Colonised Sindh

After the defeat in the Afghan war, Ellenborough's succession to Auckland, and the new Governor-General's choice to put Outram under the command of Sir Charles Napier, all this became a harbinger of bloodshed in Sindh. Outram was well aware of the political scenario of Sindh and had close contacts with Ameers and, also, he was capable of securing the interests of the British and also to save the rights of Ameers in Sindh. But the inefficient and incompetent administrators, i.e. Ellenborough's and Sir Charles Napier's nastiest and unjustified acts -- brought shame to the British and put the black mark of immorality on a self-proclaimed civilised nation.

Sir Charles Napier's attitude toward the eighty-five year old elder of Talpur rulers of Khairpur State, Mir Roostum Khan, is an example of the brutality of the British commander. Outram narrated the sad story as below:

“Evil days had come upon him, strangers whom he admitted as friends, and whom in their hour of need he had befriended, now occupied his country with an army sufficient for its subjugation; and Rumour told him such was their subject. No word of comfort had been uttered, no friendly assurances vouchsafed, and he, who for three score years and ten had only been addressed in terms of adulation and affectionate homage, was now addressed in that of authority and menace. To use an expressive phrase in his own language, he felt that his face was blackened in the sight of his people, and his grey head dishonoured. He sought an interview with the man in whose hands reposed the destinies of himself, his country, and his subjects; hoping to avert the injuries about to be inflicted on him, or at all events, to learn their extent; for as yet he knew of them only by report. A brother whom he trusted, and of whose diplomatic skill he felt assured, offered to precede him, and acquire the requisite information, whispering the same time that treachery was intended. The poor old man

believed the tale, for the shadows which coming events----spoliation, captivity and exile, ----cast before them, had fallen on his heart, and concluded his mind with suspicious which the conduct of the General was little calculated to dispel.”

The Conquest of Sindh P. 87

Shah Latif a universal poet, social scientist and anthropologist, with this one verse narrates that too much trust and with accompanying ignorance is a door to sorrows and hardships.

*O Sussai! When you saw alien camels in yard
Why did you not tie their knees with a vest cord?
This ignorant act made you sufferer and ill fated.*

Risalo of Shah Latif translated by Prof. Amena Khamisani

This verse is from a folk story of Sussai and Punhoon. Sussai, a smart girl originally from Sindh, and Punhoon, a prince of the border area Kech Mekran, fell in love and this affection was converted into marriage.

The marriage was not acceptable to the family of Punhoon. Ari Jam; father of Punhoon sent Punhoon's brothers to bring him back to Kech-Mekran.

The brothers of Punhoon travelled to Sindh and met him at Bhambhor town. Sussai treated her brothers-in-law as honourable guests and served them with warm hospitality. One night, the drinking of wine made Punhoon senseless and it was an easy task for his brothers to carry him off to Kech-Mekran. Trusting Sussai had gone to sleep and in the morning as she awoke she felt the absence of her husband. Amazed and shocked, Sussai decided to follow Punhoon, but her parents and relatives told her that the journey to the remote area was very tough. But for the love of her beloved she did not pay attention to their suggestions and started travelling.

Shah Latif had praised Sussai's great effort in the search of her beloved:

*Fatigued, she rests not in shade, but walks in the sun
Sussai had made herself weak in this search
She asks from birds Punhoon's trail
They direct her for pity's sake
May Punhoon return to her in good faith?*

Risalo of Shah Latif translated by Prof. Amena Khamisani

The self-expression of Napier (as narrated by his relative Priscilla Napier, the writer of the book: 'I Have Sindh') clearly shows that war was his only aim.

"Looking out on the evening of the 21st from the door of his tent at Elore Charles soliloquized: 'Ten thousand men are encamped here at Elore, a town built by Alexander the Great'. Before the earthquake of 962 A.D. had tilted the Indus away from the city walls, the river had flowed round its rock, and in the days before the Arab Muslim invasion had come to India, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang had come to Elore in 640 and found a Sudra king reigning there over Sindh, a great Indus Valley kingdom stretching from Kashmir to the sea. Perhaps a triumphant feeling for the sweets of power haunted its air."

I have Sindh P.88

The following words about him show Napier's state of mind.

"15 August, Napoleon's birthday: He too is gone and may be met with hereafter, I am at war with half of India: Were it the whole I would not create. I laugh them to all scorn.

Tomorrow I shall reach Sehwan where Alexander built his tower, and I shall stand where he stood as indeed I have before, but not on the known spot. How easily, were I absolute, I could conquer all the countries."

British Relations with Sindh P.70

On the instructions of Ellenborough, Sir Charles Napier sent a new draft of demands to the Amirs of Hyderabad. Outram considered it an improper act of

General Napier but as a representative of the British he gave the paper to the Amirs and, to avoid any war, he persuaded them to drink the venom as a safe drug. The Amirs had two choices: either to accept the indecent proposal or prepare for bloodshed. Meanwhile, Sir Charles started a journey to Hyderabad, and in midway Outram sent him a message and informed him about the willingness of the Amirs. Sir Charles had already made up his mind to defeat the Amirs and to become the conqueror of Sindh; he did not pay attention to the memo of Outram and arrived near Hyderabad.

On the 13th Napier wrote Outram:

“I neither can nor will halt now. Their object is very clear and I will not be their dupe. I shall march to Hyderabad tomorrow and next to Hala and attack everybody of armed men I meet. ... If the treaty not signed on the 12th according to their promise of the 11th when the Ameers, knew that I had halted; their can remain no doubt of the fact that they have been using every trick to get over the Moharrum, as they could no sooner collect their troops. . . . If men die in consequence of my delay their blood must be justly charged to my account.”

British Relations with Sindh P. 102

Actually, the Amirs had signed the treaty on the twelfth, and Napier only halted because his men needed rest.

By February 15 Napier must have known that all the Amirs, with the exception of Nasir Khan of Khairpur, had subscribed to the treaty; yet he wrote to Outram.

“Do not pledge yourself to anything whatever. I am in full march on Hyderabad and will make no peace with Amirs. I will attack them instantly whenever I come up to their troops, they need send no proposals, the time has passed and I will not receive their messengers, there must be no pledges made on any account.”

British Relations with Sindh P. 102

The aggressive behaviour of Charles Napier

stimulated the rulers of Sindh to save their motherland; the Talpur force marched to stop Sir Charles Napier outside the capital city of Hyderabad. At Miani the two rivals became face to face with each other.

The disadvantage of the Talpur force was incompetence regarding of modern warfare technology. This incapability stemmed from friendship to the British because, in their coalition, the army of Sindh did not get training of modern warfare like the Punjab and Maratha forces which they had received due to the friendship of France.

Outram applied all methods to keep Charles Napier from the war. Napier did not bother to honour the peace efforts of Outram, and on 17th February the Anglo-Sindh alliance took a U-turn. The Talpur and British army were face to face at Miani near Hyderabad. The defenders were overwhelmed by the sudden attack of the British army, holding modern weapons. There was a great fight 'between leopard and deer' and as a result nearly four thousand soldiers of Sindh were killed while the British suffered a mere 63 casualties.

In his book, 'The Great Game' Peter Hopkirk quoted comments of one critic concerning the annexation of Sindh:

"Following their humiliation in Afghanistan, they have seized Sindh, 'like a bully who has been kicked in the street and goes home to beat his wife in revenge'".

*The Great Game*P.282

In March 1843, the second battle between the Talpur army and Napier's force took place at Duabo. The commander of the Talpur army, by origin African, General Hoshu, started the war with a slogan, 'Merson Merson, Sindh no Deson'; I will sacrifice my life but do not surrender Sindh to the English. He fought courageously till his last breath but the modern weapons of the British decided war in Britain's favour.

The conqueror, General Napier, in the search for

treasure. marched to Hyderabad. Without finding any resistance he grabbed assets of 18, 00000 pounds and got 70,000 pounds share for himself which made his and his daughters' future secure.

The American writer Robert A. Huttenback briefly narrated the nature and needs of Sir Charles Napier:

When Napier landed in India he was sixty. If his ambitions were to be satisfied, time was short. "Charles! Charles Napier!" he wrote in his diary, "take heed of your ambition for military glory; you had scotched that snake, but this high command will, unless you are careful, give it all its vigor again. Get thee behind me Satan!

British in Sindh P. 71

Robert A. Huttenback wrote further:

In a similar vein he later confided to his diary:

"My God! How humble I feel when I think! How exalted when I behold! I have worked my way to this great command and am grateful at having it, yet despise myself for being so gratified! ... I despise my worldliness. Am I not past sixty? A few years must kill me; a few days may! And yet I am so weak as to care for these things! No, I do not. I pray to do what is right and just. ... Alas I have not the strength! ... He who takes command loves it."

British Relations with Sindh P. 71

Furthermore Robert A. Huttenback wrote about Napier:

"It is possible that other more practical considerations played a role in Napier's aspirations. He had never been rich and the care of his daughters had frequently been a severe strain on his finances. Upon being congratulated by a fellow officer on his appointment to Indus, he had replied:

"I am very rational, my wishes are only to barter a great lack of sovereigns in this country for a lac of rupees in that! But I am too old for glory now. . . . If a man

cannot catch glory when his knees are supple, he had better not to try when they grow stiff! All I want is to catch the rupees for my girls, and then die like a gentleman. I suppose if I survive six years I shall do this."

British Relations with Sindh P.71

To accomplish his personal ambition, General Napier crossed all the barriers of morality.

The sober-minded circle of the British criticised the action of Charles Napier and at one point Napier conceded that he had committed a sin.

Robert A. Huttenback sheds light on the immorality of the attack of Charles Napier.

"Generations of British schoolboys have learned about the characteristic but apocryphal telegram Sir Charles Napier supposedly sent to London after his defeat of the Amirs of Sindh at Miani. "Pecavi," he punned 'I have Sinned (Sindh) + the tale has linked, probably for all time, the name of Charles Napier and the conquest of lower Indus Valley by the East India Company. Napier, however, is only the final, if possibly the most important, actor in the drama culminating in the annexation of Sindh. The story begins long before his arrival on the scene, and he is concerned merely with the last act."

"(There was no telegraph in 1843 on which Napier could have sent the message. The anecdote probably originated in a Punch cartoon of 1844 although Napier once used a similar phrase in his diary)."

British in Sindh P. VII

Outram, a main witness and player of the 'Game's' expressions plainly shows the black and white of the unjust and immoral act of Sir Charles Napier.

"I endeavoured to impress upon him, however, that the result to which his measures inevitably tended, was precisely the reverse of that "peace settlement" of the country, which he professed to have in view, and that the course he was pursuing would necessitate war. Nearly a

month before the battle of Meeane, I not only clearly foresaw the sad events that were to follow, but I declared to Sir Charles Napier my conviction, 'that every life, which might hereafter be lost in consequence, would be a murder'. Admiring him as a gallant soldier, and giving him credit for his professed anxiety to maintain peace, I could not disguise my regret at his persisting in what I deemed unjustifiable proceedings, and my sorrow that his should be the hands to work results so disastrous ---- disastrous, I mean, not in a military, but in a political and moral sense.

Conquest of Sindh P. 4

Outram was of the opinion that the main task of the Napier was to maintain peace but that he produced just the opposite -unrest and violence.

"All these circumstances my conscience impelled me to make known to those who had a right to interrogate me on the subject; and I sought, by every means in my power, to enlist the sympathies of those in authority in behalf of unfortunate princes, who by a series of unjust acts of aggression, and by the rude violence of their followers, anxious only for the independence of their country, were forced to resistance; and then punished for it ---- their possession confiscated, and themselves sent into captivity and treated with indignity."

Conquest of Sindh P. 6

Although the Amirs of Sindh did not harm the British forces or tarnished the British assets, however from the very day of his appointment, Sir Charles Napier set off an aggression against the Sindh rulers.

"Our recent triumphs in Central Asia had restored the prestige of British prowess; and read an emphatic "lesson to every prince in India," and yet, within two months of his arrival in Upper Sindh, he, whose avowed object was tranquilization, found himself involved in war! He who sought not "subjugation," was compelled to march into Hyderabad over the bodies of six thousand "fierce warriors," ---- so fierce, so eager for our destruction, that they had not only befriended when their

opposition might have ruined us, but for fifty-seven days after Sir Charles Napier had commenced hostilities, abstained from inflicting the slightest injury on the persons or property of British Subjects!"

Conquest of Sindh P. 24

Outram's comments on Napier's unjustified and immoral exploitation of the princes of Sindh:

"With such political supervision no native State, under British protection, could exist longer than did that of Sindh under Sir Charles Napier's political management. Fortunate, indeed is it for the princes of the other Hyderabad, for those of Nagpore, Lucknow, Baroda, Gawaliar, &c., &c., that they have men of a different "judgment in what constitutes greatness," to control ---- but also to protect ---- them. Placed at the mercy of such a modern Alexander, who when strong enough to cut the knot of political difficulty will not "take the trouble to unite it," their rich capitals would be sacked and their kingdoms appropriated, with even less trouble than was required for the spoliation of the unfortunate of the princes of Sindh. I was employed amicably to control, not to subvert the Ameers, and so for three years. Sir Charles Napier had ostensibly the same duty to perform for his Government; in less than as many months he picked a quarrel with them and commenced hostilities; drove them from their habitations; hunted them until compelled to resist; hurled them from their thrones; sacked their capital; and seized their country!

Conquest of Sindh P. 26

Meer Nur Muhammad demonstrated his displeasure on the non-stop demands of the British.

"I was well aware that unless good ground was shown for interfering with the previous treaties of 1839, those chiefs were not consent to any alteration thereof, and that similar objections would now be advanced by them {and with still greater force,} to those urged when the existing treaties were tendered. "Yes, here is another annoyance" said Meer Noor Mahomed, showing the previous treaties; "since the day that Sindh has been

connected with the English, there has always been something new; your Government is never satisfied; we are anxious for your friendship; but we cannot be continually persecuted.

Conquest of Sindh P. 35

Outram has rejected the claim of Sir Charles Napier on rights to the Karachi seaport.

“Let us examine the propositions so rudely and dictatorially put forth, in this his initial step in negotiations.

He interdicted the Ameers from levying customs at their own wharf at Kurrachee. In virtue of the treaty? No. For it was not stipulated that they were to relinquish what constituted the principal revenue of that place; and they had as much right to impose a duty on all imports, as had the British Government on the merchandise from Sindh, landed at our own wharfs; which the customs-house returns of Bombay will prove it did.

But the historian, at page 114, assures that the levying of such imports was a violation of the 12th and 13th articles of the Treaty: Like very many of General Napier's assertions, this is at variance with fact; and it is the less excusable, since he had the treaty to refer to.

The 12th article has reference merely to levying duties “on trading boats passing up and down the River Indus,” and only provides that goods landed “from such boats, on their passage up and down the river, and sold in a British camp or cantonment, shall be exempt from the payment of duty.” It expressly declares, that all merchandise not designed for a British camp or cantonment, “landed from such boats, on their passage up or down the river, shall be subject to the usual duties of the country.” The 13th article stipulates, that goods brought to the mouths of the Indus, (Ghorabaree,) “and kept there at the pleasure of the owners, till the best period of the year for sending them up the river,” shall not be taxed; “but should any merchant land and sell any part of his merchandize either of Ghorabaree or anywhere else, (except at the British cantonment,) such merchant shall pay the usual

duties upon them." But, perhaps, General Napier's topographical ignorance may have led him into the mistake, and he may imagine that "Kurrachee bunder is a river wharf, solely designed accommodation of the British troops, If so I beg to inform him that Kurrachee is seaport town, the exclusive property of the Ameers, unconnected with, and independent of, the British cantonment; and that the customs collected at its bunder, are sea customs."

Conquest of Sindh P. 63

Outram stated that the acts of Sir Charles Napier were against the principles of justice.

"In judging of the third period of Sir Charles Napier's career in Sindh, marked, as we are told, by negotiations to induce the Ameers quietly to accept the new treaties, one essential point to be kept in view. The previous policy of the British Government, as fixed and guaranteed by the treaty of the 11th March 1839, had been to recognize each Ameer as independent, and irresponsible for the acts of others. Sir Charles adopted a different resolution, ----

'I was resolved, when there was a breach of treaty, whether great or small, I would hold all the Ameers responsible, and would not be played off like a shuttlecock and told this was done by one Ameer, that by another, and so have a week's inquiry to find out who was responsible for the aggression'.

It may be observed, then, in the outset, that the principle, according to which Sir Charles Napier avowed his intention of acting towards the Ameers, was equally opposed to the dictates of justice, to the stipulations of treaties, and to the intention of the Governor-General."

Conquest of Sindh P. 80

Robert A. Huttenback opposed the appointment of Charles Napier in Sindh and he was of the view that Ellenborough's lack of knowledge and thirst to grab Sindh pushed him to solve a political matter through military power. Charles Napier also felt it a monkey business. Following is a text:

Neither Ellenborough nor Maddock had much knowledge about Sindh; Napier knew nothing about Sindh or about India. He had had experience in military and administrative posts, but his current problem was a political one, and for this type of situation he would seem to have been the worst of all possible choices. "Mene! mene! tekel, upharsin!" he wrote in his diary, "How is all this to end? We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be.

British in Sindh P. 77

First Sindh Blue Book. No. 164

Article. V. The four Ameers, parties to this treaty, shall remain absolute rulers in their respective principalities, and the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into their territories.

+Page 191, Vol. I

Ellenborough did not avenge the Afghan defeat; but for face-saving, he conquered his friend the weak Sindh; it left the question of morality to be supported by the British Empire. J.A. Norris, the American writer, analysed the annexation of Sindh as follows:

"It is rather entertaining to see Ellenborough turned conqueror-so soon after his reflections upon us for having gone beyond the natural borders of the Sutlej; but I should be sorry to check him in his career of victory by any questions or criticism in the H. of Coms. When he has got back to Candhar and Cabool, then will be the time to crow over him.

Well, Ellenborough never did get back to Kandhar and Kabul. He annexed Sindh, but the government at home was too well acquainted with the territory's strategic value to repudiate him. Its members complained and questioned the morality of the transaction, but in the end

they acquiesced, and the Court of Directors of the East India Company impotently objected too late.”

First Afghan War

Robert A. Huttenback went thoroughly through the papers of the Napier brothers and of Outram and concluded in following words:

“The long paper battle between Napier and Outram over the justice of the annexation of Sindh was to end in favour of the latter.

British Relation with Sindh P. 111

The Amirs of Hyderabad lost their dynasty, and treasury, and were put into captivity.

A prisoner, prince Mir Nasir Khan, narrated about his elimination. It is a dirge of a victim but there was a positive feature about him when he informed the people how they were looted. Following is a text of his narrative:

“Shortly after our accession, Colonel Henry Pottinger forwarded for our confirmation the treaty that had passed between our late respected father, Murad Ali Khan, and Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, because, being sons of the deceased, we were included in the terms of the treaty in question. It is necessary here to remark, that by this treaty a free passage was granted, by our father, to English merchants and traders of the Company's territories for commercial purposes. It is, however, a known fact that, in granting this permission, my father had been principally influenced by myself; for upon colonel Henry Pottinger coming to Haidarabad, on the part of the Governor-General, for the purpose of obtaining my father's sanction to the measure, he was extremely reluctant to comply, and would have withheld this consent altogether but my intercession. Let it be understood that this was not the only instance in which I had exerted my influence with my father in behalf of the English Government; for before the passing of this treaty, when Sir Alexander Burnes, on his way to Lahore, had repeatedly written to my father from Karachi, requesting a

free passage through the pleasant river of Sindh (Indus), it was my persuasion and interest alone which brought about a compliance with his wishes. Alas! When I was thus forward in the exercise of my influence and interest in the cause of the English Government, I little thought that that Government would reward me for it in the manner it has since done! But to return.

A few days after Colonel Henry Pottinger had forwarded to me the aforementioned treaty of confirmation, he himself paid us a visit of condolence on account of our father's demise. He then went to Kach, and forwarded to us a letter, under the seal of Lord Auckland. This letter went to say, that as the Governor-General regarded us as friends, and well disposed towards the English Government, his lordship would never, on any plea or excuse whatsoever, cast an evil eye upon our country or Government. The receipt of this communication gratified us assuredly not a little. We had no suspicions left in our minds for the future safety of our country; little conceiving at the time what the pen of destiny had inscribed on the forehead of our face!

After this we held a meeting and consulted together on the expediency of inviting a Vakil (ambassador) from the English Government to reside at our court. Accordingly we addressed Colonel Pottinger on the subject; his answer was that although he saw no necessity for an ambassador residing with us, yet, as we had made the request; he would make known our wishes to his Lordship, and forward to us the reply for our information.

Shortly after this, the Colonel again requested an interview. We felt highly gratified at the request, and immediately dispatched some of our nobles to escort him to Haidarabad, where we met. At this meeting, the Colonel suggested to us the expediency of permitting the English army a passage through our territories, both by land and water, on its expedition to Kabul. On this request of the English Government becoming public, all the Amirs and Biluchis, with one accord, set their faces against it, saying that, by acceding to these small requests, we might thereafter find ourselves involved in some

inextricable difficulty. But being ourselves of ingenuous minds, and having a corresponding opinion of others, I and my brother unhesitatingly resolved upon complying with Colonel Henry Pottinger's request, and by dint of perseverance and persuasion brought the Biluchis to consent to the measure. The required permission was accordingly granted, but we did not omit to inform Colonel Pottinger of the difficulties we had encountered before his wishes could be complied with. After this Colonel Pottinger quitted Haidarabad, and having encamped by the margin of the river, ordered the English troops from the port of Bombay to proceed to Kabul through Sindh. Indeed, many were the reproaches we had to combat for the permission we had granted --- a permission so much opposed to the wishes of our countrymen; but we thus acted in the hope that we should secure to ourselves the aid of the English in the event of the invasion of our territories by any enemy. Experience, however, has exhibited to us the reverse of what we had contemplated! When the English army reached Bari Gara, we were required to furnish supplies and camels for the troops, and firewood for the steamers. How I complied with this requisition it is unnecessary for me to detail. The manner in which, I served the British on these exigencies has to this day been equaled by no other potentate in India.

When the English army encamped at Jharak, fourteen Kos from Haidarabad, Sir John Keane, contrary to the terms of all existing treaties, demanded of us, for the expenses of the troops, the payment of twenty-one lakhs of rupees in specie, and three lakhs of rupees annually. With this demand also we complied. It is an established custom with the English Government, in their treaties with the Indian powers, to include the term "generation after generation," but the truth is that they limit the duration of a treaty to the extent of their own convenience: the sad effects of this I have bitterly experienced.

After this a new treaty was sent to me for signature, containing twenty-four articles, and to which I also acceded; but scarcely had the ink of my signature dried, when major-General Sir Charles Napier entered Sindh with his army. forwarded for my approval another treaty.

As a compliance with its too humiliating terms, would, in effect, have been an absolute subscription to our downfall, we dispatched a Vakil to Sakkar, to the Major General, to represent to him the case in true colours, but he plainly told the Vakil that he had not come there to talk; ---that he was only acting under the orders of Lord Ellenborough, and that if we did not immediately accede to the treaty he would forthwith enkindle the fire of destruction. He then, having crossed the Sakkar river, encamped at Lahori, and demanded of Mir Rustam Khan, the Chief of Khairpur, the immediate surrender of that place, for otherwise he should attack it on the following morning, when he could not answer for the Amir's private dwelling against the invasion of the soldiery. This poor man, helpless and weak, not knowing what might be the consequence, and intimidated by the threat, withdrew himself from Khairpur, and passed into Baji, thence to Nar, and from there to Kothra. His only alleged offence was this: a letter had been stolen from the post belonging to some of the English army, and it was suspected that some villain of Khairpur had committed the theft.⁺ Sir Charles thereupon demanded of Mir Rustam Khan the seizure and delivery to him of the chief. But Mir Rustam, being unversed in the art of divination, was unable to discover the unknown offender; whereupon the Major-General pronounced him unfit to become ruler, and ejected him from his Government. The entreaties and solicitations of Mir Rustam Khan were unavailing; the Major General would hear him not, and as his only consolation, directed him to proceed to Haidarabad, where he would himself also go and decide his case.

Finding the General bent upon hostility, we informed Major Outram of the circumstances. The Major immediately came from Khairpur to Haidarabad, and informed to us by letter that without our attestation to the treaty forwarded to us by Sir Charles Napier, we should obtain no hearing. We did as the Major desired. On the 9th of February, 1843, he visited us, and being satisfied on hearing our explanation of the particulars, said, that he would that night send to us a European whom we were immediately to dispatch on a fleet camel to Sir Charles Napier, in order that the ingress of the approaching force

might be stayed. We did, as we were desired, but on the 11^m of February, the Shutarswars, (camel-riders), who had accompanied the Europeans, returned and reported that immediately on his arrival Sir Charles Napier had struck tent and marched towards Haidarabad. We conveyed this intelligence to Major Outram, who immediately came over to us in the fort and assured us on oath that Sir Charles Napier had no hostile intentions towards us, if we but put our seal to the treaty, and on my sealing and delivering it he said---“Now rest satisfied: I will forthwith dispatch the treaty to Sir Charles with a letter from myself, and am confident that on its receipt Sir Charles Napier will immediately withdraw the forces”. The major then gave me a letter, with the treaty, which I instantly dispatched by camel-rider to Sir Charles. On the 14th, the camel-rider returned, saying, that that letter also had affected nothing. I lost no time in conveying this intelligence to Major Outram, but he took no further notice. Upon this the whole body of the Biluchis became disaffected. For my sake they had, in the first instance, permitted the English army a passage through the country on its expedition to Kabul; for my sake they had agreed to the immediate grant of twenty-one lakhs of rupees, and the payment annually of three lakhs more; and, lastly, when the English, infringing one treaty, had violated another, and a third, it was for my sake alone, that they had tamely submitted to remain quiet; but when they saw that, notwithstanding all these concessions and considerations shewn to English, they were yet bent upon hostility, their indignation becoming irrepressible, and predominating over their judgments, they no longer paid regard to my orders.

When they heard that Sir Charles Napier had, without a cause, imprisoned Hayat Khan, they determined upon revenging themselves on Major Outram. The moment I was informed of this I directed Jahan Khan and Haji Ghulam Muhammad to take twelve chosen armed men with him to escort Major Outram in safety to his place, and protect him against any attempt upon his person by the infuriated Biluchis. He was thus conducted unmolested to his quarters, although clusters of Biluchis were here and there seen lurking with the full determination of

revenge. But the men whom I had selected for the Major's escort were of a character to overawe them. Eventually, when the Biluchis had resolved upon attacking the Residency, I conveyed timely notice to the Major, and am satisfied that that gentlemen owed his safety entirely to the precautionary measures I had thus adopted. This circumstance alone is sufficient to evidence my good feeling towards the English.

When, on the 14th, the camel-rider returned and reported that the Major General, heedless of all the interdictions, was in full march upon Haidarabad, and bent upon hostilities, the Biluchis, in number about five or six thousand, marched out of Haidarabad with the intention of resistance. Upon hearing this I followed, and explained to them that they had needlessly put themselves in hostile position, because I was assured that the Major-General would not be the first to manifest hostility towards an ally. I myself had gone with no intention to fight. Had I entertained any such feelings I should have manifested them at the onset instead of waiting to do so until the eleventh hour. This circumstance is, of itself, sufficient to evince my innocency, --- that after the persuasion of two days and a night, I induced the Biluchis to desist from all indications of hostility. They said that they consented to all that I required, but would not quit this ground so long as the English army was advancing. Eventually they agreed to my sending a Vakil to the General to say, that we were yet friendly to the English.

By dawn of the morning of the third day the General's forces opened upon us their guns, and the Biluchis in despair fired in return. Thousands were, upon our side, killed, and the rest dispersed. With eighteen men I alone remain on the field, but when I saw that all had fled, and that the English were bent only upon oppression, I returned to Haidarabad.

The turn, which affairs had thus taken, grieved me in the extreme. My own people began to upbraid me, saying, that if at the commencement I had not permitted the English to enter the country they would not that day have been thus oppressed. Had I felt a desire to fight, it is

clear I should have quitted Haidarabad and retired to the mountains, from whence I might have commenced hostile operations, but having no such intentions I the next day, voluntarily, went to the English camp, and delivering my sword to the Major-General, said, ---“Why did you commence hostilities when I was ever ready to do as you required?” The General returned my sword and with a smile said, “Do not be uneasy, within twenty-five days I will settle your affairs;” and added, “dismiss your troops that are near, and send for Mir Rustam Khan, as I wish to see him”.

When I had dismissed the troops, and Mir Rustam Khan had arrived, he with me and Mir Shahdad Khan, who was with me, were imprisoned. Sir Charles then sent Major Reed and other English gentlemen into the fort on the plea of seeing it.

The wise who will hear this will become astounded, and will bite the finger of regret with the teeth of sorrow. Such was the state of things there while we were imprisoned. On the plea of seeing, they captured the fort, and carried plunder and devastation to such a pitch, that from under the arms of soldiery, gems and jewels were falling like grains of sand.

Three days after the entry of the English into the Fort, Mir Muhammad Khan was imprisoned, and on the following day Mir Sobdar Khan was brought out of the Fort, and likewise imprisoned. After this Mir Fateh Ali Khan and Mir Muhammad Ali Khan {sons of Mir Sobdar Khan}. And Mir Hassan Ali Khan and Mir Abbas Ali Khan {My own sons} were also brought from the fort to the place where I was. My sons in particular came so denuded that they had neither their sashes and nor their swords. All the gold and valuables were shut up and sent to Bombay. The plunder amounted in value to nearly eighteen crores of rupees

It is useless to detail the extent of our sufferings. Our mattresses, quilts, sheets, and wearing apparel were all taken away. Even the books, which we had retained for our amusement, were we deprived of by the English

gentlemen. That which was written in our fate, the same has come to pass. I do not complain of Lord Ellenborough or Sir Charles Napier, or any other English authority, for such was my destiny. It was inscribed in my fate, that those whom I should befriended the same would become my enemies. Praise be to God! I might go on lengthening this narration, but it is unnecessary to do so. It will suffice to say that we were first sent as prisoners to Bombay, then to Sāsūr, from whence Mir Shahdad Khan alone sent to Surat. After a year passed there we were brought to Calcutta.

It cannot be otherwise than matter of astonishment that, beside the Governor of Bombay, no one from this Government has come to enquire who we were, and what we had done to merit the fate which has befallen us.”

A Glance at Sindh before Napier P.355

There is a Sindhi saying:

If this guy is your friend, then you have no need of enemy.

I do not mean that as a nation what is mentioned above represents the character of the English, but the colonialist and imperialist mind of the English has put a label of untrustworthiness upon them.

In May 1844, Sir Charles Napier, the Governor of conquered Sindh, called a meeting of the chiefs of the tribes, feudals and influential landlords at Hyderabad. Against local traditions, he ordered that they should come unarmed to his court. Either in fear or to show his power, he was guarded by soldiers of the 86th regiment outside the court.

“That was a bright sunny day and several British soldiers did not sustain the heat of the blazing sun. As a result they collapsed. +”

+ (A letter from Hyderabad of the 7th, published in the *Bombay Times* of the 20th November 1844, states that the flank companies “were kept out on the 24th May, in the sun till long afternoon, by express order of His Excellency, to do honour to

the ragamuffin Beloochee chiefs, "and that on the 24th and 25th fifteen men died of coup de soleil.)"

In that meeting, Charles Napier, in order to establish British power, used the card of bribery and offered to the local influential persons a continuation of the feudal system.

During the same era, the British Government, with the endorsement of Parliament, abolished the feudal system in the U.K., but under the 'Game' plan, the British perpetuated and patronised the feudal system and awarded estates to feudals in Sindh.

In Britain there was a vocal protest, parliamentarians and newspapers compelling the Government to discuss the immoral act of Charles Napier and the British authorities, in the Parliament.

The British Parliament started a discussion on the takeover of Sindh. Ashley launched an open attack and questioned the morality of the annexation of Sindh. The voice of Ashley in favour of Sindh humiliated the Peel Government and Peel felt that possibly his government would fall. He successfully manoeuvred things and the opposition parties' cold-shoulder to moral issue provided him with a safe passage to pass up the danger. The British writer Sarah Ansari in her research paper calls it, 'The Political 'laundering' of Historical Evidence':

"Despite deep divisions of opinion at the time regarding the accuracy of their contents, the Sindh Blue Books of 1843 and 1844 came to be used as reliable sources of evidence by contemporary writers who based their analyses of the annexation on the interpretation offered in them. Later writing corrected many of the 'myths' surrounding the British conquest of the territory, leaving little doubt about the 'unscrupulous' nature of the British dealings that led to the events of 1843. Yet, while it has come to be accepted that the case for annexation presented by the authorities was a distorted one, precisely how this 'laundering' was carried out remained unclear. There are three generally accepted basic ways in which documentary

evidence can be manipulated: first, by the edition of the material; secondly, by the exclusion of the material; and thirdly, by the alteration of material so that its meaning becomes changed.

The Political Laundering of Historical Evidence P. 37

Mr. Peel, the Prime Minister of the U.K, delivered a speech in Parliament which echoed the state of mind of a colonial premier. Sarah Ansari made a brief observation while mentioning the expressions of Mr. Peel in her book, 'The Sindh Blue Books 1843-44'.

"The parliamentary debate of 8 February, as well as underlining the political tactics involved, also highlighted the attitude of leading members of the Government towards the 'moral' aspects and obligations of the British involvement in Sindh. Peel, in his own speech, sought to draw the attention of the House to a 'great principle at work wherever civilization and refinement come into contact with barbarism, which makes it impossible to apply the rules observed among more advanced nations'. In other words, he argued that this 'uncontrollable' principle justified the 'unjustness' of any British acts in Sindh. Peel did not escape criticism for what amounted to an admission of double standards: *The Times* interpreted him to be arguing that uncivilized nations were made to be conquered. This philosophy, articulated by Peel, ran like a guiding line throughout his government's entire approach to the steps taken in relation to Sindh. Peel, like his colleagues, regarded any action as basically legitimate if it could be argued as in his country's national interest. The government certainly recognised that the Amirs had been harshly and unfairly treated, and Peel himself had earlier asserted that 'no considerations of temporary inconvenience ought, in my opinion, to prevent us from making what reparations it may be in our power to make.'"

The Political Laundering of Historical Evidence P. 63

No doubt, European, American, Chinese, Japanese and other developed countries' materialist progress provides human beings with relief. Yet the contemporary avowed United Nations purpose to make the universe a

necklace of multicultural and multi-religious societies has not yet been achieved by man.

The Colonial role and petty ambitions are great barriers to human harmony and the emergence of a tolerant society.

Mr. Peel's aim and objective was to grab the land and resources of weak and unskilled nations and make his own country wealthy, developed and powerful.

Eight years later in 1852, like Peel, a representative of a civilized nation, the American president, wanted to buy land from the Amerindian chief Seattle. Joseph Campbell has presented the communication between the president of the United States and Chief Seattle as follows:

Joseph Campbell, who studied myths from many old traditions, gives a beautiful example to the letter that Chief Seattle – one of the last spokesman of the Stone Age Paleolithic Moral Order – allegedly wrote in 1852 to the President of the United States, who wanted to buy their tribal land.

The President in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land. But how can you buy or sell the sky? The land? The idea is strange to us. If we do not own the freshness of the air and the sparkle of the water, how can you buy them?

Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shining pine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every meadow, every humming insect. All are holy in the memory and experience of my people.

We know the sap which courses through the trees as we know the blood that courses through our veins. We are part of the earth and it is part of us. The perfumed flowers are our sisters. The bear, the deer, the great eagle, these are our brothers. The rocky crests, the juices in the meadow, the body heat of the pony, and man, all belong to same family.

The shining water that moves in the streams and rivers is not just water, but the blood of our ancestors. If we sell you our land, you must remember that it is sacred. Each ghostly reflection in the clear waters of the lakes tells of events and memories in the life of my people. The water's murmur is the voice of my father's father. The rivers are our brothers. They quench our thirst. They carry our canoes and feed children. So you must give to the rivers the kindness you would give any brother.

If we sell you our land, remember that the air is precious to us that the air shares its spirit with all the life it supports. The wind that gives our grandfather his first breath also receives his last sigh. The wind also gives our children the spirit of life. So if we sell you our land, you must keep it apart and sacred, as a place where man can go to taste the wind that is sweetened by the meadow flowers.

Will you teach your children what we have taught our children? That the earth is our mother? What befalls the earth befalls all the sons of the earth.

This we know: the earth does not belong to man, man belongs to the earth. All things are connected like the blood that unites us all. Man did not weave the web of life; he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself.

One thing we know, our god is also your god. The earth is precious to him and to harm the earth is to heap contempt on its creator.

Your destiny is a mystery to us. What will happen when the buffalo are all slaughtered? The wild horses tamed? What will happen when the secret corners of the forest are heavy with the scent of many men and the view of the ripe hills is blotted by talking wires? Where will the thicket be? Gone! Where will the eagle be? Gone! And what is it to say goodbye to the swift pony and the hunt? The end of living and the beginning of survival.

When the last Red Man has vanished with his

wilderness and his memory is only the shadow of a cloud moving across the prairie, will these shores and forests still be here? Will there be any of the spirit of my people left?

We love this earth as a newborn loves its mother's heartbeat. So, if we sell our land, love it as we have loved it. Care for it as we have cared for it. Hold in your mind the memory of the land, as it is when you receive it. Preserve the land for all children and love it, as God loves us all.

As we are part of the land, you too are part of the land. This earth is precious to us. It is also precious to you. One thing we know: there is only one God. No man, be he Red or White Man, can be apart. We are brothers after all.

There is some doubt about the authenticity of this letter. Nevertheless it gives a beautiful expression of the deep feeling for the sacredness of nature in primitive religion. And it is also a prophetic vision of our development into an artificial world where that feeling of unity with nature would be lost. To express their feeling of unity with nature, early peoples created symbolical stories, drawings and myths. Of course these myths could not be taken literally; they were a metaphorical description of a complex, mysterious world. In this vision men and gods were not yet separated by a deep rift. They were from the same nature. This heathen vision was holistic.

I bend towards thee, O Mother Earth, in veneration of the Father in heaven.

The Complete Sayings, 727

Nature is the very being of man, therefore, he feels at one with nature

The complete saying 1:52"

Sufism in Action P.15

More than a century ago, in the same manner and

- spirit, Shah Abdul Latif, summarily described the love and honour of the Beloved and motherland as under:

*A mean may only forget the beloved and motherland,
Woe upon those who forget the love of land.*

Shah Jo Risalo – Translated by Prof. Amena Khamisani

The culture, tradition, language and motherland are equally dear to civilised or uncivilised nations and their love and attachment with the soil is natural. The invader (either civilized or uncivilized) has only interest in the resources of slave nations but every cultured or uncultured people's love for their native soil is biological. Above all, concerning the sanctity of motherland, only the son of the soil can understand that the invader's task is to rob the assets of overpowered nations. If we read history we see that invaders are responsible for bloodshed and are demolishers of cultures.

Peel's statement in the British Parliament serves as an example that the colonialist nation's military and civil bureaucracy and the parliamentarian's psyche is the same. Peel's barbarous and undemocratic acts in Sindh from 1843 to 1947 were an example of immorality. The people of Sindh faced it bravely and courageously and they struggled to get rid of the British yoke. Its leadership worked to develop institutes for the advancement of the nation.

The British authorities did one more unethical act. Four years later, the British annexed the state and made it part of the Bombay Presidency, much against the wishes of the Sindhis. This action on the part of the British administration made Sindh dependent on this Bombay Presidency and the State lost out economically, educationally and socially.

Annexation of Punjab

Poros, the sovereign ruler and hero of Punjab, courageously fought with Alexander at Jehlum. Several famous tales are told about his bravery. After Poros, Ranjit Singh was a person who gathered Jats and Rajputs and crafted a sovereign state of Punjab. Ranjit Singh was crowned on 12 April 1801 (to coincide with Baisakhi). Sahib Singh Bedi, a descendant of Guru Nanak Dev, conducted the coronation.^[23] Gujranwala served as his capital from 1799. In 1802 he shifted his capital to Lahore. Ranjit Singh rose to power in a very short period, from a leader of a single Sikh *Misl* to finally becoming the Maharaja (Emperor) of Punjab.

He then spent the following years fighting the Afghans, driving them out of the Punjab. He also captured Pashtun territory including Peshawar (now referred to as North West Frontier Province and the Tribal Areas). This was the first time that Peshawari Pashtuns were ruled by Punjabis. He captured the province of Multan which encompassed the southern parts of Punjab, Peshawar (1818), Jammu and Kashmir (1819). Thus Ranjit Singh put an end to more than a hundred years of Muslim rule in the Multan Area. He also conquered the hill states north of Anandpur Sahib, the largest of which was Kangra.

During his rein Ranjit Singh and the British became political allies. Though by appearance the British were friends of the Sikh dynasty, their designs were different. Following is some evidence:

M.E. Yapp narrates the plan of British to capture the Sindh and Punjab:

“Like Conolly and Trevelyan, Burnes repeated Evan’s contention that a Russian army could advance through Central Asia to the Indus in two campaigns. Inevitably, he was led to the same conclusion that an

Afghan buffer was essential. In the longer term he recommended the annexation of the left bank of the Indus (Including Sindh and the Punjab) and alliances with powers on the right bank, notably with Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul, thus predicting the defensive system which emerged in the 1850s."

Another opinion of M.E. Yapp:

"They show how the Afghan alliance could be seen in the context of what many, including Burnes, thought to be the inevitable ultimate annexation of the Punjab."

Strategies of British India P.211

Hobhouse, an important British official, had a cherished desire to see the annexation of Sindh and Punjab before his last sigh.

"I should regard the Indus as a barrier, almost impassable---and this proceeding will pave the way for that which, I trust, accomplished in my life time, namely the peaceful annexation of the Punjab and Sindh to our dominions."

Strategies of British India P. 290

The French general of Napoleon, after the fall of Napoleon himself, joined the Sikh army and became an important general of the Sikh dynasty. After the demise of Ranjit Singh, he foretold the fall of Punjab:

"General Ventura predicted the break-up of the Lahore state, the independence of the Jammus in the hills and the Governor Mulraj in Multan, the recovery by the Afghans of the right bank of Indus, and the Sikh rule in the rumps of Lahore state."

*Strategies of British India P. 518 **

"During the early months of 1844 Ellenborough leaned more and more obviously towards the goal of a speedy and comprehensive settlement with the Punjab. The termination of the present state of things in the Punjab

is essential to the security of British power in India', he informed Queen Victoria in April 1844."

Strategies of British India P. 519

Wellington was of the view that, 'Ellenborough should leave the Punjab alone but try to secure control of Kashmir, which Wellington believed would give control of Punjab rivers.'

Strategies of British India P. 451

Plan of James Mill to annex Punjab and Sindh, and comments of the J.A. Norris:

"It soon became clear to the world that the natural frontier assigned to the British Empire in India was one that included Sindh and the Punjab, as James Mill had so quietly forecast in 1832:

"I consider that we have nothing between us and the most desirable frontier everywhere, but the territory of Ranjit Singh. If we were threatened on the North West frontier, for example, by an invasion of the Russians, we should, in self defence, be obliged to take possession of the country to the foot of the hills, as we could not leave an intermediate space, in which the enemy might establish themselves".

The thought had also crossed the minds of Bentinck and Auckland, Wellington and Ellenborough, among others, in the years between Mill's evidence and the annexation of Sindh and the Punjab."

The First Afghan War P. 441

"The plot is thickening and I have no hesitation in asserting my belief that we shall find ourselves in a very awkward predicament, unless we adopt measures for macadamizing the road through the Punjab."

W.H. Macnaghten, 10 April 1848

Strategies of British India P. 498

Macnaghten became the principal exponent of the policy of hostility towards the Punjab. His attitude derived

partly from an earlier period when suspicions of Sikh designs were stronger. In 1838 he fought hard to exclude the Sikhs from a major role in the new strategy and, like most Britons in India, he undoubtedly looked to the ultimate annexation of Lahore and that sooner rather later. His position in Afghanistan served to fertilize the seeds of hostility to the Lahore state. Partly this fresh stimulus derived from the need for speedy communications, partly from frontier disputes and partly from a belief, affected or real, that the Sikhs were fomenting disturbances in Afghanistan. Basically, however, the Afghan strategy made the former Sikh buffer not only unnecessary but also a nuisance, interposed as it was between British India and its main defensive bulwark. Between 1839 and 1841 Macnaghten sought to destroy the Punjab as an independent state."

Strategies of British India P. 501

"Clerk was to inform the Sikhs that a refusal to allow convoys to cross their territory would be regarded as unfriendly act. In effect he was to say 'we heartily desire to be friends. If however our rights are withheld you must expect us as enemies and our enmity will be prompt and vigorous'".

Strategies of British India P.506

"Once again Auckland refused to accept either the views of Clerk or those of Macnaghten. Whereas Clerk saw the problem of the Punjab in terms of the Hindu buffer and Macnaghten saw it in terms of development of the Afghan buffer, Auckland obstinately insisted on regarding it primarily from the short-term viewpoint of communication.

He considered the right of free passage to have been conceded in 1840 and as long as the road remained open he wanted little else from Lahore---merely some guarantee that the Lahore Government would not interfere in the Protected Sikh States, the abrogation of the 'tribute' article in the 1838 Treaty, a few commercial concessions, and a limitation of the number of forgotten officers employed in the Lahore army. He would intervene in the

Punjab only in the event of a complete breakdown in the Lahore state which would jeopardize communications. In that event Auckland did envisage a partition of the Punjab in which the Sikh territories on the left bank of the Sutlej would fall to Britain and those on the right bank of the Indus to Afghanistan.”

Strategies of British India P. 509

“As Wellington himself had discovered at Assaye, where his losses were proportionately higher than those suffered by Gough, cheap victories against a resolute, skilled, well-disciplined and well-equipped foe were not to be had, and in 1845 the Sikh artillery and infantry was comparable in all but size to the best European armies. Nevertheless, the impression remains that Gough mishandled his battles. Even Wellington regarded Mudki as defeat, but with admirable phlegm he asserted that the Government should put a good face on it and order the Park and Tower guns to be fired in celebration of a victory.”

Strategies of British India P.555

“For many years the bare mention of the possible acquisition of the dominions of Ranjit Singh kindled a fever of expectancy in the minds of the English in India. Their imaginations grasped the grand idea of a country of inexhaustible wealth, whose annexation to our own territories would supply a general remedy for all our financial diseases.”

J. W. Kaye, 1853

Strategies of British India P.558

“The spread of war seemed to corroborate Dalhousie’s opinion in favour of annexation. ‘I can see no escape from the necessity of annexing this infernal country’, he wrote to Couper on 18 September.” I shall avoid annexation to the last moment; but I do not anticipate that it can be avoided.’ The news of the defection of the Sikh troops at Multan dispelled any remaining doubts which he might have held. ‘The rebellion of the Sikh nation has at last become open, flagrant, and universal’, he wrote to Hobhouse on 1 October. There was no choice but to fight

and annex. Until this was accomplished 'there will be no peace for India---no security for our frontiers---no release from anxiety---no guarantee for the tranquility and improvement of our own provinces.'

Strategies of British India P. 561

For the vested interests of the British, its administration's policy was 'do pledges for nothing'.

Punjab, Sindh, Bahawalpur state and Kashmir were not to fall to British yet. British harassed Sindh and Bahawalpur through their fear of Ranjit Singh, and made treaties with them for their own future political strategies. Also they made Anglo-Sikh treaties with Ranjit Singh.

The British, after the conquest of Sindh's seaport Karachi in 1839, and the departure of Ranjit Singh on 20 June 1839 became very aggressive, and everything worked fast. Vis-a-Vis its real plan to annex Sindh and Punjab and make the Khaibar pass its North-Western border.

During the reign of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh buffer was acceptable to the British, but after his demise, their plan changed. While, Viceroy, Auckland, Hobhouse, Ripon, Macnaghten, Clerk, Hardinge, Claude Wade and Dulhosie all held different opinions about the annexation of Punjab, no person has serious objection to its occupation. The British official in Ludhiana, Claude Wade, was a main player of these tricks. In 1834 Wade encouraged Shah Shuja to attack Sindh and in 1836 he inspired Ranjit Singh to assault Sindh.

British policy was fully calculated - it could not tolerate loss of wealth or defeat. The defeat experienced in the First Afghan War made them very sensitive and British policy makers and adventurers did not like to see again any such defeat or loss in the Asian subcontinent. British believed that defeat might inspire the entire subcontinent to revolt and any such anti-British movement would be quite harmful for them. Although the British administration was very ambitious about the annexation of the Punjab, the danger of too much expenditure or being

trounced kept them away for years and they therefore avoided aggression against Punjab and delayed until a proper time or until some error of the Sikhs.

Ranjit Singh was well aware that the unity of the various Sikh branches was due to his charismatic personality and that after him this unity would not last long. He also knew that his succession would produce dispute among his heirs. Both aspects will be the main causes of a weak Sikh dynasty. This insightful Maharaja was also conscious that the annexation of the fertile and wealthy land of Punjab was a long cherished desire of the British. His heirs felt were same about the British designs, but their greed for power and a lack of tolerance made them weak.

The return of defeated British forces from Afghanistan via Punjab created clashes among British and Sikh troops. Clerk, who was in charge to making a safe passage for British troops, warned the Sikhs:

“A refusal to allow convoys to cross their territory would be regarded as an unfriendly act’. In effect he was to say ‘we heartily desire to be friends. If however our rights are withheld you must expect us enemies and our enmity will be prompt and vigorous.”

Strategies of British India P. 506

The British’s aim was to annex Punjab or make it a subservient buffer state. This thinking of the British created unrest in the Sikh forces, and as a result battles and clashes ensued. The structure of the Sikh army as mercenaries changed to one of nationalistic patriotism, as narrated by M.E. Yapp:

“Real power had passed to the army, the character of which was completely altered; formerly it had been a mercenary instrument in the hands of Ranjit Singh; now it had become a national institution representing ‘the most permanent and a highly influential body of the community --- the cultivating landholders’, a group which was profoundly anti-British.

The army was governed not by its officers but by *Panchayats* or councils of ordinary Sikh soldiers', and it was these *Panchayats* which commanded the actions of the Lahore Government. In short, the Sikh army had become not a praetorian guard but a New Model Army."

Strategies of British India P. 535

British observers decried it as a "dangerous military democracy".

British representatives and visitors in the Punjab described the regiments as preserving "puritanical" order internally; but also as being in a perpetual state of mutiny or rebellion against the central Durbar (court).

Generals Ventura and Currie stimulated flames of war, however, up to September 1845; Viceroy Harding, however, avoided war with Punjab.

In Kashmir the British diplomat Peter Nicholson tried to win over a Muslim leader Mulla Ahmed but he failed. For its survival, Gulab Singh, a powerful person of the Kashmir, was ready to compromise with the British and he offered his services against Lahore, but he was cold-shouldered by the British. Also, several Sikh chiefs were ready to become allies of the British, but they were afraid of Sikh soldiers.

The patriotic role of Sikh soldiers was not appreciated by the Sikh ruling class. For dismantling the Sikh forces, Chief Minister Jawaher Singh planned a war between British and Sikh troops. Sikh patriotic forces believed this to be a conspiracy and they demanded that Sikh chiefs should command the troops. The conspirator chiefs did not agree with their demands, however. Eventually the Sikh patriotic soldiers were trapped and on 12 to 13 December 1845 they crossed the river. The reaction of viceroy Hardinge was prompt and he issued a declaration of war and proclaimed the Cis---Sutlej districts part of the British territory.

First Anglo-Sikh War

Mudki - Ferozeshah - Aliwal Sobraon

Ranjit Singh died in 1839. In a short while the Sikh dynasty's downfall began. Ranjit's legitimate son, Kharak Singh, became his successor. However, due to his unpopularity, he was toppled within a few months. He expired in prison under mysterious conditions. The majority of people believe that he was poisoned. His son, Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, became chief of the Sikh kingdom. Within a few months, returning from his father's cremation, an archway fell on him and he died.

In the race for power and sway, two major groups, the Sikh Sindhanwalias and the Hindu Dogras competed. In January 1841, the Dogras became successful and their choice Sher Singh (an illegitimate son of Ranjit Singh) was crowned as chief of Punjab. Leading Sindhanwalias got shelter within British boundaries; however, they still had supporters in the Punjab army.

After Ranjit Singh, a new Khalsa body of soldiers of landlords and their retainers enhanced the army from 29,000 soldiers (with 192 guns) in 1839 to over 80,000 in 1845. There was a situation of chaos in Punjab. In 1843, Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia, an army officer of the Khalsa and cousin of Sher Singh, assassinated Sher Singh. The Dogras took their revenge on those responsible. Infant Duleep became chief of the Punjab and Jind Kaur, Ranjit Singh's youngest widow, became Regent. Hira Singh, a minister of the Sikh dynasty was ambushed when he was leaving the capital with loot from the Royal Treasury (Toshkana), by troops under Sham Singh Attariwala. In December 1844, Jawahir Singh, brother of Jind Kaur, became minister. He managed to bribe Khalsas with false pledges and he became a specialist in terrorizing the masses. In September 1845, at an army parade, he was assassinated in the presence of Jind Kaur and Duleep Singh. Lal Singh, reportedly a lover of Jind Kaur, became minister, and Tej Singh became commander of the army. Sikh historians have stressed that both these men were

prominent in the Dogra faction. Originally high-caste Hindus from outside the Punjab, both had converted to Sikhism in 1818 (like the majority of the Sikhs in Punjab at that time).

British preparation for the annexation of Punjab:

Immediately after the death of Ranjit Singh, the British East India Company strengthened its army adjacent to the Punjab. After the conquest of Sindh in 1843, the British also established a military cantonment at Ferozepur, only a few miles from the Sutlej River which marked the frontier between British-ruled India and the Punjab. Governor General Lord Ellenborough and his successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, were of the opinion that the Khalsa, without strong leadership to restrain them, was a serious threat to British border. Sikh and other Indian historians are of the opinion that the military groundwork by the Governor Generals was offensive in nature; for example, they prepared bridging trains and siege gun batteries, which would be unlikely to be required in a purely defensive operation. A new agent, Major George Broad, held an aggressive and improper attitude. This increased tension within the Punjab government and the Khalsas, and they felt that British's designs were to annex the wealthy land of Punjab and also to snatch the Koh-i-Noor diamond.

With this lack of trust, Anglo-Sikh diplomatic relations were shattered and the situation became a harbinger of the First Anglo-Sikh War 1846. Under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, an East India Company army marched towards Ferozepur, where a division was already stationed. In response to the British move, the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej on 11 December 1845. Although the leaders and principal units of the army were Sikhs, there were also Punjabi, Pakhtun and Kashmiri infantry units together with them. The artillery consisted mainly of units of heavy guns, which had been organised and trained by European mercenaries.

The Sikh army under Tej Singh advanced towards Ferozepur. Another force under Lal Singh clashed with

Gough and Hardinge's advancing forces at the Battle of Mudki on 18 December. The British won an untidy encounter battle. On the next day, the British army came face to face with the large Sikh entrenchment at Ferozeshah. On 21 December Gough's troops attacked the Sikh army and in a few hours, the well-served Sikh artillery caused heavy casualties among the British, and their infantry fought desperately. On the other hand, the elite of the Sikh army, the irregular cavalry or ghodachadas (alt. gorracharra, horse-mounted) were comparatively ineffective against Gough's infantry and cavalry as they had been kept from the battlefield by Lal Singh. By nightfall, some of Gough's army had fought their way into the Sikh positions, but other units had been driven back in disorder. Hardinge expected a defeat on the following day and ordered the state papers at Mudki to be burned in this event. However, on the following morning, the British and Bengal Army units rallied and drove the Sikhs from the rest of their fortifications. Lal Singh had made no effort to rally or reorganise his army. At this point, Tej Singh's army appeared. Once again, Gough's exhausted army faced defeat and disaster, but Tej Singh inexplicably withdrew, claiming that British cavalry and artillery which were withdrawing to replenish ammunition were actually making an outflanking move. Operations temporarily halted, mainly because Gough's army was exhausted and required rest and reinforcements. The Sikhs were temporarily dismayed by their defeats and by their commanders' actions, but rallied when fresh units and leaders joined them, and Maharani Jind Kaur encouraged 500 selected officers to make renewed efforts. When hostilities resumed, a Sikh detachment crossed the Sutlej near Aliwal, threatening Gough's lines of supply and communications. A division under Sir Harry Smith was sent to deal with them. Sikh cavalry attacked Smith continually on his march and captured his baggage, but Smith received reinforcements and at the Battle of Aliwal on 28 January 1846, he won a model victory, eliminating the Sikh bridgehead. Gough's main army had now been reinforced, and rejoined by Smith's division, and they attacked the main Sikh bridgehead at Sobraon on 10 February. Tej Singh is said to have deserted the Sikh army early in the battle. Although the Sikh army resisted as

stubbornly as at Ferozeshah, Gough's troops eventually broke into their position. The bridges behind the Sikhs broke under British artillery fire, or were ordered to be destroyed behind him by Tej Singh (ostensibly to prevent British pursuit). The Sikh army was trapped. None of them surrendered, and the British troops showed little mercy. This defeat effectively broke the Sikh army.

On 9 March a treaty between defeated a Punjab Government and the British materialized. According to the treaty the Sikhs surrendered a valuable region (the Jullundur Doab) between the Beas River and Sutlej River. The Lahore Durbar was also required to pay an indemnity of 15 million rupees (1.5 crores). Because it could not readily raise this sum, it ceded Kashmir, Hazarah and all the forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries situated between the Rivers Beas and Indus to the East India Company, as equivalent for one crore of rupees.[6] In a later separate arrangement (the Treaty of Amritsar), the Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh, purchased Kashmir from the East India Company for a payment of 7,500,000 rupees (75 lakh) and was granted the title Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Maharaja Duleep Singh remained ruler of the Punjab and at first his mother, Maharani Jindan Kaur, remained as Regent. However, the Durbar later requested that the British presence remain until the Maharajah attained the age of 16. The British consented to this and on 16 December 1846, the Treaty of Bhyroval provided for the Maharani to be awarded a pension of 150,000 rupees (1.5 lakh) and be replaced by a British resident in Lahore supported by a Council of Regency, with agents in other cities and regions. This effectively gave the East India Company de facto control of the government.

Sikh historians are of the opinion that by dismantling the Sikh forces and continuing the rein of dummy Sikh King Duleep Singh, the commanders of the Sikh army Lal Singh and Tej Singh had embarked on the war. Lal Singh had a secret communication with British political officers and he betrayed state and military secrets throughout the war. Lal Singh's and Tej Singh's desertion of their armies and a refusal to attack when opportunity

offered victory seems inexplicable otherwise.

Although the Khalsa was weakened by the war, resentment at British interference in the government led to the war.

Anglo-Sikh Treaty 5 - 1846

Bhyroval - December 1846

Signed on 16 December 1846 between the East India Company and the minor Maharaja Duleep Singh provided for British-controlled regency till the Maharaja came up to age 16. Maharani Jind Kaur, who was acting as regent for her son, Duleep Singh, believed that, as stipulated in the treaty of Lahore (11 March 1846), the British force would leave Lahore. But she was soon disillusioned as the British, instead of quitting, started strengthening their authority over Lahore administration. Governor-General Henry Hardinge sent to Lahore his secretary, Frederick Currie, who, isolating Maharani Jind Kaur, manipulated the leading sardars and chiefs into requesting the British for a fresh treaty. This led to the signing of the Treaty of Bhyroval. By this agreement every article of the treaty of 9 March 1846 was reaffirmed except article 15, which precluded British interference in the internal administration of the State of Lahore. The regent (Maharani Jind Kaur) was pensioned off; a British resident was to direct and control the administration of the State of Lahore with a new council of regency of eight members.

A British force was to remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja and the cost for his maintenance (22 lakh rupees) was to be borne by the State of Lahore. The Governor-General could also disband and recruit Sikh armies and occupy any fort in the Punjab. The council of ministers was to hold office during the pleasure of the British resident. The treaty of Bhyrowal, effective during the minority of Maharaja Duleep Singh, was to terminate on 4 September 1854 when the Maharaja would attain the age of sixteen.

The treaty of Bhyrowal transformed the Sikh

kingdom into a virtual British protectorate. The Durbar became a willing instrument subservient to the authority of the British resident, who was to superintend the internal and external affairs of the State in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India. This is how the new arrangement was described by John Marshman: an officer of the company's artillery became, in effect, the successor of Ranjit Singh.

The Text of the Treaty

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT concluded between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and the LAHORE DURBAR on 16 December 1846

Whereas the Lahore Durbar and the principal Chiefs and Sardars of the State have in express terms communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor-General should give his aid and assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore State during the minority of Maharajah Duleep Sing, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the maintenance of the Government; and whereas the Governor-General has, under certain conditions, consented to give the aid and assistance solicited, the following Articles of Agreement, in modification of the Articles of Agreement executed at Lahore on the 11th March last, have been concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, Secretary to Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honorable Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, and on the part of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Sing, by Sardar Tej Sing, Sardar Sher Singh, Diwan Deena Nath, Fukeer Nooroodeen, Rai Kishenchand, Sardar Runjore Sing Majethea, Sardar Utter Sing Kaleewalla, Bhaee Nidhan Sing, Sardar Khan Singh Majethea, Sardar Shumshere Sing, Sardar Lal Sing Morarea, Sardar Kehr Sing Sindhanwalla, Sardar Urjun Sing Rungurnungalea, acting with the unanimous consent and concurrence of the Chiefs and Sardars of the State assembled at Lahore.

Article 1. All and every part of the Treaty of peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, except in so far as it may be temporarily modified in respect to Clause 15 of the said Treaty by this engagement, shall remain binding upon the two Governments.

Article 2. A British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every Department of the State.

Article 3. Every attention shall be paid in conducting the administration to the feelings of the people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintaining the just rights of all classes.

Article 4. Changes in the mode and details of administration shall not be made, except when found necessary for affecting the objects set forth in the foregoing Clause, and for securing the just dues of the Lahore Government. These details shall be conducted by Native officers as at present, who shall be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency composed of leading Chiefs and Sardars acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

Article 5. The following persons shall in the first instance constitute the Council of Regency, viz., Sirdar Tej Sing, Sirdar Shere Sing Attariwala, Diwan Deena Nath, Fukeer Nooroodeen, Sirdar Runjore Sing Majethea, Bhaee Nidhan Sing, Sirdar Utter Sing Kaleewalla, Sirdar Shumshere Sing Sindhanwalla, and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated, without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

Article 6. The administration of the country shall be conducted by this Council of Regency in such manner as may be determined on by themselves in consultation with the British Resident, who shall have full authority to direct and control the duties of every department.

Article 7. A British Force of such strength and numbers and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharajah and the preservation of the peace of the country.

Article 8. The Governor-General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government, for the security of the capital or for maintaining the peace of the country.

Article 9. The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government twenty two lakhs of new Nanuck Shahee Rupees of full tale and weight per annum for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government. Such sum to be paid by two installments, or 13, 20,000 in May or June, and 8, 80,000 in November or December of each year.

Article 10. Inasmuch as it is fitting that Her Highness the Maharanee, the mother of Maharaja Dulleep Sing, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and dependants, the sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees shall be set apart annually for that purpose, and shall be at Her Highness' disposal.

Article 11. The provisions of this Engagement shall have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Dulleep Sing, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of sixteen years or, on the 4th September of the year 1854, but it shall be competent to the Governor-General to cause the arrangement to cease at any period prior to the coming of age of His Highness, at which the Governor-General and the Lahore Durbar may be satisfied that the interposition of the British Government is no longer necessary for maintaining the Government of His Highness the Maharajah.

This agreement, consisting of eleven articles, was settled and executed at Lahore by the Officers and Chiefs and Sardars above named, on the 16th day of December, 1846.

1. (Sd.) F. CURRIE H.M. LAWRENCE (Sd.)
2. Sirdar Tej Sing (L.S.)
3. Sirdar Shere Sing (L.S.)
4. Diwan Deena Nath (L.S.)
5. Fukeer Nooroodeen (L.S.)
6. Rai Kishenchand (L.S.)
7. Sirdar Runjore Sing Majethea (L.S.)
8. Sirdar Utter Sing Kalewalla (L.S.)
9. Bhaee Nidhan Sing (L.S.)
10. Sirdar Khan Sing Majethea (L.S.)
11. Sirdar Shumshere Sing (L.S.)
12. Sirdar Lal Sing Morarea (L.S.)
13. Sirdar Kher Sing Sindhanwalla (L.S.)
14. Sirdar Urjan Sing Rungurnungalea (L.S.)
15. (Sd.) Hardinge (L.S.) & (Sd.) Dulleep Sing (L.S.)

Ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General, at Bhyrowal Ghat on the left bank of the Beas, twenty-sixth day of December, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Six.

(Sd.) F. CURRIE,

Secretary to the Government of India

Encyclopedia of Sikhs --- Harban Singh

The Second Anglo-Sikh War within three years.

Second Anglo Sikh War

ANGLO-SIKH WAR II 1848-49 brought about the abrogation of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab. It was almost the same adventure of champions as was the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) and since then the de facto rulers of the State decided to make vanished the traitor Sardars who had annoyed the state before the previous defeat. They believed that the British victory was due to the treason of the commanders at the top and not to any

lack of fighting strength of the Sikh army. Also, the new governor-general, Lord Dalhousie (1848-56), wanted to hoist the British flag up to the natural boundary of India on the northwest. It was decided in the agreement of March 1846, at the end of Anglo-Sikh War I, that the British force would stay in Lahore at the end of the year, but Governor General Sir Henry Hardinge through his agent Frederick Currie managed, by request to the Lahore Darbar, to obtain a further stay of the troops until the minor Maharaja became sixteen years old. The treaty then was signed at Bharoval on 16 December 1846.

The treaty provided the Resident, Henry Lawrence, "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State." A Council of Regency, consisting of the nominees of the Resident and headed by Tej Singh, was appointed. The power to make changes in its personnel was vested in the Resident. Under another clause the British could maintain as many troops in the Punjab as they thought necessary for the preservation of peace and order. This treaty was to remain in operation until the minor Maharaja Duleep Singh attained the age of 16. By a proclamation issued in July 1847, the governor-general further enhanced the powers of the Resident. On 23 October 1847, Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to Henry Lawrence: "In all our measures taken during the minority we must bear in mind that by the treaty of Lahore, March 1846, the Punjab never was intended to be an independent State. By the clause I added the chief of the State can neither make war or peace, or exchange or sell an acre of territory or admit a European officer, or refuse us a thoroughfare through his territories, or, in fact, perform any act without our permission. In fact the native Prince is in fetters and under our protection and must do our bidding."

In the words of British historian John Clark Marshman, "an officer of the Company's artillery became, in fact, the successor to Ranjit Singh." The Sikhs resented this gradual liquidation of their authority in the Punjab. The new government at Lahore became totally unpopular. The abolition of tigers in the Jalandhar Doab and changes introduced in the system of land revenue and its collection angered the landed classes. Maharani Jind Kaur, who was

described by Lord Dalhousie as the only woman in the Punjab with manly understanding and in whom the British Resident foresaw a rallying point for the well-wishers of the Sikh dynasty, was kept under close surveillance. Henry Lawrence laid down that she could not receive in audience more than five or six sardars in a month and that she remain in pürdah like the ladies of the royal families of Nepal, Jodhpur and Jaipur.

Battle of Gujarat - The Finale of The Anglo- Sikh war

On 13 Feb 1849 the famous battle of Chillianwala took place. The Sikh army under General Sher Singh Attariwala inflicted a defeat on the British army led by General Sir Hugh Gough. Part of the seeds of the defeat lay in the unimaginative tactics of General Hugh Gough who had authorized a headlong charge, only to be repulsed back. It is on record that the Sikh Army under Sher Singh held a line 6 miles long and it is the only recorded historical event in British India where the local army bested the English in a major battle.

Chillianwala and the Removal of Sir Hugh Gough

The news of the setback at Chillianwala reached the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, and he was aghast at the news. The defeat of the English force was a matter of great regret for him and *he promptly removed General Hugh Gough from command* and General Sir Charles Napier was appointed as commander of the British forces. Napier was at that time in England. Also, as travel from England to India would take at least two months, Sir Gough continued to command the East India forces, till the arrival of Charles Napier.

Events were moving at a swift pace and Sher Singh had to be contained. Gough decided to fight Sher Singh and his Sikh army immediately. Thus the last battle of the Anglo-Sikh war unfolded at a place called Gujarat in the Punjab (now in West Pakistan).

Lord Gough and his Strategy

Gough had learned his lesson at Chillianwala and in this battle he eschewed a headlong assault and brought

his preponderance of guns into play. Gough had 96 guns against Sher Singh who had 64 and thus the artillery was weighted in his favor. Gough also had the advantage of better cavalry - the Sikh cavalry not being up to the standard of the British.

The battle was fought on 21 Feb 1849 and is generally recognised as the last battle of the Anglo-Sikh wars. Gough must be given credit for the victory in this battle as he marshaled his guns in an excellent manner.

Sher Singh, despite a favorable result at Chillianwala, was now hard pressed as the preponderant Moslem countryside was hostile to him and thus he preferred to fight from the areas which had a Sikh majority. Thus, the location was not to his advantage. Sir Hugh Gough had 24,000 troops while Sher Singh commanded 20,000 soldiers.

The Battle

The battle commenced in the early hours of 21 Feb 1849 on a ground that was wet with 3 days of incessant rain. Sher Singh had hidden his guns with hastily prepared shrubs and bushes as cover. But this was not very effective. The British guns opened up and targeted the Sikh gunners. The preponderance of the British guns began to have effect and after a 3 hour gun duel the British advanced. The artillery duel is without parallel in Indian history and because of this the British carried the day. Most of the Sikh artillery guns were now silenced and the result was hand to hand fighting. But the guns again played their part. As Gough had moved them forward they fired on the Sikhs with unrelenting accuracy. Without adequate cover the Sikh army broke ranks and started withdrawing.

The Cavalry Charge and Defeat of the Sikhs

This was the moment for Gough to order the cavalry charge. This had its effect and the Sikhs were beaten. Though Sher Singh retreated he did not have the wherewith all to continue the fight and at a ceremony on

12 March he surrendered with 10,000 troops and 10 guns. The curtain finally came down on the Anglo-Sikh wars and on 2 April 1849 the Punjab was annexed. Before that for 12 days he had eluded the British cavalry, but finally he accepted the terms of surrender and handed in his sword. The casualties on the Sikh side were heavy - with almost 2000 dead in contrast to the English who lost just 100 men.

Records of the battle available in the archives show the deep respect that the British had for the fighting capabilities of the Sikh army and its soldiery in particular. The battle also restored the fractured reputation of Lord Hugh Gough as an Army commander. The last battle of the Anglo-Sikh war would have had a different result in the case that at Chillianwala Sher Singh had followed the English after they broke ranks. But unseasonable rain had prevented him and thus at Gujarat he was cornered into a fight that was not to his liking. In addition, the 1500 Afghans sent by Dost Mohammed were a weak link and they never integrated with the Sikh defense.

The Aftermath of the Battle

The annexation of the Punjab made the British complete masters of India. The fledgling Prince Dalip Singh - the youngest son of the Maharaja Ranjit - was deposed and taken to England and the Punjab became part of British India.

The Anglo Sikh wars however had a deep effect on the British psyche. The British had learned to appreciate the fighting qualities of the Sikhs and the Governor General Lord Dalhousie, not without a little egging-on from Gough, decided to incorporate them as part of the army of the Raj. In 1856 the first Sikh Regiment called Ratreys Sikhs was formed by Captain Ratre. The rest is history as the Sikhs started an association with the English that lasted another 100 years.

The deep respect of the English for the Sikh soldiers has been given expression by Prince Charles who wished to have a Sikh regiment along the lines of the

Gurkha regiment in the British army. The wheel had turned full circle as the former foes became collaborators.”

Punjab, Sher Singh, Sikh wars

The dream of the English was translated into reality and they became rulers of the Indus Valley. However, a new phase of clashes between British rulers and the people of the Indus Valley as their slaves began. On the new situation note the scholarly comments of historian M.E. Yapp:

“The subsequent movements into Sindh and the Punjab were influenced not by broad notions of their relevance to an external enemy - the new frontier was regarded as inevitable however undesirable - but by the importance of demonstrating British power to the internal enemy. The power of that enemy was massively demonstrated in the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the greatest crisis of British India, and the internal enemy continued in its aftermath to dominate considerations of British strategy.”

Strategies of British India P. 585

“British India opted for something nearer to Metcalfe: control of the internal enemy by conciliation, judicious coercion, and by the strict maintenance of the appearance of unassailable British power---that is through insistence upon the psychological factor of prestige.”

Strategies of British India P. 585

British slavery and the Indus Valley

Like with other parts of the Indus Valley a slave era came upon the Sindhi people, and the challenge was for them how to face it and to get freedom from the invaders.

In 1843, the British authorities appointed Charles Napier governor of Sindh. Although in Britain itself the feudal system had been abolished the Talpur rulers rewarded feudal estates to several persons; Charles Napier continued this practice in order to attain the sympathies of feudals and the landlords for political gain.

In 1847, the British authorities made Sindh a part of the Bombay presidency. Instead of a Governor, the Commissioner in Sindh was the representative of the Bombay presidency. The centralization at Bombay made Sindh backward in education and also socio-economically.

The British made a blunder in changing the natural geographical system of the states when they created Presidencies for their administrative and political purposes. They had converted the Asian subcontinent into British India in a way that was against the nurturing of different cultures, traditions but such a system also disordered real territories. The British had not conquered the Asian subcontinent upon a religious basis, so why had they liberated the subcontinent from its communal base? It is a big question and such a policy continued until the partition of the area.

The Sindhi Muslims were agriculturists and the Sindhi Hindus were merchants. There were Parsis and Govan Christians living in its capital Karachi. All communities struggled with each other in social, educational and political fields.

From the very first day the British policy was to oppress Sindhis in every field. All the existing communities

of Sindh then tried to thwart the policy of the British and, since, they have built modern educational institutes, introduced social reforms and produced political awareness. They also made a political struggle to oust British from their motherland.

In the educational and social sectors, Raj Rishi Dayaram Gidumal Shahani, Hassan Ali Effendi, Sayed Alahendo Shah, Diwan Mitharam Shahani, Dayaram Jethmal, Edulji Dinshaw, Mama Parsi, Ghulam Mohammed Khan Talpur, Noor Mohammed Lakhir, Chilaram, Sitaldas and the great philanthropist Rai Bahadur Vishindas Bharvani did excellent work. Also, clerics and spiritual mentors enjoyed a great deal of influence on the politics of Sindh. They were, as they are still today, running the institutes of religious and spiritual education.

The clerics who held sway in the politics of Sindh were Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Maulana Mohammed Shah Amroti and Maulana Mohammed Sadique of Khadda, Karachi. Without a doubt, they were freedom fighters and their struggle and their sacrifice Vis à Vis the British imperialist was remarkable. However, their religious views gave rise to some fundamentalists groups.

The Pirs have always had a big stake in the social and political system of Sindh.

Arghun invaders of Afghanistan killed Makhdoom Bilawal in the oil press because of his support for local Samma rulers against the Arghuns. The Arghun invaders forcibly exiled Shah Hyder Sanai, who had supported the local Samma rulers.

In the early eighteenth century Shah Inayat, a Sufi, fought against the Mughal and Kalhora rulers. He was beheaded and within one day his twenty five thousand followers were killed. In the same period a great universal poet and social scientist Shah Abdul Latif was also victimised by the Kalhora rulers. Finally, however, they surrendered to him and accepted his spiritual authority.

In the nineteenth century spiritual mentors Pir

Pagaros challenged the British authority and fought with it until the British departure from the Asian subcontinent, in 1947.

Pir Pagaros are descendents of Imam Moosa Kazim, an eighth grand son of Hadrat Ali, the first Imam of the Shia Muslims.

Sayed Ali Makki, ancestor of the Pir Pagaros, came to Sindh eight centuries ago. His grandson Shah Saddar's offshoot Sayed Muhammad Rashid Shah was a pious person; he had thousands of followers in Kutch, Rajhistan, Bahawalpur, Gujrat, Mumbai, Mekran and Sindh.

His son Sayed Sibghatullah Shah I (1764-1827) succeeded him on the throne. Along with spiritual preaching, he organized a militant force called Hurs. Hur was a commander of the Ummayid force during the rule of Yazid; he cordoned off the caravan of Hazrat Imam Hussain, the son of Hazrat Ali and grandson of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) at Karbala in Iraq. But before the start of the battle he switched his loyalty over to Hazrat Imam Hussain and fought against the forces of Yazid and sacrificed his life with that of his son and servant.

Shah Latif characterised the role of the Hur in *Sur Kedaro*

[Melody of the Battlefield]:

*Dauntless Hur bravely marches forth
I am since long a lover likes the moth,
May the Prophet, your grandfather, be pleased?
This venerated head, over you let me sacrifice.*

Risalo of Shah Latif Translated by Prof. Amenu Khamisani

In the second verse Shah Latif narrates how at this crucial time Hur chose to forfeit his powerful position as commander of the force of Yazid in favour of a perilous and uncertain course, which ultimately took away his This decision, Shah Latif argues, was pre-ordained and not one of his own making. His soul had made the commitment to

God before his coming to earth.

*Hur was given this advice since long,
He left enemy's camp and came along
To Hussain he said, 'May I be over you sacrificed
doing all I dare,
God does not test a soul more than it can bear,
He too was wounded and as a martyr died.*

Risalo of Shah Latif, Translated by Prof. Amena Khamisani

Hur is a synonym for a liberated person who fights for a just cause.

Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro II (1908-1934) as a man who matched word with deed, he challenged the authority of the British. His lion-hearted courage and steadfastness left a great impression upon his followers who, in turn, pledged to carry out his mission even if it meant instant death for them. With derring-do, his followers struck deep and hard for mother Sindh and their mentor. H. T. Lambrick, their hunter, did not hold back praise for them.

“In the course of our long struggle, I came to respect the Hurs, collectively and individually, for their invincible constancy and perseverance. Utterly ruthless and cruel though they were, they were also at all times prepared to lay down their own lives. Whatever else they were, they were genuine – completely devoted to waging this war for their Pir.”

The Terrorist P. 12

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After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, the British authorities sent, in 1854, the last Maharaja of Punjab, Dalip Singh, to London, where he was put under the protection of the Crown and there he was in an enforced exile till his last breath. He died in 1893, in Paris, France. In his teens he converted to Christian, but in his mature age, when he came together with his mother Jindan Kaur again, he became a follower of Baba Guru Nanak.

In exile he submitted a petition to the crown to return him his kingdom; he did not receive any positive response.

The following circumstances show that he was expecting fruit from a barren tree. Everyone should be amazed about what happened and nobody could imagine an act like that which came from the Queen of the British Empire, that which has mentioned by Peter Bance in his book "*Sovereign, Squir & Rebel*"

"Queen Victoria instructed Lady Anne Alice Blanche, the aristocratic English wife of Duleep Singh's eldest son Prince Victor Albert Jay, not to have children.

The book is a biography of Duleep Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It claimed that the Queen gave the instruction 12 years after the British army physically stopped a disgruntled and rebellious Duleep Singh from returning to India from England (where he had been taken as a 12-year-old boy-king).

Reference: Sikh Philosophy Network

Like his father, Prince Victor also made a futile bid to visit India in 1898 in order to spend a honeymoon with Lady Anne, but they were stopped by the British in Colombo.

On their return, they attended a ball organised by Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace on July 8, 1898, where among the invitees were Prince Victor's sister Princess Sophia, younger brother Prince Frederick and several other royals visiting from India.

It was after that ball that Queen Victoria gave the instruction to Princess Anne not to have children.

The book also refers to a second claim about an alleged British plot to stem the royal Sikh bloodline.

"According to it, Princess Bamba, Duleep Singh's youngest daughter from his first marriage, had told members of the Fakir family, who were former ministers

in her father's court, that when they were children their English cooks would put "certain substances" into their food so as to make them infertile.

None of Duleep Singh's children had any issue."

Another successor of Ranjit Singh, the mother of the last Maharaja Dalip Singh and the Regent of the Lahore Darbar Rani Jind Kaur, was treated by English authorities in a same manner and she was sent to the Indian state. The British administrators were so threatened by her leadership qualities that they expelled her from the province, and interned her at Benares under strict surveillance. Even after her dramatic escape to Nepal, they kept a vigilant eye on her, and when her son carried her final remains from England to disperse them in the Punjab, he was refused permission. Her last years had been spent in Kensington as a frail woman of poor eyesight without much jewelry or attendants. In Devender Singh's visual commemoration, the feisty Jindan continues to electrify not only her mid-nineteenth century subjects but also her modern spectators.

After entering into the Asian subcontinent and during its long use of influence to secure British interests, the East India Company recruited local people in its force. After first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-1846, British administration started recruiting the Sikhs on a small scale also.

At the close of the First Sikh War in 1846 it was decided to conciliate the men of the defeated Khalsa Army and to enlist Sikhs in the Honourable East India Company's service. In April orders were issued to raise a Sikh irregular battalion, the Regiment of Ferozepur, for service with the Bengal Army of the East India Company.

A British officer, Ensign J. Brasyer, was lent to Sir Henry Laurence, Civil Commissioner of the Punjab, to assist in fostering friendship with the Sikhs and in obtaining Sikh recruits. Ensign Brasyer was thirty-six years old. He had enlisted as a private in the artillery of the East India Company and later was promoted to quartermaster-sergeant of the 26th Bengal Native Infantry. He

fought with this regiment throughout the First Afghan War and First Sikh War and had been promoted to commissioned rank for gallantry and distinguished service in the field. He understood Indians, knew their customs and spoke Punjabi. It was for this reason that his services were placed at the disposal of the civil authorities in the Punjab. On arriving in Lahore, Ensign Brasyer was immediately sent to tour the villages south of the Sutlej River in the districts known as the Malwa country. He visited many villages, where he harangued the Sikhs in their own language and, collected all able men who were willing to serve as soldiers in the Company's service. In less than two months Ensign Brasyer had collected four hundred men, many of whom had recently been fighting against the British. He brought them all to Ferozepur, where he handed them over to Captain Watt, who had been appointed to raise the Regiment of Ferozepur. Ensign Brasyer claims to be the first to have collected Sikhs for the British forces and in his memoirs he writes, 'thus I had the honour of being myself the first to form the nucleus of that invaluable Sikh element of the Bengal Army, that has since served the British Government with so much credit in every campaign since 1857'. Captain Watt and his other British officers could not speak a word of Punjabi; so he applied for Ensign Brasyer to be posted to his regiment. However, Captain Watt died in May and Captain Tebbs took charge and became the first Commandant. By August the Regiment numbered eight hundred and was formed into ten companies. A large proportion of Indian officers and non-commissioned officers were transferred from other native infantry regiments to assist in raising the new regiment. These were mostly Rajputs from Oudh and were men who had been promoted for gallantry in action. In September the Rajput officers and non-commissioned officers returned to their original units, and men of the Regiment, chiefly those who had served in the old Army of the Khalsa, were promoted in their place. Although the Regiment of Ferozepur was an irregular battalion, its uniform and head-dress were similar to those of regular units of the Bengal Army. The men wore a red tunic with yellow facings and the Governor-General insisted that the men should wear the caps worn by the rest of the native army. This is contrary to the Sikhs' creed

and the men were very opposed to wearing these regulation hats. However, Lieutenant Brasyer, who had undoubtedly gained the confidence of the Sikhs right from the beginning, persuaded them to adopt the hats, which they continued to wear until the Indian Mutiny in 1857. In September, 1846, the Regiment marched to Ambala and recruits, both Sikhs and Musulmans, from this district, were enlisted into the Regiment to complete the establishment. The Regiment commenced training in Ambala, but it did not receive its arms, smooth-bore percussion muskets, until January, 1847. In December, 1846, the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, reviewed the Regiment in Ambala and presented the first Colours.

After the annexation of Punjab, an important question for the British authorities was how to deal with the defeated Khalsa force? After few years they decided to make the Khalsa force part of their army. In 1856, they started recruiting of Khalsa force. This force served the British outstandingly in smashing local patriotic movements and, also, abroad in the First and Second World Wars. But the 'patriotic' Sikhs and descendants did not join the British army, and they have continued a struggle against the British colonialist.

In the Punjab, the Muslim elite class had already helped the British in its war with the Sikhs and they were comfortable with their new English rulers.

In Sindh, the British did not work in the educational and social sector. However, In Punjab, the British did much work in education and in the social fields. It was their opinion that Punjab's obliging government servants would help them in their routine and other administrative matters and they were right.

New England Sikh Study Circle 2003/2004

Sikh History – Senior, Lesson Twenty-five March 14, 2003

Punjab under British Rule & the 'Sepoy Mutiny'

An ambitious public works program, The Grand Trunk Road, which ran from Peshawar to Delhi, was re-opened. The existing network of canals was extended

and improved. Trees were planted along the banks of the canals and a forestation program was started.

New varieties of crops like New Orleans cotton, sugar cane, flax tobacco etc. were introduced to the farmers. Silk works were imported for sericulture and Italian Merino rams were introduced into local breeds. Land revenue increased significantly and the tax structure was simplified.

These offences lit the fuse of rebellion and finally, on the 29th March, 1857, a soldier Mangal Pande rebelled during a military parade and fired at the officer in command. He was arrested and hanged which was the undoing of the mass rebellion. In April, 1857, Indian soldiers of the cavalry unit of Meerut refused to use the new cartridges, and hence were arrested and thrown into prison. Enraged by this latest act of atrocity, the whole battalion charged forward to Delhi and was joined on the way by thousands of common people.

Although the "Sepoy Mutiny" began among native soldiers, it spread like wildfire within others disaffected by British rule. Throughout northern India, army units mutinied and killed their British officers – and often their families. The rebels appealed to the 82-year-old Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar to lead the revolt and they proclaimed him the Emperor of India. The British called it the Indian Mutiny; later, the Indians were to name it the Great War of Independence. But most of India remained loyal. The rebellion was confined to the Ganges plain between Calcutta and Delhi; troops in the south and west continuing to serve the British.

Ultimately, the impasse was broken by the arrival of reinforcements from England and the mutiny was crushed after 14 months. By January 1859, the last of the rebel armies had been hunted down. Everywhere, the British exacted bloody retribution for the massacres that had started the uprising. The mutiny failed due to lack of a leader and to lack of proper coordination.

Punjab was largely unaffected by the mutiny.

Punjabi princes and landowners largely remained loyal. Sikh soldiers played a huge role in suppressing the uprising. The anti-Mughal sentiment of the Sikhs was fully exploited by the British. Sikh soldiers were in the vanguard when Delhi was attacked and taken back in September 1857.

The rebellion was a watershed in the history of British India. Afterward, there was never any doubt that British rule was ultimately based not on moral superiority but on armed force, ruthlessly wielded. The mutiny's most immediate consequence was a military re-organisation, expressly designed to keep the proportion of European troops at a safe high level. The mutiny also made the English realize the extent of the Indians' dissatisfaction. Thus, in 1858, the government of India was transferred from the East Indian Company to the British crown. In 1858, the Queen issued a proclamation saying that all were her subjects and that there would be no discrimination, appointments would be made on the basis of merit, and that there would be no interference in religious matters. The British government did not honour the Queen's promises in the succeeding years. After 1857, the nationalist movement started to expand in the hearts of more and more Indians.

Following the Mutiny, recruitment in the British army was thrown open to the Sikhs. The Gurkhas and the Sikhs became the prime fighting arm of the British Empire in India.

Haryana and Delhi were added to the Punjab after the Mutiny. John Lawrence was promoted to Lt. Governor for the Punjab and was succeeded by Robert Montgomery. The Maharaja of Patiala was added to the Governor General's council as a reward for the services rendered by Sikhs during the Mutiny.

The government resumed the work of digging canals after the Mutiny. A huge canal called the Upper Bari Doab was completed in 1861. The Shahpur Thal desert was irrigated from the waters of the Jhelum by 1897. A massive project called the Triple Project was

completed in 1917, which utilized the waters of the Jhelum and the Chenab.

Sikhs from the districts of Amritsar, Ludhiana and Ferozepur were encouraged to settle in the newly reclaimed desert lands. They were given landholdings of varying sizes with proportional taxes.

The colonists started to work in earnest. What had once been desert became lush green and productive. Grain production was far in excess of the requirements of the local people. The extending and enhancement of the rail network sparked commerce. Punjabi peasants started becoming affluent.

The preferential treatment of Sikhs under the British was a key factor that arrested the lapse into Hinduism which had started after the British annexation. The last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th saw great increases in the Sikh population. Sikhs, who formed less than 12 percent of the Punjabi population made up more than 25% of the army. Ironically the gloomy prediction of Dalhousie was pre-empted by his own policies towards the Sikhs!

One more card was played by the British - they established machinery schools and technical and educational institutes in Punjab. Upon the basic principles of Sanatan Dharm (Hindu Dharm) the clerics of Hindu Dharm divided the society into four classes. Berhman (Cleric), Khushtry (Agriculturist and Warrior), Vesh (Businessman) and Shoudar (Oppressed or Lower class). Through the centuries there had been an exploitation of the Shudars, and the British industrialists exploited this and in thousands the Shudars converted to Christians.

The British established Churches and machinery schools and provided to convert Christians religious and modern education. However, the industrialist's organizations' conversion programme and its religious activities created a polarization in the Punjab society and it continues till today. At the time of British Raj the Christians were under the administrative umbrella of the

British administration. However, after the British departure the Punjabi Christians feelings felt that they had no proper shelter.

An Insurgent Muslim Landlord of Punjab

Rai Ahmed Khan Kharal was the great freedom hero in the Indian rebellion of 1857. He was a landlord and inhabitant of Sandal Bar's famous town Jhamra, West Punjab. His rebellion area was Neeli Bar and Sandal Bar, an area between the rivers Sutlej, Ravi River and Chenab. It had been covered with dense forests in the past. The center of his movement was the town of Gogera which lies in the Neeli Bar area. A Punjab personality of the region of Jatt, and a Muslim, he was leader of the Kharal Tribe. Though he was a peace lover, the unjust acts of the British compelled him to stand against the British Raj. He led the freedom movement which was the famous Gogera insurrection. The insurgents attacked the Gogera Central Jail and ensured the freedom of hundreds of freedom fighters who were kept there for actively taking part in the War of Independence in 1857. These freedom fighters, under the command of Rai Ahmed Khan Kharal, were able to make vast part of their land totally free of the British Rule for at least three months.

The headquarters of the insurgents was Kot Kamalia. Along with his companions Murad Fatiana, Shuja Bhadroo, and Mokha Wehniwal, he killed Lord Burkley the Commissioner for Gogera. Ahmed Khan Kharal unified most of the Bari Tribes against British Empire rule and was finally killed in a battle with British forces while defending his motherland. After his death his head was taken by the British soldiers, but it was snatched back by one of his loyal friends, and the point here to be noted is that, after several months from the severed head blood droops were still coming out as fresh as if the beheading had happened the previous day. His efforts for the freedom of the homeland from British rule were also acknowledged by the last Mughal king, Bahadur Shah Zafar.

After the annexation of Sindh, Punjab, Kashmir

and Peshawar Valley, the next target of the British was Kelat state and the Upper Indus Valley. According to the forward policy of Benjamin Disraeli, Prime minister of the British; the viceroy of India - Lord Lytton - gave directions to Captain Robert Sandeman to convince the Khan of Kelat to become friend of the British. There was instability in the Baluchi area and several chiefs of tribes had grievances against the Khan. Sandeman met Baluchi chiefs and his efforts were fruitful. He brought chiefs of the tribes under the command of the Khan of Kelat and also confirmed that the Khan of Kelat was ally of the British.

Britain and Russia on the Verge of War

Sandeman's success in the Baluch area was good news for the British; however, bad news from Afghanistan shook the British administration. Fearing a Russian invasion, Sher Ali, the ruler of Afghanistan, offered an Anglo-Afghan defense treaty to Lord Northbrook, viceroy of India. Northbrook consulted with the British government; Prime Minister Gladstone's government rejected the proposal of Sher Ali and directed the viceroy to turn it down.

Sher Ali felt it as a cold shoulder from the British, and he tried then to make relations with Russia. In Tashkent he met with General Kaufman, the architect of the Tsar's empire in central Asia. As the news of meeting of Sher Ali and General Kaufman was received by the Calcutta administration, they were irked and tried to recover from the damage.

Meanwhile in 1875, Sir Henry Rawlinson's book:

'England and Russia in the East', was published.

In the book Rawlinson mentioned the ambitions and design of Russia, in general in Europe and in particular in India, against the interests of the British and he warned the British to take seriously the expanding plan of Russia.

In 1876 appeared the translation of a 'Great Game' classic – Colonel M.A. Terentiev's book:

'Russia and England in Struggle for the Markets of Central Asia'. It was published in Calcutta in two volumes.

In the book Terentiev made Britain responsible for spreading weapons and hatred in Central Asia - against

Russia. He further commented on the political situation of the subcontinent:

“The Indian Mutiny’ Terentiev maintained, had only failed because the Indian lacked a proper plan and outside support. They continued to suffer from British misrule, and exploitation. ‘Sick to death’, Terentiev went on, ‘the natives are now waiting for a physician from the north.’ Given such assistance, they had every chance of starting a conflagration which would spread throughout India, and thus enable them to throw off the British yoke. In the event of such an uprising, the Russian claimed, the British would find themselves unable to rely on the support of their native troops, who formed the major part of their army in India.”

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Hopkirk and Terentiev were very right - the native freedom movements were more dangerous for than British than any outside attacks, and also General Kaufman’s opinion, ‘outside support to freedom movements in South Asia will be harmful for the British’, had very much weight. Unfortunately the freedom movements in Asian subcontinent never got the support of Russia or other outside forces.

In Sindh, in the early 1880s signs of insurgency became evident and the British sensed insurgency from the patriotic spiritual mentors of Sindh, Pir Pagaros.

In a hasty and yet carefully planned arrangement they booked the fourth Pir Pagaro, Sayed Hizabullah Shah, in a murder case.

In his defence Hizabullah Shah Pir Pagaro took on a leading lawyer of Sindh, Mitharam Gidumal Shahani as his defence counsel. After the trial, Pir Pagaro was acquitted by the Court.

The problem of Afghanistan was highly important then: General Kaufman’s activities and his representative Major-General Nikolai Stolietov’s appearance in Kabul produced fear among the British authorities. Stolietov

warned Sher Ali that if he would allow any mission of the British in Kabul, Russia would support his rival and nephew Abdul Rahman (who was at that time in exile in Samarkand) for the throne of Kabul. Also, he offered Sher Ali thirty thousand troops in any invasion of the British.

The British was well aware that Afghans had been rulers of India for decades - Lodhis, Ghazanvis, Ghoris and Soris had ruled and looted India. They knew that Russian and Afghan collaboration would be harmful for the sovereignty of British India. The reaction of the British was very swift; Lord Lytton sent General Sir Neville Chamberlain and Major Louis Cavagnari to Kabul and also wrote a letter to Sher Ali for safe passage of the mission. But there was no answer from Sher Ali. When Cavagnari reached at the border of Afghanistan he was not allowed to enter and was welcomed by fire. The British decided to teach Sher Ali a lesson but before any action they gave him an ultimatum to make an excuse to the British by 20th November. As the day of warning arrived the British army proceeded to Kabul; and the Second Afghan War began.

35,000 armed forces of the British traversed the Afghan border and after some resistance they conquered Khyber Pass, Jalalabad and Kandhar.

Sher Ali asked General Kaufman for help but Kaufman turned down his request and suggested that he make a peace treaty with the British. Leaving his son Muhammad Yakoob as his successor, an alarmed Sher Ali attempted to appeal in person to the Tsar for assistance, but as he reached on Russian border he was refused an entry on Russian premises. He returned to Mazar Sharif, where he died on 21 February 1879.

For political survival Mohammad Yaqub Khan signed the Treaty of Gandamak in May 1879 to prevent a British invasion of the rest of the country. According to this agreement and in return for an annual subsidy and vague assurances of assistance in case of foreign aggression, Yaqub relinquished control of Afghan foreign affairs to the British. British representatives were installed

in Kabul and other locations, British control was extended to the Khyber and Michni passes, and Afghanistan ceded various frontier areas and Quetta to Britain. The British army then withdrew. Soon afterwards, an uprising in Kabul led to the slaughter of Britain's Resident in Kabul, Sir Pierre Cavagnari and his guards and staff on 3 September 1879, provoking the second phase of the Second Afghan War. Major General Sir Frederick Roberts led the Kabul Field Force over the Shutargardan Pass into central Afghanistan, defeated the Afghan Army at Char Asiab on 6 October 1879 and occupied Kabul. Ghazi Mohammad Jan Khan Wardak staged an uprising and attacked British forces near Kabul in the siege of the Sherpur Cantonment in December 1879, but his defeat there resulted in the collapse of this rebellion.

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Treaty of Gandamak

Yaqub Khan, suspected of involvement in the assassination of Cavagnari and his comrades, was obliged to abdicate. The British considered a number of possible political settlements, including partitioning Afghanistan between multiple rulers or placing Yaqub's brother Ayub Khan on the throne, but ultimately decided to install his cousin Abdur Rahman Khan as emir instead. Ayub Khan, who had been serving as governor of Herat, rose in revolt, defeated a British detachment at the Battle of Maiwand in July 1880 and besieged Kandahar. Roberts then led the main British force from Kabul and decisively defeated Ayub Khan in September at the Battle of Kandahar, bringing his rebellion to an end. Abdur Rahman had confirmed the Treaty of Gandamak, leaving the British in control of the territories ceded by Yaqub Khan and ensuring British control of Afghanistan's foreign policy in exchange for protection and a subsidy. Abandoning the provocative policy of maintaining a British resident in Kabul, but having achieved all their other objectives, the British withdrew.

Great game at the door of Upper Indus Valley

In upper Indus Valley there were some vulnerable

points, particularly Pamir belt (which gave easy access to Russia). The Russian were near to the Upper Indus Valley's State of Hunza. The British had got information that the Mir of Hunza, Safdar Ali, has established relations with Russia, and also the British administration was well aware that on the border of Hunza, Yaqub Beg, the ruler of Kashgar, had good relations with Russia.

The activities of Russian moderator Captain Gromchevsky in the Upper Indus Valley. alarmed the English administration of Calcutta and they instructed their agent Younghusband to keep him under watch. Captain Gromchevsky was very cordial and he even invited his opponent Younghusband to feast with him. Younghusband and Captain Gromchevsky met each other and after sipping Vodka both shared their views on the 'Great Game' i.e. on the ambitious plans of the British and Russia.

Gromchevsky wanted to proceed to Ladhakh, but Younghusband became a barrier in it and eventually Gromchevsky decided to proceed to the remote Ladakh-Tibet border. But during the winter season his adventure became futile and he suffered hardships.

After outing his Rival Gromchevsky from the Ladakh area, Younghusband advanced to Hunza. He reached Gulmit town where he was made welcome by the Mir of Hunza. Mir Safdar Ali's personnel with a native salutation of gunfire and drum beating welcomed Younghusband.

Safdar Ali called Younghusband for a meeting, and as he entered the court he saw that there was only one chair - occupied by the Mir of Hunza. Younghusband felt uneasy, but, upon the orders of his boss a Gurkha soldier arranged a chair for him and he sat beside Safdar Ali's throne.

The main lord of these mountains Safdar Ali and the agent of an adventurer nation i.e. Younghusband came face to face. The mission of Younghusband was to keep the Mir of Hunza away from friendly communications

with Russia and to guarantee a safe passage for English traders to reach Kashgar.

Younghusband asked Safdar to stop looting trade caravans through his state. Safdar Ali frankly told him 'in my state there is a small tract for land for agriculture cultivation and mostly here are only ice and stones, if robbers of Hunza will stop the plundering, what they shall eat? This was an amazing demand coming from an agent of the British which had grabbed resources from most of the nations of the world; a big grabber could not tolerate a small looter. As Mir of Hunza he was getting a maximum share from the looting, but for diplomatic reasons he acceded to the British demand but he demanded compensation from the British. But the affair became a question of prestige, how the British would pay money to a Mir of very small state. To impress the Mir, Younghusband played a card of power and ordered to soldiers to fire in the air with their modern weapons. The Mir of Hunza, who has communication with the Russian agent Gromchevsky and if there was any outside attack he was expecting the help of Russia, Thus, he laughed at the act of Younghusband.

After his meeting with the Mir of Hunza, with hot words and acts, Younghusband returned back to India to report the situation to his administration of Calcutta.

Younghusband again proceeded to the Pamir region. In 1891, the British authorities received information that Russians troops were advancing into the Pamirs. Younghusband at that time was in Kashgar, so he rushed to the Pamir region and at the apex of the region he met with Russian troops.

Younghusband camped there and the next day he sent one his comrades to invite Colonel Yanov, the commanding officer of Russian troops. The Russian officer was keen also to know about the British plans for the Pamir region, and he accepted the invitation of his rival Younghusband.

The host Younghusband and guest Yanov meeting

together was very cordial and they drank, dined and shared their views on the 'Great Game'. They were separated in a good mood. However, within hours a new situation was faced by Younghusband. The Russians were at his tent and Yanov wanted to meet him. Younghusband and Yanov's second meeting was an unexpected feature for Younghusband, Yanov demanding him to leave the Russian territory. Younghusband told Yanov it was territory of Afghanistan and not the Russians'. Yanov told him the land belonged to Russia and that he had an order from superiors that Younghusband leave the Russian territory. Younghusband had no choice but to leave the area and he proceeded to the remote Chinese border as instructed by his rival Yanov.

The forcible expulsion of Younghusband by Russian troops ignited all England. They felt dishonour and that it was a question of prestige for a super power. For obviating the damage and a harsh injury the British retaliated swiftly. Upon the instruction of Lord Salisbury, the British ambassador at St Petersburg warned Russia to make apologies about the expulsion of Younghusband, and to vacate the Pamir region. Russia, being in economic crisis and with famine reigning in it, it had no way but to make excuses and leave the Pamir region. Tsar Alexander made a wise decision and his retreat orders avoided a large scale. War. In a diplomatic manner he made Colonel Yanov responsible for the unpleasant act, but he nevertheless promoted Yanov as a General and, in person, awarded him gold ring.

After keeping away Russian interference; the British authorities decided to hoist the flag of the British on Pamir region, and to punish the Russian associate chiefs of the region. It must be remembered that G.W. Hayward, a British surveyor and Gold Medalist of the Royal Geographical society in London, was killed by the Dard people of Dardistan during his exploration of the Pamir plain at Darkot on July 18, 1870. The British held Mir Wali the Chief of Dardistan responsible for this. British planned to avenge the death of G.W. Hayward and also to punish the Mir of Hunza Safdar Ali. Under the command of Henry Durand, hero of Ghazni, an

Afghanistan-British force was sent to Hunza to give a lesson to Safdar Ali and to capture Hunza and the neighbouring Nagar state.

When the Mir of Hunza received news about the advancement of the British forces he approached Petrovsky, the Russian diplomat in Kashgar and also the Chinese Governor for help but it was to no avail. Though he did not get any support from Russia or China, he decided to face British alone and ordered his people to bring him the head of Durand.

The British forces and the people of Nagar and Hunza came face to face. Fierce fighting between the British and the Nagar and Hunza people took place in their areas. The people of Nagar and Hunza bravely fought and gave a tough time to invaders but the modern weapons of the British decided the war in their favour. Nagar and Hunza came under the flag of the British and thus the British reached to the very door of China. The Mir of Hunza slipped out to Sing kiang.

Another vulnerable point in the region was Chitral. Aman-ul-Mulk, the chief of Chitral, died in August 1892. His heir sons (heirs) butchered each other competing for the throne of Chitral. Aman-ul-Mulk's brother Sher, who was in Kabul with the encouragement of Abdur Rahman, king of Kabul, moved to Chitral with a small group of supporters. He played a trick and at the door of the fortress he killed Afzul and became the chief of Chitral. Supported by the British, Nizam (brother of Afzul) proceeded to Chitral to get the throne and take revenge upon his uncle Sher, for his brother Afzul. Sher fled to Kabul and Nizam became chief of Chitral. In short - Nizam was shot by his younger brother Amir, and Amir declared himself chief of Chitral. He requested the British to recognize him as chief of Chitral. The British strategy was to wait and see and they were not in a hurry to recognize him

In Chitral the situation made a U-turn and British interests and Major Gurdon (who was stationed in Chitral) found themselves in danger.

Major George Robertson felt that in Chitral the situation was too chaotic, so with four hundred soldiers he proceeded there to save British interests and Major Gurdon. Within a few days the situation became even more dangerous. Sher, with the help of Umra Khan, Chief of Swat, proceeded to Chitral to oust the British and Amir Chief of Chitral again became chief of Chitral.

As news of Sher and Umra Khan's combined troops was received by Major Robertson, though it was an embarrassment for the British forces, he felt it would be wise to get protection within fortress of Chitral. Thus Major Robertson was cordoned off by the forces of Umra Khan and Sher.

He was under siege nearly two months, as the news reached at Peshawar and Gilgit. From Peshawar the forces under the command of Major General Sir Robert Low, with the company of Younghusband, proceeded to Chitral. There were small battles between the troops of General Low and Umra Khan in Swat; Low defeated the armed men of Umra Khan and proceeded to Chitral. From the Gilgit garrison, another party under the command of Colonel James Kelly proceeded to Chitral. They reached Chitral, but still General Low's forces were struggling to reach there. A fight between Kelly's forces and Umra and Sher's combined forces started. The British forces won the war and after a go-ahead signal from England came, Chitral was annexed to British territory.

While the British and Russia were engaged in the Upper Indus Valley, meanwhile in 1880, in lower Indus Valley, in Sindh, the patriotic spiritual centre of 'Pir Pagaros', started an anti-British movement.

New Political Phase for the Indus Valley and the Subcontinent

At the same period in 1885, a move was made to organise a movement for the liberation of the Subcontinent. Two English persons had much influence in the socio-political and spiritual fields, one being Sir Allan Octavian Hume and the other was Ms. Annie Besant.

Sir Allan Octavian Hume, an Englishman and retired ICS officer, was the pioneer of the move. Before reaching a decision to launch a new Party, he wrote letters to his English and European friends, and requested them to suggest to him how he could serve the people of the Asian subcontinent. His friends recommended to him to act within the social and educational sector. He was of the view that social and educational reforms have much importance, and he reached the conclusion that all the ills of the people of the Subcontinent arose from their slavery. He organised a party called 'Indian National Congress' for the independence of the Subcontinent.

A conference was held in Bombay in 1885 under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association whose honorary secretaries were Mr. Pheroze Shah Mehta, Mr. K.T. Tulang and Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha. The conference decided to name the proposed party the Indian National Congress. Womesh Chander Bannerji was elected its first president and Sir Allan Octavian Hume its secretary. The party played a remarkable role in the liberation of the Subcontinent. The Sindh Sabha sent two delegates, Dewan Dayaram Jethmal and Dewan Odharam Moolchand, Seth Vishindas Nehalchand Bharvani attended the conference as an observer. Sindh Sabha's delegation continuously attended the yearly meetings.

Sindh. Sabha was a secular organization, coordinated by Sindhi Muslims, Hindus, Parsis and

Christians, in 1882. Sindh Sabhas' motto was to send requests, memorandums and letters to British authorities in order to solve the socio-economic and educational problems of Sindh. Also, in the political field they were demanding the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. Sindh was to be a separate federating unit. In 1887 the members of the Committee of Sabha, Odharam Moolchand, Jamshedji Nadir, Fatehchand Atmaram, Sharif Saleh Muhammad, A. Cook, Edulji Dinshaw, M.M. Mirzban, Nagendranath Gupta, Sehejram Gangadhar and Daulatram Jethmal (Secretary) wrote a letter to the Governor of Bombay.

The fourth meeting of the Congress, was held in Allahabad in 1890. Seth Harchandrai attended the conference as a delegate of Sindh, and made his maiden speech.

Sir Allan Octavian Hume, 'in connection with the party's organization in Sindh, wrote letters to Dewan Tahilram Khemchand, Heranand Khemsingh and Seth Harchandrai Vishindas

In 1880, the British imperialist authority was challenged by Sayed Hizubullah Shah Pir Pagaro. His followers: Bacho Badshah (King), Piro Viziër (Minister) and their comrades Khamiso Wassan, Gelo Chang, Gulo Mochi, Osman Hingoro, Bhulo Gaho, Essa Dhahri and Misri, launched guerilla warfare, destabilised the authority of the British and held power in some areas of Sindh. Bewildered by the assault, the British administration sent intermediaries to Sayed Hizubullah Shah Pir Pagaro to order the surrender of the guerilla leaders and their fighters but the Pir refused. To castigate him, the British placed many impediments in his path. Obstinate to the last, Pir Hizubullah Shah died on August 1890.

First Hur insurgency 1893- 1896

Even as Sayed Ali Gohar Shah II, the fourth Pir Pagaro, ascended the royal seat in 1890, the Hur militia was engaged in a fierce battle with the British forces. Bacho Badshah and Piro Vizier spearheaded the guerrilla

warfare at that time. Several British administration officials, including James, the then commissioner in Sindh, Deputy commissioner, Tharparkar, William Henry Lucas and Police Inspector Jula Singh employed less than savoury tactics in the battle with the insurgents, yet they failed to overpower the likes of Bacho Badshah, Piro Vizier and other Hur warriors. Inspector Jula Singh and other policemen were slain by the Hurs in one encounter at the anniversary celebrations of Bahram Beri.

The Governor of Sindh promulgated the Hur Tribes Act, and this law provided vast powers to state functionaries and they used it rigorously. Under this law they blackmailed every respectable person who had even a minor link with Pir Pagaro family to bribe them. Thousand of Hurs were sent to prison without having committed any offence and even females were put under government custody. Also, male Hurs were tortured ruthlessly. The law was not anything less than martial law.

The killing of Jula Singh prompted a British backlash of sorts that was led by a barbarous police officer. The British administration pile pressure upon Pir Ali Gohar for the surrender of Bacho Badshah, Piro Vizier and other Hur warriors and also promised a general amnesty to Hur warriors who would lay down their weapons and surrender.

On the orders of their mentor, six Hur warriors, Piro Vizier, Khamiso Wassan, Gelo Chang, Gulo Mochi, Osman Hingoro, Bhullo Gaho and Misri Faqir surrendered to the British. The Bacho Badshah and Essa Dahri did not surrender, but rather than grant them any amnesty, the British administration captured and then executed them, reneging on their pledge to Pir Ali Gohar.

Their untrustworthy actions must have shocked the Pir, whose state of health deteriorated soon after; he died in 1896.

Shah Mardan Shah I, the fifth Pir Pagaro, succeeded to the throne the same year.

He was first pressured and threatened by the British authorities to order his disciples Bacho Badshah and Essa Dahri to surrender. Eventually, they put the Pir behind bars in Central Prison, Hyderabad. A compromise deal of amnesty for both Hur warriors was again acknowledged between the Pir and the British administration. Bacho Badshah and Essa Dhahri surrendered to the British administration, but the British, violating their commitment with the Pir, executed these two Hur warriors.

For the freedom of their motherland Sindh the Hurs' war of attrition continued until the freedom of the Subcontinent in August 1947.

During the Hur insurgency, the government opened concentration camps and put thousands of Hur families in such settlements.

In their personal capacity, two Pirs-cum-landlords, Makhdoom Mohammed Zaman of Hala and Sayed Mohammed Shah of Sann and two landlords Sardar Imam Bux Khan Jatoi of Moro and Alaf Khan Pathan of Shikarpur were a challenge to British authority.

Throughout the centuries the role of Sindh in regard to creating a multi-religious and multicultural society was very remarkable.

Theosophical Society

In the modern era those persons who believe in human harmony and who considered that the service of human beings beyond caste, creed, sex and class made a better prayer, have always worked for a tolerant and peaceful society.

In regard to this moral purpose wise men and scholars of the USA and Europe established an organization called the 'Theosophical Society' to establish a necklace of inter-faith harmony. And Sindh became an ingredient in this chain.

The Theosophical Society was formed at New

York on November 17, 1875, Madam H.P, Blavatsky and other theosophists being founders of the society.

Its three declared 'Objectives' were:

- I. To form a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity, without distinction of race, creed, caste and colour.
- II. To encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy and science.
- III. To investigate unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man.

Dr. Annie Besant was born in U.K. in October 1847. In 1880's he joined the Theosophical Society. She was mother of modern politics in India and a pioneer of the Theosophical Society.

The Theosophists of Sindh invited her and in 1896 she visited there and delivered six lectures:

- Man is the Master of his own destiny
- Evolution of man
- India's position among nations
- Hinduism, Christianity and Theosophy
- Education that India need

During her tour, the Karachi Theosophical Society was formed. The city of Karachi was modernised by the theosophists. The two main architects of modern Karachi, Seth Harchandrai and Jamshed Mehta were theosophists.

The Capital of Sindh, Karachi city, was a bouquet of religions, cultures and communities. Mr. Anklesaria, Jamshed Mehta, Jethmal Parsram, Mr. Nadir Beg Mirza, Mr. J.S. Jacob, Mr. David. R. Balfour, Ghulam Ali Chagla, G.M. Sayed, Hatim Alvi, Dada Dault Mehtani and Ms. Gool Minwala were the inspiring souls of the Society.

Each was valued not only as a theosophist but also as a social reformer, scholar, writer or expert in the fields of education, politics and sociology. They wielded a tremendous influence on the life of the community. In April 1926 the silver Jubilee celebrations of the Karachi Theosophical Society was made. On this occasion Mr. Max Wardall wrote about it:

“Of Hyderabad and Karachi in the Sindh I am rather at a loss to express myself. At both these centres are magnificent Lodges premises where public and private lectures are held and to which public have free welcome and access. At Hyderabad there is a large school with an excellent printing plant and well-organised staff. Both these lodges of the Sindh are strong in numbers and rich in leadership. All the lectures were highly attended, the audience increasing steadily as the series proceeded. I think I shall oblige to say that nowhere in any country of the globe have I seen lodges superior to these twin stars of the Sindh. Certainly in no city of America, Canada, England, or France does any Theosophical lodge wield such a tremendous influence on the life of community, as do the lodges of these two cities. This of course is as it should be. The Theosophical Society should be heart and centre of inspiration in communities.

Souvenir on Silver Jubilee of Karachi Theosophical Society

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, a highly literate generation of Sindh political leaders, Barrister Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, Mohammed Ali Jinnah advocate and Seth Harchandrai advocate, had their names engraved into the history of the Subcontinent. Muhammad Ali Jinnah became founder of the new state of Pakistan. After completing the Bar exam in London, Barrister Muhammad Ali Jinnah returned to Karachi and upon the suggestion of his father Jinnah Ponja, he joined the Harchandrai legal company as a junior to Mr. Harchandrai. After some time Mr. Jinnah left Karachi, and settled in Bombay; there he started his legal and political career.

Ghulam Mohammed Bhurgri and Seth Harchandrai

were the pioneers of modern politics of Sindh.

Sir Aga Khan, the mentor of the Ismaili sect of Shia, was also born in Sindh. He played an active role in the subcontinent's politics but his role in the politics of Sindh was minor. One more personality - Shaikh Abdul Majid - also played an essential role in the politics of Sindh.

The first decade of 20th century brought about a political resonance in Sindh. The leadership of Sindh: Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri, Seth Harchandrai, Seth Abdullah Haroon and Jamshed Mehta organised 'Sindh conferences' and demanded civil liberties and the rights of the people from the British government. The first Sindh conference was held in Sukkur In 1909. The President of the welcoming committee was Seth Harchandrai and the meeting was presided over by Koromal Khilnani. The conference demanded the separation of Sindh from Karachi.

Great political luminaries and great sons of Sindh, namely G. M. Sayed, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro and Allah Bux Soomro, who daringly stood against imperialist designs of the British, were born in the first decade of the twentieth century and each of these men has had a great influence on the politics of Sindh. Allah Bux Soomro was born in 1900, G.M. Sayed in 1904 and Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro in 1909.

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During this same era world politics took a U-turn. Another adventure of the British was its attack on Tibet. In 1902 Russia managed to be on good terms with the Dalai Lama, through the efforts of its diplomatic agents, Dorjief, Bademayev and Zerempil. In 1903, Lord Curzon, the Governor General of British-India, took the Russian-Tibetan close contacts seriously and he wrote two letters to the Dalai Lama but there was no positive response from the Tibetan authorities. To counter the moves of Russia in Tibet, finally he sent Colonel Francis Younghusband there to negotiate with the Tibetan authorities. Younghusband

arrived in Tibet, tried his best diplomatic efforts, but there was nothing to his credit and after staying a few months there he returned back to India empty handed.

Lord Curzon made another attempt after getting permission from the high authorities of London. He sent Younghusband and a 1000-strong armed force to Tibet. In December 1903, Younghusband entered Tibet. The Russian reaction was very swift and they lodged a strong protest. The British reply was diplomatic. Younghusband began attacks on the Tibetans, and the Buddhist Monks and people of Tibet gave a tough time to the British forces. However, Younghusband's forces defeated them. After the fall of Tibet the Dalai Lama fled to an unknown place. There had been bloodshed of the Tibetan people by the British army. In London, newspapers and the vocal groups condemned the ruthless behaviour of the British army.

Soon the forward policy of Russia in the Far East brought about a war between Russia and Japan. Japan felt that Russia was at its door, and decided to give a surprise to the Russians - on February 8, 1904 Japanese forces attacked the great Russian naval base at Port Arthur. There was war between Japan and Russia on a big scale. The USA intervened and persuaded both countries to stop the war, and the appeal of USA was considered positively by both countries and they reached a truce.

During the war, the Russian mistakenly shelled a British fleet of Hull trawlers, whereby the reaction of the British was very strong and Britain was on the brink of war with Russia, but thanks to a wise decision of Tsar Nicholas, an apology was made to the British and compensation promised.

This positive Russian attitude, and especially after fall of Tibet, the British became comfortable and considered that there would be no serious threat to borders of British-India. Russia and the British had reached a conclusion that enough was enough – they should try for peace instead of war.

Serious talks between Russia and the British took place and as a result, a treaty of peace was signed by both players of the 'Great Game', Russia and the British, in 1907.

Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907

The treaty was formally signed by Count Alexander Izvolsky, Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire, and Sir Arthur Nicolson, the British Ambassador to Russia, on August 31, 1907 in St. Petersburg, Russia. Was stipulated the following:

That Persia would be split into three zones: A Russian zone in the north, a British zone in the southwest, and a neutral "buffer" zone in the remaining land.

That Britain may not seek concessions "beyond a line starting from Kasr-i-Shirin, passing through Isfahan, Yezd (Yazd), Kakhk, and ending at a point on the Persian frontier at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers."

That Russia must follow the reverse of guideline number two.

That Afghanistan was a British protectorate and for Russia to cease any communication with the Emir.

A separate treaty was drawn up to resolve disputes regarding Tibet. However, these terms eventually proved problematic, as they "drew attention to a whole range of minor issues that remained unsolved".

Direct consequences of the Convention

After the signing of the convention, Russia began to "partake in British military manoeuvres and extend reciprocal invitations." The Convention served as the catalyst for creating a "Triple Entente", which was the basis of the alliance of countries opposing the Central Powers in 1914 at the onset of World War I.

The comments of some British experts on the

Anglo-Russia treaty were negative and they criticized their respective leadership.

As the news of the Anglo-Russia treaty was received by the Iranian and Afghan leadership, they were amazed and shocked. In anger, their opinion was that no one had given rights to the British and Russia to decide upon the destiny and geographical boundaries of their countries. It happened simply because some countries believed 'might is right'.

Both expansionists achieved what they wanted: Russia grabbed Central Asia and some parts of Iran and the British took the Asian subcontinent and kept to some extent an influence in Afghanistan. Following this agreement, Russia and the British made an agreement about borders, named for Mortimier Durand, the architect of this plan, the 'Durand line'.

Sir Henry Mortimer Durand's biographer, Percy Sykes acknowledged Durand's efforts.

"Durand Line and the Anglo- Russian Agreement of 1907, owing to these two achievements Sir Henry Mortimer Durand stands out of his generation as the great boundary Maker and consequently as a great Peace Maker."

Sir Henry Mortimer Durand P. Flap

After the bloodshed and grabbing the resources of enslaved and oppressed people and nations, what the British gained in two hundred years was all lost in the short time of six years of the Second World War. The rise of Empire and the fall of an Empire became history. The Empire, upon whose territory the sun never set, leaves British people now anxiously waiting to see a sunny day.

For peace and equal rights of small or big nations, Woodrow Wilson, president of the USA, presented the famous Fourteen Points during the First World War, in 1918.

Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

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The peace proposal of Woodrow Wilson was not accepted by his partners—the two conquerors of the war the British and France, and it was also opposed by Henry Lodge, member of the USA Congress, under his influence Congress rejected the peace proposal of Woodrow Wilson. In this greedy and ambitious world any person who talked and worked for peace was eliminated, sentenced or assassinated.

This happened with Woodrow Wilson, the hero of the USA in the First World War. He lost the next election and, shocked, he died within a few years. However, his visionary prediction became true.

He warned the British and French not to impose harsh sanctions on the loser Germany and to think about a peaceful and prosperous future of theirs' and Germany. Imposing unkind sanctions, means inviting an other World War. British and France did not bother with these and they ignored the peace proposals of Woodrow Wilson, and placed severe sanctions on Germany at the Treaty of Versailles. What Wilson predicted happened two decades later. In the person of Adolf Hitler, the reaction of German nation was very swift and it struck Europe in particular and generally the entire world. Millions of people were killed and wounded and property worth thousands of trillions was lost. The suffering of human being reached its heights. Russia also became the most affected of the war, alone at Stalingrad, thousands of Germans' and Russians' bloodshed occurred.

During these politically crucial years in the Asian subcontinent two great sons of the Indus Valley, Allah Bux Soomro premier of Sindh and opposition leader of Sindh assembly G.M. Sayed's peace proposals, which Soomro presented in 1942 and G.M. Sayed on 2 April 1946, during his meeting with Viceroy and cabinet mission, were ignored by the British, the All-India National Congress and the Muslim League. In same year, Allah Bux Soomro was dismissed from premiership by the British authorities and within the short time of one year, on 14 May 1943, he was assassinated.

G.M. Sayed remained behind bars more for than thirty years. However, he stood firm on his peace proposals and the rights of oppressed people and nations.

Another expansionist Russia retained the lands it grabbed up to 1990, but the wise man with the realistic approach Mikhail Gorbachev, took a big step in history and decentralized the USSR and freed the colonised, European and Central Asian countries.

The main error of the Russian communist leadership, Lenin, Stalin and others' was that they did not give rights to the colonised nations. The main reason for the fall of USSR as a super power was centralization of the entire system.

In same period, the patriotic people of Punjab launched a struggle against British unjust policies on peasants. In 1907, Sardar Ajit Singh, the uncle of hero of freedom movement of subcontinent martyr Bhaghat Singh, started the farmer movement. The British considered it an anti-British activity.

The patriotic atmosphere of political awareness of the people of the subcontinent compelled the British to review their policy and to share powers with local people. In 1906, the Secretary of State for Indian affairs, Lord Morley, addressing the British parliament, revealed that the British Government was making a new constitutional package for the Indian people. He declared that new reforms would provide more powers to local representatives

in Parliament. He started correspondence with Lord Minto, the Governor General of India. A committee was formed and after its report, the reforms package was presented in the British parliament. The Parliament passed the resolution in 1909, and it became the 1909 Act. The Act was famous, and was called by the names of both British officials the 'Minto-Morley' reforms Act.

Under this Act the number of seats of parliament was increased in the centre and the provinces, and powers were given to members to present their resolutions, sharing their views and voting on propositions.

Under this Act elections were held in the entire subcontinent. The great sons of Sindh, Barrister Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri and Harchandrai advocate, were among the elected members of Sindh for Bombay Legislative Council. .

During same era, on the right bank of Indus River the Great Pashton leader of twentieth century, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, famous as 'Bacha Khan', started a non-violent movement against the British Raj and a program to educate Pashtons.

He organised the Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God) movement. The Khudai Khidmatgar movement was a non-violent freedom struggle against the British Empire by the Pashtuns or Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province

The volunteers of Khudai Khidmatgar movement were also known as "Surkho Posh" or "Red shirts". It was initially a social reform organization focusing on education and the elimination of blood feuds from Afghan society but its fabric was political.

For centuries, Pashtun tribes in Afghanistan and in India's northwest frontier were famed for their vendettas and feuds, for their bravery and treachery, and for their unwillingness to accept outside rule.

The British did not like Khan Ghaffar Khan's

efforts to educate Pashtons and to encourage less feuding among Pashtons. The educated Pashton society felt that the British divide and rule policy was dangerous. Feuds were the main weapon of the British: they wanted a Pashton society which should always be fighting about small petty issues since this would not create political problems for the British rule.

Up to 1930 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Khudai Khidmatgar organization organised tens of thousands of Pashtuns on a path not usually traveled by Pashtons, i.e. 'Non violent civil disobedience'. Khan Abdul Ghaffar changed an emotional Pashton society into a non-violent society and united bickering tribes. This played a vital role for decades to claim an end to British colonial rule.

The reaction of the British was very swift. The British targeted Khudai Khidmatgar organization and in 1929, its leadership went into exile and a large number of leaders were arrested. This led to "Frontier Gandhi" and an alliance with Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress in the late 1920s. This alliance lasted till India's independence. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was put behind bars for years and also the British administration restricted his movements. However, the Khudai Khidmatgar organization touched the heights of fame and got a majority of the seats in elections. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's younger brother Abdul Jabbar Khan, famous as 'Khan Sahib', was Chief Minister of North-Western Frontier Province at the time of partition of the Asian subcontinent. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's son Khan Abdul Wali Khan was an opposition leader of the National Assembly of Pakistan at the time of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government in 1973. During same period, in NWFP, Khan Abdul Wali Khan's Awami national party formed a coalition government with Mufti Mehmood in North-Western Frontier Province, but it was dissolved by Zulfikar Bhutto's central government in 1973.

The effects of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's struggle and sacrifice are still felt in Khyber Pakhtun Khawah province. His grandson's (Asfandyar Wali Khan's) Awami National party secured most of the seats

in the 2008 general elections of Pakistan and formed a government in Khyber Pakhtun Khawa.

In Sindh, the 'Sindh Conferences' produced an immense political renaissance and due to active role of Barrister Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri and Seth Harchandrai in Indian politics, Sindh became part of main - stream politics in the subcontinent. The confident leadership of Sindh decided to stage large political meetings, inviting political figures and activists from all over India to Sindh. For this purpose they called a yearly Congress session in Sindh.

All-India Congress session

In 1913, the yearly session of All-India Congress was held in Sindh. Seth Harchandrai was chairman of the reception committee. The great leader of Sindhi Muslims, Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, lent full support to Harchandrai, as did Ghulam Ali Chagla, Ghulam Hussain Qasim and Mir Ayub Khan. Chagla even became one of the secretaries of the reception committee.

Some 125 guest-delegates from the entire subcontinent and 500 delegates from the province attended the session.

Nawab Sayed Mohammed, a descendent of Tipu Sultan, presided over the conference. The important personalities who attended the conference were:

D. A. Vacha, Sir Aga Khan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah (later on, he disassociated himself from the Congress and became president of the All-India Muslim League and founder of the newborn country Pakistan), Bhopindarnath Basu, D.A. Khari, Gokaldas, K. Parekh, Binkuntnath Sen, T.C. Shishagri Ayer, N.M. Samruth, Lala Lajpatrai, Ganga Parsad Varma, Lallobhai Sawaldas and others.

Seth Harchandrai, as chairman of the reception committee, said in his speech that the province could trace most of its ills to its annexation by the Bombay Presidency, and on that pretext he demanded Sindh's

separation from Bombay.

In 1914, the First World War broke out between the colonial countries and Germany. The patriotic people of Punjab, mainly the Sikhs of India and abroad, decided to claim a benefit from the Second World War and expel the British from the Subcontinent. There was an attempt by the famous 'Ghadar Movement' to do this, but due to the swift reaction of the British authorities and local traitors, this move failed.

The Ghadar Movement

After the fall of Punjab many patriotic Sikhs and Hindu Punjabis moved to USA and Canada, and after establishing their livelihood in USA and Canada they organised the Ghadr movement to free India from British rule in the early 1900s. The word Ghadr can be commonly translated as mutiny. This Association gave rise to revolutionary activities in India. Also another organisation was formed by oriental students and vocal groups called the 'Indo-American National Association'.

Amar Singh and Gopal Singh went to America in 1905, and Tarak Nath Das and Ram Nath Puri, who followed them, started preaching against the British rule in India. They also started a paper called *Azadi ka circular* (Circular of Freedom) in Urdu. This paper was distributed among the armed forces in India to rouse them against the British.

In 1912, at Portland Hindustani Association on the Pacific coast was formed with Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna as its president and G.D. Kumar as the general secretary. Later Mr. Kumar fell ill and his place was taken by Lala Hardyal. The aim of the party was explained as "Today, there begins in foreign lands, a war against British Raj".

"What is your name? Ghadr.

"What is your work? Ghadr.

"Where will Ghadr break out? in India.

"The time will soon come when rifles and blood

will take the place of pen and ink."

Their aim was to oust the British through an armed rebellion.

The first issue of the Ghadr, in Urdu, came out in November 1913 and that in Punjabi a week later. The paper was distributed to politico-Indian centres in United States, Canada, Philippines, Fiji, Sumatra, Japan, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Hankow, Java, Singapore, Malaya, Siam, Burma, India and East Africa. Occasionally Ghadr published the following advertisement:

"Wanted: Enthusiastic and heroic soldiers for organizing Ghadr in Hindustan:

Remuneration: Death

Reward: Martyrdom

Pension: Freedom

Field of work: Hindustan.

Lala Hardyal, Baba Sohna Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, Bhai Harnam Singh of Kotla, and Naudh Singh became leaders of the organisation. The members started getting training in the use of weapons and the making of bombs: several got training in flying aircraft. During bomb making Harnam Singh had his hand blown off.

Maulawi Barkat Ullah, a professor in Tokyo University, Japan, inspired several patriotic Muslims to join the Ghadr Party. In July 1914, the First World War started. The leadership of Ghadr party decided to take the opportunity and hit the bar when it was hot, and on 5 August, they moved practically to bring about revolution in British-India.

Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna and his companions left for India on 22 August 1914, and by 1916 their number had become 8,000. The number of Ghadr workers who entered India was probably more than these official figures.

But the rulers were very active and at least 50% of

them were arrested or confined to their villages by state governments.

The Ghadr party established a new press and published small pamphlets such as: *Ghadr Sandesh, Ailan-i-Jang, Tilak, Nadar Mauqa, Rikabgan; Canada da Duhhra, Naujavan Utho, Sachchz Pukar*, and so on. These pamphlets were published in Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi, and were distributed among the public and the soldiers. The party also produced their own flag having red, yellow and green colours. Dr Mathura Singh supervised factories producing armaments.

For attracting youth party members met with them and they also approached soldiers stationed especially at Mian Mir (Lahore), Jalandhar, Ferozpur, Peshawar, Jehlum, Rawalpindi, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu, Ambala, Meerut, Kanpur and Agra cantonments. The soldiers were generally in sympathy with the movement their desire for freedom made them enthusiastic.

According to party policy several party workers joined the army to create awareness among Indian soldiers to help them in liberating the motherland from the yoke of the British and also to get arms and ammunition. Contacts were also established with Bengal revolutionaries such as Rash Behari Bose whose close companions were Sachin Sanyal and Vishnu Ganesh Pingle. Pingle acted as a link between the Ghadr party and Bengalis.

The movement faced financial difficulties in India. To overcome this difficulty, the party had to resort to forcible acquisition of funds by under-taking political dacoities.

All the preparations completed, the party executive met on 12 February 1915, and decided to start the rebellion on 21 February. Their plan was simultaneously to attack and capture Mian Mir and Ferozpur cantonments; the 128th Pioneer and 12 Cavalry were to capture Meerut Cantonment and then proceed to Delhi. Units in cantonments in northern India were expected to join the rebellion.

The British Government had excellent intelligence network and also the government had planted its agents in the Ghadr party. Before decision of Ghadr leadership to rebel the British authorities had already started a crackdown and it coped with the rebellion swiftly. But the onslaught on the Punjab government did not reduce their spirit and Ghadrites in central Punjab murdered policemen and informers and attempted to derail trains and blow up bridges. Factories for preparing bombs were established. All this made the government feel that they were on a "fault line."

When the party learned that the information about their D-Day had leaked, they advanced the date of the rebellion to 19 February, but this information also reached the police through their informer, Kirpal. The police raided the party headquarters at four different places in Lahore and arrested 13 of the "most dangerous revolutionaries." All cantonments were alerted and the Indian troops placed under vigilance; some were even disarmed. Arrests of Ghadr men took place all over the Punjab. Rash Behari Bose, with the help of Kartar Singh Sarabha, escaped from Lahore to Varanasi: Vishnu Ganesh Pingle was arrested at Meerut on 23 March 1915. All the leaders were put in the Lahore jail.

The government of the Punjab sought help and the Government of India under the Defence of India Act passed wide powers to the Punjab Government which formed a special tribunal of three judges, including one Indian, to try the Ghadr men imprisoned in the Central Jail, Lahore. Thus the rebellion was smashed by the government before it had really taken shape.

The Ghadr men were tried by the Special Tribunal in what are known as Lahore conspiracy cases. They occurred in batches. The trial of the first batch began on 26 April 1915. In all, 291 persons were tried and sentenced to death, 114 were sentenced for life, 93 were awarded varying terms of imprisonment, and 42 were acquitted. Confiscation of property was ordered in the case of many. No one appealed against the punishments. Those who were hanged included Kartar Singh Sarabha,

Jagat Singh (Sursingh) Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, Harnam Singh Sialkoti, Bakshish Singh (son of Ishar Singh), Bhai Balvant Singh (Khurdpur), Babu Ram, Harnam Singh, Hafiz Abdullah and Rur Singh (Sanghval).

Under the circumstances, the army units which had promised to join the revolution kept quiet. However, some units such as 26 Punjabi, 7 Rajput, 12 Cavalry, 23 Cavalry, 128 Pioneers, Malaya State Guides, 23 Mountain Battery, 24 Jat Artillery, 15 Cancers, 22 Mountain Battery, 130 Baluch and 21 Punjabi did come out in the open. About 700 men of 5 Light Infantry, located in Singapore, mutinied on 15 February and took possession of the fort. The rebellion was subdued by the British troops; 126 men were tried by court martial which sentenced 37 to death, 41 to transportation for life, and the remaining to varying terms of imprisonment. Soldiers from other units were punished as below:

To Death:

23 Cavalry

12 Cavalry

130 Baluch

128 Pioneers

1 sentenced for life

The party workers also went to Iran and Iraq to instigate Indian troops against the British, and to Turkey to exhort Indian prisoners to fight for India's freedom. In Iran, the party was able to raise an Indian Independence Army. The Army advanced towards Baluchistan, and en route captured Kermanshah. Then they advanced along the coast towards Karachi.

Meanwhile, Turkey was defeated and the British had occupied Baghdad. The Indian Independence Army thus, losing its base, was also defeated.

The Ghadr party contacted Germany, Turkey, Afghanistan, China and other countries, but not much help came from any of these. Germany sympathized with the

Ghadr party and occasionally tried to render some help in the form of weapons and money, but these often failed to reach the party. For instance, 5,000 revolvers on board *Henry S.* which sailed from Manila were captured en route by the British. Germany had also formed an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany.

During World War I, revolutionaries from most countries had gone to Switzerland, which was a neutral country. The Indians there formed the Indian Revolutionary Society, also known as Berlin-India Committee. The Society had formed a provisional government at Kabul, but had no contacts with the Indian public. The Ghadr party established links with the Society and both agreed to help each other. Germany sent financial help to the Society but, on learning that it was being misappropriated, discontinued it. The Society soon collapsed. No sum ever reached the Ghadr party. The Ghadr movement, as says O'Dwyer, "was by far the most serious attempt to subvert British rule in India." Most of the workers were illiterate - only 25 of them knew Urdu or Punjabi. Still they organized a strong movement which for the time being thrilled the country and made the British panic.

Although the movement was suppressed, it provided a nucleus for the Akali movement that followed a few years later. The Ghadr leaders were especially prominent among the Babar Akalis.

The Encyclopedia of Sikhism -- Harbans Singh

In Sindh the Hur insurgency was continued, and harsh and modern tactics applied by the British did not stop it.

The mentor of Hurs, Sayed Shah Mardan Shah Pir Pagaro, like Indian National Congress and other political parties lent support to the British administration in the First World War but the British government was suspicious of him and posted either a police Inspector or a sub inspector along with ten police constables in his entourage as he traveled the land.

Despite his moderate views, the British administration continued to distrust him. He was once forbidden from completing a tour that he had undertaken with the purpose of visiting his disciples. He was forced to comply with the order.

In 1914, for a meeting, William Henry Lucas, the then Commissioner in Sindh summoned Sayed Shah Mardan Shah to Karachi. In response to the invitation, Shah Mardan Shah visited the city and tried to contact the commissioner at his office several times but the latter made a conscious effort to avoid him. His tactics clearly offended the Pir. Then after a few days Shah Mardan Shah, under police escort, finally met with the commissioner.

The commissioner abandoned all pretences of being a gentleman and in the crudest possible terms asked the Pir to hand over the absconders. Unfazed by his lack of civility, the Pir told him that as an administrator of Sindh, he was empowered to arrest the absconders. Hot words were exchanged. William Henry Lucas and his minions impelled him to sign a promissory note that guaranteed the hand-over of his absconding disciples. Shah Mardan Shah weighed the situation carefully and made a decision to sign the document.

He then met with Barrister Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri, the first Muslim barrister of Sindhi origin, and briefed him about what had transpired at his meeting with the commissioner.

Bhurgri Sahib suggested that he lodge an appeal in the court against the forced agreement and volunteered to act as the counsel for Pir Pagaro.

Thus Pir Sahib challenged the commissioner's order in the Court. The Court recognised that the promissory note was obtained under duress and ruled in favour of Pir Sahib.

Meanwhile during World War II, the proletariat revolution in Russia, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky and Stalin changed the political

scenario of Europe and it also affected Asia. India also came under Russian influence. The revolutionary leadership cancelled all treaties with the British.

It was at this time that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, until then relatively unknown to Indians, started becoming a popular leader.

Ominously, in 1919, the third Anglo-Afghan war began after Amir Habibullah Khan's assassination and the institution of Amanullah Khan in a system influenced by the Kabul mission. In addition, in India, Gandhi's call for protest against the Rowlatt act achieved an unprecedented response of furious unrest and protests.

The situation especially in Punjab was deteriorating rapidly, with disruptions of rail, telegraph and communication systems.

In the Punjab, although the Ghadr party's attempt for freedom of British-India had foiled, nevertheless, the flames were still there. The promise made by the British with Indian politicians about Home Rule was not honoured by the English administration; producing unrest among the people: The promulgation of the Rowlatt Act produced more strife in political circles and vocal groups. At the time of World War II the political atmosphere of the entire subcontinent was calm and in favour of colonialist British but Bengal and Punjab remained sources of anti-colonial activities. Revolutionary attacks in Bengal, associated increasingly with disturbances in Punjab, were significant enough to nearly paralyse the regional administrations.

Rowlatt Act

After World War I, the attitude of the British changed; British officials were not ready to give civil liberties and rights to people of the Asian subcontinent in order that they might rule the subcontinent according to their wishes. It created unrest all over India. For suppressing any movement the British constituted a committee called the 'Rowlatt Committee' under the chair of British Judge

Sir Sidney Rowlett, to give suggestions to authorities how to cope with the anger of the masses. The Committee prepared a draft and in March 1919, the Rowlett Act was passed by the British Parliament.

This Act provided powers to British authorities to imprison any person living in the Raj for a maximum of two years, without any trial. The reaction of the Indian leaders was very prompt. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, leader of Indian National Congress, gave a call for a non-violent strike over all India. The strike was very successful, but on the day of the strike the violent state of affairs in Punjab compelled Mr. Gandhi to postpone the resistance. Two leaders of Indian National Congress, Mr. Satyapal and Saifuddin Kichelo were arrested and sent to an unknown place. In the Punjab the resistance movement was very fierce. The British reacted with a massacre of innocent people in Jalianwala Garden.

Jalianwala Garden Massacre

The Jalianwala Bagh massacre, also known as the Amritsar massacre, took place in the Jalianwala Bagh public garden in the East Punjab's city of Amritsar.

On Sunday 13 April 1919, people were celebrating the day of 'Baisakhi' - one of Punjab's largest religious festivals - in Jalianwala Garden. British soldiers under the command of Brigadier-General Reginald E.H. Dyer arrived in the garden and without any warning started shooting at an unarmed gathering of men, women, and children. Official Government of India sources estimated the fatalities at 379, with 1,100 wounded. Civil Surgeon Dr Williams Dee Meddy indicated that there were 1,526 casualties. The casualty number quoted by the Indian National Congress was more than 1,500, with approximately 1,000 killed.

In his headquarters, General Dyer reported to his superiors that he had been "confronted by a revolutionary army".

In a telegram sent to Dyer, British Lieutenant-

Governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O' Dwyer wrote: "Your action is correct. Lieutenant Governor approves".

O'Dwyer requested that martial law be imposed upon Amritsar and other areas; this was granted by the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, after the massacre. The "crawling order" was posted on Aug 19 under the auspices of martial law.

After the ruthless act of Dyer protests began in the entire British-India. the Gujranwala city was hit by opposition to the English army: Two days later on April 15, demonstrations occurred in Gujranwala protesting the killings at Amritsar. Police and aircraft were used against the demonstrators, resulting in 12 deaths and 27 injuries. The Officer Commanding the Royal Air Force in India, Brigadier General N D K Mac Ewen, stated later that:

"I think we can fairly claim to have been of great use in the late riots, particularly at Gujranwala, where the crowd when looking at its nastiest was absolutely dispersed by a machine using bombs and Lewis guns."

The protest of political parties and people of subcontinent compelled the British administration to constitute a commission. One was constituted by Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, in late 1919, and its chief was Mr. Hunter.

Dyer was called to appear before the Hunter Commission:

"Dyer said before the commission that he came to know about the meeting at the Jalianwala Bagh at 12:40 hours that day but did not attempt to prevent it. He stated that he had gone to the Bagh with the deliberate intention of opening fire if he found a crowd assembled there. "I think it quite possible that I could have dispersed the crowd without firing but they would have come back again and laughed, and I would have made, what I consider, a fool of myself." - Dyer's response to the Hunter Commission Enquiry.

Dyer said he would have used his machine guns if

he could have got them into the enclosure, but these were mounted on armoured cars. He said he did not stop the shooting when the crowd began to disperse because he thought it was his duty to keep shooting until the crowd dispersed, and that a little shooting would not do any good. In fact he continued the shooting until the ammunition was almost exhausted.

The Hunter Commission did not award any penalty or disciplinary action because Dyer's actions were condoned by various superiors (later upheld by the Army Council). However, he was finally found guilty of a mistaken notion of duty and relieved of his command.

A patriotic Sikh Udham Singh took revenge on Jalianwala massacre.

On March 13, 1940, at Caxton Hall in London, Udham Singh, an Indian independence activist from Sunam who had witnessed the events in Amritsar and was himself wounded, shot and killed Michael O'Dwyer, the British Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab at the time of the massacre, who had approved Dyer's action and was believed to be the main planner. (Dyer himself had died in 1927)

Udham Singh was jailed and sent to trial: he courageously confessed his action in the Court:

"I did it because I had a grudge against him. He deserved it. He was the real culprit. He wanted to crush the spirit of my people, so I have crushed him.

"For a full 21 years, I have been trying to wreak vengeance. I am happy that I have done the job. I am not scared of death. I am dying for my country. I have seen people starving in India under the British rule. I have protested against this, it was my duty. What a greater honour could be bestowed on me than death for the sake of my motherland?"

Singh was hanged for the murder on July 31, 1940. At that time, many, including Jawaharlal Nehru and

Mahatma Gandhi, condemned the action of Udham as senseless but courageous. In 1952, Nehru (by then, Prime Minister) honoured Udham Singh with the following statement which appeared in the daily Partap: "I salute Shaheed-i-Azam Udham Singh with reverence who had kissed the noose so that we may be free." Soon after this recognition by the Prime Minister, Udham Singh received the title of Shaheed, a name given to someone who had attained martyrdom or done something heroic on behalf of their country or religion."

Encyclopedia of Sikhs - Harban Singh

The reaction of masses in the Subcontinent and the continuing struggle of political parties compelled the British authorities to recheck the Rowlatt Act's negative aspects, especially the constituted Repressive Laws Committee. After the report of the Repressive Law Committee, the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and twenty two other laws were repealed in March 1922.

In Sindh, there was a bureaucratic Raj. As a representative of the masses, Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri and Harchandrai Bharvani, two vocal members of Bombay Legislative Council, played their due roles and they presented a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council against peasants mishandling bureaucrats in Sindh.

Sindhi legislators oppose the Forced Labour

With the dawn of civilisation, forced labour became a necessity. In Greece slavery was legal and all Roman architecture and construction was carried on with forced labour. The beautiful Taj Mahal of Agra was constructed with the forced labour of thousands of people. The beauty of Taj Mahal has the blood and sweat of thousands of labourers. Although this system was abolished in Europe and developed countries, the British, after the conquest of Sindh, continued it.

Rasai and Chheer are Sindhi words used in interaction between an official and a farmer (Hari). To carry the officials' luggage, to work for a day or two on

the landlord's farm – this had been the lot of the Haris for years. High officials were expected to tour outlying areas to listen to people's problems and then try to solve them. In reality, however, the people dreaded these tours because the Sahibs created more problems than they solved.

The Sahib's breakfast, lunch and dinner was the landlord, *Tehsildar* and *Patwari's* responsibility and they shifted it to the tillers of the soil. Any shortcoming brought the wrath of the three upon the poor peasants.

Moreover, the Sahib's staff extorted money from the people and made other illegal demands on them. The well-to-do could win reprieve by paying in cash or kind but the poor had to bear the brunt of the harsh demands of the bureaucracy.

G.M. Sayed made a scholar and politician's comments on the condition of the labour:

“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 were rampant.”

Struggle for New Sindh P. 13

Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, presented a resolution against this state of affairs in the Council and persuaded the members to appoint a commission to look into public grievances against the bureaucracy.

On Thursday 6th December 1917, at the Council Hall, Secretariat of Bombay, a heated discussion took place:

The following Members participated in the discussion:

Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri, Mr. V.J. Patel, Lord Willington, Mr. D.V. Belvi, Mr. S.D. Garud, Khan Bahadur Pir Bakhsh, Mr. H.S. Lawrence, Sardar Bulabawa Baisingji, Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mr. R.P. Paranjpye, Mr. P.R. Cadell, Mr. Pratt and Mr. G.

Carmichael.

After a heated debate the Bombay Legislative Council appointed the commission of enquiry. Mr. Justice Howard was named as head of the commission and Harchandrai was made a member.

Some information is available on this *rasai* ('serving the sahibs') in the diary, which Harchandrai kept. The commission started functioning on April 3, 1918. It met five times in three days in the kutchhery in Karachi. Witnesses were called and questioned.

After the commission had been appointed, Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri made great efforts to help it. Jairamdas Daulatram, former governor of Assam, was his right-hand man in this respect. Both of them put in a tremendous effort to persuade people to agree to become witnesses and depose before the commission. The commission met in Sukkur, Hyderabad, Larkana and Karachi and heard witnesses.

Khilafat Movement

After the apparent departure of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the Muslims gathered in Madina, and they chose a leader (Khalifa) to look after the matters of the Muslims. In 15th Century, the Ottomans established their rule in Turkey and they introduced the Caliphate system in the country and the sultan entitled himself Caliph of Muslims. The Turks expanded their territories in Asia and Europe. In World War I, they made alliance with Germany, and after the defeat of Germany in 1919 the British wanted to dismember Turkey.

Muslims in India took serious notice of these British designs against the Ottoman Caliphate and in 1919 they launched a movement called 'Khilaphat Movement'. The movement's leaders were Muhammad Ali Johar and his brother Shokat Ali. Showing unity with Muslims, Mahatma Gandhi and Indian National Congress supported the movement. The reaction of Indian people was enormous; Punjab and Sindh also played their role in the movement.

The revolutionary leader of Turkey, Mustafa Kamal Pasha Ataturk, took reins of the country and became president on 29 October 1923. He abolished the caliphate system and introduced a modern European system of government. After the dismantling of the Caliphate system in Turkey, in 1924 Caliphate movement in India became only a chapter in history.

In Sindh a shrewd, courageous and brave son of Sindh became the spiritual mentor of the Hurs.

Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro Crowned

Pir Sibghatullah Shah II, the sixth Pir Pagaro, was born on 6 March 1909 at Pir jo Goth. Sindh was in the backwaters subcontinent politics when Pir was born.

In 1922, at the tender age of 14, he succeeded his father to the throne and became the sixth Pir Pagaro.

The British tried to make young Pir a protégé of theirs, but to no avail. The British dream to wean Pir away from radical traditions was doomed. Pir would grow up to be neither a British loyalist nor sympathiser.

Another great son of Sindh, G.M. Sayed, in his young age, ran in local body elections and he was elected member of District Board Karachi and its Vice President in 1925. Later on, in 1928, he was elected president of the civic body.

G.M. Sayed worked in the socio-political field to serve the people of Sindh, Initially, in the political field; he played an active part in Sindh's separation movement from the Bombay presidency and in the social sector as a vice president and then president of Karachi District. He did excellent work in the development of the rural area of Karachi District.

Sindh's separation movement was smoothly launched by all communities of and this struggle by the Sindhis, Muslims and Hindus on one platform continued until 1925, but the sudden death of Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri in 1924 came as a great loss to Sindh.

Sindhi Hindus and Muslims became divided on the issue even Seth Harchandrai, who was the pioneer of the movement, began to oppose it. All 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: However, all their efforts were in vain.

Another great son of Sindh - Allah Bux Soomro - at the young age of 26 was elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In that Council, he played a vital role for the socio-economic and political rights of Sindh and also both in parliament and out of parliament he presented the case of Sindh's separation from the Bombay presidency. He was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council for nine years until the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency in 1936.

These three great sons of Sindh - Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro, Allah Bux Soomro and G.M. Sayed - their patriotic and anti-colonialist role and their struggle for oppressed nations and peoples form a remarkable chapter of history. Due to their firm stand against colonialism and imperialism, Pir Pagaro was put on the gallows at the age of 34, Allah Bux Soomro was dismissed from Premiership of Sindh and at the age of 43 he was assassinated. G.M. Sayed was put behind the bars or in solitary confinement for more than thirty years.

Although in 1930s and 1940s, the British, on behalf of their colonial rule, promoted religious fanaticism, these three leaders resisted and gave a tough time to the British. They were the proponents of a multi-cultural and multi-religious society.

The struggle for Sindh's separation from Bombay was boosted up and Conferences were held around 1928, first in Karachi, then in Hyderabad, then again at Karachi. Resolutions were passed and the British were 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.

In same era, in Punjab, Sir Fazal Hussain founded the non-sectarian 'National Unionist party' in 1923. Sir Fazal Hussain, Sir Sikander Hayat and Sir Chhotu Ram, though they were allies of the British and imperialism, their remarkable role for inter-religious harmony, and social and agricultural reforms placed them in the high ranks and as pioneers of the modern politics of the Punjab. The passing of an alienation bill in parliament against money lenders in favour of agriculturist was their great political achievement.

Education, agriculture, the social sector, and the promotion of culture and language were their mission and they devotedly worked on these and developed Punjab in all fields.

In 1927, to review the 1919 Act, the British Government constituted a Commission, headed by Sir John Simon which became famous as the Simon Commission. One of its members was Clement Attlee, who later on during partition time was Prime Minister. Other members were Harry Levy Lawson, Edward Cadogan, Vernon Hartshorn, George Lane, Donald Howard and Mount Royal.

All members of the Commission were white - there were no representation of local people. In reaction, Congress and other parties protested and Congress, in its meeting of Madras (Chennai), decided to boycott the proceedings of the Commission.

Commission arrived in Bombay on 3 February 1928, but was not welcomed by the Indian people. Rather, it was a black day and there was an extensive strike in the entire subcontinent.

The session of Indian Legislative Council was

continuing and on 2 February 1928, the viceroy addressed the parliament. Harchandrai Bharvani, an independent member and representative of Sindh in the Indian Legislative Council, due to sickness did not attend the session of the Council.

In the Indian Legislative Assembly, a motion of no confidence against the Simon Commission was moved by Lala Lajpatrai, a representative of Punjab, and the motion was to be debated on February 16, 1928. A big tussle ensued between the government and the nationalist parties. The nationalists felt keenly the absence of Harchandrai - a big loss for them. Lala Lajpatrai sent three telegrams to Harchandrai to come to Delhi and help them in favour of the no confidence motion. He had influence upon several members and it was expected that, with the coming of Harchandrai, they would cast votes against the Simon Commission.

A sick 66 years old man was fixed by his doctors, but he was caught between his relatives and friends' request to rest and his desire to serve the national cause. The will to serve the people prevailed and he decided to leave for Delhi.

On February 14, he left for Karachi by the Lahore Mail. By the time the train reached Sammasatta, his condition became critical and he vomited blood. In Bhatinda, he was asked to break the journey and have himself examined and treated, but he was adamant in continuing his journey. On the morning of 16 February, which was the day of the no confidence vote, he reached Delhi. He was carried in a wheelchair from his railway compartment and he was driven straight to the car.

In spite of being critically ill he insisted on being taken to the assembly to cast his vote. An ambulance was requisitioned but he died on his way to the assembly. A son of the Indus Valley, a man of commitment and principle, sacrificed his life for the national cause.

His death sent a shock wave of sorrow all over India. Newspapers published with black borders the news.

of his passing and condolence meetings were held in several cities.

“The Hindustan Times” of Delhi wrote editorially that Harchandrai had served his motherland gloriously by dying considering that voting on the motion (against the Simon Commission) was his duty. It was an unprecedented example of nationalism, which would be a permanent source of inspiration for the people.

The monthly “Modern Review” of Calcutta wrote ‘Harchandrai was a martyr to the call of duty’

In Delhi, his funeral was attended by thousands of people. His colleagues of the assembly, Pandit Madanmohan Malvia, Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel, Lala Lajpatrai, Sir Walton Wilson, Sir Neogi, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and others attended his last rites.

Another son of Indus Valley- Lala Lajpat Rai – sacrificed his life when he was leading a protest in Lahore against Simon Commission.

On 30 October 1928, Lala Lajpatrai led a silent non-violent procession with Madan Mohan Malvia to protest against the Simon Commission at Lahore. The reaction of the government was very brutal; police violently started a stove charge against the procession. Police targeted Lajpatrai, and they harshly stove charged him, injuring him seriously and the old man of sixty three years did not survive.

Bhaghat Singh, who was an eyewitness to this event, claimed that it was this act that caused him ‘to vow to take revenge’ against the culprits.

Three important instances transpired in 1929 and 1930 which affected the politics of subcontinent:

1. **Arrest and Trial of Bhaghat Singh**
2. **Arrest and trial of Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro**
3. **Report of Simon Common**

Bhaghat Singh (September 28, 1907 – March 23, 1931) was an Indian freedom fighter considered to be one of the most influential revolutionaries of the Indian independence movement. Born in a Jat Sikh family, his relatives were already involved in revolutionary activities against the British Raj. Swiftly he became leader of the Hindustan Republican Association (HRA). Due to his influence the organisation's name was changed to 'Hindustan Socialist Republican Association' (HSRA). Singh was involved in the killing of a British police officer, John Saunders, in revenge for the death of Lala Lajpat Rai at the hands of the police. The police was not able to arrest him and he absconded. He worked with Batukeshwar Dutt to bomb India's Central Legislative Assembly, and threw leaflets at the people. He inspired the youth to struggle against the colonialists for the freedom of the motherland.

Bombing the assembly: to counter the actions by the revolutionaries, the British government promulgated the 'Defence of India Act' to give more powers to the police to fight revolutionaries. The government planned to pass the act in the Indian Legislative assembly. The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association planned to explode a bomb in the Legislative Assembly where the ordinance was going to be passed. This idea was originated by Singh, who was influenced by a similar bombing by martyr anarchist Auguste Vaillant in the French Assembly.

On April 8, 1929, Singh and Dutt threw two bombs into the assembly and shouted "Inquilab Zindabad!" ("Long Live the Revolution!"). This was followed by a shower of leaflets stating that it takes a loud noise to make the deaf hear. The bombs did not kill anyone. Singh and Dutt gave themselves up for arrest after the bombing.

Initially, Singh and other comrades were given trials in common courts, however on May 1, 1930, by declaring an emergency, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, promulgated an Ordinance to set up a special tribunal to try this case. The Tribunal was comprised of Justice J. Coldstream (president), Justice G. C. Hilton and Justice Agha Hyder (members). The case opened on May 5, 1930

in the stately Poonch House. On June 20, 1930, the constitution of the Special Tribunal was changed to: Justice G. C. Hilton (president), Justice Tapp and Justice Sir Abdul Qadir. On July 2, 1930, a habeas corpus petition was filed in the High Court challenging the very constitution of the tribunal saying that it was illegal *ultra vires*. According to the petition, the Viceroy did not have the power to cut short the normal legal procedure. The Government of India Act, 1915, authorized the Viceroy to promulgate an Ordinance to set up a tribunal but only when the situation demanded it. But now there was no breakdown in the law and order situation. The petition was, however, dismissed as 'premature'. Carden-Noad, the government advocate, elaborated upon the charges which included dacoities, robbing money from banks and the collection of arms and ammunition. The evidence of G.T. Hamilton Harding, senior superintendent of police, took the court by surprise, as he said that he had filed the FIR against the accused under the instructions of the chief secretary to the government of Punjab and he did not know the facts of the case. There were five approvers in all out of which Jai Gopal, Hans Raj Vohra and P.N. Ghosh had been associated with the HRSA for a long time. It was on their stories that the prosecution relied. The tribunal depended on Section 9 (1) of the Ordinance. On July 10, 1930, it issued an order, and copies of the charges framed were served on the fifteen accused in jail, together with copies of an order intimating them that their pleas would be taken on the charges the following day. This trial was a long and protracted one, beginning on May 5, 1930, and ending on September 10, 1930. The tribunal framed charges against fifteen out of the eighteen accused. The case against B.K. Dutt was withdrawn as he had already been sentenced to.

On October 7, 1930, about three weeks before the expiry of its term, the tribunal delivered its judgment, sentencing Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru to death by hanging. Others were sentenced to transportation for life and rigorous imprisonment. This judgment was a 300-page one which went into the details of the evidence and said that Singh's participation in the Saunders' murder was the most serious and important facts proved against

him, fully established by evidence. The warrants for the three were marked with a black border.

Pir Pagaro Trial

Amid horror and shock, the teenaged Pir had witnessed the barbaric bloodletting of the colonialist administration in the company of his family, disciples and political leaders of his ilk. He had absorbed all these things in his mind and he resolved to stand up against such shameful displays of imperialist power.

In 1922, crowned as Pir Pagaro, he began reorganising the Hur brotherhood, which had become less potent during its continued struggle with the British and their allies the Mirs of Khairpur State. The brutalities committed by William Henry Lucas and other British officials were beyond comparison.

Thousands of Hurs were imprisoned or confined in concentration camps along with women and small children.

Under the Hur Act imposed by the British administration, soldiers and policemen were free to do what they wished. There was no law and no checks on them.

Through his sheer courage, Pir Sibghatullah Shah had instilled a fresh spirit in his disciples and had renewed their zeal to battle the British colonialists and their procurators.

Although Sindhis are peace-loving by nature; they seldom forget any single act of humiliation or injustice. The Hurs were waiting for a leader who would lead them to avenge their humiliation at the hands of the British. At last they felt that they had a leader in the person of Pir Sibghatullah Shah- who would turn the tables on the British.

The European historian Peter Mayne has narrated this entire process in his book '*Saints of the Sindh*':

“The Hurs were watching the boy grow too --- with a passionate, greedy devotion: for here, surely, at last, was the true God! --young as yet, but filled with the

most resplendent promise! They brought him their women, their sisters and wives and daughters, they nourished him upon debauchery, they must have stood back to marvel at his appetites and at his stamina, and marveled again at the fits of brutal, bludgeoning violence that would come down upon him sometimes like an ecstasy. It seemed as if he had been born with the dark knowledge of the universe already with him, and they worshipped him-worshipped him when he loved them or when he dishonoured them, when he killed them or commanded them to kill others, for this was the golden age and this the true lord.

Sibghatullah was growing into a large man, black--bearded, handsome, with eyes as calm as planets. He had suffered from small pox in his childhood and the disease had left his skin pitted with the scars of it. But already he had majesty of presence that was commented upon, even by those who claimed to be unafraid. He had an agile mind and, unlike his forebears, he gloried in his godhead. He was God! Let those ridiculous little Englishmen over in Sukkur, those Collectors and District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police, pore over their files and shake their heads! His world was his own to do with as he pleased."

Sufi Saints and State Power P. 138

Pir lived with honour and dignity and did not become another eulogist of the administration. This lordly role of the Pir was not acceptable to the British administration and the imperialist regime was afraid of him.

Once he saw the framed certificate awarded to his uncle Ali Gohar Shah 11 Pir Pagaro by the British administration. He threw it down. The authorities received the news and believed it was a sign of rebellion by the Pir.

Seven Years of Incarceration

The British administration watched the activities of the inflexible and resolute-minded spiritual leader with a keen eye. The idea was to restrain him at the initial stage. In time the British made a game plan to arrest the

Pir. The Sukkur administrations in general and Sidney Ridley, collector of the area, in particular were the opponents of the Pir. A notorious police officer Ghulam Akbar was deputed to arrest the Pir.

This police officer arrested the Pir in 1930 under the Illegal Arms Act and a case of wrongful confinement.

His case was tried in the court of the City Magistrate, Sukkur. The Pir, with the cooperation of Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, engaged Mohammed Ali Jinnah as his defence counsel. The Pir paid Jinnah 500 rupees a day--a handsome amount in those days. Local lawyer Motiram Advani assisted Jinnah. The trial magistrate did not allow frequent consultations between the Pir and his lawyers, citing restricted privileges for any accused under British law. Odharam city magistrate handed down 10-year sentence in both cases.

Pir Pagaro submitted a criminal appeal (No. 176 of 1930) through his counsel Mohammed Ali Jinnah in the Chief Court of Sindh against the city magistrate's decision.

Pir Sibghatullah Shah s/o Shah Mardan Shah

Versus

The Crown

The bench consisting of:

AC. Wild Esquire,

Judicial Commissioner of Sindh

and

R.B Milne Esquire

Judicial Additional Commissioner of Sindh

The appellate bench reduced his sentence to seven years.

Dr. Hamida Khuhro, in her book Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, narrated the trial as follows:

“Mohammed Ayub Khuhro met with the Pir in

October 1930 in prison and a month or so later on the direction of the Pir he met with George Thomas (the Commissioner-in--Sindh). He appeared to be quite angry and burst out: "You seem to have sympathy with the Pir but he is a dangerous young man. He is an inhuman tyrant and I will see to it that he is put in for at least ten years.

I told the Commissioner that the case was not being tried in a proper manner. The Pir was not allowed to sit in the court and instruct his lawyers on the spot but was kept in Jail where the Lawyers had to go every time they wanted instructions and judges did not adjourn the hearing every time the lawyers wanted to see him. In effect the case was being *tried* in absentia. I realised that there was no way that I could persuade him to be lenient though I thought that the threat of ten years was just uttered in anger. I was very surprised therefore when the sentence was as long as he had threatened."

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro p. 229

Wisal Mohammed Khan Major General (retired) was an intelligence officer in the Hur rebellion of 1942. He wrote five articles on the Hur insurgency in *Sindh Quarterly* magazine in 1980-81. In his first article, Wisal Mohammad shared his opinion on the trial of Pir Sibghatullah Shah.

"Government officials in Sindh displayed great regard for the Pir but a few Police officials took an active part in spreading wide propaganda damaging to the reputation of the Pir who was eventually arrested in 1930. On August 28 he was awarded eight years imprisonment for keeping his teenage servant in a box and for being in illegal possession of arms and ammunition in spite of the fact that the witness failed to give evidence in the Court of Law to substantiate these allegations.

The main reason for this state of affairs was that the British Government was bent on the arrest and punishment of the Pir hence every kind of evidence was concocted and fabricated and the witnesses failed to utter lies and corroborate evidence in the presence of the Pir."

Sindh Quarterly Magazine 1980

The British administration was either afraid of the Pir, or it deliberately wanted to demoralize him. It did not put the Pir in the prisons of his home province, Sindh, where he could easily meet with his family, friends and followers. But the Pir, who was just twenty-one years old then, was sent to different prisons of India, in Ratnagry, Dacca, Rajshahi and Mednapur.

Through these actions, the British administration made it clear that they wanted the Pir to make a compromise with them. If he didn't, he would remain incarcerated or would face victimisation by different methods.

In those days political leaders had discovered a potent, yet peaceful, tool to press for their demands: hunger strikes.

The Hurs launched hunger strikes in front of the government offices to persuade the administration for the release of their mentor. The government, however, showed its apathy and did not react to this non-violent means of protest.

The third instance was the publishing of the Simon Commission's Report.

The Commission's recommendations:

Future Advance – The first principle was that the new constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development. It should not lay down too rigid and uniform a plan, but should allow for natural growth and diversity. Constitutional progress should be the outcome of practical experience. Where further legislation is required, it should result from the needs of the time, not from the arbitrary demands of a fixed time-table. The constitution, while contemplating and conforming to an ultimate objective, should not attempt to lay down the length or number of the stages of the journey It has been the characteristic of the revolution of responsible government in other parts of the British Empire that the details of the constitution have not been exhaustively defined in statutory language. On the

contrary, the constitution of self-governing parts of the British Empire have developed as a result of natural growth, and progress has depended not so much on changes made at intervals in the language of an Act of Parliament, as on the development of the conventions, and on the terms of instructions issued from time to time to the Crown's representative. The preamble to the Government of India Act declares that progress in giving effect to the policy of the progressive realization of responsible government in British India can only be achieved by successive stages; but there is no reason why the length of these successive stages should be defined in advance or why every stage should be marked by a commission of enquiry.

Almost responsible government at the Provincial level – Dyarchy should be scrapped and Ministers responsible to the legislature would be entrusted with all provincial areas of responsibility. However, safeguards were considered necessary in areas such as the maintenance of peace and tranquility and the protection of the legitimate interest of the minorities. These safeguards would be provided mainly, by the grant of special powers to Governor.

2. Immediate recommendations of the Centre – to help the growth of political consciousness in the people, the franchise should be extended; and the legislature enlarged. Otherwise, no substantial change was recommended in the centre. The report strongly opposed the introduction of Dyarchy at the Centre. It should be noted that Simon set great store on having a unanimous report. This could only be done if he recommended no change at the centre as: the diehards were opposed to any Indian responsibility at the Centre: the conservative leadership would oppose any responsibility at the Centre which did not build the conservative pro – British control (as they tried to do in the Government of India Act 1935; and labour will oppose the type of gerrymandering at the Centre necessary to meet the requirements of the Conservative leadership.”

The commission published its 17-Volume report in 1930

1. Abolition of Dyarchy and the establishment of representative government in the provinces.
2. Separate communal electorates be retained of the maintenance of the Weightage in the Provinces.
3. Rejection of Muslim demands regarding 1/3 Representation at Centre and statutory majority in Punjab and Bengal.
4. Postponement of separation of Sindh from Bombay
5. Fear Representation of minorities in Legislature and Executive.
6. Continuation of present status of North-Western Frontier province.

The outcome of the Simon Commission was the Government of India Act 1935, which established representative governments at the provincial level and is today the basis of many parts of the Indian constitution. In 1937 elections were held in the entire subcontinent and in majority provinces. All-India won the election and formed the Governments.

In September 1928, Mr. Motilal Nehru presented his Nehru Report to counter British charges that Indians could not find a constitutional consensus among themselves - it advocated that India be given "dominion status of complete internal self-governance."

Commission's Report denied the Separation of Sindh from Bombay, and thus it produced a wave of shock in Sindh. However, Sindh's young leadership continued their struggle.

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.

Meanwhile Subash Bose and Saifuddin Kitchelo toured Sindh and 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 the 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 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 asked the Bombay administration to reject the order. The administration accepted their request and restored the grant of District Local Board. Not only did Engineer Mohammed Hashim Gazdar retain his post. But also G.M. Sayed continued his programme for the awareness of the masses.

Hari (Farmers) Committee

The British did not introduced reforms to help farmers improve their livelihood, but rather kept them at the mercy of British protégé feudals and landlords. To counter the British and landlords behaviour, in 1930, Sayed organised a Hari committee (peasants association) at Mirpurkhas, together with Shaikh Abdul Majid, Jamshed Mehta, Jethmal Parsram and other workers, to promote the legal rights of the peasants. For thousands of years, Sindh's economy has depended upon agriculture. The Indus River is the source of the 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 the old system for their political advantage, and awarded lands to their protégés. This made the peasants subservient to the feudals and also made them worse off economically.

The Hari committee struggled to liberate the peasants from the black laws. The peasant-workers suffered imprisonment and were often tortured to death by the feudals and the colonial administration. All these brutal actions could not deter them and they continued the movement, they finally succeeded in achieving crop-sharing on an equal basis with landlords and the passing of the Tenancy Rights Act.

To give momentum to the 'separation of Sindh movement' the Sindh leadership 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, and Sayed Miran Mohammed Shah as Secretary. As a member of this body, G.M. Sayed played a key role in it until the separation of Sindh from Bombay. This movement continued till the separation of Sindh, in 1936, under the Government of India Act of 1935.

Separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency

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 separate communities and second was the interference of the all-India parties. The Muslim League got its reward in the shape of electorates and influence in the Muslim minority provinces and the British administration 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. Due to efforts of G.M. Sayed, Sir Abdullah Haroon, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto and Allah Bux Soomro, a secular and Democratic Party - the Sindh United Party - was launched.

Release of Pir Pagaro.

After enduring seven years of incarceration, the Pir was released from Mednapur prison on Nov. 25, 1936.

After the release Pir Pagaro visited the cities of Calcutta and Delhi for four to six days.

He boarded a specially-chartered train from Calcutta via Samma Sahita [Samma and Sahita are two Rajput castes of Sindh, each of which built this town; at present, this town is called Sama Sata] and arrived at Rohri station. A large group of people was waiting to greet him there. Among them were landlords, spiritual leaders, Sayeds, businessmen, lawyers, workers, peasants and his followers.

The Governor of Sindh Sir Lancelot Graham sent the Pir a courtesy message and offered him a chance to revive the strained relations between him and the British administration, but Pir's response was cold.

Pir did not take interest in the forthcoming first provincial elections, and in 1941, his free movements of freedom in his motherland shows that his aim was to oust the British from the soil of Sindh.

In February 1937 general elections were held in Sindh. The Sindh United Party put up its candidates with a majority of Muslim seats and it won a remarkable 22 seats from the 35 Muslim seats contested. G.M. Sayed was one of those elected.

Sir Ghulam Hussain, whose Party won only three seats, was called by the governor to form the ministry. This was the beginning of the undemocratic behaviour of British administration and it continued till the independence of the subcontinent. As a prominent leader and witness of affairs, G.M. Sayed narrates in his book 'Struggle for New Sindh' 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."

Struggle for New Sindh. P.5

Dr. Hamida Khuhro emphasised:

"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."

Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, P.142

Jones Allen Keith, a research scholar in the USA saw it as follows:

"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 which determines political power, rather than loyalty to party principles, and the future of Sindhi Muslim politics seemed destined to follow an unstable course."

Muslim Politics and Growth of Muslim League (paper)

Allah Bux Soomro, as a senior figure of the party, led the opposition together with G.M. Sayed. The governor's cosmetic arrangement did not last long and on 18 March 1938, in the Assembly session, the coalition of the Sindh United Party, Congress and the Hindu Independent Group defeated the Government on 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. Here follows a translation of a document presented to the Honourable Mir Bande 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 on ordinary matters such as the attitude of the officials, no change has come about.

18 March 1938.

1. G.M. Sayed
2. Mohammed Osman Soomro
3. Ghulam Nabi Shah
4. Pir Illahi Bakhsh
5. Allah Bakhsh
6. Burdi Jaffar Khan
7. Khair Shah"

Another report of Chief Secretary of Sindh, H.K. Kirplani to Central Government.

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.

Yours sincerely
H.K. Kirplani

L/P&J/5/252

For the ministry, the Governor was like a boss. He could even dismiss the premier minister. The ministry did not even manage the reform programme for the masses. A new burden for the premier Allah Bux Soomro raised by the Governor was the enhancement of the land revenue in the 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 the loan for the Sukkur barrage up to 1977. The British were engaged in World War II, and they were in danger of quitting the subcontinent, therefore they wanted recovery of the loan as soon as possible. The Governor, by order of the Centre, pressurised Soomro to enhance the 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.

To gain the support of G.M. Sayed, the premier visited Sayed's hometown Sann and tried to persuade him to help, but he was rebuffed.

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. G.M. Sayed left the treasury benches. Sayed has narrated the situation as follows:

“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.”

Struggle for New Sindh, P. 13

The Sindh United Party, whose aim was inter-religious harmony and improving the lifestyle of the agrarians, collapsed due to the British pressure. Sindh and the Sindhi nation paid a heavy price in the shape of interference by the all-India parties and this opened the doors of the province for them to propagate their ideologies freely.

The following report of the Governor of Sindh and the Viceroy of British India on the enhancement of land revenue in the Sukkur Barrage area shows the pressure of the Governor on the Premier of Sindh for enhancement.

20 December 1938
Calcutta

My Dear Graham

I must apologise for my delay in thanking you for your secret letter of the 9th December, No. 418, which I was very glad to get. Let me at once tell you how glad I am that you have taken so firm a stand with Allah Bux in this matter of barrage rates. What you tell me of his attitude in the light of the pressure you have brought to bear upon him is very definitely satisfactory and I hope sincerely that it will be possible to hold him to it. As regards the proposals for last sentence of paragraph of your letter, I do not in present circumstance wish to ask for the detailed examination to which you refer in paragraph 9. I should, however, be most grateful if you would keep me in touch with the action to be taken on the report of the Sindh Reorganisation Committee in so far as it concerns major retrenchment in expenditure on the barrage.

I do not overlook the difficulty of the problem you discuss in paragraph 9 and 10, but I trust sincerely that the development of the position which you anticipate in paragraph is a likely one, and I cannot believe that Congress would find themselves on very good ground in making this essentially from that point of view by what you tell me of your conversation with Allah Bux.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

L/P&J/5/253

This act of the governor not only shattered the Sindh United Party but also destabilised the government of Allah Bux Soomro. It did not work smoothly and was great blow to Sindh's socio-economic progress. Finally it was toppled by opposition in February 1940.

Allah Bux Soomro, a man of vision and courage, did not give up and continued his mission. He felt that to fight sectarianism and fundamentalist elements a grouping of liberal political activists would be very necessary. He discussed with his like-minded friends and organised the non-communal organizations of Muslims of the subcontinent - 'Azad Muslim Conference'.

The organization's first meeting was held in Delhi in April 1940. Addressing the first session of 'Azad Muslim Conference', he highlighted the main issues of the subcontinent and the world.

Aggressive Communalism

“Aggressive communalism was fatal to the growth of that feeling of brotherliness, good neighbourliness and common nationality which were essential, not merely for the acceleration of a common national effort but also for the maintenance of an atmosphere of peace, progress and stability in the country. A fair adjustment of the general needs of the country and the various communities and the various communities should be undertaken in a spirit of generosity and tolerance and of right brotherly affection for one another. Whatever our faiths, we must live.

together in our country in an atmosphere of perfect amity and our relations should be the relations of several brothers of a joint family, the various members of which are free to profess the faith they like without any let or hindrance and all of whom enjoy equal benefits of their joint property.”

Indian annual Register P. 323 Volume I - 1940

World Politics

Referring to the world situation, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux described the contemporary World War as the birth pangs of a New World Order. He said all right-thinking men had condemned the aggressor to human freedom and civilisation. Where ultimately all this will lead none can clearly foresee, but one thing is certain beyond a shadow of doubt that, unless the brutal and ruthless methods of the aggressor are checked and also the ambitious maps of all the empires are rolled up, whether they are based on democratic or totalitarian ideologies, the peace and prosperity for which the vast bulk of mankind has been pining for will not come into sight.

Indian annual Register P. 323 Volume I - 1940

Britain and India

After reviewing rapidly the history of events which led to the present communal and constitutional impasse Allah Bux Soomro said that the most disturbing feature for Great Britain in the present struggle, from the point of view of world opinion, is the anomalous relationship between England and India. If Germany's ruthless and brutal disregard of the right of other sovereign states to live peacefully is a challenge to civilisation and therefore Britain and France must take their all on it, Britain should be the last to challenge India's right to exist as a sovereign and completely independent state and should, therefore, not obstruct independence.

Its people desire to frame their own constitution. Sooner or later this principle on which the whole of civilisation is based, and for whose preservation millions

of Englishmen and Frenchmen are ready to lay down their lives, cannot fail to be recognised by Britain. Sooner or later, therefore, England must make up her mind to honour the cheque which she proclaimed she has drawn in India's favour. By the unwise action of the All India Muslim League however, England, for the time being found it possible to bring the Indian Muslims to the fore. It has declared that since the Congress - whose representative position in eight out of eleven provinces cannot be constitutionally questioned - makes it such that the cashing of the domain status cheque must be deferred indefinitely.

Continuing, Mr. Bux pointed out that the Muslims of India appeared in the eyes of the world as the main obstacle in the way to India's progress as a whole. He said that no Mussalmans with the slightest sense of realism and self-respect could possibly tolerate for a moment that he should be made a political scapegoat and the evil consequence of the process should be allowed to react unfavourably upon his own and the coming generation's political and material future. The proposal, if not promptly and authoritatively repudiated by a representative gathering like this, would cause infinite harm to our Indian co-religionists throughout the Muslim and non-Muslim parts of the world and much more so at home."

Indian annual Register P. 323 Volume I - 1940

The Governor of Sindh, Sir Lancelot Graham's comments on the conference:

22 July 1940

"K.B. Allah Bux came extremely pleased with himself from Delhi and his stock has gone up in Sindh where he is now regarded as an All-India leader."

L/P&J/5/255

The Loose Federation of the Asian Subcontinent

"In October 1942 the president announced that the Azad Muslims had produced a constitutional plan "Envisaging linguistic provinces with the right of self-

determination, to the point of secession but in the context of Indian freedom. (Allah Bux Soomro at a press conference; New Delhi 7 October 1942).

Tribune Lahore, 10 October 1942

Further on 'W.C.' narrated on the same page that their emphasis was still on a positive programme of mobilization of the people behind the nationalist demand. They called for a Congress-League agreement for a nationalist independent government."

Modern Islam in India, P. 280 W.C

G. M. Sayed has mentioned in his book *Struggle for New Sindh* that interference in the matters of ministry was a quite usual act of the Governors. The governor of Sindh Sir Hugh Dow was always in the mood to interfere in the matters of ministry. His worst act was the arrest of the Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro.

Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro detained

Former bureaucrat and egotistical man Sir Hugh Dow by-passed the democratic norms and did not even bother to discuss Hur affairs and the arrest of Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro with the elected premier of the province Allah Bux Soomro. He felt Allah Bux Soomro's visit to Bombay was a golden chance and, in the absence of Mr. Soomro, in haste he issued the orders for the arrest of Pir Pagaro. The reaction of the Hur followers of the Pir was more than what the administration was expecting and, due to this autocratic act of Sir Hugh Dow, a peaceful province came into the flames of unrest.

The Hurs were livid with rage over their lord's detention. Imam Bux and some young Ghazi leaders insisted that fighters be dispatched to Karachi to spring free their lord. They did not want to lose any more time. They vowed to rescue him and take him to safety before the government could take any further measures against him. But Nuro, a Ghazi, reminded them that the Pir had forbidden them from doing anything until he personally gave out his instructions.

The government officially arrested the Pir on 24th

October 1941 (under Regulation XXV of 1827). The colonial administration was well aware of the Pir's popularity and status among his disciples and followers. The administration made swift arrangements to send the Pir out of Karachi. By Lahore Mail the Pir was first taken to Lahore, and then to Nagpur by the Central Indian Railways. Then the Pir was taken to Seoni jail in Nagpur.

The governor and other officials of the British administration were quite complacent following the Pir's arrest. The British administration, as a whole, expected very light resistance, not of the kind seen at the time of the Pir's arrest in 1930. Officials were confident that they could put down any anti-state campaign which the Pir's followers may have contemplated. They miscalculated the intensity of the reprisal movement. The situation was quite different from the last time when the British had moved against the Pir and his men.

By then the Pir had become a visionary and he was well acquainted with the duplicity of both the British and the world. He had already warned his followers that harsh days lay ahead of them. The followers were prepared to face the music. With his divine charm, the Pir had inspired them to scale the heights of sacrifice. To them the respect and honour of their mentor was greater than anything else in the world. Peter Mayne in his book *'Saints of Sindh'* narrated the love the disciples felt for their lord as follows:

“No sooner had Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who twenty-seven years later was to bring into being the new sovereign state of Pakistan, arrived in Sindh and been shown into his young client's presence (i.e. the Pir) that he protested with vehemence against the manner of his reception. Mr. Jinnah was not prepared to be met at the station by a dilapidated old motor-car when the Pir's garages were filled with fine cars: but did not Mr. Jinnah realise that the Hurs would have killed him instantly, had they seen him in a car that their Pir was accustomed to ride in? One must imagine that the two men watched each other in a wary silence: the one lean, ascetic-looking, already conscious of his great destiny: the other a young man filled with unnatural powers that he was only now

beginning to comprehend.

He also compared the love of Aga Khan and that of Pir Pagaro's followers as follows:

"His arrogance and his envy were boundless. He seems to have been particularly envious of His Highness the Aga Khan, for the Aga Khan too derived his powers through a mystic chain of authority back into the dawn of Islam: but the Aga Khan occupied a position of honour and respect throughout the world and was weighed against gold, whereas Pir Pagaro ... he thumped his chest and trumpeted his ridiculous challenge, a muscleman at a country fairground: "I will produce for you ten Hurs who for my sake will confess to a murder they have not done and will gladly hang for it! Can the Aga Khan produce one such, even?" Yet it was true: the Aga Khan could not, and Pagaro manifestly could.

"You would probably have to go back to the eleventh century to find a parallel to Pagaro's dominion over his people - back to the Old Man of the Mountains and his Assassins and the fortress of Alamout, high in the mountains south of the Caspian Sea. It is said that the Old Man of the Mountains, whose name was Hassan ben Sabbah, had such power over his followers that at a nod from him anyone of them would readily throw himself from the ramparts of the Alamout into the abyss below; and it is believed that the mainspring of this power lay in the ritual of the initiation ceremony through which each novice had to pass before being accepted into the body of those who sacrifice themselves'-as ben Sabbah called his men."

It appears that Peter Mayne missed a prime difference between the Aga Khan and Pir Pagaro. The Aga Khan was born in Sindh but he supported the British invaders against the local rulers. In contrast, Pir Sibghatullah Shah gave his life for the freedom of his motherland.

The wise men of Sindh disagreed with the action of the Governor and they had predicted trouble ahead. The matter was not as simple as the British administration

thought it would be. They believed that the conflict between the Pir and the government threatened to cloud the peaceful aura of the province. They had sent telegrams to the governor to reconsider his position and release the Pir. A delegation of Sindh Congress leaders led by R.K. Sidhwa wanted to meet with the governor but the governor kept them at bay.

As the bad news reached to the Hurs, they were furious and their commanders decided to wage an armed struggle to release the Pir. They drew up plans to attack government property and police stations, in the hope of pressuring the administration to free the Pir.

The Governor of Sindh wrote a report to the viceroy on the arrest of the Pir and the retaliatory measures of the Hurs;

Government House Karachi
25 October 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

The really important event of the last week has been the arrest of the Pir Pagaro under regulation XXV of 1827, and his deportation to a Jail in the Central Provinces under section 5 of Act 111 of 1858.

In my letter of 15th instant I narrated the circumstances under which the Pir left Karachi without permission and was induced to return. Further details of this are now available. Ridley, District Magistrate of Sukkur, on his way to interview the Pir at Pir-Jo Goth in accordance with instructions, met the Pir some miles out that town on his way to take up his residence in his Jungle fastness in the Khairpur State nearby. The Pir was in a car with one servant and a small armory of three guns and a revolver, and Ridley must have exercised considerable tact persuading him to return forthwith to Karachi. There he was served with an order under the Defence of India Act.

Yours sincerely
Hugh Dow

L/P&J/5/257

Viceroy House, New Delhi
3rd November 1941

Dear Hugh Dow

I am so glad that reactions to the removal of the Pir Pagaro should be so satisfactory.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

L/P&J/5/257

The forces of Pir Pagaro mounted a series of calculated attacks. They damaged the telegraph poles and wires in an effort to destroy the communications system. This served as a preliminary warning to the British administration whose officials were in a confused state due to events related to the Second World War. Yet they did not heed the counsel of those who wanted peace in Sindh and instead they paid attention to the remarks of the enemies of the Pir or their agents.

Following is a report by the Governor of Sindh to the viceroy on the situation.

Government House Karachi
24th November 1941

Dear Lord Linlithgow,
Law and order (Para) of the political report

It becomes increasingly clear that the removal of the Pir Pagaro has been received by all classes with a feeling of relief, which is only tempered by the fear that he may some day be allowed to come back. It is practically certain that the recent sabotage of telegraph poles and wires is the work of his followers, and was probably arranged by the Pir himself as part of the demonstrations, which were to follow on his arrest. Most newspapers are still afraid to make any but the most guarded references to the subject.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

In his letter to Dow, Lord Linlithgow casts a very superficial look at the future troubles of the Sindh administration. His disappointment over the misreading of the Hur brotherhood's reaction is evident.

Viceroy House, New Delhi
25th November 1941

Dear Hugh Dow

As you say the most important business in the period under view has been the arrest of the Pir Pagaro. I am most grateful for the full information you have given me on this delicate and difficult subject in the recent correspondence, I am very glad indeed this thing should have gone off as well as they have and that there should not have been greater difficulty.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

L/P&J/5/257

The Hurs had removed the track of the rail, and in consequence a goods train was derailed. Following is a report from C. B.B. Clee to Conran Smith.

Home Department, Sindh
18th December 1941

Dear Conran Smith,

There have been further outrages consequent on the removal of the Pir Pagaro from Sindh. On the 29th November some rails were removed from the line near Madeji station in the Sukkur District near the village of the Pir. In consequence, a goods train was derailed and two wagons loaded with firewood caught fire. It is suspected that the rails must have taken up by followers of the Pir who are railway employees and enquiry is being made with a view to checking up on the number of his 'Murids' who are employed on the railway.

Yours sincerely
C.B.B. Clee

L/P&J/5/257

The Sindh government was not happy with the actions of the governor, who was increasingly seen as a civil 'martial law administrator', for his lust for power knew no bounds. Under special powers, he undermined the status of the parliament. The premier of Sindh Allah Bux Soomro and several parliamentarians openly disagreed with him. Addressing to Sindh Parliament, on 19 December 1941 Allah Bux Soomro had showed his resentment.

Special Powers for Governor

19 December: An important statement concerning the constitutional implications of the exercise of special powers by the governor in the day-to-day administration of government was made by the premier, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux today.

After recalling the controversy that preceded the acceptance of ministry by the Congress and the viceroy's assurance with the full approval of the British government in regard to the exercise of individual judgment by Governors, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux disclosed that before the arrival of the present governor and when he last assumed the reins of office as Premier, the attitude of the former governor in regard to the exercise of the special powers was that, as far as possible, he did not desire whatsoever to interfere with the administration of the province. But the present governor interpreted the exercise of these powers in a different way.

"He feels that in all matters where under the Act he has to exercise individual judgment and in all matters wherein he has special responsibility he must exercise his own judgment; as also in all matters where he may hold an opinion different from that of ministers whether the matter be so important and the ministers' advice so perverse that his being guided by the ministers' advice would be inconsistent with the exercise of his special responsibility or whether it is a mere matter of difference of opinion regarding certain day-to-day administration. His Excellency does not seem to appreciate that even in matters wherein His Excellency has special responsibility; the primary

responsibility is that of the Ministers.

"The Premier added that the Governor had even gone so far as to say that in the provinces where the Governors abstained from the exercising those powers, it had been done not in accordance either with the instructions or the policy of the British Government as such. If the present policy of the Governor was approved by the Viceroy and the British Cabinet, then it raised a constitutional issue. The House would agree with him that so far as the Ministers were concerned, they were responsible to the Legislature and they owed no responsibility to anyone else and so far as the Governor was concerned, his position was that he owed responsibility to the Secretary of State.

The Premier declared that in view of the stand taken by the Governor, there could be no question of give and take. "If the attitude which the present Governor has taken, namely, that irrespective of the issue, whether major or minor, he must exercise his individual judgment, then I think there will be a regular list to be prepared of all instances wherein interests would clash." The Premier added: "It means that it is a question of measuring strength between the Governor representing the British Government on one side and the people on the other. It will be impossible to assume for a moment that in the Congress provinces, with the advice on various matters wherein the individual responsibility of His Excellency was involved, there should have arisen no occasion or instance where the Governor had not differed from his Ministers, but it seems there they had to surrender and surrender not on merits but because of the power of the political party in those provinces. Now it clearly proves that the British Government is not prepared to part with powers. They wish to retain them as far as possible."

The Premier continued that the House could legitimately ask why the Ministers were continued to be in office under these humiliating conditions. He said that when he went to Delhi last time, he took up this question with the Viceroy, complaining against the exercise of special powers. Under the public declaration of the

Viceroy, it was made clear that where Ministers were free to disclose the correspondence which had been carried on between the Governor and the Ministers. Therefore, when he came back, he wanted to bring all instances before the House but it had been suggested to him by the Governor that, in the first instance, it would be desirable that case of disagreement might be sent to the Secretary of State and they should await his decision.

The Premier declared: "Although it has been suggested to me, I personally feel that it is no use our resigning in a huff. Let us wait and since this offer had been made by the Viceroy, let us get some more information and have a clear-cut answer from the British Government to find out what their attitude is going to be. Then the House will be taken into confidence and apprised of all those instances which had taken place so far and then they should decide on merits whether the advice tendered by the Ministers was a right one, or whether the decision arrived at by the Governor was in the interests of this country or not. He concluded, "Personally, we the Ministers have not yet come to a final conclusion but we are inclined to send those instances to the Secretary of the State."

Proceedings of Sindh Assembly

During World War II, under pressure, the British administration wanted to gain support of the political parties of the subcontinent so, on 7th March 1942, the War Cabinet issued a draft of a declaration regarding the future government of India, and they constituted a committee under Sir Stafford Cripps to meet with leaders of the parties. The following is a list of the representatives of political parties issued by the British Government, whom Cripps Mission would meet.

Congress: Abul Kalam Azad, Jawaher Lal Nehru, Rajagopalachari, Pant, Kher, Khan Sahib.

Muslim League: Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Sikander Hayat, Khawaja Nazim u ddin and Saadullah.

Liberals: Sapru and Jayker.

Muslims non-League: Fazal Haq and Allah Bux Soomro.

Mahasaba: Savarkar.

Depressed Classes: Ambedkar.

Labour: Joshi

Sikhs: Names recommended by Governor of the Punjab.

States: Nawanagar, Bhopal, Bikaner, Kashmir, Chhatari and Krishnamachari.

On 12 March 1942, Allah Bux Soomro issued a statement on the Cripps Mission.

“I exhort leaders of Political and Communal organisations to subordinate sectional differences in larger interest of Motherland and cooperate with Cripps in shaping India’s future constitution as equal partners in Commonwealth of free nations. Mr. Churchill’s announcement will be cordially received by all men of goodwill as a constructive step towards the solution of India’s longstanding constitutional problems. Decision to send Cripps kindles hopes that vested interests and parties to disputes will alike give way to the voice of reason and that baffling problems will at last be handled in spirit of harmonious cooperation and mutual understanding. Personal discussions will afford effectual ways of resolving deadlock. Cripps has given numerous proofs of earnest desire to help India attain freedom; it is gratifying to note that he is coming not only ambassador but as a plenipotentiary vested with full powers to act on behalf of His Majesty’s government.”

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The Cripps Mission arrived in Delhi and he started meetings with political leaders. However Cripps avoided meeting with Allah Bux Soomro but upon the Intervention of the Abul Kalam Azad, Cripps did eventually met with Allah Bux Soomro. Abul Kalam Azad narrated the story in his book:

“We discussed these points in the light of the announcement made by the BBC on the occasion of the Cripps Mission. It had been clearly stated that India would

now have an opportunity to decide her own fate. This was also the note, which Cripps had struck during the first interview but as the negotiations continued, the early mood of confidence and optimism was gradually dissipated.

There were other reasons also for a change in the mood and atmosphere. I have already said that before Sir Stafford came to India, he had asked the viceroy to issue invitations to a number of political leaders of whom one was the late Allah Bux. After arriving in India, Cripps appeared to modify his stand, perhaps as a result of the influence of the Viceregal House. Allah Bux had come to Delhi on the viceroy's invitation and was waiting for an interview with Sir Stafford but the interview was not being fixed. As this was creating an awkward situation, I spoke to Cripps and he said that he would soon invite Allah Bux. In spite of this promise, no invitation was actually issued. Allah Bux at last got disgusted and said he refused to wait in Delhi any longer. When I heard this, I spoke strongly to Sir Stafford and pointed out that this was an insult not only to Allah Bux but also to the strong body of the Muslims whom he represented. If Cripps had any doubts on the point, Allah should not have been invited at all. But since the invitation had been issued, he should be properly met. My intervention resulted in an interview between Sir Stafford and Allah Bux the next day. The interview was for only an hour and was confined to general discussions. Cripps did not touch the root of the problems.

This incident created bad impression on me. I felt that this was not the proper method of the dealing with difficult political issues. In my judgment, Cripps had not behaved like a statesman. The invitation should not have been issued without consulting the Government of India. Even if there were difficulties, he should have pointed them out to Allah Bux in a straightforward manner and not kept him cooling his heels in Delhi."

India Wins Freedom P.55

On his returning from Delhi to Sindh, there was a meeting between Premier Allah Bux Soomro and the Governor of the Sindh, Sir Hugh Dow. The Governor

narrated the opinion of Allah Bux Soomro in his letter of 25 April 1942 to the viceroy:

“There is genuine disappointment that the Cripps Mission was unsuccessful. Allah Bux, who had interview with Sir Stafford, stated to me quite categorically that it was then made quite clear to him that in everything except Defence, the enlarged council would be a real Cabinet, able to take majority decisions over which the Viceroy would have no veto. He asserts that near the end of the discussions, Sir Stafford went to back on this; from which he deduces that this was on instruction from Whitehall. This is a view, which seems to be spreading in the Press, and if there is no foundation for it in fact it seems to me that it would be worthwhile to contradict it. But possibly forthcoming debate in the House will clear up this Question.”

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The Hur movement touched its heights and to confront the Hurs, on 1 June 1942, the British Government imposed martial law in Sindh, and on 1 July 1942, the British administration dropped parachute troops (This was first operational exercise of that Arm in India). Also during the Hur Movement British Air forces were used against Hurs and Garang Bungalow, a spiritual centre, was bombarded.

In the last crucial years of the freedom movement there were diverse opinions of subcontinent politicians regarding the independence of the subcontinent. Mahatma Gandhi and Congress wanted freedom through a non-violent movement and a constitutional package and Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted, with a moderate struggle, a constitutional package awarded by the British. Another group was led by Netaji Chandra Bose, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro and Indian National Army's pioneer General Mohan Singh who wanted to oust the British by armed struggle. Two great sons of Sindh - Allah Bux Soomro, President of 'Azad Muslim Conference' and G.M. Sayed - wanted freedom of the

subcontinent by mutual understanding and a struggle of the Congress, Muslim League and nationalist groups, led by them. The struggle and opinions of these three main groups has often been an enigma for historians and researchers.

The Hur Movement was continuing, meanwhile. In August 1942 All-India Congress decided to launch the 'Quit India Movement' to oust the British from the subcontinent. Sindh also played its due role in the Quit India movement. Some Leaders of the Congress Sindh chapter, including Acharya Kirplani an important leader of the Congress, were arrested. Nirmal Jevtani, poet, was flogged and soon after died.

Quit India Movement

During the First World War, the Congress and British administration had agreed on certain points for the future political set-up of the Subcontinent: home rule for the people of India and other civic liberties. In return Congress supported the war efforts, but after the war the British authorities did not care to fulfill their promises. The Simon Commission and the Montague Web reforms were examples.

During the Second World War, the British administration approached the Congress for its support in the war. The Congress opinion was that the Home rule government of local political groups would assist and provide help to the British administration to better face the war situation.

The British administration did not accept the demands of the Congress. Distrust between the administration and the Congress leadership further increased when Lord Linlithgow announced participation of India in war without consulting the political leadership of the subcontinent. The working committee of the Congress passed the 'Quit India' resolution and showed its stance on 7 August 1942, Bombay.

As soon as this resolution was passed, punitive

action against the Congress began on a large scale.

Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress president and all other members of the working committee except Rajagopalachari were arrested. This action provoked protest in the rest of the Subcontinent and the non-violent movement turned violent. The British administration countered it with its full power but the struggle continued to mount. Thousands of political workers were arrested under section 26 of Defence of India Rules.

During the Quit India movement, Sir Maurice Linford Gwyer an English gentleman was Chief Justice of Federal Court of India. Petition was submitted in the court of Justice and Gwyer was against illegal arrests.

Chief Justice Gwyer after listening to the petitioners and government of India, declared section 26 *Ultra Vires*, and under this order thousands of political activists came out of prison. Maurice's decision was a lesson for all judges that justice is above caste, creed and class.

Government of India Act

Muhammad Ali Jinnah called a meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on 16 August 1942 to review, consider and decide about the movement.

President of the Muslim League G.M. Sayed, together with Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and Yusuf Haroon, went to Bombay to attend the meeting. Sayed has narrated about this meeting as follows:

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. Krishna 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 proposed 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 and if it didn't, 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 Mahmmodabad. The latter was snubbed by Mr. Jinnah, at which he walked out in protest, Hassan Ispahani 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."

The Case of Sindh P. 41

Sayed remembered a conversation between Jinnah and Khuhro 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 inspite 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. 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.”

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro P. 205

The Sindh played important role in Quit India Movement. The Sindh Congress, following the orders of the central command, took an active part in the movement. Hundreds of party leaders, legislators and workers were put behind the bars.

Allah Bux Soomro, ‘the iron man of Sindh’, had a leading role in the Quit India movement which was a milestone in the history of gaining the freedom of the Subcontinent.

The premier of Sindh, in his historic letter to the Viceroy, renounced his titles of Khan Bahadur and 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:

“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 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 and 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."

Allah Bux Soomro - India's Nationalist No. 1

On the classical letter of Allah Bux Soomro, here is the opinion of the Governor of Sindh, Hugh Dow, which he shared with viceroy:

"When the local papers come out with headings, "Allah Bux answers Churchill" and talk of his "Classic Letter" to the viceroy, he begins to think of himself as a world figure."

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Administrators always think about petty interests but visionary persons always look for co-existence, cooperation, peace and good-will.

Thought and character are basic elements of a

human being's greatness. The monarchs, kings and autocrats always think that their kingdom, wealth and armed force is a symbol of greatness but real greatness lies in thought and character.

Allah Bux Soomro was a man of character and thought and this *forte* made him a real hero and advocate of human harmony.

At first the Governor of Sindh, Hugh Dow, persuaded Allah Bux Soomro to withdraw the letter and cooperate with the British administration. When he understood that Allah Bux was firm in his decision he, in consultation with the British administration and the Viceroy, on 10th October 1942, dismissed him from the premiership.

“On October 10, 1942, the following communiqué was issued from the Government House at Karachi: -- “His Excellency the Governor of Sindh has discussed with Mr. Allah Bux his recent renunciation of honours and the reasons of that renunciation given in his published letter. In the light of that discussion he had no option but to inform Mr. Allah Bux that he no longer possessed the Governor's confidence and that he cannot in consequence continue to hold office.” Mr. Allah Bux was dismissed under Section 51 of the Government of India Act 1935, which reads “The Governor's Ministers shall be chosen and summoned by him, shall be sworn as members of the council and shall hold office during his pleasure.”

Mr. Allah Bux told a gathering of journalists, “My dismissal had no connection with any constitutional issue.” He further stated, “There is no point in not recognizing that under the constitution as it stands the Premier remains the Premier only if he has the confidence of the legislature.” Asked if he had any further plans, the ex-Premier said, “Wait and See.”

Allah Bux Soomro – India's Nationalist No. 1

G. M. Sayed described the action of the Governor as follows:

“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.”

Struggle for New Sindh P. 89

Losing the seat of Premiership for great cause of freedom did not shatter Allah Bux Soomro; rather he continued his active political role with courage. His role to bridge better relations among various religious groups and his anti-communal and anti-colonialist role did not please vested interest people and groups and they planned to remove him from the political scene.

On 14 May Allah Bux Soomro was assassinated near his home town Shikarpur at the age of 43 years.

It can only be conjectured that had Allah Bux Soomro's anti-communal and anti-Imperialist role been accepted in 1942, the 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 eastern parts of the subcontinent and also a tragic incident like Bangladesh would have been avoided.

Tribute paid by the politicians and Newspapers

Mr. Allah Bux paid a heavy price. But it was the price of patriotism. As Mr. C. Rajagopalachari stated, “We have to remember that some-times public service gets paid in this manner.” India lost one of her most self-sacrificing spirits. He would have played a golden part, had he been not relieved in this cruel manner from all the pending problems. He is a true martyr in the cause of freedom. He fell by the road of independence. It was a

cowardly cold-blooded murder. Mr. Allah Bux was the coming man, and occupied a unique position in the political firmament. The love of office never deterred him from doing his duty. To him political office was an instrument for service to his fellow man. He earned the reputation of being a master of facts and figures. After his political breach with the British Government, he was engaged in filling up the breaches caused by the latest Sindh floods. He had no enemies. No personal quarrels as the Mirs and the Pirs of Sind have had. But he was a man of strong convictions. No doubt, he earned the wrath of his political foes. This murderous attack which proved fatal to him was the third of its kind. Twice before, when he was Premier, attempts had been made on his life. But he had hair-breadth's escapes.

C. Rajagopalachari

Dr. S. D. Kitchelo rightly stated, "At this critical period of the freedom movement in the country the death of a man like Mr. Allah Bux is a thundering blow to the forces of nationalism, Mr. Allah Bux was a thorough-going nationalist. Mr. Allah Bux is dead but his work will remain. No wonder, he has left behind touching memories. Even London was moved to prayers. East End Muslims held special prayers for him.

Saifuddin Kitchelo

Dr. Khan Sahib, ex-Premier of N.W.F. Province, stated, "He was a great nationalist and not only Sind but the whole of India will mourn his loss. Sind is bound to suffer in the long run because there is none to replace him in the public life of the province. I know him as a brave soldier in the fight for freedom on India and I offer my heart-felt sympathy to his family." He fought till his death to uphold the dignity of his principles.

Khan Sahib

On 14th May the whole province was shocked by the dastardly murder of Mr. Allah Bux Soomro. This was indeed a great loss to Sindh. Whatever may have been our

differences in the political field, there could be no denying the fact that Mr. Allah Bux Soomro was a man with strong conviction, amazing charm and competency in his own sphere of work. After his dismissal, he had grown bitter against the British imperialism. Mr. Allah Bux had the charm and grace that could win him friends anywhere. During major period of Assembly politics, I had differences with him and opposed him unsparingly. But when I remember his qualities, I cannot help remarking that his was indeed an extra-ordinary talent. By losing him, Sindh lost a great man whose place can not be easily filled.

G.M Sayed

Despite his differences with the Governor on constitutional matters, Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sindh paid Allah Bux Soomro the following tribute in his reply to the civic address presented to him by the Sukkur Municipality in January 1942. "I count myself fortunate in having a Prime Minister and a Government who, while anxious as any to secure further political advance for this country, are not prepared to bargain for that by risking all the tremendous advance that has been made during the last 30 years".

Hugh Dow

Tribute by Newspapers

The murder of Mr. Allah Bux may turn out to be the beginning of a bloody war. It was a shot heard around the entire subcontinent. As the "*Zamindar*" (Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's paper) puts it, "It was a duel between the argument and the bullet." It further notes, "Extraordinary efforts should be made in this connection because if a person can be murdered on the basis of difference of views and creeds then the other leaders also cannot escape the revolver for if once argument gives place to bullet then the leader of no party can be safe. If this terrorism of which the beginning has been made with this tragedy is not stopped its end would prove a permanent menace".

The Tribune, Lahore, in its editorial dated May 15,

1943, sums up the tragic end of a brilliant figure: 'the murder of Allah Bux is a national tragedy. It bodes no good to Sind. It is an outrage of wide volcanic influence. His policies marked him out as a man of uncommon courage. Curses were showered on him. "The floodtide of communalism," says the *Tribune*, "which swept most members of his community off their feet, left him undisturbed. The Azad Muslim Conference, of which he was the President, was a tribute alike to his organizing ability and the soundness of ideals for which he stood.

He almost defeated imperialism. Governors will come and go, but the name of Mr. Allah Bux will everlastingly star the political firmament of India."

Allah Bux Soomro - India's Nationalist No. 1

Sir Ghulam Hussain was sworn in as a premier of Sindh, for the second time.

Another undemocratic act by the governor was that he did not call upon the opposition leader, Mohammed Ayub Khuhro, to form the ministry; instead he invited Sir Ghulam Hussain, a former home minister in Soomro's cabinet, to form the government.

Sir Ghulam Hussain had no majority in the assembly, and to get a majority in the Parliament he again joined the All-India Muslim League.

Role of Punjab in Quit India Movement

Punjab's main political party - Akali Dal - on the issue of the Quit India movement was divided in two groups. One group was in favour of Akali Dal's support to the Quit India movement and another was against. However, the Punjab people played a very active role in the Quit India Movement.

Partab Singh Kairon

Partab Singh Kairon was a pioneer of modern politics in Punjab. He was selected as member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937, as the candidate of

Akali Dal. Later he became member of the Constituent Assembly of India. He was the Secretary General of the Indian National Congress from 1941 to 1946. During the Quit India Movement, he played an active role and was put behind the bars.

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Udham Singh Nagoke, Master Tara Singh, Sardar Amar Singh Jhubal and Sarjit Singh Barnala, as a student, played an active role in the movement and were arrested by the British administration.

Christmas Island Mutiny

After two Japanese attacks on Christmas Island in late February and early March 1942 relations between the British officers and their Indian troops broke down. On the night of 10 March the Indian troops, led by a Sikh policeman, mutinied killing the five British soldiers and the imprisoning of the remaining 21 Europeans on the island. Later, on 31 March, a Japanese fleet arrived at the island and the Indians surrendered.

General Mohan Singh (1909-1989)

General Mohan Singh, famous for his part in the Indian National Army for liberating India from British rule, held the rank of a general. Japan entered the War with her surprise attack on the American air base at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, on 7 December 1941 and overran the entire South East Asia within a few weeks. The British force in the northern part of the Malaya Peninsula, including Captain Mohan Singh's battalion, the 1/14 Punjab Regiment, fled towards the south. Mohan Singh with some of his men was a straggler in search of the main body of his troops. An Indian troop, headed by Giani Pritam Singh had, on 4 December 1941, entered into an agreement of collaboration with a Japanese officer, Major Fujiwara, head of field intelligence section in the region.

Captain Mohan Singh contacted this group near Alorstar and surrendered around the middle of December 1941. All Indian prisoners of war and stragglers were

placed under his charge and he was asked to restore order in the town. Kuala Lumpur fell on 11 January 1942 with 3,500 Indian prisoners of war and Singapore on 15 February with 85,000 British troops, of whom 45,000 were Indians. Mohan Singh asked for volunteers who would form the Azad Hind Fauj (Free India Army) to fight for liberating India from British rule. A large number of men, mostly Sikhs, came forward to join what came to be termed as the Azad Hind Fauj (National Army of independent India). The new set-up came into being on 1 September 1942 by which time the strength of volunteers had reached 40,000.

Mohan Singh, now designated as a general, was to command it. Already at a conference held at Bangkok during 15-23 June 1942, the Indian Independence League had been inaugurated. It was under the leadership of Rash Behari Bose, Indian revolutionary who had escaped to Japan in June 1915 and who had been living in Bangkok ever since. Through one of the 35 resolutions passed by the conference, Mohan Singh was appointed commander-in-chief of the "Army of Liberation for India," i.e. the Indian National Army. General Mohan Singh was soon disenchanted regarding the intentions of the Japanese who, it appeared, wanted to use Indian National Army only as a pawn and who were deliberately withholding recognition and public proclamation about its programme as an independent liberation army. On 29 December 1942, General Mohan Singh was removed from his command and taken into custody by the Japanese military police. It was only after the arrival of another Indian leader of great political standing - Subhas Chandra Bose - from Germany at the Far-Eastern front in June 1943 that the Indian National Army was revived and Mohan Singh reinstated to his former command with Subhas as the supreme commander (in his capacity as president of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind). The Indian National Army participated in the Japanese offensive on the Indo-Burma front in 1944 and gave a good account of itself. But the British forces withstood the offensive and in fact launched a counter-attack during the winter of 1944-45. The Japanese as well as the Indian National Army retreated quickly, and the war ended with Japan's surrender on 14

August 1945. Even before that - during May-June 1945 - most officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj (I.N.A.), numbering about 20,000, including General Mohan Singh, had been made prisoners by the British and brought back to India. They were all set free during 1945. General Mohan Singh and his comrades of the Indian National Army were everywhere acclaimed for their patriotism. Mohan Singh's dream of liberation was realised with India's independence on 15 August 1947, but this was accompanied by the partition of the country into India and Pakistan. Mohan Singh had to leave his hearth and home in what then became Pakistan and he came to India as a homeless refugee. He was allotted some land in the village of Jugiana, near Ludhiana, where he settled permanently. He entered politics and joined the Indian National Congress. After a stint as a legislator in the Punjab, he was elected to Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Indian Parliament, for two terms. In and out of Parliament he strove for the recognition of the members of his Azad Hind Fauj as freedom fighters in the cause of the nation's liberation. General Mohan Singh died at Jugiana on 26 December 1989.

Gur Bukhsh Singh Dhillon

Gur Bukhsh Singh Dhillon (March 18, 1914 – February 6, 2006) was an officer in the Indian National Army who was charged with "waging war against His Majesty the King Emperor". Along with Shah Nawaz Khan and Prem Kumar Sahgal, he was tried by the British at the end of World War II in the INA trials that began on November 5, 1945 at Red Fort. Dhillon also played an important role in the Indian independence negotiations.

Singapore capitulated on February 15, 1941 and British Forces surrendered unconditionally to the Japanese. The defeated and demoralized Indian soldiers collected themselves at Farrer Park in Singapore. Major Fujiwara, addressing the POWs, expressed that it was his firm belief that world peace and the liberation of Asia could not be achieved and maintained without a free and independent India. He further said that if Indian POWs in Malaya were prepared to fight British imperialism for the

noble cause of achieving the independence of their motherland, the Imperial Japanese government would provide all-out support. He suggested the formation of an Indian National Army, and handed over all the POWs in Malaya to Captain Mohan Singh.

Formation of Indian National Army

At the stage on Farrer Park, Mohan Singh addressed the POWs that were to be the nucleus of the Indian National Army. The army was to fight under its own leadership with, it was argued, a real and just cause to wage war. Mohan Singh was from the same unit as Dhillon, and was a close friend. On February 17, 1942, Dhillon decided to join the Indian National Army and took a vow not to drink until India became free. Next morning Singh issued orders to all the units of various camps on the island to march to their new allotted accommodation. Dhillon's unit was to proceed to Neesoon Camp, located in a village situated 13 miles (21 km) away from main town of Singapore. This camp was the former regimental centre of the Hong Kong and Singapore Royal Artillery. The Japanese had asked the Supreme Headquarters to provide 200 officers to guard the British and Australian prisoners of war at Changi Camp. Dhillon volunteered his services for this unpleasant task. At Changi Camp, Dhillon and other Indians were asked by the Japanese to give up the British drill and words of command and adopt Japanese ones. Here they kept the Allied POWs in five separate Camps – Australian Camp, Hospital area, 9th Indian Division Camp, 11th Indian Division Camp, and 18th British Camp. Each camp was commanded by its own officer, usually a general residing in the Camp. Changi was under the military control of the Japanese. After some time at Changi Camp, Dhillon fell seriously ill. He was released from the command of the Changi garrison, sent to Seletar Camp, and admitted to a POW hospital.

Shaping the Indian National Army

Dhillon's health improved at Seletar Camp. Along with over thirty important senior officers from among the

Indian POWs, he attended the Bidadari conference called by Mohan Singh on 24 April 1942. The resolutions of this conference, which came to be known as the "Bidadari Resolutions", formed the backbone the INA. As resolved at the Tokyo Conference, a representative conference of the Indians met at Bangkok on 15 June 1942, and continued for ten days, which resulted in the Bangkok Resolution. Thirty INA volunteers nominated by Mohan Singh from among the Indian prisoners of war attended the conference. Dhillon received his commission on 1 September 1942, and was posted as a major on the 10 September 1942. He was still ill, and so was attached to the Reinforcement Group. Dhillon attended the first review of the INA held at Padaung in front of the municipal buildings on October 2, 1942, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. Because of his continued poor health, he was recommended a month's leave and sent to Penang. He returned to Singapore in the middle of November 1942. The Japanese had not yet ratified the Bangkok Resolutions, nor had they recognised the INA as an independent army. In early December 1942, the Japanese asked the INA Headquarters to dispatch an advance party to move to Burma to prepare camps and accommodation for the main body of the army. Meanwhile, differences developed between Mohan Singh and the Japanese, and Singh was arrested on December 29, 1942. On the advice of Rash Behari Bose, Dhillon continued in the INA despite the resulting crisis of command, and also encouraged others to remain. Meanwhile Subhas Chandra Bose was trying to come to the East. In anticipation of Netaji's arrival, the revived INA was reorganized under its new headquarters, the Directorate of Military Bureau (DMB), with Colonel J.K. Bhonsle as the director. Dhillon was appointed as Deputy Quartermaster General in the "Q" Branch at Army Headquarters. He was to look after the Technical Branch, and was also responsible for accommodation. The Army Headquarters was organized by the middle of March 1943, and gazette on April 17, 1943. On appointment, Dhillon collected the kits and clothing of those personnel who had decided to leave the INA. When Netaji arrived on July 2, 1943, the Army was enlarged, and Dhillon was transferred to the 5th Guerilla Regiment.

The 5th Guerrilla Regiment

Dhillon was appointed second-in-command to Major J.W. Rodrigues in December 1943. Rodrigues raised the 5th Guerrilla Regiment at Bidadari in Singapore. Apart from helping to raise the regiment, Dhillon was responsible for training, discipline, morale, and the welfare of the troops. The 5th Guerrilla Regiment was formed as part of the 2nd INA Division, which was organized under the command of Colonel N.S. Bhaghat, after the 1st Division's move to the front. On March 30, 1944, the 5th Guerrilla Regiment moved to Ipoh in Perak. Dhillon proceeded with the advance party to make necessary arrangements for the regiment.

Move to Burma

Dhillon was sent to the front at Alor Star. On July 15, 1944, he left Jitra for the journey to Kawashi, Mergui, and Tavoy through Thailand, and then to Moulmein and Rangoon in Burma. From Bangkok, they flew on August 21, 1944 to Rangoon on Netaji's personal aircraft, the "Azad Hind". They were billeted at Mingaladon Camp about 14 miles (23 km) from Rangoon. Dhillon officiated as the Deputy Adjutant General and also the Deputy Quartermaster General in the Divisional headquarters at the first anniversary of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. As part of the celebrations of the anniversary, a review of the 2nd Division of the INA was arranged at Mingaladon. Dhillon made arrangements and issued orders for the ceremonial parade, which was held on 18 October 1944.

The Nehru Brigade

Dhillon met Subhas Chandra Bose on October 15, 1944 at his residence in Rangoon, and on October 26, was promoted to commander of the Nehru Brigade. Towards the end of 1943, "The Nehru" had been placed under the First Division, and it moved to Mandala in Burma in early 1944. The Nehru Brigade was to hold the Irrawaddy River from Nyaungu in the north to Pangan in the south. In mid December 1944, the Japanese Army Commander General

S. Katamura visited the Nehru Brigade along with Colonel I. Fujiwara, a Japanese supporter of the INA. Dhillon formed an advance party from the 9th Battalion and left for Pagan on December 29, 1944. Dhillon ordered the battalions to leave Myingyan by February 4, 1945, so as to be in their respective positions by February 8, 1945. The Nehru Brigade held the Irrawaddy as planned, and Dhillon kept his headquarters at Tetthe throughout the operation. On February 12, 1945 enemy planes saturation-bombed the INA defences. The following night, the enemy launched an assault on the 8th battalion deployed at Pagon. These assaults failed and the enemy had to withdraw. The Nehru Brigade continued to hold the Irrawaddy, in what was to become the INA's first military victory. After the failure at Pagan, the British tried another assault opposite Nyaungu, using outboard motors and rubber boats. This assault also failed, and hundreds of soldiers were killed, forcing the survivors to retreat. However, the INA's victories could not be sustained, and, when it eventually withdrew, Dhillon had to proceed to Pagan. Dhillon reached Pagan on February 17, 1945. On February 23, 1945, General Shah Nawaz visited the Commander of Khanjo Butai and discussed co-ordination of Indo-Japanese operations in the Popa and Kyauk Padaung area. Colonel Sahgal was ordered to prepare Popa as a strong base for future attacks. Dhillon's regiment, the 4th Guerrilla, was ordered to check the enemy advance on to Kyauk Padaung from the west, where the British had established a strong bridgehead at Nyaungu. This was to be achieved by carrying out extensive and persistent guerrilla warfare in the area between Popa and Kyauk Padaung, to deny the enemy the use of the Nyaungu-Kyauk-Padaung-Meiktila road. Shah Nawaz arrived at Popa on 12 March 1945, and relieved Dhillon to join his regiment. On April 4, 1945 his division commander, Colonel Shah Nawaz Khan, ordered Dhillon to return from Khabok to Popa. By then, the 4th Guerrilla regiment had been in the area for over five weeks. Mount Popa and Kyaukpadaung was one pocket of resistance, which had so far defied all British attacks. Under constant raids by the INA, the British forces were forced to use longer routes that caused them loss of time, greater consumption of fuel, and frequent breakdowns of their

vehicles. From early April 1945, the strategic situation began to change rapidly. The British launched a three-pronged attack on Mount Popa and Kyaukpadaung. On 5 April 1945, Dhillon was allotted the defence of Kyaukpadaung, south of Popa. In the second week of April, the area suffered daily bombing, and the British forces advanced in heavy tanks and armoured vehicles. Sustaining heavy casualties, the INA could not organize any defence, and the 2nd Division withdrew to Magwe, 100 miles (160 km) to the south. After withdrawing from Magwe, they came to a village called Kanni. By this time, Burma had declared war on Japan, and so the villagers did not co-operate with INA. Their retreat was under the control of General Aung San's People's National Army, which had established a parallel government controlling around fifty villages. They crossed the Irrawaddy at Kama, and reached Prome on May 1, 1945. Most of the INA officers and men could not cross the river and were stranded on the east bank. It was apparent by then that they had lost the war, and Rangoon had already been evacuated. From Prome, they retreated southeast through the jungles of the Pegu Yomas. Eleven days after leaving Prome, they reached a village called Wata about 20 miles (32 km) west of Pegu, and learned that Germany had recently surrendered, and Japan was suffering heavy bombing. The British forces had already occupied Pegu, and Rangoon fell during the last week of April. The surviving forces of INA decided to surrender to the British.

Surrender On the 17th May, 1945, the British encircled the Indian National Army, which surrendered without any formal ceremony. The POWs were sent to Pegu, and Shah Nawaz and Dhillon were taken to No. 3 Field Interrogation Centre under the command of Major C. Ore on May 18, 1945. On May 31, Dhillon was sent to Rangoon Central Jail, where he was joined by Shah Nawaz on June 9. On July 1, 1945, Dhillon was brought to Calcutta by plane and from there, sent to Delhi by train. On July 6 he was sent to the Red Fort and interrogated by a man named Bannerjee from the Central Intelligence Department. The interrogation was concluded by the third week of July. On the August 6, 1945, Shah Nawaz, Sahgal, and Dhillon were jointly summoned to the

Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre for a trial of the INA. On September 17, 1945, the trio was charged with waging war against the King. The news of the trial was made public through the press and All India Radio.

The Red Fort trial, INA Trials

The trial began on November 5, 1945 while a mass demonstration was going on outside the Red Fort. People gave voice to their resentment on the trials by shouting: Lal Qile se aae awaz, Sahgal Dhillon Shah Nawaz, Teenon ki ho umar daraz (Meaning – Sahgal, Dhillon, Shah Nawaz, comes the voice from the Red Fort. May the trio live long). The trial concluded on December 31, and Dhillon, along with the other two defendants, became a symbol of the ongoing struggle for Indian independence. The verdict came the following day. All three were found guilty of waging war against the King Emperor, and the court was bound to sentence the accused either to death or to deportation for life. However, the Commander-in-Chief, Claude Auchinleck, taking into consideration the prevailing circumstances, decided to remit the sentences, and all three defendants were later released. The release was of momentous significance at a national level, because the unprecedented publicity in the national papers and other media during the proceedings had enhanced the credibility and legitimacy of the freedom struggle by the Indian National Army. On the day after the release, January 4, the whole of Delhi gathered to participate in a rally.

Recognition

K.R. Narayanan, the president of India, awarded a Padma Bhushan to Dhillon on 12 April 1998. The Indian Postal Department issued a stamp in 1997 in memory of Dhillon's contribution to the liberation of India.

Lt. Colonel Shahnawaz Khan of Matore, Punjab, was a soldier of the British army captured by the Japanese and interned in Singapore.

Initially he did not join the INA of General Mohan

Singh; however, during second phase of the INA under the leadership of Subash Chandra Bose, he joined INA. He took part with Japanese in the Second World War and in Burma. After the surrender of the Japanese army in Burma, he was arrested. He faced the famous Red Fort trial of INA along with his colleagues, Colonel Habib ur Rahman, Prem Sehgal and Gur Bux Singh Dhillon.

Role of Khyber Pakhtonkhawa in the Quit India Movement

In North Western Frontier Province, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's social *cum* political reforms movement on the platform of the Khudai Khidmatgar organisation was continued. British government created several hindrances to the movement and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested and sent for years in prison. However, British did not bow to him.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had good relations with Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leadership. On 5th August the Congress party had called its meeting in Bombay. Congress decided to launch the Quit India movement against the British- but Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan did not attend the meeting. However, Congress made Khan Bacha in charge of the movement in Khyber Pakhtonkhawa province.

Non-violent struggle launched by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan during the Quit India movement was certainly a precedent in history when he changed normally violent Pashtons into non-violent national workers.

At least six thousand workers were arrested and brutally tortured by the British administration along with their supporter feudals and chief of tribes' agents. Khan Ghaffar Khan was arrested on 27 October 1942 and released in 1945.

In Balochistan Khan Abdul Samad Khan's Anjman-e- Watan supported the Quit India Movement.

The year of 1942 affected the entire Sindh by

floods, and affected the Quit India Movement and Hur movement, and 1943 was a year of sorrows. Two great sons of Sindh, Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro were put on the gallows and Allah Bux Soomro was assassinated. A freedom fighter Hemo Kalani was hanged. Hemo Kalani was a political activist. During the Quit India movement Hemo Kalani and his colleagues received news that the railway train of British troops and their supplies passing through his native town Sukkur, Hemo and his comrades decided to derail the train, but due to insufficient tools they did not remove the fishplates of the railway track. Meanwhile British patrolling troops had seen them. His colleagues were escaped but Hemo was arrested. He was tried in a case of treason against the British Crown and put on the gallows on 21 January 1943.

L/P&J/5/259

The Government was in confused state over the arrest of Pir Pagaro and the Hur reprisals.

They had to think about its many repercussions. In the end, two options were considered:

1. The Pir would be sent out of the subcontinent in the islands of Andaman.
2. His trial would be held in a summary military court, which would pronounce a death sentence on him.

In the same report the governor narrated the death sentence of Hemo Kalani, a young freedom fighter who was arrested by the police near the railway track beside Sukkur. He was tried in court for dismantling the railway track with the intent of derailing a train. The court handed down a death sentence. This young Sindhi sacrificed his life for his motherland. He was put on the gallows. The governor was convinced that by sparing Kalani's life and giving him a lighter sentence the Sindhi Hindu community would not be sufficiently restrained and dissuaded from any future involvement in radical activities.

Government House Karachi
21 January 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I have had a lengthy conference with Richardson on problems arising out of the Pir Pagaro's return to Sindh, and about this. I will write to you separately. The death sentence passed on the young Hindu who was caught red-handed damaging the railway track has brought the whole Hindu community here up with some thing of a jerk, which was much needed. Undoubtedly, there has been a tendency in the press to treat serious crimes of sabotages, if committed by young educated Hindus, as little more than peccadilloes due to high spirits. Long sentences of imprisonment have little effect on this attitude, because of the general feeling that when things settle down, by-gones and these sentences will be enviably remitted. I feel fairly confident that the death of this young man will definitely mark the complete abstention from his class of crime of all other men of his community in Sindh.

Yours sincerely
H. Dow

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It was clear that British Government had decided to eliminate the Pir from the scene. For that purpose, it created a kangaroo court.

In the meantime, the government arranged the Pir's return to Sindh from Central India.

Fearing an ambush by the Pir's followers was imminent, the administration tightened security arrangements. On 5 January 1942, the Pir was transported by air to Sindh. Wisal Muhammad Khan has narrated the arrival of the Pir as under.

“One day I was asked to meet the Deputy Force Commander at 2.30 P.M. at the Hyderabad landing ground. This order was rather queer; therefore I started wondering as to what the game was. However, on arrival

at the destination I found that Brig. Langlands and Freddie Young were already there to receive the Pir Pagaro who was being flown from the Central Jail, Nagpur. After a few minutes the dignity arrived, and was moved to Hyderabad Jail in a covered wagon, heavily escorted.”

Sindh Quarterly Magazine -- 1980

Farcical Trial – An Execution in Waiting for Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro

The court started its proceedings in February 1943 at Hyderabad prison. The judge was G.O.C and a martial law administrator. This was a very unusual precedent related to modern Roman law that the same person was vested with two authorities, namely, as an executive and as a Judge.

The trial was a farce and no more than a face-saving exercise because the British had already made up its mind what to do with the Pir.

The case started in a special Military court and Pir Sibghatullah Shah Pagaro was charged with treason against the Crown. The government did not allow Pir Pagaro to meet at all frequently with his lawyer, defence witnesses and family. However, the counsel of the Pir, Dialmal Lalwani fought the case judiciously. If the case had been decided on merit, the maximum penalty of death sentence would certainly not have been given. But then what could be expected from a person with a military background who had donned a judge's robes? His eligibility and merit to be a judge in such a high-profile case was in serious doubt.

While in court the Pir pleaded for a Muslim lawyer and a Muslim military officer as a member of the summary military court, but Major General Richardson, the chief of the trial bench, turned down both the requests.

The Government made an arrangement to soften the disciples of the Pir and lure them into becoming prosecution witness. Several followers of the Pir from the elite class and down to the grassroots-level were coaxed

into helping the administration. In several cases the government used dossiers containing personal information to force people to testify against the Pir.

This was an astonished precedent in history that at the time of trial government put curtains between the witnesses and the Pir when they took the stand as witnesses. The curtain separated witnesses and the indicted person. The government's act of installation of curtains in the courtroom was a violation of modern Roman law and against the basic ethics of the trial system.

Dialmal submitted his legal opinion in the court in defence of the Pir. He also sent a copy to the H. T Lambrick:

To,
H.T. Lambrick.Esquire
ICS Civil Advisor

Sir,

I respectfully beg to state as under.

I crave permission to urge on you the necessity of giving serious consideration to it.

I invite your attention to my letter dated 22nd January addressed to the Convener Martial Law Court and the reply dated 25th January sent by him.

In the defence of Pir one of the strings to the law is that he is in no way responsible for the misdeeds alleged to have been done by the Hurs. The Hurs assuming for the sake of argument that they have done anything-rose up to a man because the Government Officers disrespected the Pir's family, made a search of the Ganang Bungalow, burnt the hedge of the Ganang Bungalow, removed the ladies from a sequestered place to the Bunder Road Karachi (never in the History of the Pirs have these ladies been lodged in such a fashion) and destroyed the Ganang Bungalow and below up the Pir's Head Quarters in his village. In other words it will be urged by me that the Hurs became rebels not because the Pir wanted to be a King but only because acts of sacrilege were committed

by Government servants, acts that according to the notions, ideas and beliefs of the Hurs were such that their religious allegiance to the Pir and to their God demanded of them to do, if they ever would attend salvation.

Relevant to this is a reference to the two communications referred to above. The Convener has characterised my requests Nos. 9 and 10 as irrelevant. I respectfully join issue with him. I want to show by the documents referred to in my request No. 10 that the burning of the hedge was considered such a serious thing as called for immediate transfer of District Superintendent police from these papers I will collect the names of witnesses to give live direct evidence of fact relevant as cause, effect, preparation motive, elucidating the activities of the Hurs as absolutely independent of any conspiracy on the part of the Pir to wage the war against the KING. Here I would respectfully refer you to my request No. 1. I want to know the names of Hindus & Muslimans and the Ministers and I want to call them to give evidence in consonance with that they have actually stated on the occasion in question.

Allied to the above line of defence is the fact that the Nawabshah police started a number of false cases against the Murids of the Pirs. This is another reason which contributed to the rising of the Hurs. It is noteworthy (vide request No. 20) that the accused persons had been surrendered by the Pir and the Crown Prosecutor made a report that the cases were false. He had proposed withdrawal of these cases. Obviously the Judicial and police record of these cases will be relevant for the purpose of showing that the Hurs were being unbearably harassed by the police round about Ganang Bungalow which was subsequently desecrated. I submit that the authorities might not have ruled this out as irrelevant.

Again I say that "the enrolment of Gazi business" is a fictitious propaganda brought into vogue by the following persons.

The Pir of Bharchundi - Because I was responsible for the conviction of Janu Jalbani on account of the murder of Bhaghat Kanwar. My alleged Co-Conspirator

Mohbat Behan was a witness against Janu, so was my Khalifa. I wrote to the Governor that Pir of Bharchundi should be arrested and that the Muslim League Ministry would not incarcerate him. I accused him of causing the murder of Pamnani. All this is in writing.

The Muslim --- Because I refused to join them in the Manzilgah agitation I got Ahmed Shah & Fateh Ali Shah and others extern from my village. No Hindu was molested in my village.

Ghulam Rasul Shah and his friend Ahsan Ali -- because Ahsan Ali had a land dispute with me. Government decided it in my favour.

Mr. Rashdi the Muslim Leaguer and the Editor of Muslim Voice -- Because I hold decrees against him. His father and he are my debtors. The execution proceedings were pending against him. The debts extend to thousands of rupees. In view of what is stated above my requests Nos. 13 and 22 may not be considered as irrelevant & vague.

I respectfully submit and my defence I am very grudgingly disclosing, that beyond the oral evidence of witnesses of questionable credibility there would be left little material to make out a case of waging war if I can successfully introduce circumstances, which would explain the reason why so much propaganda was spread against me by opportunists who had to wipe off old scores with me. There would be Hur menace but I am entitled to show that I have nothing to do with it at all. I shall trace the course of the history of incidents to show that on former occasions during the lifetime of my ancestors the Hurs behaved in much the same way as they have done now, and yet there was no question of any of those Pirs trying to become Kings of Sindh. For this I should need Government record and books of references in the Commissioner's library which I have not yet asked for. I will also establish that the burying of Silver is nothing new or surprising in my mode of life and this I will do by producing evidence of a former occasion when Government got the *Dargah* land ploughed and secured

lacs of rupees from the bowels of the earth.

There was no question of waging War then still Sir my request No. 24 has been turned down as irrelevant.

I will submit very humbly that I should get great assistance in the preparation of the defence of a case, which *in* its importance and nature is of an unparalleled magnitude. As a citizen I pray that the decision in this case will be of far reaching effects. I beg of you to appreciate that the *genesis* of a Hur, his temperament, *his* mood, his life, his belief, his prowess and his utter brutality are all admissible, relevant and important facts which are bound to throw a flood of light on the delicate and pregnant issues involved in this case. Incongruous as the picture may appear to be, I will make an effort to establish that this war of the Hurs is something in the nature of the old Mohammedan Wars under the Islamic banner or us sort of carrying on a crusade. In neither of these were the prophets in any way responsible. For the Hur the Pir is more than a prophet, the magnificence of the Pir and his entourage, his *Darbar* and his surrounding, his pomp and glory are all facts relevant to the main issues in the case. Those will explain why names are registered, why Mukhs are appointed, why Furaq is different from Salim, why a special code governs the Hur and how is it that the frantic follower stakes his all in the name of Pir. No matter how it may affect the divinity on earth. I shall have to show that whatever abnormalities appear in this case, have appeared since hundreds of years.

My assistants and I have been at this case all these 12 days and I must confess that we have not yet been able to prepare the defence satisfactorily.

My request No. 26 has been turned down as vague, I think if a Deputy Superintendent like Mr. Inayat Ali or Charangilal is given the description of the man he would be spotted out at once. A dark skinned tall Sub-Inspector transferred or proceeding on leave in August 1941 from Thar Parkar District is all the information that the Pir can furnish.

Referring to my request 3 & 4, you will be pleased to appreciate my difficulties. I have got to be for several hours each day with the Pir and the files of papers and bundles are enormous. I dare not request that the same be made over to me for study at odd hours.

In conclusion I request you for your rendering me assistance, advice and guidance. This is a peculiar case, which has got to be done with. May I request you to consider the advisability of a short adjournment? Please excuse me this worry, for I have no one else to write to who knows Sindh people, Sindh conditions and the defence difficulties as wan as you do. I beg to be excused by the Major General if my letter contains any expression opposed to Military discipline. I assure you that if there is discovered any flaw in my language or tone it cannot possibly be due to willfulness. This letter is for you to appeal to the General on my behalf and on behalf of an accused person. This unfortunate man can neither meet his friends and relations nor has any easy way open to him to collect funds, for his defence, all I have been appointed by the Crown Officers. He can hardly get over this.

I shall be grateful for a personal interview.

I beg to remain

Sir, yours most obedient servant

Dialmal

Advocate for Pir Pagaro

F. 208/16

General Court Martial

4 2 1 3 5

Defence	Council	Prosecutors
Wisal. M. Khan		
2 Officers of A Branch		
Pir	Curtain	Curtain
	Curtain	Curtain
	Witness	Box

Charges:

1. Conspiring and preparing to wage a war against the Government.

(b) The best local advocate has been engaged for the defence, so as to ensure the best-available legal assistance for the accused.

2. Abetment of waging war.

As it was generally believed that the witness were likely to turn hostile if they either saw the Pir or heard his voice, therefore adequate measures were taken to ensure that nothing went wrong. During my stay in the court the Pir passed written instructions to the defence counsel and never spoke to him. The proceedings of the court started in the usual manner and the Pir raised the following objections, through his counsel:

(a) Is there not a single Muslim Army Officer in India, to sit as a member of this court? I expect no justice from an all-British court. If the intention is to hang me, then do so without a mock trial.

(b) Why thrust a Hindu advocate on me? Isn't there a single Muslim Advocate in India, for my defence?

The President of the court overruled the objections on the plea that:

The members of the court are impartial and would therefore render full justice in the case:

(b) The best local advocate has been engaged for the defence, so as to ensure the best available legal for the accused.

The Pir was dismayed with the ruling of the court and stated, through his counsel that the obvious intention of the government was to execute him therefore the needful should be done without going through the tyranny of a mock *trial*. The objection was overruled. When questioned by the court whether he pleaded guilty to the

charges framed against him or not, the Pir stated that as he was not in a position either to conspire or make preparation for waging a war against the government hence the charges are malignant and fabricated. The president of the court then ordered the prosecutor to proceed with the case.

‘At this stage I was somewhat perplexed as certain questions were intriguing my mind. It was due to this state of my mind that most of the time I concentrated on the observation of the Pir who appeared to me just like a lion in the cage. To state frankly I have come across quite a few Pirs but none of his caliber. He was extremely intelligent with dominating personality and had a good knowledge of the criminal procedure code. To the best of my knowledge, throughout the trial, he had been issuing written instructions to his defence counsel. However, as anticipated by him all his efforts to save himself failed to have any effect, and the finding of the court was guilty and the sentence death by hanging.

On 20th March 1943, at the age of 34 years, he was executed and buried in an island of the Persian Gulf. Just before his execution the only statement he is alleged to have made is that he was sorry for having committed the sin of indulgence in heavy smoking. The said statement clearly indicates that the Pir considered himself innocent.

Sindh Quarterly Magazine Karachi

The next contentious issue concerned the body of the executed Pir. There was debate on whether the body should be handed over to relatives, friends and followers or he be buried in an unknown place. The British administration perceived the act of burying the Pir in a known place as fraught with danger for that would incite his disciples and give rise to another possible insurrection. The British feared that the Hurs would somehow be re-energised once they congregated at the gravesite of their demigod. Upon touching the grave, the disciples were liable to take an oath to avenge the Pir's death.

To save them from such an eventuality, the *British* administration decided to bury the Pir at an unknown

location. Even the Government of Sindh was kept in the dark about the Pir's final resting-place.

On 20th March 1943 the Pir was put on the gallows. Members of the Pagaro family were not allowed to view the corpse of their beloved elder but a few disciples who were in the good books of the government were shown the body.

This brave son of Sindh showed that his commitment to the motherland was unwavering - right up to his last breath when he stood up to his 'liberty-or-death' motto. In the spring of his youth he offered his life for a noble cause. The great mystic Shah Latif wrote the following memorable lines for those blessed with courage:

*"Horses and bridegrooms have few days to live,
Sometimes they in places lodge,
sometimes in deserts well."*

In another verse, Shah Latif shed light on the character of the brave. They don't take too kindly to taunts. "To be enslaved is a great insult for a nation. For removing this censure the Pir offered his life. In both word and deed, Pir Pagaro lived the philosophy of Shah Abdul Latif to the fullest. Shah Latif says:

*T's well that you die on battlefield. I for you weep,
Taunts are uttered for long, while life is brief*

Pir Pagaro forfeited his life for a noble cause. He upheld the dignity of his ancestors' "Pag". In the strictest sense, the turban is a protective headgear that is usually worn to save one from extreme temperatures. But it has other connotations as well. For centuries tribal communities have chosen their chieftains from among their kin and placed a turban on their head as a mark of respect. From the day it is donned the chieftain is seen as protector, helper and saviour of the honour and respect of the community. Yet several chieftains express their disdain for the turban. But the Pir was clearly not among those. Like some illustrious chiefs, he chose death over dishonour and sacrificed all for the sake of his nation.

Viceroy's House New Delhi
1st April 1943.

My Dear Dow,

I gather that the *Pir* behaved with dignity at the time of his execution, and he certainly seems to have behaved with commonsense and detachment in dealing with issues such as the succession to himself before his death.

Yours sincerely
Linlithgow

L/P&J/5/259

During the year 1943, Jinnah persuaded G.M. Sayed, the president of Muslim League Sindh chapter, 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.

Though the British-fabricated communal grief in the subcontinent was at its peak Sindh was out of it. 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 inter-religious harmony, he seemingly was 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, Mohenjo-Daro 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."

G.M. Sayed Papers

Stanley Volpert's opinion regarding the cultural legacy of Indus Valley.

"Dr. G.M. Sayed traced the source of their claims to Sindhi "nationhood" as far back as Mohenjo-Daro 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."

Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan P. 197

Following are comments of the Governor of Sindh Hugh Dow that seconds the opinion of G.M. Sayed regarding the non-communal attitude of the Sindhis.

On 31 August 1944, at the Governors' conference held at Bombay, the Governor of Sindh had shared his views about 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.”

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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.

Sindhis do not like the colonialist and imperialist because of their inherent non-communitarian attitude and their love for motherland and oppressed people and nations.

The Colonialists had eliminated the Sindhi leaders including Sayed Sibghatullah Shah Pir Pagaro and the remaining G.M. Sayed was a thorn in their flesh and they decided to oust him from the political scenario of the subcontinent. They also decided to make the Sindhis a minority in their motherland. During the Hur movement, the British administration made plans to award tracts of lands to the troops stationed in Hur-dominated areas and seize the resources of the Sindh people; their plan was to turn Sindhis into a minority in their own land. In this regard note the letter of the viceroy to Hugh Dow, Governor of Sindh.

Viceroy's Camp India
25 September 1945

My Dear Dow

I have not yet acknowledged your letter of 26th September about the settlement of ex-servicemen in the Makhi *Dhand* area.

Jenkins has sent Barty a copy of the note given me

by the Commander-in-Chief. An engineer officer is being sent to make a preliminary reconnaissance and I hope that there will be no avoidable delay.

Yours sincerely
Wavell

E-372/8

In June 1945, the scenario of politics of the subcontinent received a new shape, and as 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 Shimla 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 in their respective working committees in Shimla. G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi and Yusuf Haroon went 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. Bannerji	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	Deputy leader, Muslim League Assembly party
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
Rajagopalachari	Former Chief Minister, Madras
Mr. Henry Richard	Leader, European Group
Sir Sayed Mohammed Saadullah	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. In this 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 Shimla, 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 Mahmmodabad, Nawab Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliqzaman 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.

G.M. Sayed felt that the gulf between the Congress and the Muslim League would be the harbinger of a great tragedy. He continuously tried to approach Mr. Jinnah and the Congress leadership to decide the communal issue amicably but there was no sign of a better deal. He had two choices: either become a part of communal politics of the Congress and the Muslim League or chose another way. Finally he made a big decision and resigned from the Muslim League.

.....

In January 1946, elections were held in Sindh; the G. M. Sayed group also contested the election of the Sindh Assembly.

Muslim League ministry searched for a candidate and 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 of Sindh.

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

Yours sincerely
R.F. Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

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 31.

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.

On the current political situation in Sindh, Viceroy Wavell's report to the secretary of state, Lord Amery:

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.”

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On 6 February governor asked Ghulam Hussain 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 follows 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.”

Liberty or Death, P.225

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 "Communiqué" issued from Government House explaining the various circumstances, which governed the communiqué, have followed this. I am afraid the position as explained in the communiqué is not correct, and I think, at the very outset, I must take the public into confidence regarding that aspect of the matter.”

G.M. Sayed Papers

A report by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State on the instability of the new born 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 Governôrs' special responsibilities were not involved, Mudie had to acquiesce. But it is a shocking decision.

I shall be surprised if Congress gets 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."

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G.M. Sayed was a man of character and principles, even his political rivals are of the opinion that he was honest from his core.

Note by Field Marshal Viscount Wavell on the opinion of Asif Ali about forming a coalition consisting of all political groups, his interview with Maulana Azad and Asif Ali.

25th 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."

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Letter from 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.

Yours sincerely
Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

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."

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Just before the end of the session, Mir Bandeh 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.

Yours sincerely
G.E.B. Abell

G.M. Sayed Papers

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.

Secret

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 were 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 Shimla 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."

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Patrick French in his book *Liberty or Death* had

expressed his view as follows:

“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.”

Liberty or Death P.225

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 non-cooperative 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 group have their own culture, language and geographical, traditional and historical background and entities. G.M. Sayed's 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 brand but was based on the geographical condition of the states. 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, imperialists and colonialists 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. Also, quite possibly, the tragic events of the formation of Bangladesh would not have occurred.

This moderate opinion gives us an idea of G.M. Sayed's 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 six decades have gone by but this land [South Asia] is still without peace and prosperity and there is no sign of harmony.

G.M. Sayed organised 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 G.M. Sayed.

They prepared a plan for the confederation of the

subcontinent and placed the proposal in the hands of Panditji and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. But the Indian National Congress did not heed these proposals.

Regarding this rendition of G.M. Sayed, the Governor of Sindh Francis Mudie's two letters to Viceroy Wavell provide important 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 Bandeh 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.

Yours sincerely
R.F. Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

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.

Yours sincerely
R.F. Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

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 six 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 socio-economic 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 when his former party -- the Muslim League -- was 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 within 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". G.M. Sayed rejected heroism and neither did coins or crown hold any captivation for him.

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.

Yours sincerely
Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

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.

Yours sincere
Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

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.

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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.

Yours Sincerely
Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

Pandit Nehru commented about the political dilemma in Sindh at his Press conference of 10th July 1946:

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.

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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 Khizer 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 communiqué 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.

Yours sincerely
Francis Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence, secretary of state 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.

Transfer of Power Volume VIII

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 Osman
- 9- K.B. Allah Bux 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.

G.M. Sayed Papers

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.

The role of the British administration was undemocratic and they want to dissolve the Assembly instead of to give a chance opposition leader G.M. Sayed to form the ministry. The question is why they were desirous of concentrating on these modes. Mr. Attlee Prime Minister of the British has rejected their option of the dissolution of 10 month old assembly.

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.

Transfer of Power Volume VIII

G.M. Sayed wrote letters to Governor and approached him to give him a chance in forming the ministry. Governor in his letters to Sayed ignored G.M. Sayed's requests.

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 (of) *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 volumes 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.

6. 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.

Yours sincerely
G.M. Sayed
Leader,
Sindh Assembly Coalition Party

G.M. Sayed Papers

Viceroy 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.

Transfer of Power Volume VIII

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.

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.

Yours sincerely
Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

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 Punjab's ICS officer, Masood, broke all records while helping the Government efforts.

Governor Mudie's letter to Wavell showed his uneasiness with G.M. Sayed.

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.

Yours sincerely
Mudie

L/P&J/5/262

Sayed's letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence and others to stop the highhandedness of the governor and to make efforts for free and fair elections:

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 of December.

G.M. Sayed
Opposition Leader Sindh Assembly
G.M. Sayed Papers

On 9th December 1946 elections were held 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 in 1949, 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.

L/P&J/263

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 93.

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.

Transfer of Power Volume X

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.

Khan 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."

On 25 June 1947 addressing a meeting G.M. Sayed issued following statement on partition plan of the British.

"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."

G.M. Sayed Papers

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 Fagaro, and release his Hur followers who had been put into pacification settlements. The colonial administration has own view and till their departure they continued grudge with Pir and Hurs.

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.

Yours sincerely
A.P. LeMesurier

L/P&J/5/263

In the Punjab, the problem with Sir Khizer Hayat was the non-communal fabric of the Unionist party and also the partition of the Punjab. Upon the direction of the British Sir Zafarullah approached Khizer Hayat to help the Muslim League and he agreed with him, if Khizer would conditionally support the League then the British would not do partition of the Punjab since if the League would oppose the partition of the Punjab, the Indus Valley would not lose its fertile land.

Sir Sikander Hayat and his successor Khizer Hayat were allies of the British. However, at the time of partition the British did not reward their services and compelled Khizer to accept a communal award.

The Indus Valley after Partition of the Subcontinent

On 14 August 1947, the partition of the subcontinent took place and Pakistan became a new country. India became independent on 15th August. According to the new world order as part of the Second World War strategy Punjab was divided on the base of creed and the Indus Valley lost its fertile part in the East Punjab. The remaining part of the Indus Valley was in the western part of Pakistan.

In the 1840s, during the war between the British and the Sikhs, the British recruited Muslim soldiers from the remote areas of the Punjab and also Pashton areas. They fought for the interests of the British and colonialists inside the Asian subcontinent and in Asia, Africa and Europe.

It was a big armed power and they were mostly Jats and Rajputs. The partition of the Punjab meant the division of the Jat and Rajput armed forces.

In 2005, I was in Paris and visited Sikh temple, there one Sikh student met me. In our conversation he told me that 'we are working on the losses of life of the Jat and Rajput Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims of India and Pakistan from 1947 till today'. During the post 1947 migrations mostly Jats and Rajputs were assassinated and in all the wars between Pakistan and India the position was the same'. The British became successful in producing hatred and shattering the combined Jat and Rajput armed force. This was the part of the New World Order and the Cold war between new super-power USA and super-power Russia.

Muhammad Ali 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 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 resulted in reordering 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.

In the Cold War Pakistan became an ally of the USA, and the USA for its own interests supported conservative forces and an autocratic system in Pakistan.

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 these, 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, Munshi Ahmeduddin,	Punjab Punjab
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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: "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 Pashtons, and the Bengalis. At the same time, we had expected them to reciprocate these sentiments.

"The authorities, on the other hand, had planned to administer Pakistan under a theocratic system through a strong centre. This was unnatural and far removed from the ground reality. Such a course could 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."

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 Khidmatgars, the party of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan before Partition, were of the view that the establishment of Pakistan would not be good for the Pashtons.

“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.”

G.M. Sayed Papers

After the conference Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was invited to Sayed's native town 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.

In May 1948 G.M. Sayed was also detained for three months.

Two events shattered the future of the people of Pakistan and the sovereign status of the country.

1. Through the Objective resolution of March 12, 1949, Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister of Pakistan shaped the country a theocratic state.

2. In May 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan's tour of USA makes the country an instrument of a proxy war. His speech in Washington, "Civilised forces must be uniting against dark forces" flare up anger in Russian block.

G.M. Sayed felt that both acts of the rulers were very much harmful for the masses and the country, and he opposed the country's theocratic structure which ultimately would lead to autocracy.

As an ally of a super-power USA, Pakistan became part of the Cold War, and it is continue such up to today.

In 1952, to present his opinion on the current situation of Pakistan and the world, G.M. Sayed got an opportunity, when he was invited by the organisers of the World Peace Conference, to attend and address the World Peace Conference 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 is 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.

Long live peace”

G.M. Sayed Papers

After partition in 1953, elections were held in Sindh and G.M. Sayed was elected unopposed as member of the Sindh Assembly.

In 1955, the rulers introduced the One-Unit scheme in western parts of Pakistan and the merger of Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan and Pakhtonkhawa called West Pakistan. In 1956 a constitution was introduced by the rulers.

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 they 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 bottom up and since the attractive economic and nationalist agenda

and previous political role and the status of the political leaders had already had an impact on the masse there was hope that the new party would sweep the forthcoming elections.

The main task for Sayed was the dissolution of the One-Unit, against 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 persons, who had 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 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, approves 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.

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 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 follows:

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.

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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.

The autocratic system in Pakistan continued under the umbrella of the USA, and Ayub Khan continued his power.

After war of 1965, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who during the war in his speech in UNO, said: "We will fight against India for a thousand years" had disassociated himself from Ayub Khan, and 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.

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.

Yahya Khan dissolved One-Unit and announced elections for constituent Assembly.

In December 1970 elections were held, Shaikh

Mujib Rahman secured 168 seats from the House of three hundred, and Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto 83 seats.

Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto and army were not willing to give power to Shaikh Mujib Rahman. Several rounds of negotiations were held in Dacca, but there was no outcome.

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 from Saudi Arabia, 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.

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 which had been developing in the eastern wing of Pakistan. 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 had 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 Zulfikar 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.

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A new phase of Pakistan started; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced a new constitution: Although he was calling himself a champion of modern democracy, his constitutional approach was like the objective resolution of Liaquat Ali Khan.

Though in Bhutto's era Russia helped Pakistan in introducing a big project of Steel Mill in Karachi, still Pakistan had close ties with America. The American ally Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries supported Pakistan economically.

America had good relations with religious parties including Jamait Islami of Pakistan. Though Bhutto was loyal to America some his acts showed resentment of it, and through the religious forces Bhutto was toppled from the government. Again Martial law became the fate of the

country and the religious-minded General Zia ul Haque became Chief Martial law administrator of the country.

In 1979, Bhutto was put on the gallows and the same year Russia entered into Afghanistan. The reaction of USA and European countries was very swift and also the Muslim Arab countries involved them in a 'great game'. Pakistani rulers supported America and the land of Pakistan became the front stage of international geo-politics.

Clash between Super Powers

The game of bloodshed started, and finished at the end of the Cold War. Russia was the loser and America and the western powers won the war with the support of the Muslim Arab countries and Pakistan.

Russia lost its position of super-power. Mikhail Gorbachev, a visionary man, felt that for a new Russia a realistic approach was necessary and he decentralized the country and freed central Asian Muslim countries and also some European countries.

Pakistan was a forefront country in the Afghan war and also in the Cold War. Russian policy had made some errors, but it had very much influence on the masses and socialist and nationalist parties in Pakistan. However, Russia did not play its cards properly. It relied on some urbanized communists which were daily visitors of Russian Friendship Houses and Vodka parties. It ignored popular nationalist elements which was a drawback and large blunder. If it had communicated with nationalist groups and got help from them against fundamentalists the results would have been the reverse of what actually happened. The same fallacy of the USA in the Afghan war, and for its shortcut strategies, it was not willing to communicate with real democratic, moderate and nationalist groups.

The Afghan Civil War began when the Communist People's Party (PDPA) of Afghanistan took power in a military coup, known as the Saur revolution, on 27 April 1978. Nur Muhammad Tarki became president of Afghanistan. However, he was assassinated by his communist comrade Hafizullah Amin who then became head of state. Most of Afghanistan subsequently experienced uprisings. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979 to keep the Afghan PDPA

Communists in power. Initially Russia brought Babrak Karmal in power, and after some time chose Dr. Najibullah president. Afghanistan's resistance forces known as the Mujahideen fought against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Some factions received support from the United States, with the Pakistani ISI serving as the U.S. middleman and Saudi Arabia.

G.M. Sayed was detained in Karachi Central Prison's rest house, on the morning of the 20th January 1988. He received the shocking news that his old friend and comrade, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, had expired in Peshawar. Sayed 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 Pashton 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 Pashtons.

As a representative of G.M. Sayed I attended the last rites of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Peshawar and Jalalabad. Though Mujahiden announced that they would honour the last rites of Ghaffar Khan, they dishonoured their word and there were explosions in Jalalabad where several people were injured and motor vehicles were burnt. I myself escaped five minutes before the explosion. The Russian army immediately reached on the spot and

became very alert.

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.

The Soviet Union had to withdraw its troops in February 1989. The Soviet-backed Dr. Najibullah's government survived three more years until the fall of Kabul in 1992.

G.M. Sayed, a veteran politician and philosopher and a son of soil of Indus Valley in this critical era of South and Central Asia and the world, shared his visionary opinion on 17 January 1992, at his birthday celebrations, at Nishtar Park, Karachi. Thousands of people attended the meeting and heard the speech of Sayed.

“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."

G.M. Sayed Papers

Both G.M. Sayed and Peter Taylor's opinion about the structure of nations are one and the same. It requires the attention of men of letters of the world to spread this idea over the entire globe, 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 follows:

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.

After the fall of the Communist era, a new phase started with the rule of Muslim Mujahideen groups. In 1992, the Afghan political parties agreed on the Peshawar accords, which established the Islamic State of Afghanistan and appointed an interim government. Militia leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was opposed to the agreement and, with Pakistani support, started a bombardment campaign against Kabul. Additionally, three militias who had been able to occupy some suburbs of the Kabul engaged in a violent war against each other. Regional powers such as Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Uzbekistan seeking influence over the geo-strategically located Afghanistan each supported and in some cases controlled one of these militias. While Kabul and some other major cities witnessed most of the fighting during that period most of the more rural parts of Afghanistan, which had seen especially massive bombardment by the Soviets and Communists, remained relatively calm. In late 1994 and early 1995 as the Islamic state's minister of defence Ahmed Shah Massoud had been able to defeat most of the militia's militarily in Kabul and had restored some calm to the capital, the Taliban emerged as a new faction threatening Kabul.

The Taliban had initially emerged as a new force in the southern city of Kandahar conquering many southern and central provinces not under Islamic state control in the course of 1994. In early 1995, as they launched a major operation against the capital Kabul, they suffered a devastating defeat from the Islamic State forces of Massoud in what many analysts saw as the movement's end. By 1996, however, they had regrouped with massive military support of Pakistan and financial support by Saudi Arabia. In 1996, they took power in Kabul and established the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. The United Islamic Front (Northern alliance) was created under the leadership of Ahmed Shah Massoud as a military-political resistance force against the Taliban. The Emirate was backed militarily by Pakistan's army and reinforced by several thousand Al Qaeda fighters from Arab countries and central Asia.

The Taliban governed Kabul from 1996 to 2001.

They were recognised by only three states, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Arab Emirate.

Carlos Bulgheroni, the Chief of Břidas oil company financially supported the Taliban, it was the beginning of oil politics and the Great Game in South and Central Asia.

Bulgheroni was of the opinion that a pipeline between Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India will bring peace among these countries. He agreed with Turkmenistan president Niyazov and prime minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto to join hands. Asif Ali Zardari was of the opinion that the project of pipeline from Turkmenistan to Sui Balochistan and central city of Multan will be workable through the Taliban.

In Afghanistan Bulgheroni also met with Ismael Khan, Rashed Dostum, Ahmed Shah Massoud, and Burhanuddin Rabani and in Kandhar Taliban. Bulgheroni became successful and he signed agreements with the warlords of Afghanistan. He also signed 30 years agreement with Afghan president Burhanuddin Rabani. About the agreements he informed Benazir Bhutto and Niyazov.

Bulgheroni invited Unocal Oil Company of the USA to work with him on his great project. It was a big mistake and it opened the doors of a 'Great Game'. After the entry of Unocal into Central Asia and Afghanistan, Russia and Iran became alert. Ahmed Rashid, writer of the book, '*Taliban*' interviewed one senior Iranian diplomat, and the diplomat told him in hushed tone, 'the Saudis and CIA channeled US 2 Billion dollars to the Taliban'.

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After the Taliban's takeover of Kabul, the mild supporting language of USA produced a sensation in Russia and Iran.

Meanwhile, in Turkmenistan oil politics took a U-turn and Turkmenistan ended its contracts with Břidas Company and chose Unocal as a new contractor.

After losing the contract in Turkmenistan Bidas played a new card. The company made partnership with Saudi Arabia's Niganrch Company. The company was very close to Saudi Intelligence chief, Prince Turki.

Taliban's entry into the UNO was a big problem for the Unocal Company. Bidas overlooked an international legitimacy of Taliban. Unocal got support of the Crown Prince Abdullah through the Delta Oil's president Al' Aiban. Unocal and Bidas had thus created a competition within the Saudi royal family.

Meanwhile, in Pakistan, the government of Benazir Bhutto was dismissed by president Leghari, and in elections Nawaz Sharif became prime minister of Pakistan.

Unocal, the USA, Nawaz Sharif and the establishment of Pakistan were very much hopeful for the victory of the Taliban in Afghanistan. In November 1996 the Bidas Company announced it had signed an agreement with the Taliban, Rashid Dostum and Burhanuddin Rabani. It discomfited Pakistan and Unocal. Pakistan sent a diplomat to mild Mullah Omar regarding the rights of women and civil liberties. Mullah Omar did not respond positively.

Bidas was acceptable to Taliban because there was no demand from the Company regarding civil liberties and the rights of women.

Ahmed Rashid wrote in his book *Taliban*, that the UN Under-Secretary General for humanitarian affairs told him:

“Both Companies insisted that their pipeline would bring peace, but no western bank would finance a pipeline in a country at a war with itself. The players in the game of pipeline politics must remind themselves that peace can bring a pipeline, but a pipeline, can not bring peace’, said Robert Ebl.”

The rivalry of Bidas and Unocal continued. However, Russian opposition to the pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan and the war in Mazar Sharif compelled Unocal to close its pipeline programme.

USA supported the Taliban through Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to put political pressure on Iran. However, in 1997 the policy of the USA changed due to the pressure of feminist groups in the USA who stood against the Taliban in favour of Afghan women.

Addressing the US senate, Raphael said, "Afghanistan has become a conduit for drugs, crime and terrorism that can undermine Pakistan, the neighbouring Central Asian states and have an impact beyond Europe and Russia. The extremist training camps in Afghanistan are exporting terrorism".

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Through the Taliban, American diplomats were expecting same system in Afghanistan, which USA and the British had sponsored in Saudi Arabia in the 1920s; 'An Emir, no parliament and lots of Sharia law'.

Nawaz Sharif, the then prime minister of Pakistan, also inspired by this system, tried to introduce Sharia. However, the Chief Justice of Pakistan Sayed Sajjad Ali Shah became a barrier to it.

Eventually the oil companies reached the conclusion that a pipeline in Central Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan without the agreement of Russia and Iran would be a big blunder and that every step of the way Russia and Iran would block or even damage it. And the company's dependence on Taliban and their supporting countries Saudi Arabia and Pakistan was a dream, not reality.

Under the rule of the Taliban Afghanistan became the centre of Muslim Mujahiden of Asia, Africa, Europe and America.

The two powers, Muslims and USA with the West

- who fought together against Russia - did not continue their alliance and conflict arose among Muslim imperialists and the USA. Muslim's and Mujahiden hero Osama bin Laden became unliked by the USA and it wanted to kill or arrest him. The international organisation of Muslim groups Al-Qaeda also came face to face with the USA. The collapse of the World Trade Towers in New York inflamed a war between the Muslim Mujahideen and the NATO countries.

In 2001, the USA defeated the Taliban regime of Afghanistan with the support of Pakistan and the Northern Alliance of Tajik, Uzbek, Hazara and Parsiban Afghans.

America supported the government of Hamid Karzai ruling Afghanistan up to today.

Osama escaped from Afghanistan, declared war against the USA and its allies in every corner of the world and it still continues.

The defeated Taliban got shelter in remote areas of the Khyber Pakhtonkhawa. The Afghan war spread into Pakistan.

In Afghanistan and Pakistan, there are several groups of Taliban and other religious factions supported by Muslim-imperialist and anti-USA countries to engage in an unending war. At present, Pakistan and USA's relations are cold, and this has created more confusion in the political scenario of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

From 1979 up to now millions of Afghans have been injured and killed and also become homeless. The Indus Valley (Pakistan) is also affected from geo-strategic and oil politics. At present, the oil politics has also entered into the Baluchistan region of Pakistan.

The heroin, ammunition and unlimited funds given to different warriors by vested interest groups have snatched away moral and human values from the people of the Indus Valley.

In USA, Europe and Asia, many vocal groups and

activists have demonstrated against oil politics, and their slogan is 'no blood for oil'. However, for capitalists oil is more important than blood.

The politics of oil still continues and nobody knows how long will be its tenure and how many peoples' blood it will suck.

The policy of invading other peoples' countries has changed the time-honored structure of the world. Conquest by powerful countries has introduced a form of the colonial system that distorts the nurturing of society and creates 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 have 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 invaded central Asia, Poland, Afghanistan and Finland; Germany invaded Austria and Poland, British invaded the Asian Subcontinent and the Far East; France was in Africa. At present USA-British and other European countries are in the Middle East and South and Central Asia. Have these invading countries produced peace in the world, or have they destroyed the world?

The Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Iranians, Turks and Mongols were all martial and superior nations and they conquered. Did this provide world harmony or did it destroy cultures and stop the growth of civilizations? There is no justification, relying upon materialist or spiritual values, for their brutal actions.

The concept of superior religion, race and nation have created an atmosphere of inequality and it has provided a way for colonial powers to destroy, loot or enslave other weak nations in the name of the same religion, race and superiority, all equipped with modern technology and weapons.

At present three international trends influence and

also unbalance the natural order of the world.

For peace and general affluence in the world, the honouring of the rights of small as well as big nations is necessary. Unless this situation materializes, the love of one human being for another and the rights of nations will never be gained.

The modern, mystic philosophy of the Sufis of the Indus Valley can be summarised as follows: "from love of the nation to love of the human being". This philosophy based on coexistence, cooperation and human harmony.

Jesus Christ's 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 and 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."

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پڙهندڙ نسل . پ ن

The Reading Generation

1960 جي ڏهاڪي ۾ عبدالله حسين ” اُداس نسلين “ نالي ڪتاب لکيو. 70 واري ڏهاڪي ۾ وري ماڻگ ”لڙهندڙ نسل“ نالي ڪتاب لکي پنهنجي دورَ جي عڪاسي ڪرڻَ جي ڪوشش ڪئي. امداد حُسينيءَ وري 70 واري ڏهاڪي ۾ ئي لکيو:
انڌي ماءُ جڙيندي آهي اونڌا سونڌا ٻارَ
ايندڙ نسل سَمورو هوندو گونگا ٻوڙا ٻارَ

هر دور جي نوجوانن کي اُداس، لڙهندڙ، ڪڙهندڙ، ڪُڙهندڙ، ٻرندڙ، چُرندڙ، ڪِرندڙ، اوسِيئڙو ڪَنڌڙ، پاڙي، ڪاڻو، پاڇوڪڙ، ڪاوڙيل ۽ وڙهندڙ نسلن سان منسوب ڪري سگهجي ٿو، پر اسان انهن سڀني وچان ”پڙهندڙ“ نسل جا ڳولائو آهيون. ڪتابن کي ڪاڳر تان ڪڍي ڪمپيوٽر جي دنيا ۾ آڻڻ، ٻين لفظن ۾ برقي ڪتاب يعني e-books ٺاهي ورهائڻ جي وسيلي پڙهندڙ نسل کي وَڌڻَ، ويجهڻَ ۽ هِڪَ ٻئي کي ڳولي سَهڪاري تحريڪ جي رستي تي آڻڻَ جي آسَ رکون ٿا.

پڙهندڙ نسل (پن) ڪا به تنظيم ناهي. ان جو ڪو به صدر، عهديدار يا پايو وجهندڙ نه آهي. جيڪڏهن ڪو به شخص اهڙي دعويٰ ڪري ٿو ته پڪ ڄاڻو ته اهو ڪوڙو آهي. نه ئي وري پن جي نالي ڪي پئسا گڏ ڪيا ويندا. جيڪڏهن ڪو اهڙي ڪوشش ڪري ٿو ته پڪ ڄاڻو ته اهو به ڪوڙو آهي.

جهڙيءَ طرح وڻن جا پن ساوا، ڳاڙها، نيرا، پيلا يا ناسي هوندا آهن اهڙيءَ طرح پڙهندڙ نسل وارا پن به مختلف آهن ۽ هوندا. اهي ساڳئي ئي وقت اداس ۽ پڙهندڙ، ٻرندڙ ۽ پڙهندڙ، سُست ۽ پڙهندڙ يا وڙهندڙ ۽ پڙهندڙ به ٿي سگهن ٿا. ٻين لفظن ۾ پن ڪا خصوصي ۽ تالي لڳل ڪلب Exclusive Club نه آهي.

ڪوشش اها هوندي ته پن جا سڀ ڪم ڪار سهڪاري ۽ رضاڪار بنيادن تي ٿين، پر ممڪن آهي ته ڪي ڪم اجرتي بنيادن تي به ٿين. اهڙي حالت ۾ پن پاڻ هڪٻئي جي مدد ڪرڻ جي اصول هيٺ ڏي وٺ ڪندا ۽ غيرتجرتي non-commercial رهندا. پنن پاران ڪتابن کي ڊجيتائيز digitize ڪرڻ جي عمل مان ڪو به مالي فائدو يا نفعو حاصل ڪرڻ جي ڪوشش نه ڪئي ويندي.

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پڙهندڙ نسل . پن The Reading Generation

پَننَ کي کليل اکرن ۾ صلاح ڏجي ٿي ته هو وَسَ پٽاندڙ وڌ
 کان وڌ ڪتاب خريد ڪري ڪتابن جي ليگڱن، ڇپائيندڙن ۽
 ڇاپيندڙن کي همٿائين. پر ساڳئي وقت علم حاصل ڪرڻ ۽ ڄاڻ
 کي ڦهلائڻ جي ڪوشش دوران ڪنهن به رُڪاوٽ کي نه مڃن.
 شيخ اياز علم، ڄاڻ، سمجھ ۽ ڏاهپ کي گيت، بيت، سٺ،
 پُڪارَ سان تشبيهه ڏيندي انهن سڀني کي بمن، گولين ۽ بارود
 جي مد مقابل بيهاريو آهي. اياز چوي ٿو ته:
 گيتَ به ڄڻ گوريلا آهن، جي ويريءَ تي وار ڪرن ٿا.

.....

جئن جئن جاڙ وڌي ٿي جڳ ۾، هو ٻوليءَ جي آڙ چُپن ٿا؛
 ريتيءَ تي راتاها ڪن ٿا، موتي منجهه پهراڙ چُپن ٿا؛

.....

ڪالهه هيا جي **سُرخ گُلن** جيئن، اڄڪلهه **نيلا پيلا** آهن؛
 گيتَ به ڄڻ گوريلا آهن.....

.....

هي بيتُ آهي، هي بم- گولو،

جيڪي به ڪٿين، جيڪي به ڪٿين!

مون لاءِ ٻنهي ۾ فرقَ نه آ، هي بيتُ به بمَ جو ساٿي آ،

جنهن رڻ ۾ رات ڪيا راڙا، تنهن هڏ ۽ چمَ جو ساٿي آ -

ان حسابَ سان اڻڄاڻائي کي پارُ تي اهو سوچي مڙهڻ ته

”هاڻي ويڙهه ۽ عمل جو دور آهي، ان ڪري پڙهڻ تي وقت نه

وڃايو“ نادانيءَ جي نشاني آهي.

پَنَ جو پڙهڻ عام ڪتابي ڪيڙن وانگر رُڳو نصابي ڪتابن تائين محدود نه هوندو. رڳو نصابي ڪتابن ۾ پاڻ کي قيد ڪري ڇڏڻ سان سماج ۽ سماجي حالتن تان نظر کڄي ويندي ۽ نتيجي طور سماجي ۽ حڪومتي پاليسيون policies اڻڄاڻن ۽ نادانن جي هٿن ۾ رهنديون. پَنَ نصابي ڪتابن سان گڏوگڏ ادبي، تاريخي، سياسي، سماجي، اقتصادي، سائنسي ۽ ٻين ڪتابن کي پڙهي سماجي حالتن کي بهتر بنائڻ جي ڪوشش ڪندا.

پڙهندڙ نسل جا پَنَ سڀني کي **چو، چالاءِ ۽ ڪينئن** جهڙن سوالن کي هر بيان تي لاڳو ڪرڻ جي ڪوٺ ڏين ٿا ۽ انهن تي ويچار ڪرڻ سان گڏ جواب ڳولڻ کي نه رڳو پنهنجو حق، پر فرض ۽ اٽل گهرج unavoidable necessity سمجهندي ڪتابن کي پاڻ پڙهڻ ۽ وڌ کان وڌ ماڻهن تائين پهچائڻ جي ڪوشش جديد ترين طريقن وسيلي ڪرڻ جو ويچار رکن ٿا.

توهان به پڙهڻ، پڙهائڻ ۽ ڦهلائڻ جي ان سهڪاري تحريڪ ۾ شامل ٿي سگهو ٿا، بس پنهنجي اوسي پاسي ۾ ڏسو، هر قسم جا ڳاڙها توڙي نيرا، ساوا توڙي پيلا پن ضرور نظر اچي ويندا.

وڻ وڻ کي مون پاڪي پائي چيو ته ”منهنجا پاءُ
 پهتو منهنجي من ۾ تنهنجي پَنَ پَنَ جو پڙلاءُ.“
 - اياز (ڪلهي پاتم ڪينرو)

پڙهندڙ نسل . پَنَ The Reading Generation