

سنڌي ائسوسيئشن آف نارٿ آمريڪا

سنڌي ۽ انگريزي تقاهي



SANGAT

سنگت

ايڊيٽر: آءِ. آر. سنڌي

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جلد: ٽيون نمبر: پھريون

SINDHI ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA

P.O. Box 11619
Harrisburg, PA 17108

سنڌي ڪو !!

سنڌي پڙهو !!

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THIRD ANNUAL SANA MEETING

JULY 4, 1987

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

هلو هلو ڪاڪ ٽرين، جتي ٻينهن اچڻ
سڻا

center

LOCATION: Best Western Parkway Inn
875 Green Tree Road
Pittsburgh, PA 15220
Tel. (412) 922 - 7070

PROGRAM: 10.00 AM Executive Council Meeting
12.00 Noon Lunch
1.00 PM Registration
2.00 PM General Body Meeting
7.00 PM Dinner
8.30 PM Sindhi Sham
(Music by Gope Chandar)

Registration is FREE. All SANA members are invited to attend this historical gathering. Rooms are available at special rates (\$44.99/Single and \$49.99/Double). For reservations, call Best Western at 1-800-528-1235 or (412)922-7070. Please identify yourself as a participant in the SANA meeting. For more information please call Mr. S. Lakhvani at (412) 531-2627.

FAZIL RAHU: A TRIBUTE

by

Feroz Ahmed

مون سي ٿا ماءُ
جن ٿو پهرين ڪي

The brutality and violence that has come to characterize the social climate in Pakistan ever since the imposition of military rule in 1977 was capped early this year by the gruesome murder of fifty five year old politician, Fazil Rahu. The hacking to death of this great son of Sind was strongly condemned throughout the country, and glowing tributes were paid to the slain popular leader. To understand the sense of shock and the feeling of loss which the oppressed masses of Sind displayed at the demise of Fazil Rahu, one only needs to briefly acquaint oneself with the character, contribution and sacrifices of Fazil Rahu.

I first came to know Fazil Rahu in 1974. By then, he was already a veteran of many struggles for the national rights of the Sindhi people and the social and economic rights of the peasants. He had been imprisoned by the governments of General Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan for his leading role in the popular movements against the so-called One Unit, against the auctioning of Sindhi lands and for the publication of electoral rolls in Sindhi. He was a prominent leader of Sindhi Awami Tehreek (SAT).

During the five years or so that I had had the occasion to work with Fazil, I came to recognize him as one of the most impressive people I had ever met. He was tall and handsome, had a charming smile and a captivating manner of speaking. He would make friends instantly and spend a great deal of energy--and resources--to maintain and deepen that friendship. He was a born leader and effective diplomat for his organization. Yet, he was a very unassuming person. He firmly believed in social equality, and did his best to practice it. Although, he was himself a middle landowner, he fought against the interests of his own class to win a fair deal for the toiling haris of Sind. He would accord respect and equal treatment to the most ordinary political workers. Fazil shocked the sensibilities of the elites as well as the Muslim peasants by eating from the same plate from which his Kolhi and Shikari comrades ate. He inculcated a sense of fairness and social equality among his cadres.

Whenever the political workers of the SAT or Sindhi Hari Committee gathered for large meetings in Hyderabad or Badin, I would see Fazil making all the arrangements for feeding them. He would himself be moving the large dhegs and serving food in plates to groups of cadres. Since he was financially better off than most members, he would be called upon to make large contributions. Although he believed in changing the system in

order to alleviate poverty and hardships of the people, he was known to have individually helped hundreds of people in times of difficulty.

Because of his noble character, strong dedication to his cause and leadership qualities, Fazil quickly built a strong base of support among the people of Golarchi taluka. This influence, then, spread to other parts of the Badin district and to the adjoining regions of the Hyderabad district. The proof of Fazil's enormous popularity came in March 1977 when he ran for a Sind Assembly seat. He was thrown behind bars before he could file his nomination papers, and then the papers filed in his behalf were illegally rejected. When these were accepted after an appeal to the High Court, he was still not released. Despite all this, his campaign gained such a momentum that the landlords and the bureaucrats had to resort to wholesale rigging in order to deny him what would have been a landslide victory. I had participated in that campaign and was a witness to that ground swell.

Soon after martial law was imposed, Fazil, along with many other political prisoners, was released. In order to honor him, the Hari leader Sher Khan Lund, political worker Ismail Suho and poet Ibrahim Munshi, we took out a long procession and addressed meetings in Tando Mohammad Khan, Badin and Golarchi. The cadres organized by Fazil Rahu were once again in the forefront of organizing this mass action. Fazil Rahu again filed his nomination papers for the elections which were scheduled for October 1977 but were cancelled by General Zia. At that time it was a bi-polar situation. Either you had to be with the People's Party or with the National Alliance, and the rural Sind was hands down for Bhutto. Yet, if there was any SAT candidate who had a chance to win, it was Fazil Rahu.

Fazil's Rahu's mobilizing capabilities were again put to a serious test in 1978 when the SAT, having been decimated by mass defection of its cadres, decided to regain respectability by providing hari volunteers for courting arrest in the journalists' movement. The journalists as well as the administration were totally astounded at the participation of scores of peasants in a movement which was essentially urban and white-collar in its character. The credit for this unique feat went almost entirely to Fazil Rahu who inspired the peasants of Golarchi to sacrifice in solidarity with the journalists.

Fazil Rahu was in and out of prison throughout the martial law period until 1983. In that fateful year, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) gave a call for a mass movement. Even though the movement failed in its objective of toppling the dictatorship of General Zia, the valiant role played by the Sindhi masses in that struggle proved to be a turning point in the country's history. The SAT gained national attention because of its substantial role in that movement. Again the chief architect of the SAT's militant and disciplined participation in that movement was Fazil Rahu. Leaders like Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Khwaja Khairuddin and Sher Baz Mazari, who had the opportunity to

work with Fazil in that movement, had nothing but glowing praise for his leadership role. The MRD, which had previously shunned the SAT as "regionalist," now enthusiastically admitted it as a member of the alliance. But the government incarcerated Fazil Rahu and did not release him until three years later. During this period, first Fazil's wife died, and then his young son was killed in a road accident. Economic miseries also befell him. On top of all this, in order to collect "fine," the government decided to auction his lands. This evoked such anger among the local people and generated such sense of solidarity, that no one dared to even bid for the lands of a man who had already become a legend. Thus, a politically conscious and united people saved Fazil's land from being confiscated.

In 1986, the SAT merged with three other parties to form the Awami National Party (ANP) under the leadership of Wali Khan. Fazil was elected as the Senior Vice President of the new party. By this time Fazil's stature had already risen greatly and he was recognized throughout Pakistan as a militant champion of the downtrodden. He was universally liked and respected by leaders of all shades of political opinion. The Sindhi people, in particular, were very proud of having a leader of such character and such caliber. The timing and manner of his death have given rise to a widespread belief that it was a political assassination. Given the fact that Fazil's rising influence had unnerved the landlords of lower Sind and created consternation in the ranks of the Punjabi exploiters who not only own vast tracts of agricultural lands in Golarchi, but who have been plundering the oil and gas deposits of Badin, the allegation of political murder may not be entirely unfounded.

Fazil Rahu is dead, but he will always remain alive in the hearts and minds of those who want to see Sind freed of outside domination and the peasants emancipated from oppression.



Fazul Rahu, first from right, with (L to R) Dr. Feroz Ahmed, Sher Khan Lund and Ismail Suhu, after release from prison in 1977 at a rally in Golarchi.

NEWS BULLETIN

(News gathered from newspapers, periodicals and individual sources)

Front Leader Arrested

Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, General Secretary of the Sind Baluchistan Pashtoon Front, was arrested on February 17, 1987 at his residence in Karachi. Meanwhile, many SBPF leaders including Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto continue to be detained in their fourth month. Mr. Pirzada was to have been arrested along with the other front leaders, but remained underground for four months. The original orders for arrest of the front leaders were for three month detention.

Mayor of Karachi Arrested

Mr. Abdul Sattar Afghani, Mayor of Karachi, was arrested along with 100 Karachi Municipal Corporation Councilors on Feb. 13, 1987, while protesting outside the Sind Assembly in Karachi. The Chief Minister of Sind under the military regime, Mr. Ghaus Ali Shah, has dissolved the KMC and a new Mayor will be appointed soon. Political leaders of Karachi have strongly criticized the Sind Government and asked for its resignation.

ANP Leaders Arrested

An Awami National Party procession, led by Hussain Bux Narejo and Hakim Ali Zardari, to protest the brutal murder of Fazul Rahu was beaten and teargassed by the police in Karachi. The protesters were badly beaten by the police and several of them were arrested, including Mr. Narejo and Mr. Zardari.

Sind Govt. Acknowledges Killings

Mir Ajaz Ali Talpur, Senior Minister of Sind, recently revealed in the Sind Assembly, that between March 1, 1985 and March 31, 1986, a total of 1585 people have been killed in Sind.

Baluch Leaders on Confederation

Sardar Akbar Khan Bugti, former Governor of Baluchistan, has said that he supports the confederation constitution. Mir Ghaus Bux Bizinjo, Chairman of the Pakistan National party, is also reported to have said that he will support confederation idea if the elections are not held soon. More recently, however, the Khan of Kalat has demanded parity between all four nationalities of Pakistan in the National Assembly.

Kamal Bangash Resigns

Mr. Kamal Bangash, a leader of the Mazdoor Kisan Party, who is also the Vice President of ANP, has resigned from ANP. Apparently, he resigned in a dispute with the party leadership on the reversal of their position on the confederation issue.

Human Rights Conference

A conference on Human Rights in the Indian Subcontinent is to be held in Buffalo, NY on March 6-7, 1987. Prof. Claude E. Welch, Jr. of the Department of Political Science at SUNNY/Buffalo, NY, is the organizer.

Point of No Return

Former Sind Minister, Mr. Piyar Ali Allana (PPP), has said that, "Sind has reached a point of no return for the present regime- its a Bangladesh type situation."

Shabeer Chandio Arrested

Mr. Shabir Chandio, son of Nawab Sultan Chandio, was arrested in Larkana. Miss. Bhutto has condemned his arrest and has charged that the govt. was resorting to dishonesty and trickery for political gains.

Nobody Safe, Says Bhutto

Miss. Benazeer Bhutto, the PPP Co-chairperson, has said that nobody's life or property was safe in Pakistan anymore. She also said, that flawed foreign policy has made the whole country a huge Afghan camp. She blamed the govt. for the

recent riots and called for holding elections.

Trials For Treason and Sedition

Mr. Ghaus Ali Shah, Chief Minister of Sind under military regime, said in a press conference in Larkana, that both Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada were being investigated under the defense of Pakistan rules. "They will be tried for treason and sedition," he added. He also said that Mr. Altaf Hussain, the leader of the Mohajir Movement will not be tried for treason, but rather for involvement in the criminal activities.

Miss Bhutto Addresses Lawyers

Miss Bhutto, CO- Chairperson of PPP, addressed the Peoples Lawyers Forum in Lahore. She said that she wanted to restore judiciary and peoples fundamental rights in Pakistan. "Government was encouraging G.M.Syed and other separatists to fail PPP," she added.

Secret Hand

Pakistan Government has repeatedly blamed "secret hands" for recent riots and general uncertain situation within the country. The Opposition parties, however blame the government to be responsible for the current problems.

Care Taker Government Proposed

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Chairman of NPP, has said that only the political parties can steer the country through the political mess which the present govt. has created. He said, "if the govt. ever wanted to talk to political parties, he would propose a care taker govt., to conduct elections and transfer power to the elected representatives of the people."

Plan to Attack Benazeer

Ms. Benazeer Bhutto, Co-chairperson of PPP, was scheduled to travel to Larkana, passing through Dadu district, on her way to attend a marriage ceremony. She decided to send her party by road and herself to go by plane. Members of her party were attacked and fired upon near Manjhand. Some members of her party were kidnapped by the attackers. The jeep which was fired at is usually used by Miss. Bhutto. According to press reports, the firing was directed at the passenger seat next to the driver seat, where Miss. Bhutto usually sits. Her driver, who was uninjured, managed to steer through the storm of gun fire but people in the following cars were kidnapped. The reports indicate that the attack was intended against Ms. Bhutto. The people responsible for the attack are believed to be close to present military regime. Ms. Bhutto and others have condemned the cowardly attack and have demanded the immediate release of the kidnapped members of her party.

President for Life

Muslim League sources in Pakistan have indicated, that General Zia may appoint himself as the President for Life. They say that the idea is being considered and that they can count on the US support.

Jatoi Interviewed

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Chairman of the National Peoples Party, was interviewed by the BBC. He said that he had no personal conflict with Miss. Bhutto, and that he will be willing to join hands, with her or any other person, for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. He also said, that the country was faced with severe problems, and the present regime was unable to solve them.

Hoti's Son Sentenced

Mr. Aurangzeb Hoti, son of Nawab Hoti(former Governor of NWFP) has been sentenced by an American court for ten years after his conviction on the drug smuggling charges.

London Demonstration

A demonstration was organized by ANP in London, in front of Pakistan Embassy, to protest the politically motivated brutal murder of Fazul Rahu, who was the Senior Vice President of ANP. The demonstration was led by Mr. Rasool Bux Palejo. He addressed the gathering and said that Fazul Rahu was a great revolutionary leader of the people, and that he represented the aspirations of the working class. He helped give new dimensions to politics in Pakistan, and spent his entire life fighting for the basic rights of the people.

Dadu DC Dismissed

Mr. Ashique Hussain Memon, Deputy Commissioner of Dadu, was dismissed in the aftermath of the successful Birthday celebrations of G.M.Syed in Sann. The govt. orders for Mr. Syed's transfer from Sann to Karachi could not be served and many people managed to reach Sann from all over Sind despite the govt. restrictions.

Mr. Memon has apparently been victimized as an escape goat.

Attacker Died

An army Major, who was arrested in Lahore after he had tried to enter a house occupied by Miss. Bhutto, has died under the Govt.'s custody under mysterious circumstances. The Govt. has conducted no enquiry as to how he died.

Pakistan Will Disintegrate

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Chairman of the National People party, has said that if the elections were not held soon, then the 1990 elections may be held in a place other than Pakistan, because Pakistan was on the brink of disintegration.

Afghan Camps Attacked

Afghanistan MIG fighters were reported to have attacked Afghan camps inside Pakistan. Military observers believe that these attacks were a part of the Afghan government strategy to pressure "Mujahdeen" and the govt. of Pakistan.

US Aid to Pakistan

US Congress is reported to deliberate on the Pakistan aid bill in March. Several Congressmen have reservations about the bill. Major concern seems to be the nuclear capability of Pakistan. There are however people in the Congress, who are uneasy about the human rights and democracy in Pakistan. Many of them have rejected a Reagan Administration report, in which Pakistan has been projected as a country with very minor human rights violations. Analysts believe that the aid bill will eventually pass, but there will be scrutiny of the Pakistan's record on human rights, democracy and nuclear power. Some Congressmen will try to persuade their colleagues, to pass the aid bill with a condition, that free and fair elections will be held in Pakistan within a prescribed time period, and that the human rights of the people will be restored immediately. SANA has made a similar appeal to the people of the United States and their government, with a particular reference to the human rights violations in Sind. Miss. Benazeer Bhutto remarked on the aid issue and said, "we are trying to tell the United States that they should not give more aid to such an undemocratic political system without codicils for human rights protection and restitution of representative government."

Sindhi Gathering in Ajmir

Eleventh All India Sindhi Sammellan was held in Ajmir, India on Dec. 26-28, 1986.

Pir Pagaro Speaks!

Pir Pagaro, A Muslim Leaguer Hur Leader, spoke at a gathering in Sindhuri (hometown of Mr. Junejo). He accused the foreign agents for present situation in Sind. He is reported to have said that there is no Sindhi, Punjabi, Pathan or Mohajir, but all are "Bhai Bhai." He further said, that the military is not only protecting the geographical borders of Pakistan, but also the "ideological borders of the country."

Mohajir-Pathan Riots

Ethnic riots between Pathans and Mohajirs (Urdu Speaking Only) continued for several weeks in Karachi and Hyderabad. Curfew was imposed in both cities. About 300 people were killed in the riots. The root cause of the riots is reported to be the tug of war between two recent refugee groups, the Biharis from Bangladesh and the Afghans from Afghanistan. Arms smuggling and drug trafficking has been reported to be the center of the problem. Both groups are heavily armed and are competing for the limited opportunities offered by Karachi economy.

Living on the Edge

A survey of Pakistan has been published in the January 1987 issue of the Economist. Emma Dicknson, the author of the article, believes that Pakistan is stuck in crisis. She says, that the political and civil life has been stunned by military dictatorship and the social glue that keeps a fast-moving country together is weak.

Mengal on Riots

Sardar Attaullah Mengal, a leader of the SBPF, said in London, that he was saddened by the ethnic riots in Karachi. He further said, that the riots were instigated by the people who want to keep military in power. "Afghan 'refugees' are dubbed as 'Mujahids'; did these 'Mujahids' come all the way to Karachi to make a Jihad?," he wondered.

US Central Command

An article published in the Armed Forces (Vol.4, No. 6) revealed that as Pakistan is receiving military aid, its enemies allege that a price is demanded in return, that of granting 'facilities' for the US Central Command. The article goes on to report, that there is little doubt that some strategic liaison exists, as US aircrafts are seen using Karachi airbases; US warships use the harbor at Karachi, and the more remote one at Gwador on the Makran coast; and it is an open secret the United States is developing a major electronic listening post in Gwador.

Intellectuals Call for Elections

A conference of Pakistani intellectuals was organized by the government in Islamabad on Dec. 25, 1986. To the dismay of the government the conference called for immediate elections in the country. General Zia, however, rejected their call for elections, while talking to press on Lahore Airport.

Benazeer on BBC

Miss Benazeer Bhutto was interviewed on BBC channel 4. She reiterated her position, that Pakistan can not wait for 1990 elections. She said, that her movement for democracy is very much alive and that she has only changed her strategy. She further said, that last year's movement was not stopped due to ineffectiveness of her party, but rather due to the use of brutal force by the military junta.

Afghan Problem

The bomb explosions and wide rift between Afghan 'refugees' and locals is becoming a serious problem for the Pakistani government. A British newspaper has commented, that the local NWFP population blames Afghan 'refugees' as the reason of increased bomb explosions in the province. People also believe, that Pakistan is meddling in the strategic designs of super powers due to its ill-advised foreign policy.

Operation Clean up

Sohrab Goth in Karachi, was a scene of 'operation clean up', against drug traffickers; and became a headline news worldwide, when the violence erupted in Karachi and Hyderabad after the operation. The operation, however exposed Afghan 'refugees' to be heavily involved in arms and drug smuggling. Huge amount of drugs, arms, money, missing kids, and illegal labor camps were discovered during the operation. It was also learned, that the Afghans used to pay millions of dollars every month to local police. These discoveries came out despite the wholesale failure of the operation. Some responsible officers and government ministers were reported to have informed the smugglers, who managed to hide away with bulk of their belongings.

Ministries Reshuffled in Pakistan

The Pakistan and Sind Ministries under military regime, were reshuffled to give an impression that peoples demand for change were being responded to. Many political leaders were disappointed, and were questioning the seriousness of the govt. to improve the situation.

Sind Governor Resigned

General Jahandad Khan, the military Governor of Sind, resigned after a meeting with General Zia in Islamabad. Observers believe that this was an attempt by the government to cool down the tense situation in Sind. They, however did not believe that this will produce any positive results.

New Sind Governor

Mr. Ashraf Tabani, an industrialist from Karachi, was appointed as the first civilian Governor of Sind in a decade. His appointment has been well received by the business community, but same enthusiasm was not shown by the rest of the Sind population.

Mohajir Qaumi Movement

A new political group has emerged on the political horizon of Sind. It is being called as the Mohajir Qaumi Movement. It is led by Mr. Altaf Hussain and commands considerable support in Bihari faction of the Mohajirs. The Jamat-i-Islami and Jamiat-e-Ulama, the traditional leaders of the Mohajirs are pitted against the MQM for support among the Mohajirs. The MQM demands recognition of Mohajirs as a nation and special status for Karachi.

KMC Riot

A riot broke out in a recent Karachi Municipal Corporation Council meeting. The meeting was being chaired by the Mayor and participated by the Sind ministers from Karachi. The trouble started when a minister slapped a councilor across his cheek, and the councilor returned the favor by beating the minister's head up with his shoes. Within minutes, everybody was yelling and cursing at everybody and his brother. Order was finally restored, when the ministers and 37 councilors walked out of the meeting.

Educational Institutions in Sind

All educational institutions in Sind are under constant surveillance of the security forces. Most academic and residential facilities have been surrounded by high concrete walls. By many accounts they look like jails.

Wali Khan Threatens

During recent MOhajir-Pathan riots in Karachi, Mr. Wali Khan, President of ANP, issued a statement that 10,000 tribal army was waiting his orders to go to Karachi. Many Karachites and Sind Chief Minister under Military regime condemned these threats; and Wali's entry to Sind province has been prohibited.

Political Workers Brutalized

In the MRD meeting which was held in Sukker, several resolutions were passed. The meeting condemned the brutality meted to the political prisoners in Sind. The meeting also demanded, that the government refrain from brutalizing the political workers in Sind under the guise of eradication of decoits.

Accord Ends Dispute

India and Pakistan reached an agreement to defuse a dangerous border confrontation. The agreement was signed after five day talks in New Delhi.

Controversial Speech

Mr. G. M. Syed, a veteran leader from Sind, gave a blistering speech in his home village of Sann on his birthday (Jan. 17). He is reported to have said, that the creation of Pakistan was an imperialist division, which had aggravated differences among various nationalities. He described Pakistan as a "deadly poison to Sind." He said, "while the rulers screamed to the top of their voices about the rights of the Kashmiris and Palastinians, within the country they militarily suppressed the demand of rights within the federation of Pakistan." Pakistani press reports say, Sann on January 17, 1987 was reminiscent of Dhaka on March 25, 1971, when Pakistan army began a brutal crackdown in East Pakistan which resulted in creation of Bangladesh. Despite restrictions imposed by the govt. on travel to Sann, more than 150,000 Jeay Sind supporters converged on Sann with guns and Jeay Sind flags from all over Sind.

Hameed Jatoi Roars

In a hard-hitting delivery, Mr. Abdul Hameed Jatoi, outstanding Sindhi parliamentarian, pricked the Jamat-i-Islami bubble in the 'National assembly'. He was

speaking in a response to Jamat charges of treason against Wali Khan, Mumtaz Bhutto, Hafeez Pirzada, G.M.Syed, Bizenjo, Mengal and others. He said that these people were the 'true leaders' of the people. He declared, "If they are traitors then the all people of smaller provinces were also traitors." "If you shed the blood of Sindhis, then all five rivers of the country will be red," he warned Punjabis. Reacting to interruptions from Punjabi members, in a scathing attack on the Punjabi domination, he said "Why has only one province taken upon itself the responsibility of patriotism? If we have produced traitors, what have you produced- a claimant to prophethood which nobody recognized."

Mumtaz Bhutto on His Arrest

In a press statement released after learning about his imminent arrest orders, Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, a leader of SBPF, said that he was being arrested on cooked up charges. He said that after return from exile he has worked diligently to explain his confederation program. He said, his activities have been within the legal bounds and there were no grounds for his arrest. He said that the govt. is frightened by the popularity of confederation program and is reacting in a grossly illegal manner.

Irregularities in Front Cases

The SBPF has released a press statement, alleging that gross irregularities and illegalities have been committed by the govt., in the cases filed against the front leaders. The cases were filed at several places throughout Sind on same charges. The FIRs have been filed months after arrests in violation of the criminal penal code. No government sanctions were obtained in any of the cases, in violation of the Section 196 of the same code, before filing the complaint. Grant of bail has been unjustly denied due to influencing and interference of the government in the judicial process in the lower courts and preventing legal

remedies. The detentions are being carried out under two different orders for the same grounds, exposing the detainees to double jeopardy. The govt. is dragging its feet and delaying the progress of the justice process, so that the Front leaders remain in jails for indefinite periods.

Ahmed Ali Soomro on Front Cases

Mr. Ahmed Ali Soomro, Acting General secretary of SBPF, has released a press statement in Karachi. The statement refuted Mr. Ghaus Ali Shah's claims in the Sind Assembly on Feb. 18 and 19. Mr. Soomro questioned Mr. Shah's assertion that Mumtaz and Hafeez have violated the constitution by demanding a confederation. He wondered how a confederation constitution to be enacted by a constituent assembly violates the constitution. He also referred to the incorrect statement of Mr. Shah that Mumtaz was not an elected Chief Minister. He reminded Mr. Shah that Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto was elected from Larkana in 1970 defeating Qazi Fazlullah.

Yousuf Talpur's Press Statement

Mr. Yousuf Talpur, Organizer of Sind SBPF, has released a press statement in Karachi. In his statement, Mr. Talpur has charged that Mr. Ghaus Ali Shah, Chief minister of Sind under military regime, has falsely and maliciously accused Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and other front leaders to have hand in the recent riots in Sind. He challenged the government that there was not even an iota of evidence linking front leaders with these riots. He also charged that Mr. Shah was trying to cover up his total failure in running the Sind administration and divert attention from the unanimous demand for his resignation.

Sindhi Program On Indian TV

Indian TV Door Darshan has started Sindhi programs for the Sindhis living in India. These programs have been well received by the Sindhi community.

Bhagwanti Nawani Died

A famous Sindhi Singer Bhagwanti Nawani died in Bombay, India. She was very popular among Sindhis on both sides of the Indo-Pak border.

Anniversary of Rishi Gidumal

Many Sindhis all over the world observed the 49th anniversary of Rishi Dyaram Gidumal Shahani on Dec. 7, 1986. Rishi Gidumal was a great humanist and philanthropist. Among his many gifts to Sind is the D. J. Sind College in Karachi.

Confederation Backed

KARACHI, — About 200 intellectuals, including writers, poets, office-bearers of the different Bar Associations of Sind, have supported the demand for a confederal system of government.

In a joint statement, they said the demand for confederation aimed at national integrity and was based on justice and equality and free consent.

The statement said all issues should be allowed to go to the people who 'are the true and final arbiters.'

They demanded immediate release of Mr Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and others and withdrawal of cases against them.

Prominent among them are: Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, H.N. Khoja, Ibrahim Joya, Dr Tanvir Abbasi, Rasheed Bhatti, Abdul Fatah Malik, Sayed Qasem Ahmed, Abdul Wahid Arisar, Yusif Leghari, Rasool Bakhsh Unar, Hafeez Qureshi, Taj Joyo Ali Baba, Prof Mohammad Umer Memon, Sirajul Haq Memon, Dr. G.M. Mekhri, Mazhar Yusuf, Masood Noorani, Syed Rasheed Ahmed.

Sind Assembly Opens

KARACHI, Jan 22: The opening day of Sind Assembly's winter session on Thursday morning was marked by a turbulence.

Just as the Question Hour started a group of PPP women workers broke through the security cordon and reached the door of the Governor's Gallery. They banged it hard but could not enter the house, and were later cleared out.

When the proceedings resumed, the Opposition staged brief walk-outs twice. The second time, Mr Hussain Haroon, leader of Opposition, and three other MPAs came out to address the protesters and were taken into custody.

Fazil Rahu axed to death

From Our Correspondent

BADIN, Jan 17: Mr Fazil Rahu, the Senior Vice-President of the Awami National Party, was axed to death in Badin district's Golarchi town on Saturday afternoon.

A lawyer by profession, Mr Rahu had come to Golarchi from Badin city after attending the court to meet a cloth merchant. Mohammad Hasan Lohar when one Fazal Chang attacked him.

An accomplice of the accused, Nuru Chang diverted the Mr Rahu's attention by talking to him as he was taking his seat in his car. Fazal Chang hit Mr Rahu repeatedly with an axe. The axe was so badly stuck in Mr Rahu's head that it took four men to pull it out.

Mr Rahu was immediately rushed to a local hospital from where the doctor advised rushing him to Karachi. But when his car reached near Karo Ghungro — four miles from Golarchi Mr Rahu succumbed to the injured.

The accused, who had surrendered to the Badin police with his weapon, later said that his act was a "revenge for his uncle's murder."

The body of Mr Rahu was handed over to his relatives after post mortem examination.

Fazil Rahu laid to rest

From Our Correspondent

BADIN, Jan 18: A large number of people including political leaders, workers and relatives of Fazil Rahu, Senior Vice-President of ANP, attended his burial at Rahuki.

The processionists were chanting anti-government slogans. They also demanded action against a Senior Minister of Sind.

Touching scenes were witnessed when Mr Rahu's body was taken out of his residence with wailing men and women.

Namaz-i-Janaza of the deceased was offered at the adjacent ground of the village. Several thousand people attended the Namaz.

Among those who attend the funeral procession were Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Mr Fatehyab Ali Khan, Mr Abdul Razzaque, Mr Azhar Jamil, Mr Hakim Ali Zardari, Mr Rahim Buksh Baluch and Mr Jamal Nasir.

Meanwhile, Dr Musarrat Husain, General Secretary of PPP Badin has said that Ms Benazir Bhutto will visit Rahuki on Tuesday to condole the death.

Our Hyderabad Correspondent adds: Over 50 thousand people, mostly peasants, attended the Namaz-i-Janaza and were present at the funeral procession of Mr Rahu.

The mourners wore black arm-bands and black scarfs on their heads. Thousands sobbed and wailed openly.

The people formed a long queue and waited for hours to have a last glimpse of their beloved leader.

Hundreds of vehicles of all sorts including bullock-carts accompanied the funeral procession.

The last remains of the slain leader were wrapped in the red ANP flag, and hundreds of *ajraks* were placed on the coffin as a mark of respect to the departed soul.

A Political Murder

ISLAMABAD, Jan 22: He was no czar or caesar, nor a Moghul or Mikado. No bejewelled crown rested on his head. For years the martial law governments harassed and jailed him because he spoke the language of the poor Hari of Sind. Those who were apprehensive of his leftist leanings acknowledged that "the Haris of Sind loved him." Even though his stilled body had touched the Sindhi earth, the dust had not settled on Fazil Rahu. It was the beginning of the 65-year-old politician, Abdul Hameed Khan Jatoti, stood up in the National Assembly to move an adjournment motion on the Sindhi leader's assassination.

House Speaker Hamid Nasir Chatha gave his usual reply: "Come into my chamber and discuss it."

But in the lobby of the National Assembly, Abdul Hameed Jatoti took time off to reflect on the death of Fazil Rahu. No Sindhi, he said, could deny that Fazil Rahu was a man of the masses. "That one lakh peasants turned up to his funeral was a proof of his tremendous popularity. In his assassination, a coordinated conspiracy was visible, to create tension and turmoil in the interior of Sind, especially among the villages, which so far had been free from the disturbances of the towns."

Abdul Hameed Khan said that in 1982-83 he and Fazil Rahu had been inmates of the Hyderabad Jail. "I can say from personal knowledge that Fazil Rahu was a true representative of the suppressed

Haris of Sind. For years he languished in jail, while we were released. He was flogged in Hyderabad for criticising the martial law government."

Charging that Fazil Rahu's death was brought about by a 17-year-old history-sheeter, Abdul Hameed Jatoti said Rahu who had enjoyed mass support in lower Sind particularly Thatta and Badin, had been protesting over the distribution of Hari lands to army officers. Rahu raised his voice when the army bulldozers raised the mud huts of the poor villagers to the ground. The uncle of Rahu with whom he had no enmity was also a history-sheeter."

The Dadu politician said the Sind Government, headed by Ghous Ali Shah and the military junta, were fearful of Rahu's growing influence in lower Sind. The same junta was responsible for the disturbances in Karachi and Hyderabad. Raising his voice, Abdul Hameed added: "The old and the new Sindhis and the Mohajirs and the Pathans want

Ghous Ali Shah to go. Yet he continues in office, despite the bloodbath and disturbances."

Abdul Hameed Jatoti said there was a plan to physically drag 84-year-old G.M. Syed from his home in Sann and confine him to Karachi. The Sind Government, he said, had even given orders to fire on protesters in case there was a major protest. "Thank goodness a catastrophe was averted. The local administration refused to commit excesses on the people. No matter what our differences with G.M. Syed, the fact is that he was the mover of the Pakistan Resolution in the Sind Assembly in 1943. For 25 years G.M. Syed has been under house arrest."

As Jatoti dilated, about a dozen turbaned tribal leaders from Chaman in Baluchistan were seen crossing the lobbies for the Prime Minister's chamber. They had gathered to complain about the bulldozing of their lands by the army on Jan 31. Deputy Speaker Wazir Jogezi was seen escorting the Baluch tribesmen. Mr Jogezi belongs to this Pakhtun-speaking area of Baluchistan.

Yet another politician from Sind was very articulate in the lobby of the National Assembly. The quorum bell kept ringing in the background around midday, but there was no response. About that time the House had resumed discussion on the Abandoned Properties Amendment Bill 1986. Shikarpur's Illahi Bakhsh Soomro pointing to the lack of quorum said that almost 90 per cent of the sessions had been adjourned abruptly because there was no quorum in the National Assembly. "It is the

Government's responsibility to keep its majority together. They are not interested in their own bills and business," Soomro said.

Criticising Justice Minister Waseem Sajjad's remarks on Abandoned Properties Management Amendment Bill 1986 that "shares, deposits, estate property," of the Bengalis was deteriorating, Illahi Buksh Soomro asked: "How can shares, deposits and insurance policies deteriorate? Besides the abandoned properties of those who had not been asked whether or not they wanted to live in Pakistan was being disposed of."

The former Minister of Industries remarked in a categorical tone: "The purpose of this bill is to usurp the properties and transfer them to their lackeys and favourites. The government should have come out with a list of these properties plus a proper evaluation, if it was really sincere and honest."

G.M. Syed's birthday on 17th

From Our Correspondent

HYDERABAD, Jan 3: The 84th birthday anniversary of the veteran leader and founder-chairman of Jeay Sind Tehrik Mr. G.M. Syed will be observed on Jan 17 at Sann for which elaborate arrangements are underway.

Disclosing this at a Press conference here on Saturday the Central Vice-President, JSSF, Mr Qamar Bhatti, said that invitations to attend the birthday function have already been extended to Ms. Benazir Bhutto, Pir Saheb Pagaro and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan personally by Dr. Hamida Khuhro, Chairman of the Jeay Sind Working committee, which have been accepted.

He said that the Ambassadors of USSR, USA, UK and Bharat have also been invited to participate personally or through their representatives.

Mr. Bhatti further said that invitations were also being issued to Indian writers, poets, intellectuals, members of the Lok Sabha and Sindhi associations. Other political leaders who have been invited include Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Ghulam Mohammad Billour, Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, Meharullah Mangal, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoti, Abdul Hameed Jatoti, Hafeez Pirzada and Achakzai.

He said, separate arrangements for ladies have been made and over 500 of them are likely to attend. Sixty-two "Autags" (houses) have been acquired to accommodate 2,000 outside guests. Special arrangements have been made for 200 VIPs. Only four political parties, namely, PML, PPP SBPF and MQM have been invited officially, he added.

birthday celebrations

From M. Yunus Memon

KOTRI, Jan 15: The District Magistrate Dadu has imposed 144 in the entire district only four days before the celebrations of the birth anniversary of G.M. Syed. The order bans all kinds of processions, gathering of five persons and more and taking out arms. The ban will include speeches, slogans and use of loud speakers. The order will remain in force for one month. The orders says that "The action is taken for the purpose of safety of public and possible law and order situation in the district."

On the other hand Kotri and Sehwan Administrations have finalised a strategy to prevent G.M. Syed from celebrating his birth day as per his programme.

A number of magistrates and some companies of jawans have been deputed at Sann. The D.C. Dadu has established his camp at Sann. G.M. Syed may be shifted from Sann to Karachi or to some other place any moment. The redoubtable Syed has refused to obey the orders of the government and expressed his determination to celebrate his birthday at Sann for which all the arrangements have already been completed.

workers arrested

From Our Correspondent

LARKANA, Jan 19: Mr. Abdul Karim Khuhro, General Secretary, Jiye Sind Students Federation, Larkana District, and 30 other workers have alleged here in a Press statement that Federal Constabulary forces have arrested about 300 workers of Jiye Sind from Radhan Railway station.

Those persons were on their way back home, after attending the birth-anniversary of Mr G.M. Syed in Sann.

The captors took away their belongings and beat them up, they alleged. Later, about 100 workers were freed while 200 were held back for interrogation in cells.

They demanded immediate release of apprehended workers including students and others and threatened of dire consequences if their demands were not met.

It has also come to know that under the purview of the orders of 144 the government desires to disturb the above arrangements, which has already been made at Sann.

The old village of Sann which is stated to be the birth place of G.M. Syed has been handed over to army and police. The Deputy Commissioner Dadu will himself look after the working of the law and order agencies.

Top leaders (political) have refused to attend the celebration at Sann while those politicians who had accepted the invitation to attend the ceremony have either been put into jail or they have been refused entry into Sind. It may be mentioned that during the last year's birthday celebrations of Mr Syed, a resolution to disintegrate the country in pieces was passed and slogans against the present government were raised. Various groups of students and followers of Sain Ghulam Murtaza Shah (G.M. Syed) have expressed their resentment and anger over the Govt efforts to disturb their leader's birthday celebrations.

G.M. Syed flouts Govt order

From Our Correspondent

DADU, Jan 15: Manjhand Police have registered a case against veteran political leader and founder chairman of Jiye Sind Tehrik G.M. Syed under Section 13 MPO for not obeying the detention order of the Sind Government.

According to police, Mr G.M. Syed has said that he was not answerable to the Government of Pakistan and that he wanted a "Sindhu Desh."

Manjhand police have also registered cases against 40 supporters of Mr G.M. Syed under sections 553, 560, 148.

The police report said that these men had tried to kill the magistrate and the Police Inspector by displaying heavy arms when they went to serve the detention order at the ancestral home of Mr G.M. Syed at Sann.

By Anis Mirza

ISLAMABAD, Jan 20: They rose one by one from amidst the aisles and hurled angry invectives against Jiye Sind chief, G.M. Syed. Ironically most of the speakers who rose to move privilege motions were members from the Punjab. They called Mr Syed a traitor and said his Sann speech, delivered on the occasion of his 84th birthday celebrations, was tantamount to treason. Listening to the chorus of loud protests were members from Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province.

It was private members day but the National Assembly members bypassed the agenda. The morning sitting was largely focused on G.M. Syed's speech delivery at Sann. Rahimyar Khan's Haji Saifullah Khan initiating the onslaught on Syed said the Jiye Sind chief had said in no uncertain terms that he did not recognise the territorial integrity of Pakistan and that the country's existence was harmful to the interests of Sind.

Haji Saifullah argued that G.M. Syed's anti-Pakistan statements and derogatory reflections on the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and Allama Iqbal came within the purview of Article 6 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The Jiye Sind chief had not only violated a basic provision of the 1973 Constitution, but had surfaced as a traitor inciting the people of Sind to undo the federation of Pakistan.

Charging that Mr G.M. Syed had violated not only the privileges of the members of the National Assembly, but the sentiments and privileges of eight crore Muslims in Pakistan, Haji Saifullah quickly opened the 73 Constitution manual and commenced elaborating on Article 6. When he said that according to Article 6 any person who conspired to abrogate or conspired to subvert the Constitution by force was guilty of treason, Dadu's elder politician Abdul Hameed Jatoti rose from his seat and intervened: "why don't you instead talk about the person who despite the provisions of this clause in the Constitution imposed martial law in the country?"

Speaker Hamid Nasir Chatha asked: "Who are you talking about?"

Abdul Hameed Jatoti smiling remarked: "I am referring to the General Sahib who imposed martial law in this country."

Speaker Chatha enquired again: "Many Generals have imposed martial law in the country."

Abdul Hameed Jatoti clarified in a loud voice: "I am talking about that General who abrogated the 1973 Constitution and imposed martial law."

Speaker Chatha explained that the Supreme Court of Pakistan had given a clear ruling on the imposition of martial law in July 1977.

The Jatoti-Chatha interlude had barely ended when Jhang's Syeda Abida Hussain rose on a point of

order. Abida said had the anti-G.M. Syed motion been moved by members from Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan, it would have had some relevance. "Most of the honourable members who have moved the privilege motions are from the Punjab. This Punjabi attitude of political *Thekadari* dismembered this country once before," Abida reflected in an animated tone.

Rawalpindi's minority representative M.P Bhandara supported Abida Hussain's contention. "By ventilating this matter we are giving currency to the lunatic fringe of our politics," Bhandara said.

Abida Hussain's reference to Punjab's "political *Thekadari*" infuriated Haji Saifullah Khan who rose to protest. "Yes, I am a *Thekadar*. The matter under discussion is not a question of politics. It concerns the territorial integrity of Pakistan. When it comes to the integrity of Pakistan; I don't mind being dubbed a *Thekadar*."

Baluchistan's Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali intervened and said that the National Assembly had no authority to condemn or to award certificates of patriotism to others. The average citizen, he said, had the right to express his opinion even if it was unpalatable to others. "Don't force Sind or else Baluchistan too might not have a choice," warned Jamali.

The furore over G.M. Syed's speech momentarily melted away when the chief of the opposition parliamentary group, Syed Fakhr Imam, drew the Speaker's attention to events closer to the political landscape of the federal capital. Fakhr said uncertainty and anxiety was rampant in the country with the arrival of two superpower representatives — Armacost of the United States and Kovalyev of the Soviet Union.

In an angry tenor, Fakhr Imam remarked: "It is for you, Mr Speaker, to decide what is of prime importance. The future of Pakistan is being discussed by bureaucrats. We had hoped that this matter of public importance would receive priority. Matters of national and international significance are being discussed."

Speaker Hamid Nasir Chatha said the matter could be settled in his chamber.

Syeda Abida Hussain charged that the secrecy surrounding the visits of Armacost and Kovalyev typified "closed-door meetings of a closed-door government." The notices for discussion were, she said, given to the Assembly secretariat two days before their arrival. "Parleys are being held in an exclusive domain while 237 representatives of the Assembly are sitting in Islamabad. This domain dismembered Pakistan."

Kasur's Sardar Asif Ali said: "Momentous issues are facing the nation. The Soviet Union has made ceasefire offers. Why is the Government so apprehensive?"

Rebuttal of G.M. Syed's remarks sought

Dawn Lahore Bureau

JANUARY 19: Mr S.M. Zafar, Chief Organiser, NPP, has appealed to his party leaders to refute the anti-Pakistani statements allegedly made by G.M. Syed.

In a statement here on Monday, he said it would be deplorable if the political parties kept quiet and let G.M. Syed continue making reckless statements. It was incumbent upon the people and intellectuals of the country to condemn Mr Syed's alleged remarks and take to task all those, who, despite their presence at his birthday function did not object or protest against them.

The NPP leader said the alleged remarks were not only against Pakistan but were a clear negation of the movement and history of Pakistan. It was like someone in the Soviet Union opposing Communism or sabotaging the movement of the Communist Party, he observed.

Mr Zafar said the alleged utterances were a bundle of lies which Mr Syed had made either because of dotage or in revenge against his personal failures. Mr Pirzada's participation in that ceremony and endorsement of Mr Syed's line had fully exposed him and it was now clear that the two were the reverse and obverse of the same coin.

He said it was Pakistan which had provided the Muslims, including Mr G.M. Syed and Mr Hafiz Pirzada shelter, their utterances showed the height of ingratitude to the country which had given them so much, Mr. Zafar said.

Mairaj suggests steps to remove heart burning

KARACHI, Jan 5: Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, chief of the Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, has demanded introduction of a series of measures to control the influx of the rural unemployed people to Sind's cities. Some of these measures, he said, sounded extraordinary but the frightening situation in Sind demands extraordinary solutions.

Talking to *Dawn*, Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan said, Sind's plight resulted from "the province's colonisation since the British days, especially after the building of the Sukkur Barrage in the 1920s. The process, he alleged, continued even after independence and "has continued to this day."

The pattern of land-ownership in Sind, he said, especially after the construction of the Ghulam Mohammad Barrage and other canal works "has created heart-burning in rural Sind. Now at least 50 per cent of Sind's agricultural land is in the hands of non-

Sindhis," he added.

"I am being specific," he said, "when I point out that 90 per cent of the land in Tando Mohammad Khan, Badin, Marli, Bulachi, Ghora Bari and Sakro does not belong to Sindhis."

Those who were given these lands "at a virtually throw-away price" were non-Sindhi ex-servicemen and bureaucrats. In some cases, they employed local farm hands. But in most cases even the tillers had come from other provinces."

He added, "While these injustices in the rural areas continued, gradually the cities also acquired a non-Sindhi character."

"To their dismay, the Sindhis found the urban areas changing their demographic character, with large Mohajir, Punjabi and Pakhtun populations dominating the cities."

"The process gained a frightening momentum during the last ten years, when Sindhis found doors of government jobs closed on them."

DISCRIMINATION: To prove his point, the QMA chief came out with statistics to prove how Sindhis were discriminated against in the matter of official jobs in Sind and elsewhere.

In "the WAPDA empire", he said, "there is only one Sindhi officer among its 200,000-strong staff."

In the Pakistan Steel, located in Sind "no director, general manager or deputy general manager is a Sindhi."

In the Ordnance Factory, Wah, "there is only one Sindhi officer in a workforce of 50,000."

In the Heavy Mechanical Complex, Taxila, "there are only six Sindhi officers" in a staff of 40,000, while of the over 40 secretaries in the Federal Government "only two happen to be Sindhis, which is much below their quota."

As for police, he said the better. From the inspector general and DIG to the SHO and foot constable, "90 per cent are non-Sindhis. This is neo-colonialism in its worst form."

SHIFTING OF HQs: Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan said the "continued shifting to Islamabad of the headquarters of all institutions controlled by the Federal Government will further reduce the quota of Sindhis working in these institutions."

He said all of Sind's problems were basically economic, not ethnic. "There was a time when the urban population did not share rural Sind's grievances and sense of deprivation. In fact, in Sind's urban centres, there were organisations that had sought to unite Mohajir, Punjabi and Pakhtun populations on a parochial basis."

He added, "Things have now changed. The urban population, too, has developed grievances and has begun to share the sense of deprivation of rural Sind. The result is an urban-rural unity that has frightened this province's non-Sindhi political and administrative setup."

"The point I would like to emphasise is that when I speak of the injustices done to Sind and Sindhis I hold the ruling elite — especially civil and military bureaucrats — responsible, and not the common people of other provinces who themselves are victims of this unjust system in their own provinces."

"If there were job opportunities in other provinces, if there was land to till and factories to man, people from other provinces would find no reason to come to Sind in search of livelihood."

FIVE MEASURES: To reverse this trend, he proposed five measures:

One, there should be full and complete provincial autonomy. "We would like to give to the Centre nothing except four subjects — defence, foreign affairs, finance and communications."

Two, the Federal Government should collect only the Customs duty. "All other taxes belong to the provinces. If the Federation wants to levy any fresh taxes, it must seek approval of the provincial legislatures."

Three, the Senate should be directly elected, and all federal executive decisions affecting a given province must be passed by the Senate and by the assembly of that particular province.

Four, the Senate should control the armed forces budget.

Five, those coming to Sind for jobs and business must obtain "work permits" from the Sind government. He said, in some countries, people settling down and working in capital-cities had to pay extra taxes.

Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan said he was not fighting for Sind's rights only. "Rights for Sind can have meaning only when the people of other provinces also enjoy their due rights as citizens of Pakistan and as natives of their respective provinces."

The concept of the "ideology of Pakistan," of rights and of the methods of guarding these rights needed a higher concept, for if the constituent units of a voluntary federation are denied their rights, "territorial changes occur."

He said when the Muslims of united India felt their rights threatened "they claimed to belong to the Muslim nation", divided India and created Pakistan.

"When East Pakistanis felt their rights snatched away, they developed the theory of Bengali nationalism. The result was East Pakistan's secession."

"Now again, the people of Sind feel deprived of their rights. What do you think they could opt for, unless we solve the issue on scientific lines?"

Hamida

ISLAMABAD, "I have never talked about Sindhu Desh but have sought a dialogue on fundamental constitutional issues within the framework of Pakistan. Instead of allowing things to drift and proceed on adhocism, those in authority should view the situation as a whole."

These are reflections of Ms Hamida Khuhro, Chairman of Jeay Sind Movement's working committee.

Talking to *Dawn* in National Assembly's Cafeteria, Ms Khuhro said that there was consensus among all the political parties in the MRD, which was a moderate organisation, that the Centre should have only four subjects: defence, foreign affairs, currency and communications. Even the Sindhi-Baluch-

Pushtoon Front (SBPF) recognised that the Centre-province relationship was fundamental to the outline of a future constitution. Ms Khuhro added in an emphatic tone: "With this foundation in mind, we can have elections on the basis of parity and set up a new constituent assembly."

Hamida said the Junejo government should face the reality that Pakistan was beset with grave fundamental problems. "I myself have never recognised the 1973 Constitution, which in any case was abrogated over these long Martial Law years. Instead of talking of impending disasters, the present setup should move towards re-negotiating the Centre-province relationship. This, after all, was the critical point which broke up Pakistan in 1971."

SANA NEWS

SANA Member Married

Mr. Nadeem Junejo, a SANA member, got married in Karachi. The SANA Executive Council extends congratulations to both Mr. and Mrs. Junejo.

Membership Renewal

Membership fees are due for the year 1987. SANA members, who have not renewed their membership, are urged to send appropriate fees to the treasurer in order to continue their membership.

Annual General Body Meeting

The Third SANA Annual General Body Meeting will be held on July 4, 1987 in Pittsburgh. SANA local arrangements Committee has now finalized the arrangements. All SANA members will soon be contacted in the near future with complete details. All members and interested Sindhis are invited to be a part of this historical gathering. A Sindhi Sham featuring Gope Chandar (son of the late Master Chandar) will be held after the GBM.

SANA Press Release

A press statement was released on behalf of SANA after receiving the news about the murder of Sindhi leader Fazul Rahu. The statement condemned the political murder of Fazul Rahu. It also appealed the United States people and their government to use their leverage with Pakistan to restore true democracy in Pakistan and human rights of the people, especially in Sind.

News About SANA Elections

Several newspapers in Sind published the news about the SANA elections. An example of this news item is as follows:



هيدرآباد ۲۱- (پ-ر)
نارٽ آمريڪا ۾ سنڌي
انسوئيشن آف نارٽ آمريڪا
جا ۸۸-۸۹ع لاءِ هين-هان
عهددار چونڊيا ويا آهن. صدر
جناب خالد هاشمي، نائب
صدر ڊاڪٽر نرنجن دوداني،
جنرل سيڪريٽري ڊاڪٽر جاويد
لغاري، اطلاعات سيڪريٽري
ڊاڪٽر نديم لهر ۽ خزانچي
اسرار انصاري هن تنظيم جو
ڪوبه سياسي مقصد ڪونهي
جڏهن ته هيءَ سنڌي ٻولي،
ثقافت ۽ تهذيب جي نارٽ
آمريڪا ۾ واڌاري لاءِ ڪم
ڪندي.

SANA Members Help MUET

A team of SANA computer experts headed by Dr. Mufti met with Mehran university of Engineering and Technology officials in Jamshoro in the month of January to help them with their computing needs.

Sindhology File

Institute of Sindhology in Jamshoro has opened a file on SANA and is keeping a record of its publications.

Moen-Jo-Daro Conference

Dr. Niranjana Dudani, who has recently returned from a tour of India and Pakistan, has met with several officials in regard to holding the Moen-Jo-Daro conference which was originally planned for last year and then postponed. He is now hopeful that the conference may become a reality very soon.

SANA Elections

According to the last count of the ballots, 61% of the ballots were returned by the eligible members. The slate of nominees was approved by 95% of the casted ballots. Following are the elected members of the SANA Executive Council:

President: Mr. Khalid Hashmani
V. President: Dr. Niranjan Dudani
G. Secretary: Dr. Javed R. Laghari
Treasurer: Mr. Israr Ansari
Info. Sec: Dr. Nadeem Qamar

Treasurer's Report for 1986

Following Report have been submitted by the Tresurer of SANA for the information of SANA members.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT For the year to 31 December 1986

INCOME:

Memberships Fees	\$1170.00
Pledges & Donations	871.94
Interest	77.50

Total Income	\$2119.44

EXPENDITURE:

Postage & Courier	\$ 371.19
Printing & Stationery	234.51
General Body Meeting	298.51
Telexes	186.51
Telephone	203.39
P.O.Box Rental	33.00
Bad debt	20.00
Exchange Difference	17.31
Total Expenses	\$1364.42

BALANCE SHEET As at 31st December 1986

ASSETS:

Cash at Bank	\$1998.46
Total Assets	<u>\$1998.46</u>

LIABILITIES:

Expenses Payable	\$ 126.60
SURPLUS: Previous:	\$1116.84
This year	755.02
Total Surplus & Liabilities	<u>\$1871.86</u>

BOOK REVIEWS

1. Whatt Wenday

Author: Mr. Ali Ahmed Brohi
Publisher: New Fields
Publications' Tando
Wali Mohd., Hyderabad,
Sind, Pakistan
Price: Pak. Rs. 30/-

This is a 248 page publication. It is a collection of weekly newspaper columns published in daily Hilal-e-Pakistan during the last two years. These columns cover a wide spectrum of topics and are an excellent reading. The author's writing style is quite humorous, yet his writings are a subtle commentary on the socio-political drama unfolding around him in Sind.

2. Sind Jagi Pai

Author: Ratan Gul
Publisher: Saneeh Ishait Ghar,
Hyderabad, Sind,
Pakistan
Price: Pak. Rs. 7/-

This 75 page booklet is a report on a symposium on political, cultural and language problems of Sind. The symposium was organized by daily Jang in Karachi in 1984. The participants included Dr. Hameeda Khuhro, Dr. Suleman Shaikh, Mr. Mujeeb Pirzada, Nazeer Channa and others Sindhis. The report covers topics ranging from Punjabi domination to Confederation. Overall, it is a good reading.

3. Sindhiun Ji Mustaqabal Jo Chha Thendo - Part 2 - Sind Mein Berozgari Cho?

Authors: Syed Shams and
M.Hussain
Publisher: Sindh Sagar Party,
Karachi, Sind,
Pakistan
Price: Pak. Rs. 6/-

In the two largest cities of Sind, the MQM has emerged as a major political force. Siding with the Sindhi nationalists (SBPF and JS) they are asking for the ejection of all new settlers from Sind. However, they are also asking for the abolition of the quota system, finding support from the PPP, NPP and PML in this case. Certain elements within the MQM are also struggling to seek separation (or a special status) of Karachi (including Nooriabad to Hyderabad, in some cases) from Sind. Although it is a very low key demand as of now, it appears that the military institution and its supporters may benefit from this break-up of Sind if they could bring about some momentum in this movement.

The situation in rural Sind is not very much different. Since the military takeover of Sind in July 1986 to "erase out dacoits" (a term commonly used by the government to find and shoot political dissidents - see Herald, November 1986, and the article "Sind under Seige" by A. H. Pirzada in Sangat, December 1986), there has been a deep sense of alienation between the government and the rural population. Nationalist feelings have been on the rise very strongly, especially in the last 6 months, and the SBPF has emerged as a new and powerful force, though relatively small when compared to PPP, in rural Sind. This was evident from the large turnouts in its gatherings in October 1986, when government finally decided to strike hard and arrest all its leaders, put total censorship on its news coverage, and harass its followers. There has been a quiet in its activities since then. However, the JS nationalist movement has also

gathered much momentum since then, witnessed recently during the 84th Birthday Celebration of its veteran leader, G. M. Syed, at Sann. Despite imposition of Section 144, setting up of army and police check posts around Sann, and orders to arrest and detain Syed in Karachi, the nationalists have defied all Pakistan government orders, refused entry to both police and military in Sann, and gone ahead with the celebrations, attended by over 150,000 people (despite a travel ban to and within Sind). The highlight of the meeting was the daring appearance and speech by A. H. Pirzada, SBPF leader, who is still underground, and has been traveling and speaking all over Sind in disguise, defying all arrests. He appeared at Sann despite speculations in the press in advance that he will be present there. After Sann, it appears that the SBPF has regained the momentum it had lost since the arrest of M. Bhutto and its other leaders in November 1986.

More recently, a Sindhi nationalist leader, Fazil Rahu, ANP, was brutally murdered in his village. He was amongst the only politicians who was publicly lashed by the military, and was very recently released. Since his release, he had been an outspoken critic of the Military and the Sind government. Various political parties have termed his murder as politically instigated, with the military being involved.

Sind and Sindhis are heading towards an uncertain future, and the government is only aiding in this process. Relocation of Sindhi farmers from Pano Akil area to make way for the construction of a large military cantonment, plans for the construction of Kalabagh Dam in Punjab to stop the Sind waters, massive deforestation along the banks of River Indus, denial of admissions in hostels and universities to rural Sindhi students, very high unemployment rate as well as non-representation of Sindhi in all Federal and provincial agencies (such as WAPDA, telephones, railways, police, heavy industrial complexes, foreign services, military and paramilitary forces, etc.), lack of promotions to senior positions

to those already employed, and the near certainty of the conversion of the Sindhi population into a minority in Sind within the next ten years, are only but a few of the many problems facing the Sindhi population. A change of government (or face) may not necessarily solve any of these problems, but what is absolutely needed are guarantees built into a new or modified constitution guaranteeing the national rights of all the minorities in Pakistan. However, if the situation in Sind is allowed to prolong any further in the interest of the military, then nothing can prevent the events of 1971 from taking their course again. But this time, there may not be a Simla.

This 53 page book is a very comprehensive research and detailed analysis of quota system, population growth, education, jobs, etc. It outlines rural vs. urban Sindhi representation in schools, colleges, and universities, the domicile system and so on. Actual numbers of Sindhis working in different organizations are listed in this book.

*** R E M I N D E R ***

MANY OF OUR MEMBERS HAVE NOT PAID
THEIR 1987 MEMBERSHIP FEES.

IF YOU HAVE NOT PAID YOUR DUES, PLEASE
DO SO IMMEDIATELY IN ORDER THAT THE
FINANCIAL HEALTH OF SANA CAN BE
MAINTAINED

Report On Sind

By: Dr. J.R. Laghari

Sind has been unwillingly led into a state of turmoil, and there appears to be little hope in sight to save it from utter destruction. Nine years of barbaric military rule, followed by a very unpopular and installed civilian puppet government, which has no following in the province, has created problems never heard of before in the history of this region. There is now a state of deep-rooted lawlessness and corruption prevailing. Communal riots, organized dacoities, mass killings, brutal murders, ransom kidnappings, and drug and arms smuggling are now everyday affairs. The administration, despite being supported by the largest and best equipped military, paramilitary and police force, has totally failed to control crime, violence and political unrest in Sind. The government resorts to curfew every now and then, but even then, has failed to protect the lives and properties of innocent civilians.

After the earlier communal riots and curfew of November 1986, the Sohrab Goth "clean-up" operation in December 1986 was a total failure, obviously because of early tip-offs from senior officials to the drug-and-arms mafia heads. (It is estimated that over Rs 10 million per month were paid to the top administrators in Sind to allow Sohrab Goth to operate). The carnage that followed - official estimates up to 200 killed - shows the inability or the lack of interest of the administration in protecting the lives of innocent men, women and children. It was only after 6 hours of massacre that the army intervened. Killings, arson, and mob violence continued despite the imposition of curfew and orders to shoot on sight. After the dust had settled, only "cosmetic changes" were made within the Sind cabinet and bureaucracy, despite demands from all quarters for the removal of the Chief Minister of Sind.

Urban groups have now resorted to a complete arms buildup as a means of self defense, because of the failure of government agencies to provide protection. Following the brutal murder of two young girls in Karachi, in January 1987, violence broke out again in Karachi and Hyderabad, this time directed against the police stations, post offices, other government property and banks. After another 8 days of curfew and loss of 12 lives in 2 days, there is again a momentary quiet in the cities.



GEN. ZIA: Symbol of repression.

Pakistan Is On the Verge Of Anarchy

By Richard Reeves

WASHINGTON — The next bill for buying, or renting, the friendship of Pakistan's dictator, Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, comes due this year. It's \$4.2 billion for six years, and it's being presented to Congress by the White House. In the background you may be able to hear a rising chorus of warnings that there may be no Gen. Zia in six years — there may not even be a Pakistan.

Without democracy in Pakistan, with rioting and shooting down of rioters becoming almost a daily event in Karachi, and with most of the world's heroin passing through the country, it is becoming more and more difficult to see what good more money will do. We have already paid billions and gotten 10 years of Zia promising there will be real elections one of these days.

Of course, one could be shockingly cynical and say that the voting rights of 90 million Pakistanis or even their well-being were not really what we've been paying for. The cash and the F-16s and other weaponry that we've been giving Gen. Zia's military are really to keep the country listed as the United States' No. 1 ally in a critical part of the world — and to use its territory to support and supply the Mujahadeen fighting Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

But that may be counterproductive. The near-anarchy that seems to be spreading in Karachi — the mayor has just been arrested for protesting government policies — provides background for recent work by two scholars arguing that the United States is making a bad thing worse in Pakistan.

Khurshid Hadi of Boston University's Center for Asian Development Studies wrote recently:

"What the United States must understand is that Pakistan today is not the Pakistan of 1979, the year the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Then Pakistan was ruled by a military dictatorship that constantly reneged on its promises to hold elections — a condition the Pakistani people have endured before. ... Now new players and new forces have created fresh divisions in Pakistani society, fragmenting the political opposition and giving Gen. Zia's so-called civilian government new weapons with which to crack down on dissent. The most ominous of the new players are the drug barons ... who have been able to create what amounts to private armies."

Hadi makes the point that since Zia seized power in a coup in 1977, not only has he not allowed real elections, he has done his best to destroy the country's old political structure, which has created power vacuums for people like drug dealers and their armies, and could lead to "a state of anarchy." He recommends that future aid be contingent on "unambiguous timetables for free elections" and the rebuilding of the country's politics.

Ted Galen Carpenter of the Cato Institute, the libertarian think tank, goes further. He argues that the Zia years have eroded what was left of Pakistan's foundations, leaving nothing but "a weak, divided, and manifestly unstable ally."

"U.S. policy-makers have the opportunity to offer the Soviet Union ... an 'Austrian solution' for both Afghanistan and Pakistan," Carpenter wrote. "Essential features of such an accord would include: 1) a complete Soviet military withdrawal from Afghanistan. ... 2) termination of the security agreement of the (1959) security agreement between the United States and Pakistan; 3) a stipulation among all parties that neither Afghanistan nor Pakistan will join any bilateral or multilateral military arrangement with either superpower; and 4) a guarantee by the Soviet Union and India to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and Pakistan."

Discussing the 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan — driven south by the savagery of the Soviets — and Palestinians in the Middle East, Carpenter continued:

"The current situation in Pakistan bears an alarming resemblance to conditions in Lebanon during the early and mid-1970s. The presence of homeless Palestinians and their military arm, the PLO, became the catalyst that pushed the delicate, barely viable Lebanese polity into chaos."

I have oversimplified both men's thoughts, but this is strong stuff. And it is an indication of how far serious men believe the situation has gone in Pakistan under American-supported militaristic anti-communism.

For 10 years we have said we were for a return to civilian rule and democracy in that troubled country. It will explode soon because of suppressed divisions and yearnings for freedom — the pressures vented in real democracies. In the wreckage, we can only hope someone will stand and say, "Oh, I'm sure the Americans meant well."

Universal Press Syndicate

Khesana Mori: an epilogue

The same police party later entered Goth Obhayo Khaskheli and raided the house of Akbar Khaskheli. Akbar was missing so they arrested his wife and took her

On a recent visit to Khesana Mori and some of its surrounding goths, the writer ascertained for himself the cases of police atrocities against innocent men, women and children

by Khurshid Kaimkhani

Pakistan today exists as a model neo-colonial country where social insecurity, political instability and historical uncertainty have become the law and order of the day. The terror tactics of the euphemistically called law enforcing agencies coupled with the corruption of the state administration have to be seen to be believed.

In this respect the police action at Khesana Mori, a picnic spot 3 miles east of Tando Jam on the Hyderabad — Mirpurkhas Road, during the recent MRD movement makes an interesting case for study.

MRD launched its movement on 14th August. On the 16th a small crowd gathered and blocked the road at Khesana Mori. The police lathi-charged the crowd for dispersal and a police vehicle was put to torch. Many people were arrested and the harassment continued till the 17th, the day of Eid. The MRD meanwhile announced they would hold a protest rally against the police excesses on the 18th.

It was the second day of 'Eid-ul-Azha'. The people in the surrounding Goths were still recovering from the euphoria of Eid's sacrificial festivities least suspecting

what was in store for them for that day. The privileged ones were still busy with the fresh sacrifices and the poor waiting for their due share. While some had gone to Khesana Mori to show their solidarity with the movement, the majority had stayed home almost indifferently.

The area lies in a river bed of the old Indus course and consists of a lush green and very fertile land in lower Sind known for Sindhri mangoes, bananas, vegetables and sugarcane crops. Barring the few feudal families who live there, the people in the Goths are landless peasants and exist on a bare minimum subsistence level.

Early in the morning of the 18th, police occupied Khesana Mori. All hotels, shops, cabins were closed and their occupants removed. A police posse occupied the rooftop of Soomro's hotel camouflaged behind the high signboards that dominated all approaches to Khesana Mori. By 9 a.m. a crowd of 2 to 3 thousand people gathered chanting anti-government slogans and blocked the road. Police charged at them, firing teargas. A confusion ensued as it happens on such occasions and the crowd fled helter skelter in all directions. When the smoke cleared Gul Mohammad Unar and Hakam Ali Wassan lay dead along



Some members of Ghulam Muhammad Unar's family

with two policemen on the roof top. A mystery surrounds the killing of the policemen and there is more than one version to it. The truth will never be known as the acts and blunders of the police, or law enforcing agencies, cannot be questioned under the system.

What happened as an aftermath to the episode is a terrible tale of police atrocities, harassment and bribery committed against a people whose only crime was extreme poverty and a social state of helplessness. Hot on the heels of the crowd, the police with the help of law enforcing agencies launched a ruthless man-hunt that lasted for days and left behind a sordid trail of untold miseries.

First to be waylaid was Goth Darya Khan Nayun where people were beginning to take their *basit* Eid lunch. Police broke through the houses insulting and abusing the men and the women alike. They allege that the police took away women's jewellery, money, documents, licensed guns and whatever they could lay their hands on. In all 16 people were rounded up, some for murder while the rest for other offences. Five of them still languish in jail.

away leaving her few months old daughter behind. The woman was kept in police lock up for 15 days and her daughter behind is said to have died after a week out of shock or starvation. They also arrested Sumar Khaskheli, his nephews Dodho and Yar Mohammad Khaskheli; the latter was a driver and has lost his mind under alleged police torture and is said to be in mental hospital. Akbar Khaskheli is booked for murder.

In Unar Goth police entered in the evening improving upon their past record. Along with the body of Gul Mohammad Unar they arrested 13



Goth Da

men, took away a stock of 29 animals and licensed shot guns etc. Heavy bribes were allegedly paid for the release of men and cattle.

In Wassan Goth they dug up the body of Hakam Ali Wasan from his grave buried hours earlier and took it away. Hakam Ali was a resident of Bhit Shah and had come visiting his in-laws on Eid.

The same day another police posse accompanied by law enforcing agencies entered Goth Mehram Solangi firing in the air. All the men had fled in terror into the fields. They collected all the women of the Goth out in the open and insulted them. The police then is alleged to have entered the houses and looted them at leisure taking away jewellery, money and licensed weapons. They took three women in custody. One of the women had a forty day old child who was abandoned in the cotton field while they took the mother away. A man too old to flee is believed to have recovered the child from the field. In police lock-up they were said to have been manhandled to the extent that one of them had a miscarriage there itself.

As far as the police was concerned it was an Eid full of sacrificial booty — the men, women and money they had hauled up. The same day they entered Goth Dilawar Kumbhar again firing in the air. There was a repeat performance of insult and injury to women as most men had fled. The people of the Goth alleged that Rajul, wife of Dadu Hajana, miscarried her 8 month old baby.



Ye Khan Nayun

Another woman, daughter, wife of Mohammad Urs Hajana, lost her 7 month old baby. They then took 6 women away into police lock-up for harassment and later released them against heavy bribes.

In Goth Jehan Khan Kathia the law enforcement agency arrived in the evening and after going through its lawless drill allegedly rounded up 5 Kathia women i.e. Bachai, Khatoon, Ghulam Fatima, Mariam and Asu and took them to the police lock-up.

Though police represents a colonial system rather than any special ethnic group, still, under the circumstances, it is sad and ironic to note that out of the three police officials who earned a name for ruthlessness from this orgy two were from the Punjab.

What I have been narrating is a very hazy picture of the system in action. The harassment continued for weeks. The peasants hid in cotton and sugarcane fields for days and nights like animals, often going hungry as there were no men to get food and no women to cook it either. In some cases they boiled wheat and lived on it. Little children panicked and vanished in the fields to be recovered later.

The impact was traumatic and many speak haltingly as they remember the events.

"I belonged to the Government's 'Nizam-e-Salaar' organisation before Eid", said one of them, "Now, I have lost faith even in the PPP's federation and seek nothing short of confederation."

"Lying in the fields hungry and helpless, I thought of one thing only", said another, "a Kalashnikov in my hand and being on the firing end."

It is thus that the people in Sind are being driven beyond the brink. The dream of Pakistan is being shattered. The rosy pictures of their future and elimination of class distinctions are fast fading away. The force of Independence has begun to show its true colours. 39 long and painful years have gone down the drain and now there is nothing left to hold on to. Even religion has been institutionalised and a hopeless holocaust hangs heavily over their heads. One can only cross one's fingers at the way this sanctimonious regime rules the land.

Afzal Bangash: A Life Dedicated to Militant Struggle

Feroz Ahmed

MOHAMMAD AFZAL BANGASH, president of the Pakistan Mazdoor Kisan Party and prominent politician of the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), passed away in Peshawar on October 29. His death signals the end of the old generation of dedicated revolutionaries in Pakistan. Bangash was 62.

Afzal Bangash entered the political arena shortly before independence as a student participant in the anti-imperialist struggle. He was profoundly impressed by the tenacity of the Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, with whom he had a long and close association. However, it were the strong-willed revolutionaries like Kaka Khushal Khan Khattak, Kaka Sanobar Hussain Mohmand and Master Sher Ali whom he viewed as role models. Bangash joined the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) soon after its formation in 1948, became a member of its NWFP committee shortly afterwards. The CPP was banned in 1954. When the leftist and nationalist elements from all five provinces came together in 1957 to form the National Awami Party (NAP), Bangash was elected its General Secretary for NWFP. In the 1965 presidential elections, he was the provincial chief of Fatima Jinnah's campaign against Ayub Khan. In the NAP, he was the leader chiefly responsible for organising the peasant committee in NWFP.

When the NAP split into the Bhashani and Wali Khan factions at the end of 1967, Bangash and his colleagues in the NWFP peasant committee decided to form an independent party of the revolutionary left, which was formally launched on May 1, 1968 as the Mazdoor Kisan Party (MKP). Soon it was joined by large sections of the Bhashani NAP in Punjab and Sind.

The MKP came into national limelight in the early 1970s when, resisting the eviction of tenants, it led a mass peasant movement against landlords in NWFP. Several landlords and peasants were killed in the ensuing clashes, and Bangash's name became a spectre which haunted the propertied classes and the dilettante left alike. The MKP's influence rapidly spread to the working class movement throughout the country and to sections of the peasantry in Punjab. Even though he was recognised as the principal leader of the MKP, Bangash did not hold any official position until July 1979 when he was elected its president at the party's second congress. Immediately after this congress, Bangash left for Moscow for the treatment of his eyes.

On October 16, 1979 General Zia-ul-Haq declared the 'real' martial law and political repression was greatly intensified. Bangash was framed and convicted in the military courts on a number of serious charges, including murder. While abroad, his health continued to deteriorate, and he was afflicted with chronic bronchitis, asthma, kidney failure, stroke and near blindness, in addition to diabetes, heart disease and hyperten-

sion which he already had before leaving Pakistan. These circumstances forced him to stay in Birmingham (UK) where he had initially gone to visit his daughter.

Despite failing health, Bangash remained active abroad, mobilising opposition to the Zia dictatorship. He travelled extensively throughout western Europe, and made trips to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the United States, Cuba, India, Afghanistan and Mongolia. In 1985, in response to the military regime's decision to legitimise itself behind the facade of a civilian government and to impose permanent hegemony of the Punjabi nationality, he, along with Attaullah Mengal, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada, founded the Sindh Baloch Pushtoon Front (SBPF) in London, demanding a confederal structure for Pakistan in order to guarantee the rights of the smaller nationalities.

However, when political activity was revived in Pakistan after the induction of the civilian front government in 1986, and many exiled politicians, including Benazir Bhutto, returned to Pakistan, Bangash also went back. But his decision was primarily motivated by his desire to breathe his last in his homeland, for he considered it his ultimate tragedy to die in Europe. Bangash was not only spared this anguish, but during the few months of life that he had in Pakistan, he was able to participate in the fateful decisions his party was engaged in making.

The MKP was divided over the question of merging with Wali Khan's National Democratic Party, successor to the NAP which was banned in 1975, and to define its links with the SBPF. Bangash went along with the decision to merge, thus ending the nearly two decade-long dispute with Wali Khan which, in the opinion of many observers, had weakened the progressive forces in NWFP and contributed to the divisiveness in the left throughout the country. The new party, the Awami National Party (ANP), pledged not to oppose the idea of confederation and agreed to allow its individual members to campaign for this idea from the platform of the SBPF. This rapprochement would not have been possible without Wali Khan having moved significantly to the left recently and Bangash having taken up the nationality question in a focused way.

Even though Bangash never pretended to be a theoretician—a remarkable quality in a country where almost every leftist leader tends to consider himself the greatest theoretician since Lenin or Mao—he had a good grasp of the fundamentals of revolutionary theory and had internalised the Marxist method of analysis. His speech to the first Punjab congress of the MKP, which dwelt upon the problematic of the intersection of class and tribe and the difference between the social origins of the agricultural labourer in Punjab and NWFP, stands out

as one of the finest in the tradition of Marxist sociology. Although he detested the idea of revolutionary theory without practice and always laid great emphasis on revolutionary militant action, he took great pains to ideologically educate his fighting cadres, including translating a book on historical materialism into Pushto.

Afzal Bangash will, probably, be remembered most for his three roles: (a) as one of the principal Pushtoon politicians, (b) as the founder and leader of the MKP, the largest and most militant party with a Marxist orientation to have emerged in Pakistan, and (c) as a co-founder of SBPF, whose manifesto may yet change the course of history of Pakistan. But during the 45 years that Bangash devoted to public life, he fought effectively on many fronts. He was one of the founders of the Pakistan Peace Committee and travelled, along with Mian Iftikharuddin, Pir Manki Sharif, Tahira Mazhar Ali Khan and others, to Peking in the early 1950s as a member of the first Pakistani delegation ever to attend an international peace conference. During his years of exile, he again had the time to devote to peace committee activities, and attended the World Peace Assembly in Prague in 1983 and regional peace conferences in Warsaw and Ulan Bator.

As a trade union organiser, Bangash was founder-president of the Sarhad Trade Union Federation which, at one time, had most of the labour unions in NWFP affiliated to it. Political necessity compelled him to play the role of a journalist as well. In the early 1970s he edited the weekly *Sanobar*—named after his mentor Kaka Sanobar. Afzal Bangash was also one of the leading lawyers of NWFP. During Ayub Khan's rule, he was offered the judgeship of the West Pakistan high court. Declining the offer, he chose, instead, to concentrate on pleading the cases of the peasants who were being evicted by Ayub's land reforms.

Because of the firmness of his conviction, total devotion to his cause, his combative spirit, the integrity of his character, his charismatic personality, the warmth and affection towards his comrades and friends, his unique organisational and oratorical qualities and, above all, his enormous sacrifices Bangash rose to a stature in Pakistani politics which, probably, no other leftist leader has risen to. As a testament to the enormous popularity and respect that Bangash enjoyed, nearly one hundred thousand people turned up at his funeral and several hundred thousand more mourned in the villages and towns both inside and outside NWFP. The present chief minister, governor, several provincial ministers and members of the assembly, many of whom must have detested or feared his politics, came to pay their last respects to a leader who was capable of evoking both controversy and respect. With the demise of Afzal Bangash truly a giant of leftist and populist politics has departed. There will be no dearth of leftists who will continue to criticise him and others, but there is no sign yet that a leftist leader of Bangash's stature and character is about to shine on the dark horizon of Pakistan's politics.

(Note: Adopted From Economic & Political Weekly - Bombay - 12/20/86)
- Editor -

سنڌي ۽ انگريزي ٽماهي

سنڌي ائسوسيئيشن آف نارٿ آمريڪا



SANGAT

سنگت

ايڊيٽر: آءِ. ڊر. سنڌي

۱ مارچ ۱۹۸۷

جلد: ٽيون نمبر: پھريون

SINDHI ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA

P.O. Box 11619
Harrisburg, PA 17108

سنڌي ڪو!!!

سنڌي پڙهو!!

سنڌي سکو!

سڌاءُ

۱ د اپريل

ليک

شاعري

پڙلاءُ - ڪهاڻي

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پڪي سپ مچن، هنج سداين ڏهرا
هاري سندن من ۾ ورتو ويچارن
چيتا رپوچن، موتي هن مهرڻ جاني
اها افضل بنگاش جي ديفانت جو سوڳ ۾ پورو ڪونه
ٿيو هو جو فاضل راندو جي قتل اداسي چاڻهي ڇڏي
فاضل راندو سڌاين سور ۽ سختيون سهي منڌ ۽ سنڌين
لاءِ آوازن اٿا ريلو. فاضل راندو حق دور ۾ ڌنڌيل
هارين جو آواز ٿي رهيو ۽ سڌاين سرڪار هي
ڏاڍو ڏم جو شڪار ٿيندو رهيو. وڏي برڪي
ڌر پورهيئن جي هن سچاڻ سچي ڪي سهي ڪانه
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شامل ٿي ويو. فاضل راندو جو سياسي قتل زنجي
۾ مرڻ ۽ انهن جي چاڙهڻ جي اصرار ٿي ۽ ذهني
ڏولائي جو نه صرف دوڪ مثال آهي پر منڌ خلاف
سندن سازشن جي دوڪ ڪري آهي. اڄ فاضل
اسانوت ڪونهي پر سندس خوشي ۽ قرباني سان پيدا
ڪيل جابرتا آڳاٽي صلي ملڪ ۾ جمهوريت ۽ سماجي
انصاف ٿاڏمڪڻ لاءِ ڪارنامي ٿيندي.

”ري رائي، رت بروءِ، گريون بهاري ڳوٺ جون،
هانڙيون محل مگر ٿيا، پرين، پچاڻا پوءِ
سوڊا سور سندنو، چوڻ کان چوڻ ٿيو“
سناه

سچل سرمست

ويجهائيءَ لاءِ وجهلان، سنديءَ آبائن؛
آهي هيشه هئن، جي سڌ لهن سڀ حال جي.

ڏينهن آتي جا ڪي، آڇ آهي مون باد پيا؛

پنهون پنوارن جون، صبح ويلي سي؛

آيا آڇن آب لاءِ، مٺي آنيءَ آهي؛

هئا آڏل جهانگي جي، تن سانگن ڪو سانگي هو.

آريون آبائن ري، پيا تان ڪندم ڪير؟

هي جي ڪهه ڪجيءَ جا، ظالم پانيان زير؛

سنگهارن ساويرن، ميلان شال ملير ۾!

ايندم آبانا، ڏور لايا جتن ڏينها؛

ڪير سهندم سومرا، ري مارئون ماڻا؟

هاڻي نه ڄاڻان، ته ڪا موٽي ملنديس مارئين.

شيخ اياز

رهندي رات گذاري ڙي، مون رهندي رات گذاري ڙي!

مون رهندي رات گذاري ڙي!

پنهجو پيار پڪيڙي جهڙو، ماڻهو ماڻهو ماري ڙي!

آءُ اڃابل، گهابل گهابل، سانئون ماري واري ڙي!

سارو ڏيهه ڏسجي آيو، مون جو تند تنواري ڙي!

جنهن جا گت هوا کان هڪا، پئون انهيءَ تي پاري ڙي!

ههه ٻرو پنهور نه ڄاڻي، ڪير انهيءَ ۾ آري ڙي!

تو مون کي سنگيت ڏيئي، هيءُ سورري ڇو سنگاري ڙي!

مون رهندي رات گذاري ڙي!

ٻٽ تي بوند آئي، او سٺا! ٻٽ تي بوند آئي-

تارا ڪڍ ڪڍ، وڻ وڻ چٽ چٽ، برتي رات رتي،

او سٺا! ٻٽ تي بوند آئي-

ڇا ڇا آئي، من جي پاڻي، ڪوئل ڪوڪ ڪئي،

او سٺا! ٻٽ تي بوند آئي-

پنهجا ساري، هنجون هاري، هرڪا سينهن مٺي،

او سٺا! ٻٽ تي بوند آئي-

اڻي اڻي وات، وڻي جي، سانگيءَ سانگي مٺي،

او سٺا! ٻٽ تي بوند آئي!

سانجهيءَ ٿاڻي، دور آسائي، ڌرتيءَ آندو ڌير،

گهڙيءَ گهڙيءَ جي ڪڙيءَ ڪڙيءَ جو، جيءَ چنوزنجير،

ڍوري تي اڏري ڦهلايا نيرگ نيرا پر،

منهنجا جيءَ جهروڪا ڪولي، آندي هير اتر،

روهاڪيءَ جي رڙ مون کي ڇڻ ڏندي ويئي ويڻ،

ٿوري دير نه گذري، ٺپ ۾ نڪتا ڪيئي نيڻ،

دور، ڌروءَ تي پهتي منهنجي پوري نيل نهار،

جترڪي مون ۾ جتر جتر جي ڪاڻي سار-سپار،

تون ڇا آهين؟ ڇو آيو آن؟ ڇا ٿي ويو آهين؟

ڪهڙو تنهنجو ديس، اڃا تون ويٺو پر سامن!

ڪيئن پئجي وئي آهي توکي هن پچري سان پريت،

توکي پوري ڪرني آهي جي پنهجي سنگيت!

ڏس، هو پڪشو سڪ وڃائي، پوڄا ليءَ آيا!

تو وٽ ڇا هن؟ گيت اڏورا! تون آچيندين ڇا؟

تو وٽ ڏک جي دين نه ڪاڻي، سڪ جا سانگ سوين،

ڇو، ڇو، ڇا ٿي تو تون پنهجي تن جي ٽانگهه ڇوڏين؟

مرڻو آهين، ورڻو ناهين، پوءِ به نه ٿو سمجهين!

پوءِ به ريتيءَ مان رانديڪا تون ويٺو ناهين!

تو کي جڳ جڳ جوت ملي آ، ڪيئي ديب جلاءِ،

ساري تن من کي واري، تون پنهجو نينهن ڀاءُ،

ڇوڙي ڇوڙي ڏنڊي آهي، اُن مان آگ لڳاءِ،

هي سارا زنجير پگهاري، تون آجو ٿي گهاءُ،

پل پل آ پڪراج پيرن! تون گهڙيءَ گهڙيءَ کي گهڙ،

سيت سيت تنهنجي سون، اڙي تون جيءَ انهيءَ ۾ جڙ،

وڃو مڃو نامي، اچو ناهي وقت وري،

جان جيئن تان جهونگاري وٺ، موٽيو ڪير مري.

چوڪيدار جو آواز ٻڌي، ساجن ڪرسيءَ تان اٿيو ۽ ڪليءَ تان ڪوٽ لاهي، ڪلهي تي رکي، ميڪ-اپ روم جي وڏي آئيني جي سامهون اچي بيٺو. اونداهه، ۾ سندس اڇتو عڪس هن وانگر ئي مبهر ۽ گم سر هو.

”سڀ وڃي چڪا آهن، ساجن بابو.“

هن منهن ورائي ڪراڙي چوڪيدار ڏانهن ڏٺو. پوءِ ٽڪل ٻه رانجهن سان ميڪ-اپ روم مان نڪري، پنهنجي سلهه ورجائين، سڀ وڃي چڪا آهن. پوءِ در وٽ چوڪيدار جي ڪلهي تي هٿ رکندي، ٻڌوري آواز ۾ چيائين، ”اسان به هليا وينداسين، لالا.“

چوڪيدار ميڪ-اپ روم جو در بند ڪري ڇڏيو. ساجن هٿ وڌائي ڦٽ-لائيٽ جون بتيون ٻاري ڇڏيون، ۽ اوچتو، سمورو اسٽيج روشن ٿي ويو. هو آهستي آهستي هلندو، رنگ مان نڪري، اسٽيج تي تيز روشنين جي سامهون اچي بيٺو.

چوڪيدار ونڪ مان ڏانهس ڏسي رهيو هو. هن ٻڌوري ۽ ٽڪل آواز ۾ چوڪيدار کي چيو، ”ٻڙڊو هٿائي ڇڏ، لالا.“

چوڪيدار سٺج-بورڊ وٽ پڙدي جي پٺيءَ کي ڦيرائي، اسٽيج جي آڏو پڙڊو هٿائي ڇڏيو. ساجن ٻه-چار وڪون کڻي، ڦٽ-لائيٽ جي عين مٿان وڃي بيٺو. پنهنجيءَ جڙهه تي حمي ويو. نگاهون هال جي وچين

سڃڻ تي ڪٻائي ڇڏيائين. پوءِ ائين ئي، ڪيتريءَ دير تائين، هو پنهنجيءَ جڙهه تي بيٺل رهيو—جن پٿر جو بت هو.

”لالا.“ ساجن اسٽيج تان ڳالهائڻو، ٻه منهن ورائي لائي ڏانهن نه ڏٺائين.

لالو ونڪ وٽ اچي بيٺي رهيو.

”اڄ هيرو کي زبردست اوويشن (Ovation) ملي هئي نه، لالا.“

”ها، ساجن بابو.“

”۽ لالا،“ هن اوچتو ڦيرو کڌو. اکين ۾ غير معمولي گهور هيس. آواز وڏو، ڪرڊلر ۽ گهورو ٿي ويس، چيائين، ”۽ ياد اٿئي، لالا، اڄ کان پنجويهه-ٽيهه سال اڳ جڏهن مان اسٽيج تي ايندو هوس، تڏهن اوويشن جو پڇا حال هوندو هو!“

”هاڻ تڙين جي آواز سان ڦٽڻ لڳندو هو.“ چوڪيدار جي ڪراڙين اکين ۾ ماضيءَ جا پاڇا موٽڻ لڳا، ”تڏهن، ساجن بابو، ماڻهو توهان جي هڪ جهلڪ

هال خالي ٿي ويو. هال جون بتيون وساي ويون، ۽ در بند ٿي ويا. اسٽيج-مئنيجر ڪجهه ضروري ۽ قيمتي سامان کڻائي، ۽ اسٽيج تي آخري نگاهه وجهي، هليو ويو. اسٽيج-مئنيجر جي وڃڻ کان پوءِ، نه هال ۾ ۽ نه اسٽيج تي ڪو ٻاڇو رهيو، ۽ نه ڪنهن آواز جو پڙلاءُ ٿيو. اڳ جتي زندگيءَ جي زهريلي وجود جو نقل ڪيو ويو هو، اُتي خاموشي هئي. آواز ڀتين سان مٽو هئي مٺ ٿي ويا هئا. زندگي موڪلائي ويئي هئي. تياريندڙ هال جو ڪراڙو چوڪيدار، هال جا در بند ڪري، اسٽيج جا چار ڏاڪا ڇڙهي، پڙڊو هٿائي، اونداهي اسٽيج تي داخل ٿيو. گهنگهه اونداهه ۾ هن ٽارچ-بني ٻاري اسٽيج جو جائزو ورتو. اسٽيج تي جهوپڙيءَ جو سيٽ لڳل هو. ٽارچ-بنيءَ جا سڌا ڪرڻا ڏاڍو ٺاهي، جهوپڙيءَ ۽ جهوپڙيءَ ۾ ٽڙيل بڪڙيل سامان جو جائزو وٺي، اسٽيج کان ٻاهر نڪري ويا.

چوڪيدار ٽارچ جي روشنيءَ ۾ سامان کان بچندو، ڪاٺ جي اسٽيج تي پنهنجي لوڙهه سان آواز ڪندو، رنگ مان نڪري، ميڪ-اپ روم وٽ آيو. ميڪ-اپ روم جو در کليل هو. هن ٽارچ جي روشني ميڪ-اپ روم ۾ وڌي. ميڪ-اپ روم جي پرينءَ ڪنڊ ۾ هڪ شخص آرام-ڪرسيءَ تي ويٺو هو. سندس پير سامهون رکيل بلاسٽڪ جي وائيل ڪرسيءَ تي رکيا هئا. هن جون اکيون بند هيون. ڪنڊ جهڪيل هوس. کاڌي سيني سان لڳي رهي هيس. کيس معمولي قسم جا خاڪي ڪپڙا پيا هئا. پيرن ۾ سادو چمپل هوس، جيڪو هن لائو نه هو ۽ چمپل سوڌا پير ڪرسيءَ تي رکي ويٺو هو. چوڪيدار جي ٽارچ جا ڪرڻا جڏهن سندس منهن تي پيا، ته هن منهن مٿي ڪري، اکيون کولي، روشنيءَ ڏانهن نهاريو. سندس منهن تي جهيريون هيون. اکيون وڌيون، غمناڪ ۽ ذهين هيس. سندس پيشاني ويڪري هئي ۽ اڇا-ڪارا وارا اچي پيشانيءَ تي پيا هئس. سندس رنگ ڪڙڪ-رنگو هو، ۽ جيتوڻيڪ ويٺو هو، پر تڏهن به قد-بت جو ڀريل ۽ طاقتور نظر اچي رهيو هو. سندس عمر پنجاهه-پنجنجاهه جي لڳ ڀڳ هئي.

”ساجن بابو!“

ڏسڻ لاءِ بيچين رهندا هئا. ۽ ۽ ۽ ڪلاڪ اڳ اچي
استيڇ جي پويان اوهان کي ڏسندا هئا. توهان سان
هٿ ملائي، فخر محسوس ڪندا هئا.

”پر ڇا مليو؟ هڪ گهڙيءَ جي خوشي! هڪ لمحِي
جي خوشي! جر جو ڦوٽو... لهر جو لوڏو...“ ساڄن
خالي سين ڏانهن ڏسندي چيو، ”پر تڏهن به، لالا،
مان جڏهن به ماضيءَ ڏانهن نهاريندو آهيان، جڏهن به
گذريل وقت کي ورجائيندو آهيان، تڏهن دل جي اوندھ
۾ روشنيءَ جو ڪو پتڪيل ڪرڻو پلجي ايندو آهي،
۽ موٽي ويندو آهي.“

”هن استيڇ تي مون هزارين ڊراما ڏنا آهن، ساڄن
بابو.“ ڇوڪڙاڻو چيو، ”پر جيڪو لطف پنجويهه-ٽيهه
سال اڳ ايندو هو، اهو هينئر نه رهيو آهي.“
”ڌرتيءَ جي استيڇ تي اڄڪلهه هڪ هيٽناڪ ڊرامو
هلي رهيو آهي، لالا.“ ساڄن ونگ ڏانهن ڏسندي چيو،
”موت، ظالم ۽ عذاب جو ڊرامو! فن ڪٿي آهي؟
فنڪار ڪٿي آهن؟ اڄ جو فن لاکب ۾ آهي، جيل
۾ آهي، جنگ جي ميدان ۾ آهي.“
ساڄن جو آواز خالي هال ۾ گونجندو رهيو. ساڄن
پنهنجو اوڀرو آواز ٻڌندو رهيو.

”ساڄن بابو.“

”جي.“

”مون کي اوهان جو آهو ڊرامو به ياد آهي، جنهن
۾ توهان استيڇ تي روئي پيا هئا.“
”ها، لالا. مون کي به ياد آهي.“ ساڄن جو آواز
پرچي ويو، ”ان کان پوءِ مان ميڪ-اپ روم ۾ اچي
رڻو هوس. ايترو رڻو هوس، جو اڄ تائين ٻيهر روئي
نه سگهيو آهيان.“

خاموشي ڇانئجي وئي.

”لالا.“

”جي.“

”نت-لائيٽ جون بتيون وسائي ڇڏ، لالا.“

لالي نت-لائيٽ جون بتيون وسائي ڇڏيون، ۽
سمورو هال تاريخي ۽ خاموشيءَ ۾ گم ٿي ويو. اوندھ
زمان ۽ مڪان جي احساس کي مٽائي ڇڏيو.

سمورو هال تازين جي ٺهڪي سان لڏڻ لڳو. سوين
هزارين آواز، ۽ سوين هزارين آوازن جا پڙاڏا، سمنڊ وانگر
بي انت، هوا وانگر اڏنا پر چٽا، شعور جي وهڪري
سان وهندا ويا. ساڄن! ساڄن! ساڄن، توهان سان ڪا
ڇوڪري ملڻ چاهي ٿي، چوي ٿي، توهان ۾ ڪم اٿس.

نه نه. ساڄن ڪنهن سان نه ملندو. هزارين ماڻهو پئي
ٺهي کيس ساڻو ڪري ڇڏيندا. ساڄن في الحال ڪنهن
سان نه ملندو. تازيون! تازيون! ساڳي ڇوڪري ساڄن
سان ملڻ چاهي ٿي، چوي ٿي، کيس ساڄن ۾ ضروري
ڪم آهي ۽ سندس نالو الماس آهي. الماس! الماس.
ها، ها، مان کيس ملندس. هيئن ڪر، الماس کي استيڇ
جي پويان، مئنيجر جي آفيس ۾ وٺي اچ. تازيون! تازيون!
مهرباني، مهرباني. ڪيئن، ڊرامو پسند آين، الماس؟
ڊرامو توکي پسند آيو، ان کان وڌيڪ منهنجي لاءِ به
ڪابه خوشي ڪونهي، الماس. مان التجا ڪرڻ آئي
آهيان. ڇو. مون کي چاهين ٿو ته عزيز؟ ها الماس،
منهنجي تقدير، منهنجو نصيب، منهنجي ڪاميابي تون

آمين الماس، تون آهين. ته پوءِ، اڄ توکي فيصلو ڪرڻو
پوندو ته تون عزيز ٿي رهڻ چاهين ٿو، يا ساڄن. الماس!
ها عزيز. اڄ مون سان بابا، چاچا، اما ۽ امان جي
خاندان جا ڪيترائي ڀاتي ڊرامو ڏسڻ آيا آهن. بلابصفا
چيو آهي ته جيستائين تون ڊراما لکيندين ۽ ڊرامن ۾
ڪم ڪنديين، تيستائين تنهنجي ۽ منهنجي
شادي ٿي نه سگهندي. الماس! مان مجبور آهيان
عزيز. توکي اڄ ئي فيصلو ڪرڻو پوندو ته
تون اڄ کان فقط عزيز ٿي رهندين، ساڄن نه. ان جو
اعلان هينئر ئي ڪرڻو پوندو، استيڇ تان، منهنجي
خاندان جي ڀاتين آڏو. تون خاموش ڇو آهين، مون
کي تنهنجو چاهين. مون سان محبت نه اٿئي. مان غريب
آهيان الماس، ۽ تنهنجو ختبهادر پيءُ توکي مون کان
ڌار ڪرڻ چاهي ٿو. ائين ناهي، عزيز، ائين ناهي. تون
هينئر ئي، جڏهن آئينس آڏو پيش ٿيندين، چئي ڇڏ،
ته تون ڊرامن ۾ ڪم نه ڪنديين، استيڇ کان دور
رهيندين، ۽ پوءِ ٿس، ته تنهنجي ۽ منهنجي جلائي فقط
ڪجهه ڏينهن جي وچي رهندي ۽ ان کان پوءِ، مان
ڪهنبي وڃي ٿي، هميشه لاءِ تنهنجي گهر هلي اينديس.
جواب ڏي ساڄن، تون خاموش ڇو آهين؟ ڇا، تون
منهنجي لاءِ فقط عزيز نه رهندين، عزيز، جيڪو تنهنجو
پنهنجو اصلي نالو آهي. جواب ڏي خاموش ڇو
آهين.

مان ساڄن آهيان. مان ساڄن ئي زندگي گذارينس
۽ ساڄن ئي مرنديس. عزيز منهنجو ظاهر هو، ڪوڙ هو،
ڏيک هو. ساڄن سچ آهي، منهنجو باطن آهي، حقيقت
آهي. مان ساڄن رهنديس. استيڇ منهنجي زندگيءَ جو
ازلي حصو آهي. الماس! تنهنجو پيءُ ڊرامو ڏسي تازيون
وڃائي سگهي ٿو، پنهنجو نالو ڪيئن لاءِ انعام اچي

سگهي ٿو، ڏرافي رکي سگهي ٿو، پر کيس استيج کان نفرت آهي. خبر اٿئي ڇو؟ ڇو جو تنهنجي ٻيءَ جي سيني ۾ نرود جو آتشڪڙو آهي. هو فن جو دشمن آهي. هلي وڃ الماس. هلي وڃ. مان تنهنجي جدائيءَ جو غم سهي ويندس. مان تنهنجو غم کڻي استيج تي ايندو رهندس. الماس، مان تنهنجو آهيان. مان توکان سواءِ ڪنهن جو ٿي نه سگهندس.

مون کي ڇڏي ڏيو. مون کي اڪيلو ڇڏي ڏيو. بند ڪريو ميڪ. اپ روم جو در. مون کي اڪيلائي گهرجي. ساجن. ساجن. ماڻهو توکي ڏسڻ چاهين ٿا. سڀ تنهنجو انتظار ڪري رهيا آهن. چئي ڇڏيون ته هو هليا وڃن. مان تماشو ٺاهيان جو مون کي ڏسن. مان ’زو‘ جو باندر ٺاهيان، جو مون کي ڏسن. ۽ ڪير ٿا ڏسڻ چاهين؟ اهي، سيلون، جيڪي ٽڪيٽ خريد ڪري، اسان تي احسان ڪرين ٿا! اسان کي ڏند کوٽڻ جي ٽيلي سمجهن ٿا! سٺيت ڊش سمجهن ٿا! ڇئون ته هليا وڃن. مون کي اڪيلائي گهرجي. اڪيلائي. ماڻ

خاموشي. ٻولار جي خاموشي.

”مان ميڪ. اپ روم جو در بند ڪري ايترو رنو هوس لالا، جو اڃ تائين پهر روئي نه سگهيو آهيان.“

ساجن ڪوٽ ڪلهي تي رکي، ونگ مان نڪري، ورائيو لتاڙي، ٿياسافيڪل هال جي پٿر ۾ پهتو. اٺن منهن ورائي هن لائي کي چيو، ”در بند ڪري ڇڏ، ٻالا.“

ساجن ٿياسافيڪل هال مان نڪري، بندر روٽ جي فٽپاٽ تي اچي بيٺو. ٽريفڪ جهڪي ٿي ويهي هئي. تاج محل سٺيما جو پويون شو ڪڏهانڪو ختم ٿي ويو هو. سٺيما جا پيداڪير ۽ مڪرائي سٺيما جي ڏاڪڻن تي الوت پيا هئا. رات جو گچ حصو گذري ويو هو.

ساجن تاج محل سٺيما ۽ ٿياسافيڪل هال جي وچ ۾ فٽپاٽ تي پينل پير جي گهائي وٺ هيٺان اچي بيٺو. جتي هو بيٺو هو، اتي ٽيوب-لائيت جي روشني، پهچڻ کان اڳ، پن ۽ ٽارين سان وڇڙي ختم ٿي پئي ويئي. ڪڏهن ڪو هوا جو جهوٽو پنن کي لوڏي ٿي ويو، تڏهن روشنيءَ جا ڪجهه ڪرڻا ساجن تائين پهچي گم ٿي پئي ويا. هر دفعي جڏهن ائين ٿيو پئي، هن ڪنڌ کڻي مٿي نهاريو پئي. پير جو وٺ قد ٻه هو. پنجويهه-ٽيه سال اڳ جڏهن هو پهريون دفعو ڏڪندو ڪنبدو،

هڪ ڊرامي جي رپهرسل ڪرڻ لاءِ ٿياسافيڪل هال ۾ داخل ٿيو هو، تڏهن به ساڳيو پير جو وٺ پنهنجيءَ جاءِ تي موجود هو. اُن وقت ايڏو گهڻو نه هو. گذريل پنجويهن-ٽيهن سالن ۾ پير گهڻو ته ٿي سگهيو هو، پر وڏي نه سگهيو هو. پير جڏهن وڌندو نه آهي، تڏهن سندس ٽارين مان پاڙون ڦٽي نڪرنديون آهن. ساڳيءَ طرح جڏهن حالتون هڪ ذهين شخص کي زندگيءَ ۾ وڌڻ نه ڏينديون آهن، تڏهن ان شخص جي وجود مان ڪروڙ ۽ نفرت جون پاڙون ڦٽي نڪرنديون آهن، جيڪي محسوس نه ٿينديون آهن، پر ڏسڻ ۾ نه اينديون آهن.

ساجن. ساجن.

ڪير آهي؟ مون کي ڪير سڏي رهيو آهي؟ هي ڪنهن جو آواز آهي؟ ساجن. ساجن. تون پنهنجو آواز به سڃاڻي نٿو سگهين. هي تنهنجو پنهنجو آواز آهي ساجن. تنهنجو آواز تنهنجن ئي ڪنن لاءِ اوبرو ٿي ويو آهي! ساجن! ڇا مليو اٿئي استيج تان. ڇا مليو اٿئي ڊرامن مان. جواب ڏي ساجن ڇا مليو اٿئي استيج تان. اوجاڳا؟ اڪيلائي؟ روح جا زخم؟ غم جي ڪائنات؟ ڇا مليو اٿئي ساجن، ڇا مليو اٿئي؟ خاموش. مون کي پريشان نه ڪريو. مان نه فقط ساجن آهيان، پر عزيز به آهيان. عزيز، جنهن کان مون کي نفرت آهي، پر تڏهن به مان کيس پنهنجي وجود کان ڌار ڪري نه سگهيو آهيان. عزيز اڪائونٽس آفيسر آهي، جنهن کي صبح کان شام تائين ٻه واڌو ٻه برابر چار ڪرڻو پوندو آهي. مون کي ڪانٽنس نفرت آهي. مان ساجن، عزيز کان نفرت ڪندو آهيان. پر نه. عزيز مون لاءِ روزي ڪمائيندو آهي. صبح کان شام تائين ٻه واڌو ٻه برابر چار ڪري مون کي ماني ڪارائيندو آهي. عزيز ساجن جو پيٽ پاليندو آهي. بيوقوف، عزيز پنهنجو پيٽ پاليندو آهي. ها، ها، ها. پر مون کي عزيز کان نفرت آهي. نفرت! تو عزيز کان سندس محبت ٽري ورتي هئي. تو کيس الماس جو ٿيڻ نه ڏنو هو، تو مٿس ظلم ڪيو هو، پر تڏهن به عزيز توکان خفي نه ٿيو آهي، توکان ناراض نه ٿيو آهي. ۽ تون، جيڪو ساجن آهين، عزيز کي ڏڪارين ٿو! جيڪڏهن تون فقط ساجن هجي ها، ته هوند اڄ بڪ مرين ها، بي گهر هجي ها، ٻين جو محتاج هجي ها. هت فنڪار جي نصيب ۾ گمناسي، يروزگاري ۽ بڪ لڪيل آهي. ڏڪهين سٺيما واري گهٽيءَ ۾ منروا موڊتون جو راجا

ڏٺو اٿئي! هن کي چٽائي ڏنو اٿئي! سندس اکين ۾
مايوسي ۽ برباديءَ جا کنڊر ڏٺا اٿئي! وڃ، ساجن
وڃ. عزيز کي آرام ڪرڻ ڏي. صبح جو عزيز کي
۽ واڌو ۽ برابر چار ڪرڻو آهي. تنهنجي لاءِ کيس
روزي ڪمائڻي آهي. وڃ، ساجن وڃ.
”ڊائريڪٽر-ليڪي ساجن صاحب آهي؟“

هڪ عورت، جنهن کي کير جهڙا اڇا ڪپڙا پاتل
هئا ۽ جنهن جا وار به برف جهڙا اڇا هئا، ٿياسافيڪل
هال جي در ٻاهران بيٺي هئي. فٽپاٽ وٽ وڌي،
چمڪندڙ ۽ اڇي رنگ جي بيوک ڪار بيٺي هئي.
عورت ٿياسافيڪل هال جي چوڪيدار سان ڳالهائي
رهي هئي.

”مون کي ڊرامي جي ڊائريڪٽر، ساجن صاحب
سان ملڻو آهي.“

”هو هليو ويو.“

”هليو ويو!“

”ها. ٿوري دير اڳ هليو ويو.“

عورت در وٽان هڻي ويئي. ڪار ڏانهن ويندي
پنهنجي ساه ڇيائين، ”مان جڏهن به کيس ڏسڻ آئي
آهيان، هو ٿوري دير اڳ هليو ويندو آهي.“

عورت هلي ويئي.

ان وقت ساجن وٽ جي پاڇي مان نڪري
ٽيوب-لائيت جي هيٺان اچي بيٺو.

”ساجن بابو! توهان اڃا گهر نه ويا آهيو.“

”مان ٽيڪسيءَ جو انتظار ڪري رهيو آهيان.“

”لا.“

”الماس سيلڪ ملز جي مالڪن اوهان کي ڏسڻ
آئي آهي.“ چوڪيدار لوهي در کولي ٻاهر فٽپاٽ تي
نڪري آيو. ڇيائين، ”هوءَ اڳ به ڪيترا ئي دفعا“

توهان جي ڊرامن کان پوءِ توهان کي ڏسڻ آئي آهي.
پر هر دفعي سندس اچڻ کان اڳ توهان هليا ويندا
آهيو.“

”مون کي خبر آهي لا، مون کي خبر آهي.“

ساجن ڪوٽ ڪلهي تي رکي، ڪنڌ جهڪائي
ٽڪل ٽڪل ڏامن سان بندر روڊ جي پٺي پار هليو

ويو.