

# Sindhi Association of North America

P.O. Box 11619, Harrisburg, PA 17108



# SANGAT

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Editor: Adrash Sindhi

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## سما

### صفحو

### ليک

### ليک

۲	ترجمو: جي. ا. لانا	مٿاء جي شاعري
۳	قصر ڀٽي	مڙهن وٽ ذات - نظم
۳	عنايت بلوچ	جائز پائر - نظم
۳	عنايت بلوچ	وٽ جي چانو - نظم
۴	وينا شرنلي	آپ نه پلي ڏوڃهان... ڪهاڻي
7	M. A. Siddiqui	Some Aspects of Sindhi Culture
8	Dr. J. R. Laghari	GBM Decisions
9	Israr Ansari	SANA Expenses
10	K. Hashmani	Donations
11	J.R.Laghari	Invited Speakers
13	K. Hashmani	President's Speech
14	J.R.Laghari	Picnic
15	Aftab Kazi	Historic Gathering
16	Staff	SANA News
17	From Herold	Interviews With G.M.Syed, Palijo, and Benazir Bhutto
21	Staff	Newspaper Cuttings
25	Staff	News Bulletin
26		Letters to SANA
27		

SANA PRESIDENT URGES SINDHI DOCTORS IN U.K. TO FORM  
A BROAD-BASED ASSOCIATION OF SINDHIS IN EUROPE

The following are some excerpts from the letter sent by SANA President to the President of The Sindhi Doctors Association in U.K.:

Like the European continent, the North America too represents a large area and encompasses multiple countries. Our membership is widely spread over a large area from the shores of the Pacific ocean to the beaches of Atlantic. Much of SANA's communication is through correspondence, telephone, and through the pages of our quarterly newsletter SANGAT. In terms of the personal contact, our membership only meets once a year when members meet the fellow North American Sindhis to share their views and concerns about the problems facing today's Sind. Like your organization, SANA too is composed mainly of professionals. This year our doctor members have even started a doctor's group within SANA.

With this background and very respectfully I make the suggestion that the Sindhi Doctor's Association enlarge and enhance it's role to include all sindhis in Europe. I will appreciate if you would kindly present this suggestion to your members in the Sep. 4 meeting to discuss and evaluate the feasibility of establishing the European Sindhi Association (ESA). Based on our experiences, I can assure you that no matter how discouraging the circumstances may appear now, you will soon start gathering support of all sindhis in Europe.

I beleive that the associations such as SANA, SDA, and the proposed ESA fill an inherent human need - the need for identity, the need to be closer to the people of similar cultural background, and finally the desire to contribute towards the solution of the problems facing our motherland.

In my view, the key milestones towards the formation of SANA were contacting the North American sindhis on phone and the distribution of the survey questionnaire. These tasks were critical and difficult because they involved considerable expense in terms of money and time. I am enclosing copies of certain SANA working papers which provide greater insight of how SANA was formed and how it functions. Our policy has been to avoid direct involvement in the political matters. But, at the same time encourage free and frank discussion between members on the problems facing ~~today's~~ today's Sind.

I am sure I represent the views of the SANA membership in saying that SANA will be glad to provide any assistance including some financial support towards the start of a Europe-based organization of sindhis. We could also provide some person-time help towards the establishment of a newsletter of the proposed association.

## LETTERS TO SANA

While I respect the individual right to freedom of opinion, Saeed Rashdi's letter in the last issue of Sangat regarding my television interview on April 11, 1988 hurt me deeply. Rashdi's simple deploration of sociopolitical deprivation of Sindhis in Pakistan would be incomplete and fruitless without visualizing of the possible alternative courses of action for Sindhis. His personal judgement on my analysis of related options, and that I was used by the Indian Media compels me to ask him, that "Hasn't the entire Sindhi Nation been used and colonized for the sake of Lahnda Punjabi hegemony in the very political structure of Pakistan; and should that not be questioned?"

Through Sangat, I would like to advise Saeed to be constructive both in thought and action. It would be his service to Sindhi people, if he starts criticizing and challenging the existing stereotypes in the West on Pakistan in general and Sindh in particular, than condemning those who attempt to address the actual sociopolitical realities of contemporary Sindhi society in an objective and scholarly manner.

Aftab A. Kazi

Recently a sindhi scholar Dr. A. Kazi was interviewed by the media. Some SANA members and non-members who disagreed with him took exception to his viewpoints. The SANA leadership has seen fit to issue a clarifying statement that the viewpoints presented are his (Dr. Kazi's) personal viewpoints and do not reflect the viewpoints of SANA.

The questions I would like to raise are:

1. Was Dr. Kazi invited because he is a scholar or because he is a SANA member?
2. Did Dr. Kazi in his interview state that the viewpoint he expounds are SANA's?
3. Will SANA's leadership issue a statement anytime a SANA member discusses a issue (in which they are considered to be experts) with the media? If the answer is, 'yes'. I would like our leadership to issue a similar clarification regarding Dr. G. Agha's statement to Time magazine regarding 'animal rights' because I disagree with Dr. Agha's viewpoint. I hope you see that it can get silly.

Come on now, this is North America and we can feel free to at least discuss the issues that concern us and allow people with differing viewpoints to voice their opinions. Let us not muzzle and silence our own -- we have enough of that in Sindh!

S. Lakhavani  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

## NEWS BULLETIN

(News gathered from, newspapers, periodicals, and individual sources)

### The Dictator Died

(Bahawalpur) General Zia, the military dictator of Pakistan died when his plane plunged to ground due to reasons yet unknown. He was returning after a demonstration of a US built tank. There were about 30 others in his entourage. All of them perished in the mishap. United States Ambassador and his military attache were also among the dead. About 20 of the most senior Pakistani military officials died in the incident. Mirza Aslam Beg, who was the most senior army official alive, has been made the Chief of Army staff. He is the first refugee from India ever to become the Chief of Pakistani Army. He was born in Utter Pardesh province of India. He has pledged that the military not interfere in the country's politics.

There are all kinds of rumours about the cause of the plane crash in which General Zia died. Initially India was blamed to have blown the plane with a surface to air missile. Also, KGB, KHAD, and dissident groups in Pakistan were blamed for planting a bomb in a box of mangoes which was given to the dictator by local politicians. An American investigation team is investigating the cause of the crash. Their preliminary findings have determined that a mechanical malfunction may have caused the plane to crash and explode. It was also speculated in the press that opposition block in the Army or Afghan rebels, unhappy with Zia, may have arranged the incident.

Several Airport employees were arrested and interrogated. A PAF Squadron Leader has also been taken in custody and is being accused of involvement in the incident.

Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan has taken over as President and has promised to carry on with the election schedule outlined by the dictator. Mr. Khan is a seasoned bureaucrat and believed to have been behind the coup in which Premier Bhutto was toppled by General Zia. Mr. Khan has kept the Zia Cabinet intact and has imposed emergency in the country. He has also appointed an Emergency Council which includes all of the military chiefs.

After the news of Zia's death was announced, many people, who had benefitted from his regime, were genuinely saddened. On the other hand, many who were victims of his regime did not hide their jubilation and were seen distributing sweets. Most of the opposition politicians stressed that the new Government should concentrate on free and fair elections and that the political parties should be allowed to participate in the elections freely.

Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the leader of PPP, said in an interview that she did not regret Zia's death and that the violence begets violence. She has also pledged that if she became the Prime Minister of Pakistan she will restore the 1973 constitution. (See other details inside)

### Hyderabad Mayor Attacked

(Latifabad-Staff Report) Mr. Aftab Shaikh, the Mayor of Hyderabad and a leader of MQM, was ambushed outside of his house when he was getting out of his car. He and his driver were seriously injured. One of the Municipal Councilors, who was with him and shielded him, was dead on the way to a hospital. The mayor who received ten bullets in his body survived and was back to his house from hospital within a week or so. He deplored the riots in Hyderabad which occurred after the attack upon his life.

### Attacks Against Sindhis

(Hyderabad-Staff Report) Mohajir terrorists were let loose in Hyderabad after the Mayor of Hyderabad was ambushed.



Life and property of any Sindhi living in Hyderabad and Latifabad was a fair game for Mohajir terrorists. About seven innocent Sindhis were killed by the Mohajirs.

Hundreds of shops, clinics, stores, and other property owned by Sindhis was looted and burned, in front of police and military, during and after curfew hours. Calls for help and protection from helpless Sindhis were denied by the local administration which is entirely non-Sindhi.

All key positions in Hyderabad were filled with non-Sindhi officers after Sindhi officers were removed when Ret. General Rahim, a Mohajir, was appointed as the Governor of Sind. Sindhis were not only the victims of brutal attacks by the Mohajir terrorists but the local administration was also taking shots at them.

Their houses were searched. They were harassed. Many of them ended up in jails without any charges while the terrorists continued their carnage unabated.

Sindhi politicians were nowhere to be found when all this was going on. Makhdooms and Palijo were the only leaders who challenged the cowards. Mr. G. M. Syed chose to meet with the MQM leader Mr. Altaf Hussain during the riots. They did, however, call for calm and situation returned to normal after several weeks of tense conditions.

#### Reaction to Riots

(Hyderabad- Staff Report) The riots, started in Hyderabad, spread to some other towns in Sind. Tando Jam, Larkana, Sakrand, and Gambat were the towns where the riots resulted in deaths. Otherwise, protest marches and calls for help to Sindhi victims were carried out in every nook and corner of Sind.

#### Were Riots Planned

(Hyderabad- Staff Report) A tape of telephone conversation between Aftab Shaikh, Present Mayor, and Maulana Nadvi, the former Mayor, surfaced in Hyderabad. The press

reported that the Maulana asks Mr. Shaikh to get rid of Sindhis from Hyderabad and Shaikh agrees. The reports were, however, denied by Mr. Shaikh and Maulana Nadvi.

In a related story, a truck full of very sophisticated weapons were captured in Peshawar. The weapons were bought by MQM followers and were being taken to Hyderabad. The discovery of the above tape and weapons worth millions of dollars raised eyebrows and it was widely speculated that the attack on the Mayor and riots were engineered by followers of Maulana Nadavi. This was supported by the partiality of the local administration during riots because of Nadvi's intimate relationship with the Zia regime in which he served as Minister for Religion and Hajj.

#### Niaz Bhatti Arrested

(Kotri-Staff Report) A Chandka Medical College Final year student, Mr. Niaz Bhatti, was arrested here by police as the culprit of ambushing the Mayor of Hyderabad. Several of his friends were also being sought on similar charges. Mr. Bhatti and others charged in the case are all members of the JSSF. Mr. Bhatti was kept incommunicado for several days. He was severely beaten and tortured during police custody. His parents and sister, who live in Larkana, were also mistreated and tortured. Mr. Bhatti addressed a press conference in Karachi after charges were filed against his son. He spoke of the torture and beatings suffered by his son and his family. He asked the Amnesty International and other human rights organizations of the World to see to it that his son gets a fair and open trial and that torture of his son and family is condemned.

#### Rift Between Palijo and Syed

(Karachi- Staff Report) It was reported in the press that Mr. Palijo and Mr. Syed, both leaders of the Sind National Alliance were having serious disagreement on the matter of including Mohajirs in the alliance. Mr. Palijo opposes the idea, whereas, Syed supports it.

### Bhutto Receives Award

(London-Razakar) Ms. Benazir Bhutto, Co-Chairperson of PPP, was awarded an Austrian prestigious human rights award for her work in Pakistan. She went to Vienna to receive the award.

### Rehana Bhutto will be Tried

(Paris-Razakar) Ms. Rehana Bhutto, wife of late Murtaza Bhutto, will be tried in a French court for not coming to rescue of a person whose life was in danger.

### Zia's Trip Cancelled

(Washington, Razdan) General Zia, who died in a plane crash, was planning to visit USA but decided to cancel it. As a result, Pakistan Embassy cancelled all its programs connected with the Zia visit.

### Cause of Riots in Hyderabad

(Hyderabad-Hilal) The city has been in the grip of riots since mid June. It has been reported that a protest march by Sindhi students was fired upon as they were passing the HMC building. The firing was coming from the Municipal Corporation building. Several Sindhi students were injured. As the news reached to Jamshoro, bus loads of Sindhi students started arriving from Jamshoro, Tando Jam, and other places to protest the firing. Mohajirs started rioting to respond to peaceful protest of Sindhis. The Mohajir terrorists were supported by MQM leadership. Several Sindhi lives and property belonging to Sindhis in Hyderabad were lost. Ever since this round of violence, Mohajirs have been harassing Sindhis in most urban areas of Sind and have threatened that if Sindhis did not vacate cities they will do so by force.

### Qamar Bhatti Arrested

(Hyderabad-Hilal) Police has arrested Mr. Qamar Bhatti, the President of JSSF. He has been arrested at the direction of high officials. No formal

charges have been brought against him,

### Zia Will Certainly Go

(Lahore-Hilal) Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the Co-Chairperson of PPP, said in late June that this will be the last year for Zia to carry out his oppressive reign of terror against the poor people of Pakistan. She said that he will not last before the year is out. Similar prediction was also made by Pir Pagara, who said that he was certain that General Zia will go. Both predictions have proven to be correct.

### PPP Flourishing

(Karachi-Hilal) Many politicians, who had left PPP to join Zia, are slowly but surely returning to PPP. The trend is quite strong in Punjab. Even Khar was said to have been contemplating to come back to PPP if given a seat in the Assembly. Many political observers say that this phenomenon has been caused by Zia's removal of Junejo and following rift between Zia and Pagara. Muslim League has been weakened due to PPP's successful recruiting of the old guard.

### G.M.Syed Wants Pagara

(Hyderabad- Staff Report) Mr. G. M. Syed, the founder of Jeay Sind Movement, said in a speech that this was hightime that all Sindhis must unite and fight tooth and nail to protect and regain their national and human rights. He appealed to all Sindhis to come under the fold of Sind National Alliance and work for Sind. He asked Pir Pagara and Ms. Bhutto to join Sind National Alliance because they do not look good without Sind. He reminded Pir Pagara his words when Mr. Syed had invited him to join Muslim League in forties. Pir Pagara had told him that the Muslim League was formed by British and it would hurt the cause of Sind.

### Rabita Islami Signs Accord With Zia

(Rawalpindi-Dawn) Syed Ameen Aqueel Attas, Assistant Secretary General of Rabita Al-Alam-Al-Islami met General Zia to establish a fund for bringing Biharis to Pakistan (i.e. Sind). It was later revealed by Bangladesh Foreign Secretary in Dacca that an agreement

has been signed. Under the agreement, a trust fund will be set up to raise \$284 million to bring the Biharis and settle them in Sind. The estimated number of Biharis is 300,000. It will take three years to complete the task. Already there are 500,000 Biharis who have gone to Sind illegally through India, Nepal and Burma.

#### Benazir Pledges to Spend on Defense

(Islamabad- Jang) Ms. Benazir Bhutto, PPP Co-Chairperson, commenting on the Budget outlays, said that she will not reduce expenditure on Defense and Bureaucracy.

#### Armacost on Elections

(New Delhi- Hilal) US Deputy Foreign Secretary, Mr. Armacost, said that he was certain that the elections will be held in Pakistan as announced by General Zia. He likened the removal of Junejo by Zia as a mini coup.

#### SANA EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CONDEMNS VIOLENCE AGAINST SINDHIS

In a press statement, the SANA Executive Council has condemned the acts of violence against Sindhis in Hyderabad and other urban centers of Sind.

The statement deplored activities of Maulana Nadvi (Federal Minister) and of Hyderabad Mayor who encouraged such violence. The statement demanded that these officials be removed from their offices to restore the peace in the troubled areas.

The Executive Council has appealed to all sindhis all over the world to come to the help of their sindhi brothers and sisters and to help mobilize the world opinion against this violence.

In the same statement, the SANA Executive Council also condemned the agreement between the Pakistan Government and Mutmar Al-Alam-Al Islami to raise funds for bringing Biharis to Sind from Bangladesh. The statement pointed the irony that Bangladesh too is a Muslim country and guarantees the same rights to Biharis as other Bangladeshis.

#### SANA MEMBERSHIP URGED TO PUBLICIZE THE PLIGHT OF SIND AND SINDHIS

The SANA Executive Council in a letter to all SANA members have urged the membership to play an active role to publicize the plight of Sind in North America. The members have been asked to write to their local politicians and make them aware of the problems faced by the Sindhis. The politicians are likely to act as it is election time both in the USA and Canada.

The letter was accompanied by a synopsis of the Sind-related issues and problems. The key points from this synopsis are as follows:

- O The plight of Sind and Sindhis continues unabated. Sindhi farmers continue to be pushed into landless status. Scores of Sindhi youth remain in jails and the local administration is run by non-sindhis with a new round of violence and suppression against sindhis.
- O All the industrial economy in Sind region is owned and controlled by non-sindhis. Unemployment among sindhis continues to soar whereas other regions of Pakistan seem to be prospering.
- O Now that the dictator General Zia is no longer at the helm of the Pakistan affairs, a new opportunity has been created to restore justice, fairness, democracy, equal opportunity, and to end the exploitation. A just and democratic Pakistan with equal rights for its various provinces is as much in the interests of Pakistan as the Western countries.
- O The sindhi people are traditionally mild mannered, historically very hospitable even to their adversaries, tolerant of various faiths and beliefs. The reader is urged to use his/her influence and persuasion to help eliminate the plight of Sindhi people.

## The Death of Zia Could Hurt India

**P**resident Zia ul-Haq's death has provoked not just regret and anxiety, but also a sneaking feeling of relief in some quarters in India. The regret and anxiety are understandable: Zia was a warm man, and try as most Indians did, they could not wholly convince themselves that a man who could invite himself to India to see a cricket match when his troops were facing their eyeball to eyeball along the entire frontier meant any real harm to them.

doubt about what it will choose. It goes without saying that a military regime with a weak to nonexistent popular base will be far more anxious to court a powerful foreign patron than Zia did.

There is, thus, no silver lining to the cloud that Zia's death has brought over India's relations with Pakistan. The most that New Delhi can do is to deny Pakistan's new rulers any chance to use a supposed threat from India to consolidate its hold on power within the country and justify the continued flow of American arms to them after the Soviet pullout has been completed.

## Zia Decrees

By RAJA ASGHAR

ISLAMABAD (Reuter) — President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq has decreed that the Islamic legal code of Sharia will be Pakistan's supreme law.

The decree issued on June 15 said all existing and future laws had to conform to Sharia, interpreted as "injunctions of Islam laid down in the Holy Koran and Sunnah" (tradition of Prophet Mohammed).

The decree, although coming into force immediately, provided that most decisions of superior courts enforcing Sharia would not be effective until at least three months after the general elections which are due about Aug. 26.

Zia also said in a televised speech that the next National Assembly (lower house of Parliament) could reject the decree.

"Sharia shall be the supreme source of law in Pakistan and ground norm for guidance for policy-making by the state," the decree said.

Zia said this decree's interpretation of Sharia was acceptable to all Islamic sects. But political analysts said a controversy was bound to follow because of differences among sects.

Armed clashes between the Muslim Sunni and Shiite sects are common in Pakistan because of their religious differences.

Even Sunnis are sharply divided among themselves on various religious matters.

## U.S. Silent on Zia Vote Plan

By AZIZ HANIFFA

WASHINGTON — The United States has refused to be drawn into commenting on Pakistani President Mohammed Zia Haq's failure to schedule an election date, following his dismissal last month of Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo and the entire National Assembly.

The State Department spokesman, Charles Redman, simply repeated a statement the administration issued in the wake of Zia's dismissal of Junejo and the Assembly May 29 on charges that they failed to maintain law and order and to carry out his policy of Islamization.

Redman said that the Administration believed "that prompt elections are an important element in maintaining the progress that Pakistan has made in recent years toward democracy."

"We hope," he added, "that President Zia will act on his pledge to hold national elections, [and] that they will be held soon and that they will be free and fair."

He refused to comment when asked if the U.S. had informed Zia that the massive American aid program to Pakistan would be in jeopardy if he failed to schedule elections soon. "I've given you

what I have to say about the question of elections," Redman said.

*The New York Times*, quoting unnamed American officials, reported last week from Islamabad that Zia had been told of the Administration's displeasure and its concern that any steps that indicated Pakistani plans to return to martial law would damage ties with Washington.

### Aid Threat Indicated

*The Times* report also quoted one American official as saying, "They have been informed that if elections are not held soon, the whole aid program is in jeopardy in Congress."

Asked if the U.S. had any comment on an apparent constitutional dispute that had emerged in Pakistan over whether elections should be held within 90 days or simply announced within that period and held later, Redman said, "I can't help on that one."

The State Department announced last week that Zia, who was scheduled to visit Washington after attending the United Nations special session on disarmament, had canceled his trip because of the situation in Pakistan.

## Pakistan Atom Aid for Iran?

LONDON (PTI) — Pakistan and Iran have signed a secret nuclear deal under which Iran is receiving technical help, including the training of Iranian engineers in Pakistan, according to a newspaper report.

The pact was signed at a secret meeting in Vienna between Reza Amerollahi, head of the Iranian Atomic Energy Organization, and Munir Ahmed Khan, chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, some time last year, the *Observer* reported on June 12.

As a result, it said, six Iranian nuclear officers are in Pakistan to receive advanced training. Two were identified as Saeed Reza and Haji Rambshahar.

Iran has made several attempts to obtain Pakistani assistance in nuclear technology through the regional economic cooperation organization, whose mem-

bers are Turkey, Pakistan and Iran.

In February 1986, Pakistan offered to help Iran and Turkey to train engineers in nuclear energy. The Iranians had then sent four engineers to Pakistan, the paper said.

Abdel Qader Khan, a Pakistani nuclear scientist, had also secretly visited Iran's Bushehr nuclear plant on the Gulf Coast, it said.

The purported clandestine pact raised questions about what would happen to nuclear byproducts that could be used for weapons.

Iran ratified the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty under the Shah's government in 1970, but doubts persist over the nuclear intentions of the revolutionary regime that seized power nine years later and has been at war with Iraq most of that period.

## U.S. Silent Terrorist

WASHINGTON — The State Department has refused to comment on remarks by Pakistan's new army chief, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, who told the military last week to stay out of politics.

A department spokeswoman, Phyllis Oakley, said: "I don't have any further comment on that. We have given our comments already on the initial report that elections will be held as they had been scheduled."

NEWDELHI — India has given to Pakistan documented evidence to buttress its claim of Islamabad's "involvement" in Punjab terrorism.

The 21-page document, presented during last month's meeting of Home Secretaries in New Delhi, elicited no immediate response from Pakistan, which has consistently denied any hand in Sikh extremist activities.



# Bhutto Awaits Baby and a Call to Rule

KARACHI — After enduring house arrest, exile and the failure of a popular movement to dislodge Pakistan's military President, Benazir Bhutto sits serenely at her headquarters here, waiting for the chips to fall. She says that if she becomes Prime Minister her first order of business will be to restore a constitution written by her father and abolish the presidential powers assumed by the man who had him executed.

## At the Head of the Pack

The daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister who was deposed by Gen. Muhammad Zia ul-Haq 11 years ago, is now commonly expected to be at the head of the pack after nationwide general elections scheduled for Nov. 16.

She is nearly eight months pregnant, and her emotionally charged crusade against her father's executioner died with Zia in an unexplained plane crash on Aug. 17; yet she has used these seeming drags on a political campaign to her advantage.

Benazir Bhutto says "nothing in life is easy," but she argues that she has been able to win over powerful groups that supported Zia and will be able to solve problems of discrimination against women and minorities, unemployment, lawlessness, drug addiction, corruption and other ills she describes as "the extremely bitter harvest" of Zia's long hold on power here.

## A Mixed Accent

Bhutto is a tall, sharp-featured woman with short, jet-black hair and an accent that crosses the mid-Atlantic tones of Oxford and Harvard with higher parts of the vocal register that are more common to the upper-class drawing rooms of Karachi. In an interview early this week, she sat at one end of a long couch, nuzzled intermittently by her calico cat, with her well-advanced pregnancy partly veiled in muslin scarves.

She referred repeatedly to Zia's legacy

and argued that she and her Pakistan People's Party had earned their position as the country's dominant political force. She said that party elections held after her return from England in 1986 were more "widely based" than those of "any other political party on the subcontinent." A decision not to boycott local elections late last year led to a less than dominant showing, she said, but put the party "in a better position for the general election."

## 'Calculations Went Wrong'

"We took on Zia head-on; we said, 'Zia is the dictator,'" Bhutto said of her party. "Because I made Zia the focus, he made me the focus through his proteges, the Muslim League." She continued: "But Zia's calculations went wrong. The opposition alliance held together, and now his Muslim League is split."

Bhutto spoke to *India Abroad* and representatives of four other international newspapers for about an hour at the sprawling family home that now serves as her headquarters.

## No Compromise on Politics

She stressed that her party had not compromised its politics, arguing that it had merely tempered its view on the Army and the United States in order to undermine the support of these two dominant forces for Zia's government.

On India, Bhutto said, "Traditionally, relations have deteriorated when there is a military dictatorship and improved when there is democracy in the two countries."

## Army Getting a Bad Name

Bhutto and other members of her party have said that Zia's military government weakened the country's ability to oppose India, citing the intermittent skirmishes over the Siachen glacier in Kashmir, where they say Pakistan lost ground and allowed a corridor to be opened that threatened the country's defenses.

"The army was getting a bad name over a long period of time," Bhutto said, referring to martial law courts and other uses

of military power within the country by Zia. "This put the armed forces under a continuous strain while the Russians were giving us threats and the Indians were giving us threats."

Without saying how she could maintain military spending which is estimated at up to 60 percent of a debt-loaded and aid-financed budget, Bhutto said, "I am for a strong defense; you can't be wishy-washy."

## Wants U.S. Aid Continued

Reflecting what an American diplomat here described in an earlier interview as "a pragmatism that people get when they get close to being in power," Bhutto said that she would not seek to redefine her country's relationship with the United States. "The United States gives us a tremendous amount of military and economic aid," she said, "and we would like to see it kept up. My father was in power when the arms embargo against Pakistan was lifted."

Bhutto acknowledged a reservoir of anti-American feeling among would-be voters here, but she said that her party felt "that at a higher political level the reaction against the U.S. was really helping Zia because the U.S. was feeling threatened by democracy."

## Backing Away From Extremism

She said that fears that "we would take action against the Army" had similarly strengthened Zia and that her marked shift away from denunciations of the Army and the U.S. came after she realized that "during the years of oppression the party was being shifted more and more to extremes."

She said, however, that her conscious shift to the right on these issues and away from her father's socialist economics had not chased the leftists out of the party. "They didn't leave; they criticized while staying in the party," she said. "The ones who left were mainly those who were broken or bought over."

On Afghanistan, she said, "Basically we don't really know what's going on. It's

a country not only in which the superpowers have been involved but in which there's been a very bitter civil war."

She praised United Nations negotiator Diego Cordovez, saying that "He alone is in the best position" to seek agreements "on all sides" to bring peace to accompany the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

## Continuing the Legacy

Negotiations are due soon on some sort of electoral alliance between the Pakistan People's Party and the other members of the Movement to Restore Democracy Bhutto has said. "If we can sit together in jails, why can't we sit together in Parliament?"

In the comfort of her late father's home, however, she spoke mainly of her hope to continue the legacy of the first PPP government which ran from 1972 to 1977.

She said she would seek to restore Pakistan's 1973 Constitution, which was part-

ly superseded by one Zia wrote in 1979 when he lifted martial law and declared himself President after a disputed percentage of voters approved a referendum in favor of official status for the Islamic religion.

## Wants Health Insurance

Bhutto said she hoped to introduce health insurance system staffed by currently unemployed doctors; introduce agricultural taxes for big landlords, enforce previous land reforms, distribute fallow, state-owned lands to the landless and give provincial governments power to disburse federally determined quotas of public jobs.

On the Islamization programs that Zia claimed were his reason for staying in power, Bhutto said, "General Zia did not do any service to Islam. He used the name of religion to cloak the most brutal repression in the history of the subcontinent. After his death, what is to show for it?"

## Pakistan Opposition

KARACHI — Leaders of the nine-party Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) began a meeting last week to work out an electoral alliance while dismissing speculation that the eight-year-old anti-Zia alliance would splinter in the absence of a common enemy.

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, who is head of the Awami National Party and now holds the rotating post of convenor of the opposition movement, said that concern over whether the new Muslim League faction would "allow free and fair elections" had dominated the first day of meetings between the heads of the coalition's parties.

movement to restore democracy. "We have been through too much together in the last eight years to give up," he said.

MRD members also said that they would call for the removal of the caretaker Chief Ministers of three of Pakistan's four provinces. They feared that with a now declared interest in the November elections, the Chief Ministers would use their official powers to influence voting in the provinces.

## Bhutto Seeks 'Good Relations'

Dipankar De Sarkar adds from London:

"Good relations" with India will be "one of the top priorities" of a Pakistan People's Party government, the party leader, Benazir Bhutto, said in an interview published recently.

## Turks Ban Export of A-Equipment to Pakistan

ANKARA — Turkey has banned the export to Pakistan of equipment that can be used in the manufacture of enriched uranium, dealing Islamabad what could be a serious blow to its clandestine nuclear weapons program.

The ban came into effect on June 22. Prime Minister Turgut Ozal informed visiting Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi this week about this decision during their talks.

India had earlier conveyed its concern to Turkey over Pakistan's getting a large number of components, that can be used in a nuclear weapons program, particularly inverters, from Western countries through Turkey. These were used by Pakistan for enriching uranium.

"I am happy that Turkey has imposed the ban on inverter exports," Gandhi said on July 18 at a joint press conference with Ozal.

The Turkish leader also informed Gandhi that Istanbul had decided to withdraw a ban it had imposed on the screening of Richard Attenborough's film "Gandhi." The movie was banned in Turkey because of what were construed as derogatory references in that film to Pakistan's founder, Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

Gandhi and Ozal said their countries would cooperate in a wide range of fields including food processing, the hotel industry, railways, civil aviation, science and technology.

# "Under the PPP, Sind is prepared to give Pakistan a chance"

— Benazir Bhutto

**Q: What are the main reasons for the discontent in Sind?**

**A.** The alienation of Sind began with the imposition of martial law in 1977. Not only the alienation of Sind but also the alienation of the minority provinces began when their rights were usurped, their representatives were thrown into jail and there was no one to articulate their aspirations.

One effect of martial law that added fuel to the general disenchantment in the smaller provinces was the assassination of the popularly-elected prime minister. This act heightened the alienation in Sind.

As a sop to the sentiments of the people of Sind, a Sindhi was named Prime Minister. But he was there not because parliament had elected him as leader of the majority party. He was there because General Zia, the chief of army staff, nominated him as the Prime Minister. Therefore the people of Sind felt no identification with him. They felt that he was part and parcel of the system that had wronged them.

The regime faced its greatest threat when I came back in 1986 — a threat which we believed would have resulted in its downfall if our autumn schedule had been kept, and a summer showdown averted. In anticipation of the people's desire for change, the regime sent the army into Sind on the pretext that 'we are going there to fight dacoits.' In fact, it was a policy of large-scale intimidation.

When you send an army into a province then naturally you build greater resentment, greater hatred, and a hatred that is fuelled by bloodshed. I believe it is neither good for the Pakistani army nor good for Pakistan, nor good for the People of Sind to have the army in Sind. Mr Junejo, the Muslim League — they have been unable to deal with the problems. The only party which has the

courage and the guts to take on the General and to pull out the army from Sind and to set this country on the right lines is the PPP. That is why every effort is being made to keep the party out of power. To face the PPP, Sind has been divided, ethnic politics have been introduced. Why was the Kalabagh dam issue kept alive for four years? To create hatred between the provinces so that the country is too divided and too fragmented to take on the government.

**Q. What, in your view, is the main objective behind the formation of the Sind National Alliance?**

**A.** I know why the alliance has been formed. The Sann conference is an attempt by people who are pulling the strings from above to try and create an anti-PPP base in the interior, to create an ethnic group.

The problems of Sind are manifold. The Sind National Alliance was not able to touch even the tip of the iceberg. That is because they don't really have roots amongst the people — to understand what the problems are. Most of them are perpetrators (of crimes) against the people of Sind for the last eleven years. How can you go to somebody who's been shooting bullets at you and say, "How can I clean these bullet wounds?" I understand the Sann conference, I can identify the hands behind it but at the same time the PPP has taken a conscious policy decision not to build a hysteria against it, not to elevate it to an importance it does not deserve. But if a moot serves the purpose of unity it is very good.

**Q. Has the emergence of diverse ethnic groupings created a dent in the popularity of the PPP?**

**A.** Ethnic politics was seen as a solution by the military regime to divide the strength of the PPP and to try to fragment it. And I think in the short term, ethnic politics diverted attention away from the PPP and away from political demands to ethnic demands.

We were conscious of this move, and within our own party circles, we had a discussion on how to tackle this ethnic issue. And ultimately, the decision that we arrived at was: don't take on a direct confrontation, with an ethnic party when it is riding on an emotional wave. In that emotional wave, people are not prepared to listen to rational arguments. Wait until that wave has subsided to see what the ethnic groups deliver. And what you'll see is that ethnic policies can't deliver.

Your question was on whether ethnic politics had damaged the PPP and what I'm trying to say is that 'damaged' is not a word I would use. But ethnic politics temporarily diverted the attention of the people, but the timing of the regime was wrong. Although it diverted from the local elections, by the time the general elections come along, I think people will realise that ethnic politics has not stopped bloodshed, has not stopped unemployment and, therefore, if one wants a redress of one's local problems, one has to go beyond the local to a wider level. The only wider body that can, on a national level, mobilise the resources and ensure a just distribution is the Pakistan People's Party.

**Q. But because of the reasons you just mentioned, is there greater pressure on the PPP itself to take a more nationalist stand in Sind?**

**A.** The point is that the pressure was at its peak at the time of the assassination when people wanted to have nothing to do with Pakistan. The second peak was reached during the '83 and '86 movements, when there was a great sense of discontent. Even today Sind, is very discontented. Under the PPP, they're prepared to give Pakistan a chance. Without the PPP, I'm not so sure.

The nationalists today 'woh jo wafaq ki baat kartay hain — woh ghadar hain' (Those who talk of federation are traitors). But there's no federation in Pakistan today. There is presidential rule. Why don't they talk against presidential rule? Why don't you say that it is military dictatorship that has led to all this bloodshed? Like they took out a procession in Karachi. When PPP workers raised slogans of 'down with Zia', they beat up PPP workers. Why don't they speak against Zia?

What I feel is that the problems of Sind are tied into much larger problems. When these people say, "Don't let the PPP win," what are they really saying? They are saying, "Let us form governments under Zia." Unless the PPP comes to power, who is going to remove Zia from the office of President and who is going to remove him from the office of chief of army staff? Who's going to remove the army from Sind? Who's going to stop the building of Pannu Aqil? If you capture the Sind provincial assembly, you don't really change the central government. But if you capture the central government, then you can bring about a change in the entire country. So this is why they are playing ducks and drakes and I don't believe that they can succeed.

# "We will be reduced to Red Indians in our own province"

— G.M. Syed

**Q. What impact will the formation of the Sind National Alliance have on the future politics of Sind?**

**A.** We have started out with certain objectives. What results it will have, only time will tell. We have suffered a long list of grievances after the creation of Pakistan. I had come to the conclusion that the existence of Pakistan was fatal for us and the sooner it came to an end the better. But if wishes were horses beggars would ride. Things will not happen as we want. My experiences have led me to the conclusion that the people want to focus more on the solution of immediate problems than on ultimate objectives.

The Punjab, the central government and Muslim League ideology, are all deadly for Sind. But people want to focus on immediate problems. The problem of water and related issues such as the Kalabagh dam, immigration into Sind from the Punjab and Frontier, from India or Bangladesh. These people must be stopped.

At the time of the formation of Pakistan, our population was 47 lakh. In 1947, 13 lakh Sindhi-speaking people were forced out of here. But in a few years, the population of Sind rose to 61 lakh. In three or four years, 26 lakh people poured in. Now there are two crore and three lakh people in Sind. Before, non-Sindhis formed two percent of the population. Now they are 48 percent. Seven lakh people of all kinds pour in every year. If this process continues, the true Sindhis will soon be reduced to a minority. It is likely that we will become like the Red Indians.

We are the prey of many ideologies; those of Islam and Pakistan, some use the name of socialism, others fool us in the name of democracy.

**Q. Do you think the diverse elements that gathered in Sann to form the SNA can work in unison for the interests of Sind?**

**A.** We are trying to prepare them to do so, get them together. We don't know if we will succeed. Only experience will tell. My own view is that we should separate from Pakistan, but others do not share this view.

**Q. But some of these people, as ministers in Zia's regime, were responsible for raining bullets upon the people of Sind over the last 10 years.**

**A.** *Zamana badalta hai.* We have also made many mistakes, such as endorsing the Pakistan Resolution and accepting the premise that Muslims constitute a separate nation, spreading hatred against the Hindus.

When we participated in the building of Pakistan, we believed that Muslims were a separate nation, but we found this was a false premise. We made mistakes. But in Sindhi there is a saying "Those people who have strayed but try to find their way back to the right path, we should not forsake them"

**Q. A large number of Urdu-speaking people live in Sind. Will they be invited to join the SNA?**

**A.** A group within us did not want the mohajirs to be included, since there is a section of mohajirs in Sind that was speaking out against the front. Another group wants to trust the Punjabis more than the mohajirs. However, the door is now open for non-Sindhi speaking persons to join the alliance. Before it was for Sindhi-speaking people only, now it is for those who live in Sind.

I had talked about this to Nawab Muzaffar a long time ago. And I said that with four conditions we could come together. The first was that we would like to separate politics from religion. We believe in a secular state, a majority of mohajirs do not subscribe to this view. The second condition was that Muslims should not be viewed as a separate nation. The third was to refute the 'nazariya-e-Pakistan.' At the time agreement could not be reached on those conditions.

Those who came from elsewhere, they did not consider themselves to be part of us. Their biggest leader now is Altaf Hussain. He came to see me in hospital, we are on good terms. But how we are to work together, this we did not discuss.

**Q. Do you really think Sind can be truly independent and maintain its independence given the present state of affairs in this region?**

**A.** When we were enslaved within One Unit, I was in jail, but I did not despair. We are in a minority. Money and power are with them — and America's backing. One Unit was eventually disbanded. This was like a miracle. Miracles can happen. I am a firm believer in God.

**Q. There has been considerable controversy over your contacts with General Ziaul Haq. Would you like to comment?**

**A.** He wanted to meet me. Why does he want to meet me, I enquired of Ilahi Bakhsh Soomro, the man who was asked to arrange it. I thought there would be no purpose to the meeting. So I sent a message across saying, "If you meet the enemy of Pakistan, your popularity in the Punjab will be affected. If I meet you, this will affect my standing among my own people." I said that if, even after this, General Zia insisted on meeting me, then I have no objection, but we will not discuss political issues. Of course, the very idea of the meeting raised a controversy.

**Q. One People's Party leader has said that the new alliance has been formed mainly to counter the PPP. Do you agree with this view?**

**A.** To an extent, this is correct. We consider the People's Party an agent of the Punjabis. It is a jamaat of *badmashes*. It has got together a bunch of opportunists. The environment has become such that when people protested against their oppression, the PPP began to take up these four questions — the Kalabagh Dam, cantonments, political prisoners and immigration into Sind. Their Sind leader, Qaim Ali Shah, said if we are invited, we will consider. But then they were reprimanded from above. N.D. Khan and Mrs N.D. Khan gave a statement. And then Tikka Khan and Hukkah Khan (Nawabzada Nasrullah) were against it. Jatoti of the NPP comes and goes.



# "We are victims of a dual colonisation"

— Rasul Bakhshi Palijo

**Q. How do you view the present political situation in Sind, and what in your opinion are the major issues confronting the province?**

**A.** I think the present political situation in Sind is most unsatisfactory and does not bode well for the future of Pakistan. The most crucial issue that faces the province today, for the Sindhi-speaking people, is Sind's partition. The Sindhi-speaking people of Sind are being swiftly turned into a minority.

The people of Sind were invaded by many — the Greeks, the Arabs, the Afghans, the Mughals and the British — but at no point in time were they ever threatened with being transformed into a minority as they are today. At no point was their ownership of Sind, as a people, ever challenged. When people came, they were absorbed, and they ultimately emerged as a part of the people of Sind.

All this has changed because of the flood of people coming into Sind. It was not provided in 1947 that the position of Sindhi people as the owners of Sind was going to be affected in any way. Pakistan was supposed to redress the position created by the domination of the Hindu upper class. But this class was simply replaced by another class from other provinces. Now a flood threatens to come from India because of the riots. One representative of the immigrants is on record as having called for the people affected by the riots in India to be called into Sind.

We are victims of a dual colonisation. The Urdu-speaking colonisers and the Punjabi speaking colonisers have converged into one anti-Sindhi mafia. We are a nation of people. But we have been reduced to tribes. They've reduced us to Shias and Sunnis.

**Q. Sind's urban situation has dramatically changed with the emergence of the MQM. What are your views on this phenomenon?**

**A.** I see it merely as a change of tactics by imperialism and the ruling cliques. The same cliques who were operating the Mohajir-Punjabi-Pathan Mahaz during the Ayub regime are still active. They change their signboards and do the same thing all over again.

At that time they created many problems for the people of Sind. They were always with the military, always with the ruling class. They have never changed their ideology.

They opposed the quota system at that time. They are doing it now. They were opposed to Sindhi culture. They are still opposed to Sindhi culture. They are setting fire to the Sindhology Department, capturing the cultural heritage of the Sindhi people, Hyderabad fort and all that.

**Q. You mean the target of the mohajirs' attack is essentially the Sindhis?**

**A.** I predicted long time ago that this is only tactics. It's new wine in old bottles. They pretend to fight the Punjabi ruling class, but actually they are against the people of

Sind. Against whom is the demand for a fifth nationality? Against whom is the demand for scrapping the quota system? Against whom is the demand for bringing Biharis from Bangladesh?

And then there is the Kalabagh dam. Where will Hyderabad get its industrial water from? From U.P.? From C.P.? From Hyderabad Deccan? Water will come from the Indus. This rhetoric doesn't fool anybody. Why is Hyderabad Municipal Corporation not in tune with the rest of Sind? Karachi takes the bulk of Sind's water. What right does it have to even a drop of water from the Indus if it doesn't join the fight to preserve its waters?

**Q. Some progressive parties led by Urdu-speaking people like Mairaj Mohammad Khan, have shown an interest in joining the SNA.**

**A.** Has Mairaj Mohammad Khan objected to the MQM because only Urdu-speaking people are represented in it? Has Professor Jamal Naqvi objected and called MQM a racist organisation because only Urdu-speaking people are represented? Has anybody noticed and objected to the Baluch, Pakhtuns or Punjabis not being invited?

Those who are objecting to the Sindhi people uniting for a limited purpose should first get their intentions clear in the minds of the people, show their honesty by attacking the MQM and calling it racist for failing to invite other ethnic groups. Anybody who questions the progress and nature of the Sindhi people's alliance should first attack the entity which is clearly a racist organisation.

**Q. The Kalabagh dam has become a focal point in the province. In what way will its construction harm Sind?**

**A.** In 1935, Punjab's ruling classes sold their rivers. Part of those rivers were being taken by the Indus so they sold part of the waters of Sind. Then they started building those dams. The Kotri barrage dam was built. The people displaced by the Kotri barrage didn't get any compensatory lands in the Punjab. Then the Chashma link canal was built. I am told that during the military rule they also widened sections of the canals, taking a way more water. Sind is not getting even the minimum amount of water it requires. The building of further dams will intensify the problem. Already, the Indus is not flowing. The ruling cliques of the Punjab say that vast quantities of water is wasted. In any case, our contention is that the water is not yours. It belongs to the people of Sind. I am told that this *shosha* of the Kalabagh dam, which is not even technically feasible, is being promoted by one part of the ruling clique to foul up the chances of another part of the ruling clique. First, there was the Shia-Sunni problem. Then other problems in Karachi. This is just part of their power games. It is just a stunt. The construction of the Kalabagh dam amounts to the economic and political slaughter of Sind.

## SANA Elections

A new SANA Executive Council will be elected for 1989-90 by the end of 1988. Nomination Forms have been distributed among the members. The last date of returning the nominations is Sept. 30, 1988.

## Editor Needed

SANA Executive Council is searching for an Editor for its Quarterly Newsletter SANGAT. The present editor has shown inability to continue due to personal reasons. Interested members are requested to contact Mr. Khalid Hashmani as soon as possible.

## Sindhi Magazine From New York

A new Sindhi Magazine SANEH is being published from New York. SANA has offered help to the publisher of the magazine in bringing it out regularly and expanding it in scope.

## 1989 GBM

SANA is already planning for the 1989 GBM. A decision is yet to be made about the venue of the meeting. Among places under consideration are Toronto, Miami, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and Baltimore.  
California Sindhi Sham

Some SANA members headed by Mr. Adam Laghari are planning to hold a Sindhi Sham in California. Interested members are requested to contact him.

## Donation Pledges

Several participants in the New York GBM pledged donations for SANA. All participants who had pledged were sent information on how to send their pledges. To date many pledges have not been received. Please send your pledges as soon as possible.

## SANA Advisory Committee

The SANA Executive Council is pleased to appoint the following members to the

newly created SANA Advisory Committee

Mr. Shaukat Ansari  
Mr. Shankar Lakhwani  
Dr. A. Razak Memon  
Mr. Badar Shaikh  
Mr. Amanullah Turk  
Mr. Asif Wafai  
Dr. Aftab Kazi  
Mr. Mohammad Ali Mahar  
Dr. Mahmood Qalbani  
Dr. Badaruddin Shaikh  
Dr. Aijaz Turk  
Mr. Adam Khan Laghari  
Mr. Aijaz Abro

## New York Committee Congratulated

SANA Executive Council and SANA members have extended to the GBM Organizaion Committee for excellent arrangements during the meeting in New York. Special thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. Badar Shaikh for their hospitality and arranging a get-together at their home.

## Proud Parents

SANA members Dr Aijaz & Mrs Aisha Turk have been blessed with a baby boy. The baby has been named 'Hussain

## SANA Address Change

The following is the new central mailing address of SANA:

S.A.N.A.  
P.O. Box 991  
Williamsville, Ny 14221  
USA

The old address will also be continued to be used until the final switch-over date to be announced later.

## SANA Donations To Publications

- O \$ 500 to the Journal Of Sind Affairs to be published from the USA. The editorial board of the journal is headed by SANA members: Dr. Aftab Kazi and Dr. Javaid Laghari.
- O \$ 500 to the monthly SANEH which is published from New York. The magazine is headed by SANA member Mr. Aijaz Abro.

## FOURTH SANA ANNUAL MEETING

QUEENS, NEW YORK

June 24-26, 1988

### HISTORIC GATHERING IN NEW YORK!

The 4th SANA Annual Meeting took place at the Adria Motor Inn Conference Center in Queens, NY on June 25, 1988, and was attended by over 150 Sindhi individuals coming from over 14 states in US and Canada! Guests from UK and Sindh also attended the meeting in large numbers. Mr. Shaukat Ansari handled the registration of the delegates very efficiently. The Meeting started at 3:00 PM with a welcome by local chairman Mr. Badar Shaikh. Mr. Khalid Hashmani, President SANA, described the progress SANA has made in the last 4 years, particularly by bringing together the North American Sindhis on a common platform. He stressed that SANA is a cultural and non-political group, but added that it is difficult to clearly define the border between culture and politics. Individual SANA member, however, have the right to express their own personal, political or professional views at all times. Dr. Javaid Laghari, General Secretary SANA, in his address thanked the guest speakers for accepting SANA's invitation to come all the way to USA to express their views and hear SANA members' viewpoints on Sindh. He informed the gathering of the various educational projects being undertaken by SANA, such as the Sindh Journal with Dr. Aftab Kazi as editor, other collaborative programs with Sindhi institutions and groups, and the regular publication of the quarterly newsletter SANGAT by editor Dr. Altaf Memon, which has a worldwide distribution. Mr. Israr Ansari, Treasurer, stressed the point that for the successful implementation of most projects and goals of SANA, financial help is essential. Donations of over \$5,000 were pledged at this meeting.

Following the Executive Council Report, a special session of the Sindhi Adabi Mehfil was conducted by Dr. Aijaz Turk. Papers were read by Dr. Niranjan Dudani and Mrs. Ashahar Faiz Pirzada on Sindhi identity and Sindhi poetry, respectively.

The background to the Invited Speakers forum was described by Dr. Laghari, who added that this would now become a permanent feature of the annual meeting. The Guest Speakers who had consented to speak at this years SANA meeting were Professor G. M. Shah, Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman, Dr. Khalid Laghari and Abdul Hafeez Pirzada. Mr. Badar Shaikh provided the opening teaser talk in which he warned the audience of the possible loss of Sindhi identity and culture through inter-ethnic marriages. He stressed that the Sindhi families, particularly those living away from Sindh, should make all efforts to preserve and protect Sindhi culture and language particularly within their homes.

Professor G. M. Shah read his article, entitled "Pakistan and Contempt for Law and Procedure," which is to be simultaneously published in the July 1988 issue of the SIND QUARTERLY. Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman described the prevailing situation in Sindh, the problems of influx of alien population, the Kalabagh Dam controversy and the dacoit situation. Dr. Khalid Laghari from UK proposed that all overseas Sindhi groups, particularly those from UK and USA, should coordinate efforts and initiate joint activities in the interest of Sindh. He also proposed holding a joint symposium on "Sindh of the 21st Century." Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada in his speech very dramatically described how the military rule in Pakistan has destroyed all other institutions, such as the

judiciary, executive, legislature, as well as all moral and human values. He described how Sindh has systematically been colonized, and warned that what we are seeing now is only the tip of the iceberg. He reiterated his views that the 73 constitution had failed, and a new constitutional arrangement, with the 4 states as equals, was the only safeguard left for the minorities.

Very stimulating questions were asked of the speakers. All were of the view that elections will not be held in Pakistan in the near future. Some were also of the view that we should not go to the polls under the present arrangement defined by General Zia. All speakers agreed with each other viewpoints and with the concerns of the SANA members over the Sindh situation.

The banquet was well organized by the local committee and handled efficiently by Mr. Sarfaraz Abbassi, and twice as many people showed up than were expected. The banquet was followed by a live musical evening, in which Mr. Gope Chander, son of the late Master Chander, and his family, sang old and new nationalistic Sindhi songs. The local talent included Dr. Dudani, Dr. Turk, Mr. Bashir Ahmed Baloch and Mrs. Fauzia Daudi. Emotional scenes with high nationalistic spirits were viewed throughout the evening, particularly when Mr. Hafeez Pirzada got onto the stage, singing "Sindhri Key Sar Kair Na Deendo" along with other SANA members, and all others joined in. As is typical of most Sindhi meetings, everyone danced and sang to the tune of "Ho Jamalo" when the meeting terminated at 3:00 AM in the morning.

4th SANA ANNUAL MEETING  
INFORMAL GATHERINGS: REFRESHMENT  
PROGRAM AND PICNIC BRUNCH

A large number of SANA delegates converged at the residence of Mr. Badar Shaikh, local chairman, the night of June 24th for a dinner sponsored by Mr. Anwar Shaikh, Mr. Razzak Shaikh, Mr. Agha K. Khan and Mr. Badar Shaikh, all of New York area, and cost-shared by SANA. Informal discussions took place late into the night on the policies of SANA, recent events in Sindh, and the options left for the future. Mr. A. H. Pirzada, Dr. Khalid Laghari, Mr. Anwar Shaikh, son of the late Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi and an attorney in New York, Mr. Iqbal Tareen, ex-President, Jeeay Sindh Students Federation, Dr. Aftab Kazi and various other delegates participated in the discussions. Mr. Shanker Lakhavani was proudly seen wearing a "Jeeay Sindh" T-shirt, while Mr. Israr Ansari of Canada wore a "Jeeay Sindh" necktie. Mrs. Badar Shaikh, Mrs. Zahur Siddiqui, and other Sindhi ladies proved to be excellent hosts for this occasion.

A SANA sponsored picnic brunch the morning of June 26th was arranged at the Gertz Plaza by the local chairman. (The outdoor picnic at Valley Stream State Park was cancelled due to wet weather). Professor G. M. Shah and Mr. A. H. Pirzada also attended this occasion along with many SANA members and other visitors from Sindh. A large number of group photos were taken at this occasion.

پنيء ٻيون پڙعن، هاڻيون ٻيراڳين جون  
هلو ته سيڪيون هٿڙا، مٿي تن مڇن  
سي جيئن وسامن، جي لاهوتي لائي ويا

مانورا دوستو،  
سانا جي چوٿين سالاني اجلاس ۾ توهانجي شرعت جو نهايت  
تواضعو آهيان. اڄ جي گڏجاڻي جي هڪ اهم خصوصيت اها  
به آهي ته اڄ اسان کي سنڌ جا عجم معزز رهبر پڻ خطاب  
ڪندا. سندن آمد اسانجي عزتواري آهي ۽ اسان سڀ سندن  
شڪرگذار آهيون.

سانا جي زندگيءَ جا اٽڪل چار سال پدارتئين تي پيا آهن.  
سانا جي ساٿين جي پيار ۽ خلوص داري محنتن رنگ لائون آهي.  
پروردگار جي مهربانيءَ سان اسانجي ائسو سئيشن جون شروعاتي  
عزوريون آهسته آهسته دور پيون ٿيئي ۽ سانا جي آئيني مقصدن  
حاصل ڪرڻ طرف عجم پيش رفت ٿي آهي.

Dear friends:

SANA is the only organization in North America which strives to create an effective platform for all North American Sindhis. The objective is to facilitate the exchange of ideas and sharing of views on the problems facing today's Sind and Sindhis. In addition, one of our important activities is to inform and educate the main stream and other ethnic communities in North America about our culture, history and problems.

As an organization, we are a non-political group. But as individuals living in democratic societies, we can not and should not discourage individual view points. Those of us who wish SANA to remain as a purely "social and cultural" organization must realize that borders between "cultural" and "political" domains become blurred and sometimes it is not possible to discuss culture in isolation from the political realities. By the same token those of us who want SANA to adopt a stronger political posture must keep in mind that "politics" by nature brings

simultaneous pressures of "division" and "co-operation". As such we must avoid "politics" when it does not support SANA charter directly and substantially.

We are still a young organization and some sindhis still view us with suspicion. To mature and strengthen, we need wider and active participation of our member community. Each year we gain about 25 new members. Unfortunately, this is only sufficient to offset the annual loss in the membership. Increasing SANA membership is key to our growth. Each one of us must become an active recruiter of new members and pursue member friends to renew their memberships.

This year we complete four years and the election of the new Executive Council will be held later in this year. In this regard, an open invitation has been extended to all members to join the SANA Advisory Committee. The purpose of this committee is to create a pool of potential candidates for future SANA Executive Council nominations and to increase member participation in the day-to-day operation of the association. I urge those of you who can spare some time to join this committee.

For SANA to thrive and grow, we as individual members must show greater tolerance, understanding and respect for differing opinions. Also, we must exercise sensitivity to controversial issues and individual perceptions. We should ignore those pressures which have tendency to divide us and build upon those elements which bring us together.

> و سٽو -

سنڌ مان سانا ۾ تمام گهڻيون اُميدون آهن ، منزل در  
آهي ۽ وقت ٿيندو سان ڊوڙي پيو. اچو ته محبت ۽ خلوص جي  
روشنئي ۾ اڳتي وڌون. پر درڊگار کان دعا آهي ته :

عڏهن سنڌ جي سيند ميري نه ٿئي  
عڏهن موڙ تنجها نه مڙجها عجن  
وسي پٽ تنهنجي ڀلار سدا  
ڀلي ديس پرديس سارا ولسن



PROFESSOR GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH, MAKHDOOM  
KHALIQUZZAMAN, DR. KHALID LAGHARI AND  
MR. ABDUL HAFEEZ PIRZADA DISCUSS POLITICAL SITUATION  
AT THE 4th SANA ANNUAL MEETING

Spectacular and dynamic speeches were delivered by the invited guest speakers at the historic SANA meeting held in Queens, NY, on June 25, 1988.

Professor G. M. Shah, PPP, in his lecture, "Pakistan and Contempt for Law and Procedure," described how institutions have been torn up in Pakistan and how the Mullas and the Jamaite-Islami have collaborated with the plutocracy and army purely for political mischief, and were the true enemies of the indigenous people in Pakistan, and of their hopes, strength and survival. He said Zia's referendum was the greatest hoax played on a nation of hundred million. He also attacked the credibility of journalism, saying they have become an agency of political authority and have fallen in dirty hands. Nothing had brought Pakistan international disgrace and disrepute as the armed forces and the journalists of Pakistan. He also lashed out at the youth, blaming that they have not shown any respect for law and legal values over the last 40 years, and had completely forgotten the meaning, the respect and the importance of the concept of the rule of law.

Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman, PPP, thanked SANA for providing him the opportunity to speak at this forum. He clarified in advance that what he will be presenting are his personal views and not those of his party (PPP). He attacked the construction of the Kalabagh Dam, and stressed that this money, or other military expenditures, should instead be used on other viable civilian projects, such as the irrigation of the Thar desert. He described the problem of the influx of the alien population in Sindh, and said that Muhajirs should call themselves Sindhis first otherwise they will be completely isolated. He sympathized with the hardworking and poor Pathan population in Sindh, saying that they meant no harm to Sindh. He reiterated his views that no power in Pakistan was presently strong enough to overthrow the military, and that he strongly believed that there will be no elections in Pakistan. He said a class struggle was essential to rid of all the wrongs in Sindh and Pakistan.

Dr. Khalid Laghari, Chairman, SBPF, first identified himself as a professional like most SANA members are, but added that no one is born a politician. He said these were the events, particularly those of 1977, and later in 1983 and 1986, that had brought a change in the political thinking of most Sindhis. He described the origin of Sindhi political activity in UK, and also how SANA could work as a Sindhi political lobby in the USA for the interest of Sindh, such as by establishing contacts with the US Administration and White House, the United Nations and Foreign Missions, and political scholars and journalists. He proposed closer ties and joint US-UK activities, such as the holding of an joint symposium on "Sindh of the 21st Century."

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Secretary General, SBPF, very dramatically and systematically described how the military had strengthened its roots in Pakistan by destroying all institutions, such as the legislature, judiciary, the executive, as well as all moral and human values. Of the 40 years of Pakistan's existence, 27 years were ruled by the military. He described in great detail how since times immemorial, Sindh had been a nation by itself, until it was colonized by foreign powers. In 1937, it was one of the eleven provinces of British India, and in 1946, the Cabinet Mission plan for the independence of India proposed a confederal



type structure. He described how since 1947 Sindhi lands had been systematically colonized, first by the Muhajirs and later by the Punjabis. In 1971, Sindhis saw hope for the future, but it was only after the defeat of the army that brought the power to PPP. By 1977, they have restrengthened themselves back to regain power, and now had no intention to return back to the barracks unless there was a freak of history, like the one that occurred in 1971. Since 1977, atrocities had been committed, 55,000 Sindhis had been sent to jail, 6500 were given public lashes, and dozens hanged. Their properties were confiscated and families dishonored. The greatest blow was in 1977, when the Supreme Court validated the abrogation of the 1973 constitution and later, the Sindhi Prime Minister was hanged under the same 1973 constitutional arrangement. He stressed that we cannot compromise, since the survival of the Sindhis nation is now at stake. He said we will be doomed forever if we decide to participate in the elections under the present arrangement. Describing the military structure, he said that even if Zia went, there were 64 generals waiting in line. Pakistan had the longest standing army (after Egypt) with over 750,000 recruits, 500,000 pensioners and over 100,000 Civil armed forces. In other words, 13% of the country's total production (and up to 40% of the budget) were being spent on military expenditures, while less than 1.9% of the budget were spent on health and education combined. He said 92% of the military was coming from Punjab, and 8% from Pukhtoonkhwa, which spends Rs 75 billion of the budget. The irony was that even though Sindh had 0% representation in the army, it was contributing over Rs 40 billion to its expenditures, therefore, benefitting over 1.3 million families in the Punjab. He called it worse that the Jazia Aurengzeb had imposed on the Hindu population in India. He stressed that a maximum of 3% of the GNP should be spent on military expenditures in a poor country like Pakistan. Pakistan was a well-defined multi-national state, and there were at least 600 Ayats in the Holy Quran relating to Meesak, i.e., deciding about one's own future. He argued that the 1973 constitution had completely failed in protecting the minority nations (the Sindhis, Balochs and Pushtoons) in Pakistan, and, therefore, a new constitutional arrangement between the 4 provinces, sitting as equals, was essential to the survival of Pakistan and was the only safeguard left to protect the nationalities. He said that this is why the SBPF was organized, to demand a new constitutional arrangement in which the rights of the minority nations were fully protected, particularly in case of military takeovers. Mr. Pirzada's speech was highly applauded by the audience.

#### DONATIONS PLEDGED AT THE 4th GB MEETING

SANA wishes to thank the following members who pledged donations at the fourth General Body meeting in New York:

Mr Bashir Ahmed Bhund	\$1,000	Dr Rasheed Memon	\$ 500
Mr & Mrs A. G. Abbasi	250	Mr & Mrs Hafeez Abbasi	200
Mr M. Abbasi	200	Dr Aftab Ansari	200
Dr Zafar Hafiz	200	Mr & Mrs K. Hashmani	200
Dr & Mrs Wahab Kazi	200	Dr & Mrs Farrukh Shaikh	200
Dr Muzaffer H. Surahio	200	Mr & Mrs Saleem Ursani	200
Dr Mithal Vakkasi	200	Mr Agha K. Khan	150
Dr & Mrs Ali Abro	100	Mr & Mrs Rafat Ansari	100
Dr Aftab Kazi	100	Dr & Mrs Javaid Laghari	100
Dr & Mrs Altaf Memon	100	Dr & Mrs Nazir Mughal	100
Dr & Mrs Mahmood Qalbani	100	Dr & Mrs Nadeem Qamar	100
Mr & Mrs Anwar Shaikh	100	Mr. Roshan Shaikh	100
Dr Shabbir A. Shaikh	100	Dr & Mrs Aijaz Turk	100
Mr & Mrs Israr Ansari	50	Mr & Mrs Shankar Lakhavani	50
Mr Iqbal Tareen	50		

SANA EXPENSES  
4th ANNUAL MEETING  
Queens, New York

6/24 Reception at Residence of Mr. Badar Shaikh\*

Donation - Mr. Anwar Shaikh	\$ 150.00
Donation - Mr. Razzak Shaikh	150.00
Donation - Mr. Agha K. Khan	100.00
SANA Cost Share	60.00
	<hr/>
SANA EXPENSE	\$ 460.00

\* Dessert and arrangements by Mr. B. Shaikh

6/25 Annual Meeting

Meeting room	\$ 300.00
Refreshments	360.00
Stage make-up	95.00
<u>Dinner</u>	
Dinner shortfall	60.00
<u>Musical evening</u>	
Mr. Gope Chander	500.00
Audio System	175.00
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	
Baby sitting, NY expenses, etc.	175.00
File covers, Video tapes, etc.	100.00
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SANA EXPENSE	\$ 1,765.00

6/25 Picnic Brunch

SANA EXPENSE	\$ 500.00
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<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	\$ \$ 2,725.00
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FOURTH SANA ANNUAL MEETING  
SANA EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
MEETING: DECISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following decisions and recommendations were made at the executive council meeting the morning of June 25, 1988.

Sindhi Video: Dr. Aijaz Turk has undertaken to continue pursuing the matter in Sindh, while Dr. Altaf Memon will explore the possibility of completing this project in the USA.

Sindh Journal: Seed money of \$500 were pledged by SANA to support this journal under editorship of Dr. Aftab Kazi, Mr. Shanker Lakhavani has offered to provide typesetting and laser printing for the journal. The first issue is planned for Fall 1988.

Increase in Membership Fees:

Due to inflation and increasing expenditures in the last 4 years, the new rates (effective January 1, 1989) will be:

Family \$25.00	Students \$7.50
Individuals \$20.00	Student Family \$10.00

Sindhi Student Exchange Program:

Mr. Shanker Lakhavani provided a comprehensive report. He recommended that SANA needs to grow organizationally and financially first to make this program a success.

Venue of 1989 Annual Meeting

Detroit, Miami, St. Louis and Toronto are proposed sites. All sponsors are requested to put together a local committee and make a concrete proposal to the Executive Council by the end of August 1988.

Sindhi physicians have proposed Detroit, which is easily accessible to all Northeast and Midwest Sindhis, and is also the site for the annual meeting of the Physicians which will take place there over the 4th of July weekend. (SANA has 35 physicians in its membership). An added attraction could be the famous Sindhi singer, Abida Parveen. Drs. Mithal Vikassi and Rafat Ansari and requested to provide additional information on the physicians meeting as soon as more details are available.

Mr. Bashir Ahmed has offered accommodation and food at discount rates if meeting is held at Miami. Also, according to him, it is in close proximity to many Sindhis of the Caribbean.

Dr. Mahmood Qalbani and Dr. Shabbir Shah have proposed St. Louis since a core group of hosts exists there. Also, it is accessible to the West Coast Sindhis.

Mr. Khalid Hashmani and Israr Ansari are proponents of Toronto, since it offers a large number of attractions, has local hosts, and "its high time a meeting of SANA is held in Canada."

SANA Medical Professional Chapter

A Sindhi chapter was announced. Dr. Aijaz Turk will coordinate this effort to make all Sindhi physicians members of SANA and this chapter.

# Some Aspects of Sindhi Culture

*(Extracts from an article by M. A. Siddiqui)*

Sindh has its specific culture. In this brief study of Sindhi Culture it is tried to keep in view a brief historical perspective from the ancient to the modern times. The present day Sindhi culture is no doubt heavily influenced by Islam. Whether taken as a part of the sub-continent, or as a separate geographic unit, it enjoys all the pre-requisites of an ideal culture.

## **Bases of Sindhi Culture:**

The first definition of Sindhi culture relates to the period around 3000 B.C. when the urban civilisation in the Indus Valley was at its height. The excavation of Mohan-jo-Daro and Harappa have unfolded before us the city life of a people and the extent to which the idea of municipal control developed. Throughout the two cities, the streets and buildings are marked by the brick drains, the most elaborate of their kind in ancient Asia. So the present day Sindh, around 3000-2500 B.C. prided on its urban civilization. Dakshiniya Chihna (778 A.D.) described the distinguished features of the Sindhis in this way: "elegant, with a lovely, soft and slow gait, fond of the art of gandharvas (songs, music and dancing) and full affection towards their country. Much of the arguments still hold. But it doesn't mean that the Sindhis were only fun and frolic people and their spirit of adventure aroused in them yearnings for exploits in distant lands. A sea-faring people, having an urban base and fertile lands can account for the presence of a Memphis colony of Indians consisting of Sindhis since India in those days largely stood for Sindh, as described by K. M. Panikar in his "Studies on Indian History". It is true that Sindh has seldom been allowed by foreign aggressors to develop its own culture in peace, free from outside influences. And hence it is no wonder that we have in Sindhi culture the acknowledgement of many influences which the aggressors imparted. One of the influences came to be the instinctive yearning for non-violence and toleration.

Secondly, the impact of Sindi subjugation at the hands of the Aryans around 2500 B.C. was great, and the subsequent changes imprinted on the psyche of the Sindhi people should be judged in the light of the changes which they had undergone at the hands of the Aryans. With the Sway of the Aryans the Sindhis underwent a big change. The adversity of subjugation made them a bit fatalistic. Much of their martial ferour was gone. So the Sindhis culture grew from its cosmopolitan and mercantile beginnings of the Dra vidian era into a blend tempered by Aryan contemplation and meditation. Unlike the western mind, which assigns great moral importance to the struggle between man and his physical environment, the Sindhi mind has

developed in an environment where the bountiful River has elicited a feeling of exaltation and devotion. Its equation with nature has not been one of perpetual struggle but of harmony and concord.

After having further baptism into Achaemenide, Graeco-Macedonian, Mauryan, Saka, Chionite, Eptalite Sassanide Suzerainty, Sindh once again reverted to more or less indigenous principalities. It had some consolation in that its worship of rivers, animals, trees (especially PIPAL) had assumed the subcontinent wide following alongwith the currency of such symbols as those of the SWASTIKA and wheel. Sindh proved to be more receptive to mysticism. Mysticism was the third major influence that lasts even today. Hence love, tolerance, catholicity and non-violence are the corner stones of Sindhi culture with a difference that Sindhi's love for their land is a paramount feature.

Now Sindh is changing and most of what has been said pertains to a Sindh which is traditional and whose social relations were so geared to keep the majority mute. Now Sindh is committed to the ideals of democracy. The old influences have not completely waned, but there seems to be a positive dedication to the concept of social and economic egalitarianism.

The culture of Sindh is a great force of affirmation, of recognition and cognition. There are no signs that it is going to act otherwise. For that's the determination of those who live it.

# سنڌي انسوسيئشن آف نارٿ آمريڪا

پوسٽ باڪس ۱۱۴۱۹، هئرسبرگ، پينسلوانيا ۱۷۱۰۸



تماهي

## سنگت

ايڊيٽر: آدرش سنڌي

۱ سيپٽمبر ۱۹۸۸ع

جلد: چوٿون

نمبر: ٽيون



ڇڪيءَ کي ڇڻي ڪا جاڳائي ڇڏيون. ويڙو ساٿ وهي نونڊائي نه لهي

# شاعري

## ترجمو: جي الانا

## شاه جو شعر

O moon, what a great difference,  
Between my Beloved and your appearance.  
It is only at night that you are bright;  
My Beloved is undiminished, eternal Light.

چنڊ! تنهنجي ذات، پاڻ ٻيڪان نه پهرين سين،  
تون اچو ڇو ڇو رات، سڄي رات سو جهرو.

There, where the star shines with pride,  
There, my Beloved I see reside.  
My Beloved is as sweet as honey;  
Bitterness he knows not any.

هن ٿاڙي، هن هنڌ، هت منهنجا سڀين،  
سڄي ماڳي منڊ، ڪوڙاين نه ڪلهين.

O moon, I will reveal to you the fact,  
If you will not with anger react.  
Sometimes you are merely a crescent line,  
At times as full-moon you shine,  
In your face glow ciniten of light;  
You do not possess the face of my Beloved divine.

چنڊ! چوان، سڄي جي مٿي نه ڀاڻين،  
ڪلهن اڀرين سنهڙو ڪلهن اڀرين ڪڇ،  
منهن ڀريجي مڇ، توهان هينائي پهرين جي.

O Master! Will you one day,  
During my life come with me to stay?  
The lovers within my heart.  
Of forlicks have drawn a chart.  
My Beloved has set out on a journey;  
To whom shall I my secrets impart?

ڏيئي! ڪر ڏين ڪڏهن، حياتي هيڪانڊ،  
من هر مشتاقن جي، ڪي رنجائي ڪراند،  
پهرين ڏيساندر پانڊ، ڪجهه گهريان ڪن سين.

O God, if myself from Your door You banish,  
I will not from Your presence vanish.  
Even if You Your face from me conceal,  
I see Your Image itself reveal.  
At so many doors have I begged,  
But, "All is You," this is all cherish.

توڻي تيرين تون، يا لا! تودروءِ نه ڇڏيان!  
مون کي سو مشاهدو، جي منهن نه ڏيڻ مون،  
مون پيادو گهڻا هاريا، آهين تون ئي تون.

My heart recalls my Friend.  
Where will he be now, at what end?  
Why do you not on our bridal bed.  
Set your feet, O Beloved Friend?  
The membent for reunion is here;  
Whom can I make my secrets hear?

هنڻي سڄي ساريا، ڪي هوندمهيا؟  
اچي لالڻ! نه ڏيڻ، مٿي پلنگن پير؟  
ڀي وروهن ويرا، ڪجهه گهريان ڪن سين؟

## جنهن وقت ذات آڏو ملي ٿو

قتل ۽ غارت ڦهري ڦهري، قومن جو آڏو قبرستان،  
 پاڪستان ظلمستان، پاڪستان ظلمستان.  
 جنهن وقت ذات آڏو ملي ٿو،  
 سڀ هوسو گهو بچيل ڪو،  
 مون تي الزام نڪت ٿو،  
 محفوظ ناهي عزت آڏو.  
 پاڪستان ظلمستان، پاڪستان ظلمستان.  
 گرم گهر ڏين ٿا،  
 حق گهر ٿي سولي ڏين ٿا،  
 قيد پرگاري ڪولي ڏين ٿا،  
 مڙهي ڌاري ٻولي ڏين ٿا،  
 لڳن ڪڍن تي زنجير ۽ زندان.  
 پاڪستان ظلمستان، پاڪستان ظلمستان.  
 ڪنهن کي درگاه ڪنهن کي قتل،  
 مارون ڏنڊ ۽ سڄو سسٽم،  
 تشدد ڪن ڏئي بجلي جماعت،  
 چست وٺي ٿا چئن پتڪا،  
 خطا ڪن جو ناهي نشان.  
 پاڪستان ظلمستان، پاڪستان ظلمستان.  
 آيو آ اسلامي نظام،  
 قرل رشوت جام،  
 سنڌي، بلوچ ڪنا ڪنا،  
 غيرت مند غريب غلام،  
 بي گهر آهن ڪيئي ڪسان.  
 پاڪستان ظلمستان، پاڪستان ظلمستان.  
 اڻڌا جهڙا جنگ جوان،  
 ٿڌا اهڙو تيز طوفان،  
 آزاد ٿي هون ڪري ڪرڻ  
 نڪر ٿيڻو چئبو ڇڏي ڇڏي  
 پاڪستان ظلمستان پاڪستان ظلم

## نظم جنهن وقت ذات آڏو ملي ٿو

قاتل ڪپڙا، انگ آڳهاڙا  
 ويتر نٿن لٽي ڪٿا ڪهاڙا  
 سختيون، سور، آنهن لٽي، جن جا  
 بک تي گذرن ڏينهن ڏهاڙا

ڪن لٽي دم دم عيش ۽ عشرت  
 ڪي سورن ۾ اوڙا پاڙا

هرجا ظلم ۽ ناانصافي  
 جاوا ٻڙا، پائر جاڙا

پيت بکي تي غور جي بدران  
 لوڪ جا وينا جاچين لاڙا

مينهن وڃن جو وڏو آهي  
 راتو ڏينهن تنوارن تارا

سينو چمري ٻاهر نڪتا  
 ٻول مينا پر ڪن لٽي پاڙا

## آزاد نظم عنايت بلوچ وٽ جي چانو

سڙ ۽ ساڻو وٺ آهيان مان  
 پاڻ پتر تي بيٺو آهيان  
 ڪيئي مسافر ايندي ويندي  
 منهنجي چانو ۾ ساهه پڙين ٿا  
 ٿڪ پڇن ٿا  
 ساهه پڙي ۽ سببت ڪن ٿا  
 راهي ٿين ٿا.

ڪي نيتهن جا مثل مسافر  
 پيا پيا، وسيل وسيل  
 ساڻا ساڻا، ٿڪ ٿڪل  
 پنهنجي منزل ماڳ وساري  
 ٿڌي چانو ۾ پئجي رهن ٿا  
 مان ته مصيبت ۾ ڦاٿو هان  
 منهنجي وسعت ايڏي ناهي

جو سڀني کي پنهنجي چانو جي ڀاڄن منجهه سمائي ويهان  
 آخر پيا به ته اچا آهن  
 جيڪي قطار ۾ بيٺا آهن  
 هٿي ايندا، ٿڪ پڇيندا  
 ڏينهن به ٿي ڪي راتيون رهندا.



## عجائبي وينا شرقي

سماج جا ليڪيدار، سماج جي اوتارن کي پاڙئون ٻيڻ بجاءِ افواهن کي هوا ڏيئي، اوتارن کي تهاڻن مضبوط ڪندا هئا. سر پٽيچ، ها چار چڱا جن سماج کي سڌارڻ جو ليڪو ڪيمو، مڪي ۽ سينئون، ”آپ نه بلي ڏرجها متيان ڏيون“ واري ڳالهه هئي. پنهنجي ٻٽ ورائي ڏسڻ بدران ٻين جي عزت تي وار ڪندا هئا. ها اڄ ڪلهه اهو نه دنيا جو دستور آهي. مڻهن چوي ڳالهه کي هل ٻچ ڪاري. بس ستي ئي سڙائي لندي ئي لاڏ ڪري. سماج جا آهي ليڪيدار، مڪي ۽ سميت چار چڱن جي ڏهن ۾ جنم وٺڻ سان، پنهنجي خاندان جي نالي ناموس سان گڏ پنهنجي جنم ڪندڙيءَ ۾ عزت تي حملي ڪرڻ وارو وار، ڏيئي ۽ وٽان پنهنجن ڪرهن سان گڏ ئي لڪائي آيا هئا. پنهنجي مرنديءَ ۽ سر پٽيچيءَ جو مڪمل فائدو وٺي آهي ناهن بهاد سماج جا ليڪيدار، پاڻ کي پاڻ سر پٽيچ ڪولائڻ وارا، معصوم غريبن کي انهن چئن چڱن جي درٻار ۾ پيش ڪندا هئا ۽ انهن لهڻيوار بندن جي ٽوپي اڇايندا هئا، ۽ انهن کي چاڻيءَ تي داغ لڳائڻ جو الزام لڳائي جوابدار ۽ تلاءي ٺهرائيندا هئا.

اهو سلسلو، اها درٻار ڪنهن نه ڪنهن ڇڪي مڙس جي اوطاق تي چلم ڇڪڻ جي روايتي رسم سان شروع ٿيندي هئي.

ڪنهن ئي الزام هڻندا هئا ته پنهنجي ٻيڻ جي چال چلت ليڪ نه آهي. ڪنهن کي نصيحت ڪندا هئا ته پنهنجي ڏيءَ اوسر ڪاڏي آهي، جلدي پرتاءِ پوءِ چاهي چوڪرو اٿڻو هجي، ڪاٿو هجي يا پوڙهو يا وري انن ٻارن جو پيءُ. مطلب ته ڪنوارو وٺاءُ گهر ۾ نه وهار ۽ ڪيترا مت جا موڙها ٻنڌ جا ٻوڙها سماج جي ليڪيدارن کان ڊڄي، وڌاڻا جو ليڪ سمجهي فيصلو ڪندا هئا. هونءَ به اسين ماحول، زماني جي گردش، مت مائت، سماج ۽ پنهنجين ڪمزورين کي وڌاڻا جو ليڪ سمجهي چوندا آهيون ”جن ليڪوڙي منهنجو انگ اديون قام کان ڪاڏي وڃان“ يا وري ”ڏي ڪا ماءُ سورن جي پينگهي منجهه، لولي الا“ چئي، خاندان ۽ سماج جو ڏر رکي، ڏک سک کي گلي لڳائي ڇڏيون يا وري ان زندگيءَ کي پنهنجو رهبر بڻائي ڇڏيون. اهڙين حالتن جو شڪار اڪثر ڪير نه ڪير بڻجندو هو. ايتري قدر جو

شيعن مڙس سماج جي ليڪيدارن، مڪن ۽ چئن چڱن ۽ دنيا جي آڱرين کان ڊڄي فيصلو وٺندا هئا. چاهي پوءِ انهن عزت جي علم بردارن جي خود گهر ۾ ڪاٺ لڳل هوندو هو. ڪنهن جي نونهن ڏنهن سان ٺهيل هوندي هئي، ڪا سهري سان، ڪا مڻهيءَ سان، نه ڪا وري گهران پڇي ويندي هئي. هتي اهڙن جي نالن ڏيڻ کان ڪندڙو ڪرڻاڻي ٿي. ”ڳڙ ڇاڻي ڳڙ جي ڳوٺري“ لسان خطائن جو گهر آهي. تلاءي ٺهرائڻ وارو بندو نه بلڪ خدا آهي. ڏيئي ڌر، گناه گارن جي قطار مان پاڻ کي ڇڏائڻ جي لاسا ڪوشش ڪرڻ جي بي سؤد جدوجهد ۽ جنگ ۾ ڪوڙي منع پائڻ جو ٽانڪ ڪري دل ئي دل ۾ بي انتها خوشي ٿيندي آهي، ته انهن گناه گارن جي فهرست ۽ دائري کان ٻاهر آهيان. پنهنجي حمايت ۽ ان بيموت تي ڏک نه بلڪ خوشيءَ جو احساس ٿيندو آهي.

هر لسان گناه گار آهي، پر اکر لسان جو گناه کان پلاند آجو هجي ته اهو لسان نه پر فرشتو سڏجي. جيڪي ٻين کي نصيحتون ڏيندا هئا سي خود بدڪاري جي ۽ بدچلنيءَ جو شڪار هئا. پوءِ ته پوءِ شهداد ڪوٽ جي پنڀاڻي، نالو نه ٿي ڏيان، جنهن هڪ عزت سان شادي ڪئي آهي، ان جا ڪيترا

ٽي عاشق هئا. جنهن حقيقت کان ڪوبه انڪار نه ڪري سگهندو. انهن عزت دارن جي عزت بچائڻ لازمي نه آهي ۽ فرض جي تقاضا به. ڌرمي ۽ مذهبي آستان پڻ اهڙن افواهن جو اڏو هوندا هئا ان معاملي ۾ زالون به پٺتي کان هيون. ”ڏاڇي ڏهر ته ٿوڏو ٿي رهان“ ڪا چوڻدي هئي ته منهنجو مڙس، منهنجي ماءُ يعني پنهنجي سس سان ٺهيل آهي. ڪا چوڻدي هئي، ڏيرائيءَ کي ڏسي ٿوڏو پيو ٿري. مطلب ته ڳڙ ڇاڻي ڳڙ جي ڳوٺري. امڙ وٽ اچي روئڻا روئينديون هيون. پوءِ ته پوءِ مڙس ئي چاڏو ٿوڏا ڪرائينديون هيون. ملان ۽ ٻين کان تعريض وٺي پيون ٻائينديون هيون. ڊولگين فقيرن وٽ اولاد جي آس ۾ سڀ ڪجهه لٽائي، اندر جون مڪون اندر ۾ هڻي واپس ورتنديون هيون هڪ اهڙو ئي پهتل درويش شهداد ڪوٽ ۾ آيو، جنهن جي چڪر ۾ ڪيتريون هندوستانيون، شيعياتيون ۽ مسلمانين ور چڙهيون، ڪجهه عرصي کان پوءِ ان پهتل پير کي ڪوئٽيا پلوچستان ۾ پوليس هڪڙيون وجهي، سڄي شهر ۾ منهن ڪارو ڪري گهمايو.

ڪاش اسان جي عورتن کي عقل اچي. ان  
 اندر وشواس ۽ پراڻي پڄار واري ناسور کان بچاء  
 حاصل ڪن. هڪ ڏهاڙي هڪ عورت امڙ وٽ  
 آئي. چيائين منهنجو مڙس دلي يادلي پنهنجي پاڙي  
 واريءَ سان لهي ويٺو آهي. امڙ يعني سوسي کي  
 مڃهائيندي هئي ۽ دلچاه ڏيندي هئي ۽ هدايت  
 ڪندي هين ته مڙس تي شڪي نظر رکڻ سان ڪم  
 ٺاهين بگڙجي ويندو. اڪري اهڙين ڳالهين کي  
 نظر انداز ڪري ڇڏيو. اڃا به من جي خاطر پنهنجو  
 ٺهيل اڪيل گهر ٺاهه نه ڪريو. پڙهيل لکيل شهري  
 چوڪرين تي طنز ڪرڻ کان ڪنارو ڪون ڪنديون  
 هيون. پر خود آهن کان به هڪ اڳتي هوندون  
 هيون. اسان جي گهر ۾ ڪو به آهي. اتي اوڙي پاڙي  
 جون وايائون اچي ڪار جا ٿين ڏونديون هيون.  
 امڙ کان اچي اجازت وٺنديون هيون. امڙ ڪار  
 جي ٽيمن ڏوٽڻ جي اجازت ڏيندي هين، پر  
 سنان پاڻي ڪرڻ تي پابندي ۽ ۱۴۴ قلم لاهو  
 ڪندي هين. امڙ چولدي هين، ڪپڙا پل ڏوٽو پر  
 سنان وڃي پنهنجي گهر ڪريو. ڪڙو مل مل جو، سٺ  
 مل مل جي، پورا ڪپڙا پڇي ويندا هين، جنهن مان  
 اڌ جسم جي نمائش ٿيندي هين. خير اهو نه ٿيو  
 اسان جي گهر جي چار ديوارين اندر. پر ڪنهن به  
 شهادت ڪوت به ڪور نٿي پائي. جو واه وهندو  
 هو ۽ جنهن پٺيان ريل جو بند ۽ ٿورو پر پٺيان باغچا  
 شروع ٿيندا هئا. اتي به ماڻهن ڪپڙا ڏوٽڻ وٺنديون  
 هيون. اسين به لندا هوندا هئاسين. شوق تي پاڙي  
 وارين سان گڏ سؤلتي ڊاٻڙو کڻائي، ڪور تي مستي  
 مارڻ ويندا هئاسين. اتي به آهن ماڻهن جو اهڙو ئي  
 حال هو. ڪپڙا ڏوٽيندي ڏوٽيندي، اڌ جسم جي  
 نمائش ٿيندي هين. شاباش سنڌي چئن جي شرافت  
 کي ڏجي، جو ڪنارو ڪري هلي ويندا هئا. خير  
 پنڃ ئي آڱريون برابر نه آهن. ڪي نظرون پڄاڻي  
 ڏيندا، ڪنهن مڃول ڪندا ٺنڪهندا هئا. اها خبر  
 جڏهن ٻائي سائينءَ وٽ پهتي ته پوءِ وايائين جو ڪور  
 (لنڊو واه) تي وڃڻ بند ٿي ويو. يا اسان جي گهر  
 اچي ڪو به ٿي ڪپڙا ڏوٽينديون هيون، يا وري  
 پنڃاڻتي ڪو به ٿي. ڪجهه عرصي کان پوءِ گهرن ۾  
 سرڪاري مني پاڻي جا ٺڪا لڳا. تنهن کانپوءِ وڃي  
 اهو سلسلو بند ٿيو.

شادي غميءَ ۾ پير پوڻ جو به ڏاڍو شوق هوندو  
 هئين، پوءِ چاهي رستو ڏس پوڻ يا پاڇي وغيره جو  
 هجي يا نه هجي. پير پوڻ کان وڌيڪ رڳو شوق هوندو  
 هين. پڳوان سڪ ڪري، شل نه ڪٽي ڪا غمي ٿئي.  
 پنڃاڻتي ٺاهيو سڏي مس لڪندو هو ته سڀ اتي  
 پنڃي وينديون هيون. زالون ته فقعي واري گهر جي  
 ٻائين کان وڌيڪ پار ڪڍي رهنديون هيون. پراڻي  
 ٺڌي تي، پنهنجي مٿل سس سهري يا ڏير ڏيرائيءَ  
 جا پار ڪڍي اوچڪارون ڏيئي رهنديون هيون.  
 منهن ٻڪي، پار ڏيئي، پوئيءَ سان لڪ آهي ٻيون  
 رهنديون. بس ڪجهه دير کانپوءِ پار بند ڪري  
 منهن کولي پوئيءَ سان لڪ رڳڙي اتي جو اتي  
 پراڻي پڄار کي لڳي وينديون هيون. ”اهي ئي لائون  
 اهي ئي چڪه.“

جڏهن اسان جو ڏاڏو سائين گذاري ويو ته ٺڌي  
 ئي اچي پار ڪڍي روٽڻ لڳيون ۽ زوريءَ امڙ کي  
 چوڻ لڳيون ته پار ڪري رو. هڪ وايائيءَ امڙ  
 جي رلي کي چڪ ڏيئي، امڙ جو منهن ڪري ٻڪيو.  
 امڙ کي منهن ٻڪڻ ۽ پار ڪڍڻ جي عادت کان  
 هئي. امڙ ست ڏيئي رڳو ڪري منهن ٿان پري ڪيو.  
 امڙ کان وڌيڪ ٻيون پار ڪڍي ڪري روٽڻ لڳيون.  
 امڙ سان پاڪر پائي، ڏاڏي سائينءَ جون ڳالهون ياد  
 ڪري اوچڪارون ڏيئي روٽڻ لڳيون. امڙ جي اکين  
 مان صرف ٻوڙ هن جي ڌارا جاري هئي. ساڳيو حال  
 اسان ٻارن جو به هو. امڙ کين چيو. ”پار اڳيئي پيشان  
 آهن، مهرباني ڪري پار نه ڪڍو نه پار ٻيهر ٿي  
 پوندا.“ ٺڌهن وڃي ماڻن مات ڪئي. آهن جي دل  
 ڌاريندڙ ٻارن تي گهر جا پاڻي کڪا وڪا ٿي رهيا هئا.  
 بس ڪجهه گهڙين کانپوءِ وري ڳالهين ۾ لڳي ويئون.  
 مطلب ته هر ڳالهه ۾ اڳ ۾يون هونديون هيون. چاهي

شادي مرادي هجي يا جڻين جا لاڏا هجن. يا وري  
 ٺٽو وار هجن. ٺڌڙيءَ تي دل کولي ڏاڏ هڻنديون هيون.  
 ٻن ٽن وايائين جي گهر ته ڪافي وڏو پڙ هوندو هو. ڪٿي  
 روٽيو اچپ هوندي هئي ته ڪٿي پنڃ. ڪٿي ڪٿي  
 نه سڙن سائين اچپ ڪنديون هيون. ڪي وري  
 بلنڊڪ تي اچپ ڪنديون هيون. جن وٽ پيسو  
 ڪون هوندو هو، سي بادامين تي راند ڪنديون  
 هيون. سڀني کي ٺڌڙيءَ تي چوڻا ڪندي ٺٽي  
 اسان جي دل سرڪندي هئي، پر امڙ ۽ ابو ٺڌڙيءَ  
 جي اچڻ کان اڳ ئي پيسا ڏوڪڙ يا خرچي ڏيڻ بند

ڪري ڇڏيندا هئا ۽ ڇيٽا وٺي ملندي هئي ته اکر  
ڪٿي ٿاس ڪندي ڏٺو ويو ته هڏ ڪڏ پڇي ڇڏينداسين.  
دل ٻئي سر ڪندي هئي، پوءِ ٻيا الڳ الڳ گهرن  
۾ لڳل ٽڪريون ڏسڻ ويندا هئاسين. سڄي زالون  
ٻيون ڪرڙن ۾ نظرن سان ڏسنديون هيون. ڪنهن جي  
اڳيان ويهي ٿري ڪرڙيندا هئاسين ته ڪاوڙ ملندي  
هئي، ”ٿري نه ڪرڙ مان هارائينديس“ ٻتن سٺن نه  
اچڻ تي خاصي دٻ ڪينديون هيون. هڪ هنڌان  
ڏڪو ملندو هو ته ٻئي هنڌ، ٻي ڏڪو ڏيندي هئي  
نه نهن جي پير ۾ وڃي وهندا هئاسين.

اسان جو وڏو پاءُ اشوڪ ڪوٺيا ۾ لوڪري  
ڪندو هو. اشوڪ ڇڱو چلندو ٻرڙو هو. هن وقت

اسين ۾ آهي. اسان تي به ڪافي اثر رتوخ هوس.  
غير هئس نه چڱي لڳڻ جو امڪان گهٽ آهي. انهن  
عورتن سان گڏ آهو به ٿاس ڪيڏڻ ويهي رهندو هو.  
اسين خرچي جي لالچ تي گهر ڪون ٻڌائيندا هئاسين.  
اشوڪ جي سائيت گهڻي هئي. هميشه ڪٽندو  
هو. صرف ڏهن ويهن روپين سان راند شروع  
ڪندو هو، سو سؤ ٽائين ڪٽي ايندو هو. جڏهن  
ڪٽي اٽل لڳندو هو ته زالون زوريءَ پڪڙي  
وهاريديون هيس ته ”اڏ ۾ نه وڃ. سڄي جا پئسا  
ڪٽي ٿو پڇن“ پر ٻائي سائين جو لياپو بهجي ويندو  
هو ته اشوڪ ۽ ٻار ڪٿي به هجن ڳولهي وٺي اچون.  
ٻارن جو گهر کان ٻاهر ۽ غير حاضريءَ جو مطلب جوڻا  
جي ٽڪرين تي وڃڻ. ٻائي جي لياپي بهجي ٿي اسين  
سڀ ائين پڇندا هئاسين، جيئن ڪاريءَ هيٺان ڪانءِ.  
زالون به دٻ وڃان خاموش ٿي وينديون هيون.  
سڄيءَ طرح مڙدن جا به الڳ الڳ جوڻا جا اڏا ۽  
ٽڪريون لڳنديون هيون ته ٻوليس ڪي به ڄاڻ هوندي  
هئي. صوبيدار عيسو گرم ڪندو هو. پر جي ڪنهن عيسو  
گرم نه ڪيو ۽ سڄو گراهڪ هوندو هو ته ان تي ڇاپو  
هڻائيندا هئا. ڪيترن کي ته ڇاپو سائين صامن تي  
ڇڏائي ايندو هو. هڪ ڀيري رات جو ستا پيا هئاسين  
ته اسان جي سامهون واريءَ اڻڻ ۾ لڳا ٿوڻي ٿي

وئي. رڙ واکو ٿي ويو. ”مهراج سائين، مهراج سائين  
ڇاپو“ اسين سڀ ٻار ۽ ٻاٻو سائين ڏڪندا وياسين.  
صوبيدار جو عيسو گرم نه ڪيو ويو، تنهن ڇاپو هڻايو  
هو. ڪيترن جون واڳون، سونا سڳا، پونجهون لاهي

ورائون. ڪن وري چالاڪي ڪري سونا پٽڻ، سڳا  
وغيره ٻائي سائينءَ جي عيسو ۾ ڪري وڌا. انهن جو  
مال بهجي ويو. مڙني صوبيدار کي ڇو چواءَ ڪري ۽  
پنهنجو اثر رتوخ هلائي وائين جي جند ڇڏيائون.  
مختيار ڪار ۽ صوبيدار چولدا هئا، ”مهراج! تون وڃ  
۾ نه پئو، اسان کي نقصان ٿو پوي“

اسان جي واڙي جي سامهون هڪ واڻي جي  
اڻڻ هئي، جنهن ۾ سلمان ڪٽيب رهندو هو. اتي  
روز روز واکو لڳو پيو هوندو هو. عورت اُٻي  
ٻي ٿي هئي. هر روز تماشو لڳل هوندو هو. وڏي  
مشڪل سان انهن کي اُٺان اُٺايوسين. مسلمانن ۾  
ڏي وٺ جو به سرشتو تمام خراب آهي، پوءِ چاهي  
چوڙي ٺهي يا نه ٺهي. عمر ۾ به ڪافي تفاوت  
هوندو هو. ٻه ٻه ٽي ٽي زالون ٻرڻ ٻڻ ڪري گهرن ۾  
پڪو لڳو پيو هوندو هو. ڪيترا ته اهڙا به هوندا هئا جو  
ٻور ٻيکي وانگر سڙو ڪندا هئا. ڪڏهن ڪڏهن  
انهن ڳالهين مان خون به ٿيندا هئا. بس پوءِ ڪجهه ۾  
هڪڙي بيان هوندو ”ڪارو ڪاري ڳري پڪڙيوسين“  
۽ چئي ايندا هئا. يا خون جو بدلو خون سان  
ولندا هئا.

اسان جي ٿر جي زميندارن پنهنجي وڏن جي  
مزار تي پڳ لاهي رکي. ”جيستائين خون جو بدلو  
خون نه وٺنداسين، جيستائين اها پڳ نه ٻڌائينداسين.“  
اسان جي گهر جي سامهون انهن جي اڪرار وارو  
زميندار رهندو هو، حاجي الاهي بخش ڪوڪر جنهن تي  
ڪيترا خون جا حملا ڪيا ويا. ان جي پٽ تي به ڪيترا  
پٿرا ڪهاڙين ۽ بندوقن سان حملا ڪيا ويا. هر ڀيري  
بچي ويندا هئا. ان جي نوجوان فرزند تي ايترا ته  
حملا ڪيا ويا جو هو بد صورت ٿي پيو. نيٺ قتل  
ڪري بدلو وٺي پوءِ ٿي پڳ پائائون. ان  
نوجوان جو والد الاهي بخش ڪوڪر مولڪي بيهڻ  
ٻڌندو هو. مهالڪمي ايندي هئي ته سڏ ڪري  
چرندو هو ته ”ويٺا ست پوڙا ته ڪاراه“ يا وري  
ٿڌڙيءَ جا لولا کائڻ ايندو هو. اڄ ڏينهن ٽائين ان  
جو ڪن ۾ آواز گڙجندو آهي. اکين آڏو سندس  
صورت اچي ويندي آهي. اچي ڊگهي ڏاڙهي،  
رنگ صاف، اکين جا تارا ناسي ۽ وڏي ويڪري  
سوار ۽ ڪڙو مثل جو، مٿان پٽڪو ٻڌل، ان ڇهري  
کي ٻيلاڻي جي ٺاڪار ڪوشش ڪندي آهيان. پر  
ڪاميابي بلڪ نه ٿي ورتي.