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## The daughter also rises



**THE VICTOR.** *Bringing a new look to Pakistani politics*  
A Bhutto is back

The lady tops the men

# Sindhi Association of North America

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From Editor.....

We are sorry that due to fast breaking news from Sind after the elections the publication of this issue was delayed.

## NEWS BULLETIN

(News gathered from newspapers, periodicals and individual sources)

### Vote of Confidence for Benazir

(I'Abad - BBC) Ms. Benazir Bhutto won her first major parliamentary victory. Bhutto, who took office of the Prime Minister on Dec. 1, 1988, won the mandatory confidence motion by 148 votes to 55 in the 237-seat National Assembly.

### Ishaq Khan Wins Electoral College

(I'Abad - Staff) Mr Ishaq Khan, the Acting President of Pakistan, won 348 electoral college votes, as opposed to Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan's 91, Haroon Jaffar's 6 and Malik Nauroz Khan's 1 vote, to be declared as the President of Pakistan. The electoral college comprises of the members of the Senate, the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies. Mr. Khan was supported both by ruling Pakistan People's Party and the major opposition party Islamic Jhamoori Itehad.

Mr. Ishaq Khan hails from a Pashtun family of NWFP. He was born on January 20, 1915. He joined NWFP Civil Service in 1940. He has survived many governments of Pakistan. He is considered to be the consummate bureaucrat. He was the Governor of Pakistan State Bank when the late Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto appointed him as the Secretary General of the Defense Department. He became very close to Gen. Zia who was the Army Chief of Staff at that time.

It is widely rumored that Mr. Ishaq Khan was the person who provided inside information to Zia about the reconciliation being reached between Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and PNA leadership after the 1977 PNA instigated riots. Some people even go so far as to say that Mr. Khan instigated Zia to impose martial law and dismiss Mr. Bhutto's government. After the coup, Zia made him Finance Minister and later got him a Senate seat and made him Chairman of the senate. Mr. Khan, however, is credited for appointing Ms. Bhutto as the Prime Minister and has

overseen the return of the country to a democratic rule. Notwithstanding his role in country's return to democracy, many Pakistanis blame him as an accessory to the brutality and injustices imposed upon the people during Zia years.

### Ex-Aide to Bhutto Arrested on Return

(Karachi- I' Abroad) Mr. M. Ilyas Shamim, an ex-aide to Late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, was arrested on the Airport as he returned from a self-imposed exile. He was arrested on charges of desertion from army. Mr. Shamim was a Lt. Col. in the army when he went into exile.

### Benazir on PBS

(Washington - PBS) Ms. Benazir Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, was interviewed via satellite by Robin MacNeil of MacNeil-Lehrer Hour.

Among other things she said the appointment of Sahibzada Yakoob Khan as Foreign Minister was made in order to continue the Pakistani Afghanistan policy. She said she wanted an independent and self reliant Pakistan. She said her main objective is to bring a sense of national unity in Pakistan and eradicate poverty from Pakistan.

On US aid she said USA should continue the same aid level as in the Zia days even after the settlement of Afghan issue. She was of the view that US interest in Pakistan should then be restated to strengthen the democracy in Pakistan. She also noted that her father has become a part of the history and was vindicated many times over by the love and respect shown by the people. It is up to her to build a record of her own so that when her term in office expires she can go back to the people and say that she has done what she had said.

On the issue of nuclear program, she said her government policy was to develop nuclear program for energy needs and that her government has no program to develop any nuclear weapons or devices. She reiterated Pakistan's willingness to join with other governments in the region to make the region a nuclear free region. She also said good relations of Pakistan with USA should not preclude or prevent Pakistan from seeking good relations with

other countries. She praised Mr. Gorbachov for bringing change in the USSR policies and hinted that Pakistan will seek good relations with USSR after its forces have withdrawn from Afghanistan. Overall, she appeared very optimistic and confident.

### **Gandhi Hopeful**

(New Delhi - UNI) Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajive Gandhi on Dec. 1 expressed the hope that with the installation of an elected government in Islamabad the two countries could work for normalization of their relations. In an interview, Mr. Gandhi, referring to Pakistani elections in 11 years, said, "we have been heartened by the peaceful conduct of the elections."

### **Solarz Comments on Gandhi and Bhutto**

(Washington - I' Abroad) Rep. Stephen Solarz, Democrat of New York, believes that the "generational connection" between Pakistan's new Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Rajive Gandhi augurs well for a thaw in India-Pakistan relations. He says that both represent new generation that is not necessarily tied to the policies of the past and thus this would help them communicate with each other in a way which perhaps Zia and Rajive never could.

### **Bhutto Tries to Assert Herself**

(I' Abad - Staff) Benazir Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, has given signals in no uncertain terms to the security establishment as to who is the boss in Pakistan. Immediately after being appointed as the head of government in Pakistan she overruled a decision made by the security establishment of Pakistan to allow a hijacked Russian airliner to land in Pakistan.

### **PPP Program and Pakistani Budget**

(I' Abad - Staff) In dealing with the depleted treasury and military establishment, Benazir Bhutto has demonstrated in her first couple weeks of power that she intends to steer her own course. She acknowledged that the budget presented by her finance minister Mr. Piracha did not make good on many of the promises made by her during the election

campaign. She said she does not want to be seen taking hasty actions but rather bringing stability and confidence in the government. Consequently, she said she had to accept a lot of things she did not agree with. She appears to be projecting moderation without abandoning the populist promises of the PPP manifesto.

Piracha's budget speech did not repudiate the austerity measures imposed by Pakistan's recent loan agreement with the IMF. Bhutto has insisted that she has not caved in to pressure from the foreign experts. She said we have no reserves to re-negotiate the agreement reached by the previous care taker government. She said we will pay foreign loans by cutting back in certain areas while preserving subsidies on wheat, edible oil, and electric rates that the IMF had asked to abolish. She said the revised budget will create Rs. 2 billion development fund not included in the previous care taker government budget.

### **Bhutto Utters Harsh Words for G. M. Syed**

(I' Abad - Staff) Benazir Bhutto, the Pakistani Premier, said her party has fought 11 years against Mr. G. M. Syed, a veteran Sindhi nationalist leader. Mr. Syed did not contest the elections but some of his prominent supporters did and were badly beaten by PPP candidates. She lashed out at the IJI politicians in Punjab that if anyone thinks that he can become a G. M. Syed in Punjab should know that people will not vote for separatist but people will vote for PPP.

### **Leadership Scenario in Pakistan**

(Karachi - Staff) Rtd. Gen. Tikka Khan was appointed as the new Governor of Punjab province in Pakistan. Mr. Nawaz Sharif, heir to the legacy of the Zia dictatorship, became the Chief Minister of Punjab. Sharif managed to salvage IJI's position by winning a simple majority in Punjab Assembly. The appointment of Tikka Khan is perceived as Bhutto not ready to reconcile herself to an amiable arrangement with Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

No new governors were appointed in the provinces of Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan. Syed Qaim Ali Shah was appointed as the Chief Minister of Sind. MQM has formed a

governing alliance with PPP in Sind leaving only a handful of members in the opposition. Justice Qadeerudin, a Refugee from India (Mohajir), continues as the governor of Sind. Makhdoom Rafiquzaman, Aftab Mirani and Jam Mashooq Ali were appointed as ministers in Sind. Two MQM ministers were also appointed in the Sind Cabinet. Two Sindhis and two refugees from India (Mohajirs) were appointed as the federal ministers from Sind. They are: Makhdoom Amin Fahim, Agha Tariq, Amir Haider Kazmi and Javed Jabar.

In NWFP, Mr. Aftab Ahmed Sherpao (PPP) was named as the Chief Minister. He formed the government by forming coalition of PPP with independents and other parties in the NWFP Assembly. IJI leads the opposition in the NWFP.

Mir Zafarullah Jamali (IJI) was named as the Chief Minister of Baluchistan. He was able to forge a coalition with independents and other parties in the Baluchistan Assembly. PPP will sit on the opposition benches in the Baluchistan Assembly.

Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party formed governments in the center, Sind and NWFP, whereas, IJI formed governments in the populous province of Punjab and Baluchistan. Many people think that this arrangement suits Pakistan where none of the parties has the absolute dominance.

#### No Retribution

(Lahore - Staff) Rao Rashid, an advisor to the Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, has denied reports that the PPP government would purge the bureaucracy and government owned businesses of Zia supporters. "We are for a policy of forgive and forget," he said. He also said that government workers unjustly dismissed by Zia regime will be reinstated.

#### Bhutto Named Prime Minister

(Islamabad - W' Post) Benazir Bhutto was named as the Prime Minister of Pakistan on Dec. 1, 1988, by the acting President, Mr. Ishaq Khan. At age of 35 she became the youngest head of the government in the world and first and only woman head of the Govt. of an Islamic nation in modern history. Women in Pakistan, in

Islamic world and in western world were particularly happy about this development. Many self proclaimed authorities on Islam and opposition leaders in Pakistan had said that she not be named as the Prime Minister because it would be against Islam for a woman to lead an Islamic country.

She was appointed by Mr. Ishaq Khan in a nationally televised address in which he praised Bhutto, as a "young, educated, cultured and talented lady. She is endowed with the best of leadership qualities and statesman like vision." Immediately after announcing her selection, Ishaq Khan lifted the state of emergency, disbanded the emergency council and dissolved the caretaker government. In order for Benazir Bhutto to be confirmed as Prime Minister she must obtain a vote of confidence in the National Assembly within 60 days of her appointment.

Informed diplomatic sources indicate that she has promised Pakistan's military and U.S. Officials of continued support for the anti-Soviet rebels in Afghanistan. US. President Mr. Ronald Reagan sent Bhutto a letter of congratulations saying that the United States was "encouraged by this renewed commitment in Pakistan to constitutional procedures."

Benazir Bhutto promised after taking oath of office that her party "will eradicate hunger and poverty, give employment to unemployed, and educate the illiterate."

#### Elected Assembly Meets in Pakistan

(I' Abad - NYT) The National Assembly of Pakistan which was elected in a general election on Nov. 16, convened on Nov. 30, returning Pakistan to democracy.

Benazir Bhutto was applauded as she walked to the front of the assembly hall to be the first to sign the assembly register. Her position was considerably strengthened when the opposition leader Nawaz Sharif withdrew from the Parliament to remain the leader of IJI in Punjab Assembly where IJI has a simple majority. With the withdrawal of Mr. Sharif, opposition to Bhutto in National Assembly is leaderless and in shambles. Bhutto may be able to enlist support of all of the members in assembly except those of

IJI.

The opening session of Parliament was held to swear in the members and elect the 20 reserved seats for women. The session went smoothly except one incident. The incident involved Justice Minister of the Care Taker government who tried to occupy a seat. He was forced to relinquish the seat. Pakistan Television which was showing the session of the assembly live switched to music to keep the public from witnessing the Justice Minister being booed in the National Assembly.

### **Bhutto Commutes Death Sentences**

(I'Abad - Patriot News) Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's first official act after appointment was to issue an order to release about 1,000 political prisoners and commute all death sentences. In her first nationally televised address, she promised sweeping reforms, including lifting bans on student and trade unions and launching a new education program to help fight the nation's 75 percent illiteracy rate.

The Prime Minister released prisoners over 60 years old and released all prisoners except military officers convicted by military courts under Zia's dictatorship. In addition, all sentences are to be reduced by three months. She invited foreign investment in the country to have economic growth. She said the economy left by Gen. Zia's military and quasi civil governments has "left the country close to bankruptcy."

In her speech she also dissolved Press Trust of Pakistan. Referring to her father, Bhutto said, "I think he would be proud of me." "He was a pragmatist. I'm his daughter but he brought us up to be our own person," she further said of her father.

### **India Expels Pakistani Officials**

(New Delhi - Pat. News) India has expelled two Pakistani diplomats caught spying for Pakistan. Thirty Indians have also been held for giving troop data to Pakistan. Pakistan government has retaliated by expelling an equal number of Indian diplomats from Pakistan. Bhutto commenting on the incident hoped

that the Dec. 29, 1988, regional summit can be used to "defuse the tensions between our countries."

### **Pakistani General Elections**

(Karachi - Staff) General elections were held in Pakistan on November 16, 1988, after 11 years of dictatorship of Gen. Zia, who ousted the popularly elected Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and later had him executed in a rigged court decision. By and large the elections were held peacefully. Major parties participating in the elections were Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party and an alliance of Islamic fundamentalists and Zia cronies called as the Islamic Jhmoori Itehad. Other major parties or groups were Mohajir Qaumi Mahaz, Jamiat Ulama Islam, Awami National Party, Baloch National Alliance, etc. There were several independents as well.

Campaigning was officially stopped night before the election day. From all accounts Bhutto's PPP appeared to attract huge crowds and was believed to be heading for a landslide victory.

The landslide did not materialize. But in the evening of Nov. 16, when the election results were announced, Bhutto's PPP had won 93 seats in the National Assembly out of 207 seats. IJI was the second biggest winner capturing about 55 seats. Several big wigs of all parties lost badly. In Punjab, Dr. Rashid and Rtd. Gen. Tikka Khan of PPP lost in Lahore and Rawalpindi, respectively. Rtd. Air Marshal Asghar Khan, Maulana Noorani, Maulana Nadvi, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mohammad Khan Junejo, Pir Pagaro, Dr. Hamida Khuhro, Rasool Bux Palejo, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed, Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi, Mir Mumtaz Ali Talpur, Sherbaz Mazari, Pyar Ali Allana, Mairaj Khan, Fakhar Imam, Noor Khan, Yahya Bakhtiar were all losers in the National Assembly elections.

In Sind, it was a complete rout by PPP in rural areas and MQM in cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. MQM got 13 out of which 11 were from Karachi and 2 from Hyderabad. All of the remaining seats in Sind but two, a total of 31, were won by PPP. Two independents Pir Ali Gohar Shah and Arbab Amir Hussain won from Sanghar and Mirpur Khas, respectively. IJI

received no seats whatsoever in Sind. PPP won 2 seats in Karachi. Benazir Bhutto and Amir Haider Kazmi were elected on PPP ticket from Liari and Karachi West. Mr. Aftab Shaikh and Dr. Farooq Sattar, Mayors of Hyderabad and Karachi, were elected to National Assembly on MQM support.

Benazir Bhutto contested three seats and won all. She was elected from Karachi, Larkana and Lahore. In Larkana, she defeated Dr. Hamida Khuhro and Sardar Chandio. Benazir Bhutto received a record 97 percent votes in Larkana. Mrs. Nusrat Bhutto, her mother, contested from Larkana and Chitral and was elected on both seats. All three seats in Larkana district were won by women, i.e., Benazir Bhutto, Nusrat Bhutto and Dr. Ashraf Abbassi. Pir Pagaro was beaten badly in his home district of Khairpur by a relatively newcomer Syed Pervez Shah Jilani. First time in the history of Pakistan no person from Talpur family was elected from Sind to National Assembly. Two Makhdoom brothers from Hala New, district Hyderabad, i.e., Amin Fahim and Khaliquzaman were also elected. Former Vice Chancellor of Sind University, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah was elected from Thatta. Father-in-law of Benazir Bhutto, Mr. Hakim Ali Zardari, who deserted his own party (i.e. ANP) and joined PPP just before elections, was elected from Nawabshah on a PPP ticket.

In Baluchistan, veteran Baluch leader, Mir Ghaus Bux Buzinjo could not win a seat in the National Assembly. PPP got only one seat from Baluchistan. Other prominent winners from Baluchistan were Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali (IJI) and Nawab Salim Akbar Bugti (Ind.). Four seats in Baluchistan were won by JUI. BNA and IJI won 2 seats each.

In NWPF, 7 seats were won by PPP, 4 by ANP, 8 by IJI, 4 by JUI and rest by independents. Prominent among winners were Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Aftab Sherpao, Maulana Fazul Rahman and Nusrat Bhutto.

PPP was the only party winning seats from all provinces of Pakistan and federal area of Islamabad. In Punjab, PPP beat IJI by seven seats, i.e., 52 against 45. Because of losses in Sind, hopes of Nawaz Sharif, IJI leader, to be Prime Minister were as flawed geographically as they

were arithmetically. But he went on making them anyway. In doing so he may have stemmed a tide of reaction in favor of the PPP in the Nov. 19 Provincial Assembly Elections.

PPP leadership blamed IJI's tactics of intimidation and outright rigging in several constituencies in Punjab. Most of the seats where PPP had very strong candidates and according to them should have won did not win, and where PPP candidates were not that strong they did win. PPP has filed petitions in the courts against several IJI winners in Punjab. Other factor cited by PPP is the decision by the care taker government to disallow voters from voting if they did not possess identity cards. PPP contends that since most of their voters are poor or illiterate, they were not able to obtain the ID cards. The lower turnout was also blamed on the ID card issue. At the same time the government freely issued cards to IJI supporters and sometimes to people who did not even exist. Despite these allegations, PPP's victory was just a little less than expected. Furthermore, due to Benazir Bhutto's ill health after having given a birth to a son, she delayed start of her campaign up until October 31, when she began a pell-mell tour of the country that drew huge emotional crowds. IJI left no stone unturned in unleashing a barrage of attacks on personal lives of Bhuttos. Jamat Islami, a self proclaimed righteous party, was in the forefronts in fabricating rumors and attacks against the Bhuttos and their life styles.

Polling analysis of voting in national elections reveals that PPP received 42 % votes against 32 % of IJI. Out of 12 Rtd. military officials participating in the elections only three were elected. Pakistan Awami Ittehad was blamed for taking votes away from PPP in Punjab resulting in PPP losses. On the average 50 % registered voters exercised their right but in Baluchistan the percentage was around 26 %.

In the last analysis, people of Pakistan gave victory to Benazir Bhutto and PPP not so much because they were impressed by her party's manifesto but because they wanted to vindicate her father the late Prime Minister of Pakistan, who despite all his excesses of power gave them a

sense of hope for bright future and prosperity.

#### After National Elections in Pakistan

(Karachi - Staff) On November 17, 1988, one day after the National elections, both Benazir Bhutto of PPP and Nawaz Sharif of IJI claimed that they be asked to form the government. Gen. Aslam Beg, army chief of staff and the Acting President Ishaq Khan were calling for a unity government. But Benazir Bhutto rejected them and demanded that she has enough votes in the Assembly to form at least a simple majority and therefore she be asked by Ishaq Khan to form a government.

There were rumors abound that due to constitutional changes made by Zia, the President's office was so strong that he could choose anybody from the assembly and appoint a Prime Minister. Mr. Ishaq Khan, however, said that he would not make any decision until Provincial elections are over and the National Assembly is convened. In the last week of November, Mr. Ishaq Khan invited party leaders in the national Assembly for meetings in Islamabad. From all signs it appeared that Pakistan and Islamic world would have first female Prime Minister.

Benazir Bhutto on her part went out of her ways to accommodate grievances of the military establishment and insistence of United States to continue Afghanistan policy of the previous government. She met with the military leaders in Pakistan and US envoys Mr. Oakley and Mr. Murphy, especially sent to Pakistan, and gave assurances that military budget will not be cut and Pakistan's Afghan policy will continue. Some observers even go so far to say that she has promised military a consultative role in government affairs. No confirmation of this was, however, available.

For the first time in its history, Pakistan was preparing to transfer power peacefully to the winners of an open election. After meeting with the Acting President the legal expert of PPP was given assurances that Benazir Bhutto will be appointed as the Prime Minister. The Acting President had decided to announce the appointment of the Prime Minister sooner than previously declared after

protests from leading contender Benazir Bhutto. Bhutto had complained that her political opponents in the IJI were using the delay to try to coerce independents into a coalition to keep her out of power. It was reported that Nawaz Sharif was offering ministerial jobs or Rs. five million each to independent members to help him form a coalition.

Mr. Ishaq Khan announced in a nationally televised address on Dec. 1, 1988, he was appointing Benazir Bhutto as the Prime Minister of Pakistan because she could get the confidence of National Assembly. Next day, she took oath of the office in a ceremony in Islamabad. Mr. Nawaz Sharif announced his resignation from the National Assembly to become the Chief Minister of Punjab. IJI has therefore become leaderless in the National Assembly and is in a disarray scrambling to find a credible leadership.

#### United States Reaction

(Washington - W' Post) Conciliatory tone of Benazir Bhutto towards United States during the campaign and after becoming the Prime Minister has won her lot of support in the US congress and the incoming administration of President-elect Bush. Sources believe that now the anti-Zia demarcates in Congress will join hands with conservative republicans to support administration's policy that Pakistan be strong militarily and strategically.

On US -Pakistan relations, Benazir Bhutto said, "our mutual concerns and interests, and our common commitment to democracy in the strategic subcontinent, make it incumbent that we work closely together as friends and allies." Experts believe that there will not be any major foreign policy change in the Benazir Bhutto government. In the South Asian region her policy will be non-confrontational. Relations with USA and USSR are expected to proceed on an even keel, though some loosening of tension with the Soviet Union is foreseen. Bhutto may settle for less in Afghanistan in a bid to hasten the reconciliation process and return of refugees.

Democrat senators like Ted Kennedy, Allan Scranton and Claiborn Pell who lead successful effort to have Bhutto released

from house arrest when Zia visited here three years ago have sent congratulatory notes to Benazir Bhutto on her party's victory in the national elections. In his message to Bhutto, Kennedy said: "For myself and for members of my family, warmest congratulations on your extraordinary electoral triumph. Your father would be so proud." He said that it not only was "an important personal victory for you, but also a victory for democracy in Pakistan." Then he added: "All the world rejoices in the restoration of democracy in your country, and we look forward to a new era of genuine national reconciliation and respect of human rights for all the people of Pakistan." Kennedy lauded Bhutto for her "courage and patience" and described her as an "inspiration to us all." He said: "Under your leadership, Pakistan will be a leader in the cause of peace and justice in the region." "When next I see you, I expect that I will be required to address you as madam Prime Minister." Senator Barbara Mikulski wrote Bhutto that her "overwhelming election victory" was a clear indication that "the people of Pakistan are eager to enjoy the freedoms that come with real democracy."

### A Victress in Chains

(I' Abad - The Economist) In return for the Prime Ministership, Benazir Bhutto has accepted the rules under which she will have to work. ISI will continue to carry out the Pakistan's Afghan policy. The army's share of government spending - now running at 34% - will not fall. The army's role in government has quietly been institutionalized. Miss Bhutto has agreed that a national security council consisting of the President, the prime minister, the service chiefs and chief ministers of the four provinces will look after any "security matters" the president refers to it. The prime minister can not call a state of emergency without the council's approval. In other words, if things get tough

Bhutto's hands will be tied. These deals will limit her power over the central government. The provinces are her first problem. Punjab under Nawaz Sharif bristles with anti-Sind passion. Punjabis

are accustomed to running the show and now find themselves ruled by a Pashtoon President, Sindh Prime Minister and a Refugee from India (Mohajir) Chief of the Army staff.

The treasury is empty and she would have difficulty in fulfilling lavish campaign promises of social spending. She is considered mature but is also as much arrogant as her father was. The things that brought her father down also threaten her. The army, the mullahs, the businessmen all watch her suspiciously. If she follows her father, they can throw her too.

### Bhutto's Cabinet

(I' Abad - UPI) Benazir Bhutto announced 23 appointments to her cabinet on Dec. 3, 1988. She is keeping Defense, Education, planning, oil and Finance with herself. She has appointed Sahibzada Yakoob Ali Khan as the Foreign Minister. Mr. Khan is an IJI member and also served under Zia. Other appointments are as follows:

- Mukhtar Awan - Labor and Manpower
- Aitzaz Hussain - Law, Justice & Interior
- Amin Fahim - Communications
- Agha Tariq - Culture and Tourism
- Rao Sikandar - Food and Agriculture
- Faysal Hayat - Commerce
- Amir H. Kazmi - Health
- Jehangir Badar - Housing
- M. Hanif Khan - States and Kashmir
- Javed Jabar - Information
- Yahya Bakhtiar - Attorney General
- Naseerullah Babar - Sp. Assistant
- Iqbal Akhund - National Security Adv.
- V. A. Jaffrey - Economics Advisor

### Women and Minorities

(I' Abad - I' Abroad) Reserved seats for women and minorities were elected and PPP got 12 women and 8 minority seats in the National Assembly.

### PPP and MQM Forge an Alliance

(Karachi - Staff) Benazir Bhutto and Altaf Hussain leaders of PPP and MQM initiated discussions for cooperation after the National Assembly elections were announced. MQM also discussed with IJI. MQM had put forward a 25 point Charter as the basis of cooperation. PPP has agreed to some of the points on the charter and has kept the door open for

negotiations on the rest of the points. ticket

PPP sources, however, say that there was no formal agreement on any of the points in the MQM charter. They say MQM extended cooperation to PPP in the National Assembly to receive ministerial positions in Sind and a promise of a Mohajir Governor in Sind. (MQM Charter is published in SANGAT under NEWS CUTTINGS).

### Provincial Assembly Elections

(Karachi - Staff) Results of Provincial Assembly elections in Pakistan were as surprizing as the National Assembly results. PPP was narrowly defeated in Punjab by IJI. PPP won handily in Sind. PPP and IJI did well in NWFP with ANP and independents not far behind. But in Baluchistan IJI, JUI and independents split the seats. PPP got only 3 seats in Baluchistan. Overall though PPP got 184 seats and IJI 145 seats in the Provincial Assemblies. Party position in the assemblies is as follows:

	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
PPP	94	67	20	3	184
IJI	108	1	28	8	145
MQM	-	26	-	-	26
Ind	32	5	15	7	59
ANP	-	-	12	-	12
JUI(F)	1	-	2	8	11
BNA	-	-	-	6	6
PDP	2	-	-	-	2
NPP(K)	1	-	-	-	1
PAI	2	-	-	-	2
Other	-	1	1	5	7

In NWFP, JUI which won 4 national seat got only two seats in the Provincial Assembly. IJI and PPP are in a position to forge coalition with others to form a government. Chances of PPP to form the government are brighter due to the leverage it has in reciprocating either in the provincial or national government and its relationship with ANP. Mrs. Naseem Wali Khan, Aftab Sherpao were among the prominent winners. Fazil Haq, Chief Minister of NWFP under Zia, lost all four seats he was contesting.

In Baluchistan, IJI and JUI are better positioned to form a government but IJI probably has better chances because of alliance it can reach with independents. Mir Zafarullah Jamali, Chief minister under Zia, was amongst the winners on IJI

In Punjab, Nawaz Sharif should be able to form a government by lining up support from independents. However, down the line PPP which will be in opposition may succeed in eroding Mr. Sharif's support among independents due to its control over the central government. Therefore, eventually PPP can bring a downfall of Sharif's government and form a PPP government with coalition with independents and other minor parties. Among prominent winners in Punjab were Nawaz Sharif, Shahbaz Sharif, Mustafa Khar, Ghulam Rabani Khar, Javed Doultana, Rana Shaukat Mahmood, Nazir Kyani, Latif Kardar, Rana Shaukat, Aslam Gurdaspuri, Jahangir Badar, etc.

In Sind, PPP and MQM maintained the same trend in provincial elections as was apparent in the national elections. MQM dominated cities of Hyderabad and Karachi and PPP the rest of Sind. Six Sindhis won from Karachi on PPP tickets. They are: Lashari, Nabil Gabol, Higoro, Yousuf Daida, Khawaja Mohammad, and Hakim Baloch. One seat in Karachi was won by Punjabi-Pushtoon Itehad. In interior, prominent PPP winners were Haji Munawar, Ghulam Hussain Uner, Makhdoom Amin Fahim (VS. Shafqat Shah Jamot by 20,000 votes from Hala), Makhdoom Rafiq (VS. Amir Ali Shah Jamot by 10,000 votes from Matiari), Jam Mashoq, Qaim Ali Shah (VS. Ghaus Ali Shah by 25,000 votes from Khairpur), Syed Didar Shah (VS. Mumtaz Bhutto by 3,000 votes from Larkana), Nisar Ahmed (VS. Akhtar Ali Kazi by 22,000 votes from Larkana), Syed Naved Qamar (VS. Mir Rafiq Talpur by 21,000 votes from Hyderabad), Syed Mohsin Shah (VS. Mir Aijaz Ali Talpur by 13,000 votes from Tando Mohd. Khan), Pir Mazahr Haq, etc. Mr. Murtaza Jatoi (IJI), son of Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, won against a PPP nominee Abdul Haq by 6,000 votes in Nawabshah. Among other prominent losers were Koral Shah, Jam Kararudin, Syed Ali Nawaz Shah, Nabi Bux Bhurgri, Ghulam Kadir Malkani, Nawab Rashid, Abdusattar Ghauri, etc.

PPP can form a government in Sind without any support from MQM or anybody else. PPP in fact has maintained its lead at the same level as it did in 1977 elections. Overall, approximately one million votes were casted in Sind. PPP secured 47 %,

MQM 22.69 %, IJI 11.69 % and others 18.82%. Sind election results both in national and provincial assemblies have also shattered a viewpoint that Sindhis in Sind are politically outnumbered by non-Sindhis. Perhaps the biggest loss from the election has been suffered by the nationalist movement in Sind. Although they did not contest elections as a group or party but all of their leaders who contested elections suffered heavy losses and thus reflected badly on the movement's political support.

#### **Mumtaz Bhutto Lost Elections**

(Larkana - Staff) Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Former Chief Minister of Sind and Convenor of SBPF for Pakistan, contested Provincial Assembly elections from Larkana and was defeated by approximately 3,000 votes. A PPP nominated contestant virtually unknown Mr. Didar Shah won. Mr. Bhutto's ballot sign was "Matka," as opposed to "Arrow" of PPP. After Mr. Bhutto lost elections, PPP supporters smashed hundreds of matkas in Larkana to celebrate their victory against Mumtaz Bhutto.

#### **Jatoi and Junejo Offered Seats in Punjab**

(Multan - Imroz) Ghulam Mustafa Khar, who was elected to two seats in the National Assembly from Muzafargarah has offered to Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi to contest one of the seats he (Khar) will vacate. A similar offer was made by Mr. Nawaz Sharif to Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo. Jatoi and Junejo have neither accepted nor rejected the offers.

#### **Plane Crash Investigations**

(New York - NBC) The investigators have found traces of chemicals in the plane which was crashed in Bahawalpur and killed Pakistani dictator Gen. Zia. A sabotage has been speculated. The CIA has concluded that sabotage was carried out by junior Pakistani military officers. But the State Department is quietly putting out word that the crash resulted from "natural causes." A soviet tie to Zia's death has also been speculated.

#### **Riots in Hyderabad and Karachi**

(Hyderabad - Staff) On Sept. 24, 1988, at about 7:30 pm, people were

indiscriminately fired upon in several parts of the twin cities of Hyderabad and Latifabad by unidentified assailants. Firing came from moving vehicles, which left the scene of violence within minutes. As a result of firing, 75 people were killed and about 125 injured. Among dead and injured were both Sindhis and Non-Sindhis. It appeared to be an organized and well planned effort to disrupt the peace in Hyderabad and deliberately create a situation whereby postponement of elections could be justified. People were openly blaming the army wanting to reimpose martial law and thwart any possibility of elections.

Despite clear cut evidence that Sindhis could not have purported this carnage, all Urdu newspapers and leaders of the refugees from India ("Mohajirs") blamed the incident on Sindhis and instigated Urdu speaking people in Karachi to "retaliate" against innocent Sindhis. In the aftermath of this so called retaliation about 60 Sindhis were killed in Karachi by Mohajir terrorists. Among killed were innocent women, children, and old folks, who happen to be at the wrong place at wrong time. Many houses and apartments belonging to Sindhis in Mohajir dominated areas were forcibly broken into. Not only did the terrorists loot Sindhis but they raped Sindhi women and killed entire families which were stranded. Many Sindhis were stranded for weeks and had to live on bare minimum to keep alive until rescued by the efforts of the Sindhi organizations in Karachi. Dead bodies of Sindhis and many injured Sindhis were refused assistance by the social and welfare organizations and medical community dominated by Mohajirs. Sattar Edhi, who has been promoted by Mohajirs as the "Angel of Mercy", became the "Angle of Death" for Sindhi victims. Edhi and company refused to provide any medical assistance or ambulance service to Sindhi victims.

Curfew was imposed in many areas of Karachi and Hyderabad and continued until general elections. Hundreds of Sindhis were arrested throughout Sind and imprisoned without charges.

# Thrive on, Pakistan

The new prime minister has to be tough if the economy is to keep strong

IT WILL be sad if Pakistan's dead dictator, the late Zia ul Haq, seems to history to have the last laugh. The politicians whom he had kept out of power since 1977 are preparing to take over an economy which has spent most of the past decade splendidly up in the Asian dragons' growth league. Yet the end of this ebullient period leaves Zia's heirs with worsening figures and a worried IMF. The politicians are promising the voters jam every day, when future prosperity demands a spell of dry crusts.

Luck, labour and a largish mortgage on the future kept Zia's growth so strong. Agriculture enjoyed good weather. Industry bounced back after an overplanned seven years under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir's father, the man Zia deposed. Geography helped foreign-exchange earnings: Pakistani la-

bour went to man the Gulf, and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan opened western purses. The heroin business took off. But now, while Pakistanis continue to import gaily, remittances from the Gulf are falling fast, western aid threatens to disappear as Russia leaves Afghanistan, and American pressure is squeezing heroin.

In India, they say, the government is rich and the people are poor; in Pakistan the people are rich and the government is poor. President Zia's government impoverished itself on defence, which takes 34% of total government spending (the fourth-highest fraction in the world) and on subsidies to quieten the peasants. Public investment suffered. Highways are crumbling, the canals' banks are falling in, industry gets long power cuts. Only 17% of Pakistan's teenagers go to secondary

Real GDP	Average annual % growth, 1980-87
South Korea	8.7
Hongkong	7.8
Taiwan	7.4
Singapore	8.0

school, against 35% of India's and 63% of Sri Lanka's.

Tariffs contribute most of the government's revenue, and ingenious smugglers limit the scope for increasing them. Only 1m of Pakistan's 100m people pay tax. Farmers are exempt. That not only deprives the government of revenue from a quarter of GDP (slightly less than industry's share); it also provides a convenient avenue of tax evasion. Businessmen buy bits of land and attribute their profits to their allotments. Since almost all the politicians are landlords, they resist any attempt to tax agricultural income. Because the government spends so much on debt-servicing and the army, it does not now cover even its current budget from such tax revenue as it can collect. All capital spending is financed by borrowing—mostly high-interest bonds sold to the public. That means more debt to be serviced.

## How to keep on doing well

Pakistani business is energetic, but is weakened by the bias towards agriculture and by budgetary indiscipline. Excessive government borrowing in a country with a 7% savings rate (compared with 40% in Singapore and 35% in South Korea) is squeezing out private borrowers: Karachi's stock exchange is a midget alongside India's burgeoning financial centres. High tariffs protect the domestic market and thus reduce in-

dustry's international competitiveness. Foreign companies tempted by the growth figures and the size of the market are put off by an almost Nigerian degree of corruption, street violence and political uncertainty.

The IMF will offer a deal to whoever forms the new government. In return for \$1 billion over three years, the new leader will have to get the books in order. That will require austerity that contradicts the party manifestoes. Both main parties promised more spending and no more taxes. If the politicians do what they have said, they face inflation and fiscal chaos. A brave government would accept a couple of years of pain, as it reduced the budget deficit and increased savings. It should cut subsidies and shift public spending to investment in infrastructure and education; cut tariffs; push an agricultural tax through; slap on a sales tax.

Sensitive to foreign nagging, Pakistanis will not appreciate having their economy run by the IMF. And they will not enjoy a sales tax and austerity. Natural big spenders, they are expecting all sorts of goodies from this long-awaited democratic government. It is cold comfort, but the new prime minister should remember that stern measures will be easier now, when democracy is still fresh, than after a couple of disillusioning years. If the politicians duck hard choices today, those who want them to fail will be chuckling tomorrow.

The final tally							
	Total	MMFP	Punjab	Sind	Bal	FATA	Island
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	92	4	7	52	31	1	1
Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDMA)	55	8	45	-	2	-	-
Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM)	13	-	-	13	-	-	-
Jamiat Ulema e Islam (JUI)	8	4	-	-	4	-	-
Awami National Party (ANP)	3	3	-	-	-	-	-
Pakistan Awami Ittihad (PAI)	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
Baluch National Alliance (BNA)	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
National People's Party - Khar (NPP)	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP)	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Independents	27	3	12	2	2	8	-
Poling deferred	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Reserved for non Muslims	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reserved for women	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
GRAND TOTAL	237	26	115	46	11	8	1

# Elected Members of National Assembly

The following candidates have been declared elected members of the National Assembly:

## NWFP

NA1	Peshawar	Altab Sherpoo	PPP
NA2	Peshawar	Khan Bahadur Khan	PPP
NA3	Peshawar	Sardar Ali Khan	PPP
NA4	Peshawar	Ahrar Khatak	ANP
NA5	Charsada	Khan A Wali Khan	ANP
NA6	Mardan	Haji Yaqub	PPP
NA7	Mardan	Haji Mohammad Ahmad	JUI
NA8	Sawabi	Abdul Khaliq	ANP
NA9	Kohat	Maulvi Naimatullah	JUI
NA10	Kirk	M Shaheed Ahmad	JUI
NA11	Abbottabad	Farid Jadoon	Ind
NA12	Abbottabad	Haji Gul Khitab Khan	JUI
NA13	Abbottabad	Raja Sikandar Zaman	JUI
NA14	Mansehra	Syed Oasim Shah	Ind
NA15	Mansehra	Nawabzada Salahuddin	Ind
NA16	Mansehra	Haji Ayub Khan	JUI
NA17	Kohistan	Fazle Haq	JUI
NA18	D I Khan	Maulana Fazlur Rahman	JUI
NA19	Bannu	Maulana Ali Akbar	JUI
NA20	Bannu	Anwar Saifullah Khan	JUI
NA21	Swat	postponed	...
NA22	Swat	Haji Fazle Raziq	JUI
NA23	Swat	M Afzal Khan	ANP
NA24	Chitral	Nusrat Bhutto	PPP
NA25	Dir	Fateh Ullah	JUI
NA26	Malakand	M Hanif Khan	PPP
NA27	FATA	Qadir Gul	Ind
NA28	FATA	Akhunzada M Saeed	Ind
NA29	FATA	Ghazi Saeed Jamal	Ind
NA30	FATA	Nadir Khan	Ind
NA31	FATA	Haji Shaikh Jan	Ind
NA32	FATA	Bismillah Jan	Ind
NA33	FATA	Malik Waris Khan	Ind
NA34	FATA	Malik Noor Shaikh	Ind
NA35	Islamabad	Raja Pervaiz Khan	PPP

## PUNJAB

NA36	Pindi	Shahid Khan Abbasi	Ind
NA37	Pindi	Raja Zaheer Ahmad	JUI
NA38	Pindi	Shaikh Rashid Ahmad	JUI
NA39	Pindi	Raja Shahid Zafar	PPP
NA40	Pindi	Nisar Ali Khan	JUI
NA41	Attock	Malik M Aslam	PPJ
NA42	Attock	Amir Mohammad Khan	PPP
NA43	Chakwal	Abdul Majeed Malik	JUI
NA44	Chakwal	Sardar Mansoor Hayat	JUI
NA45	Jhelum	Raja M Afzal Khan	JUI
NA46	Jhelum	Nawabzada Iqbal Mohdi	Ind
NA47	Sargodha	Ehsanul Haq Piracha	PPP
NA48	Sargodha	Ch Qadir Bakhsh	PPP
NA49	Sargodha	Rao Javed Ahmad	JUI
NA50	Sargodha	Ch Anwar Ali Cheema	JUI
NA51	Khushab	Malik Naeem Khan	JUI
NA52	Khushab	Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana	Ind
NA53	Mianwali	Maulana A Sattar Niazi	PAI
NA54	Mianwali	Dr Shar Afgan Niazi	PAI
NA55	Bhakkar	M Zafarullah	Ind
NA56	Bhakkar	Rashid Akbar Khan	Ind
NA57	Faisalabad	M Nazir Ahmad	Ind
NA58	Faisalabad	Rao M Aslam Khan	PPP
NA59	Faisalabad	Shahadat Ali Baluch	PPP
NA60	Faisalabad	Abdus Sabur	PPP
NA61	Faisalabad	Ch Nazir Ahmad	JUI
NA62	Faisalabad	postponed	...
NA63	Faisalabad	Nisar Akbar Khan	PPP
NA64	Faisalabad	Ahmad Saeed Awan	PPP
NA65	Faisalabad	Mehr Abdur Rashid	PPP
NA66	Jhang	Amir Hussain Syed	PPP
NA67	Jhang	Syeda Abida Hussain	Ind
NA68	Jhang	Syeda Abida Hussain	Ind

NA69	Jhang	Faisal Hayat Saleh	PPP
NA70	Jhang	Sahibzada M Nazir	PPP
NA71	Toba T Singh	Ch Asadur Rahman	JUI
NA72	T T Singh	Abdus Sattar	JUI
NA73	T T Singh	M Ishaq	PPP
NA74	Gujranwala	Ghulam Sarwar Cheema	PPP
NA75	Gujranwala	Malik Fazal Hussain	PPP
NA76	Gujranwala	Amanullah	PPP
NA77	Gujranwala	M Aslam Lone	PPP
NA78	Gujranwala	Rana Nazir A Khan	JUI
NA79	Gujranwala	Aijaz Ahmad	JUI
NA80	Gujrat	Ch Tajamul Hussain	JUI
NA81	Gujrat	Ch Shujaat Hussain	JUI
NA82	Gujrat	Ch M Asghar	PPP
NA83	Gujrat	Mumtaz Ahmad Tarar	PPP
NA84	Gujrat	Umar Hayat Lalika	JUI
NA85	Sialkot	Mian M Shafi	JUI
NA86	Sialkot	Amir Hussain	JUI
NA87	Sialkot	Khurshid Alam	PPP
NA88	Sialkot	Nawaz Sharif	JUI
NA89	Sialkot	Hamid Nawaz Khan	PPP
NA90	Sialkot	Anwarul Haq	JUI
NA91	Sialkot	Ch Anwar Aziz	JUI
NA92	Lahore	M Hussain Ansari	PAI
NA93	Lahore	Aitizaz Ahsan	PPP
NA94	Lahore	Benazir Bhutto	PPP
NA95	Lahore	Nawaz Sharif	JUI
NA96	Lahore	Jahangir Badar	PPP
NA97	Lahore	Kh Tariq Rahim	PPP
NA98	Lahore	Mian M Usman	JUI
NA99	Lahore	Haji M Asghar	PPP
NA100	Lahore	Malik Meraj Khalid	PPP
NA101	Shaikhupura	Nisar Ahmad	PPP
NA102	Shaikhupura	Malik Mushtaq Ahmad	PPP
NA103	Shaikhupura	M Arif Awan	PPP
NA104	Shaikhupura	Ch Tawakkalullah	PPP
NA105	Shaikhupura	Rao Rashid A Khan	PPP
NA106	Qasur	Sahibzada Khizar Hayat	Ind
NA107	Qasur	Rao Khizar Hayat	JUI
NA108	Qasur	Sardar Talib Hussain	JUI
NA109	Qasur	Sardar M Ashiq Dogar	PPP
NA110	Okara	Rao Sikandar Iqbal	PPP
NA111	Okara	Syed Sajjad Haider	JUI
NA112	Okara	Rao M Afzal	PPP
NA113	Okara	Manzoor Ahmad	JUI
NA114	Multan	S Yusuf Raza Gilani	PPP
NA115	Multan	Riaz Hussain	PPP
NA116	Multan	Mukhtar A Awan	PPP
NA117	Multan	M Siddiq Kanji	JUI
NA118	Multan	Mirza M Nasir Beg	PPP
NA119	Multan	Rana Taj Ahmad	PPP
NA120	Khanewal	Ch A Rahman	PPP
NA121	Khanewal	Mir M Iqbal	PPP
NA122	Khanewal	Maj Altab A Khan	JUI
NA123	Khanewal	Ghulam Haidegaain	JUI
NA124	Sahiwal	Naurez Shakoor	PPP
NA125	Sahiwal	M Ashraf	JUI
NA126	Sahiwal	Rao A Nawaz Khan	JUI
NA127	Sahiwal	Ghulam M A Manika	JUI
NA128	Sahiwal	Raja Shahid Saeed	JUI
NA129	Vehari	Mian Mumtaz Khan	PPP
NA130	Vehari	Akbar Ali Bhatti	JUI
NA131	Vehari	S Shahid Mehri Nasim	JUI
NA132	D G Khan	Kh Kamaluddin Anwar	JUI
NA133	D G Khan	Sardar Farooq Ansari	PPP
NA134	Rajanpur	Sardar Ashiq M K Mazari	PPP
NA135	Muzaffargarh	Zulfiqar Barq	Ind
NA136	Muzaffargarh	N Nasrullah Khan	PDP
NA137	Muzaffargarh	G Mustafa Khar	Ind
NA138	Muzaffargarh	G Mustafa Khar	Ind
NA139	Layya	Malik Niaz A Jhakar	PPP
NA140	Layya	S Faizul Hasa	JUI
NA141	Bhawalpur	Prince Salahuddin	Ind

NA142	Bhawalpur	M Farooq Azam	PPP
NA143	Bhawalpur	S Tasnim Nawaz Gardezi	JUI
NA144	Bhawalnagar	S Mumtaz Alam Gilani	PPP
NA145	Bhawalnagar	A Sattar Khan	JUI
NA146	Bhawalnagar	A Ghaloor Ch	JUI
NA147	R Y Khan	S A Alam Anwar	JUI
NA148	R Y Khan	M Ruknuddin	PPP
NA149	R Y Khan	M A Khaliq	JUI
NA150	R Y Khan	Raess Shabbir Ahmad	JUI

## SIND

NA151	Sukkur	Ali Hasan Manghi	PPP
NA152	Sukkur	Faqir A H M Mitho	PPP
NA153	Sukkur	Noor Mohammad	PPP
NA154	Shikarpur	Aga Tariq Khan	PPP
NA155	Shikarpur	Aga Ata M Khan	PPP
NA156	Jacobabad	M Muqem	PPP
NA157	Jacobabad	Mir Mehran Khan	PPP
NA158	Nawabshah	Zafar Ali Shah	PPP
NA159	Nawabshah	Haji Rehmatullah	PPP
NA160	Nawabshah	Hakim Ali Zardari	PPP
NA161	Nawabshah	S Shabbir A Shah	PPP
NA162	Khairpur	S Pervaz Shah	PPP
NA163	Khairpur	Pir S A Qadir	PPP
NA164	Larkana	Mrs Nusrat Bhutto	PPP
NA165	Larkana	Dr Ashraf Abbasi	PPP
NA166	Larkana	Benazir Bhutto	PPP
NA167	Hyderabad	Amin Faheem	PPP
NA168	Hyderabad	Altab A Sh	MQM
NA169	Hyderabad	Haji Rashid	MQM
NA170	Hyderabad	A Majid Abid	PPP
NA171	Hyderabad	M Ghulam Mohd	PPP
NA172	Hyderabad	Abdullah	PPP
NA173	Badin	Bashir Ahmad	PPP
NA174	Tharparkar	S Qurban Shah	PPP
NA175	Tharparkar	Ali Nawaz Shah	PPP
NA176	Tharparkar	Abrar Amir Hussain	IND
NA177	Dadu	Syed Sikandar	PPP
NA178	Dadu	Haji M Bakhsh	PPP
NA179	Dadu	Zafar Ali	PPP
NA180	Sanghar	Pir S A Gauhar Shah	Ind
NA181	Sanghar	Shah Nawaz Junejo	PPP
NA182	Thatha	Ghulam H Babu	PPP
NA183	Thatha	G M Shah	PPP

NA184	West 1	S Amir Haider Kazmi	PPP
NA185	West 2	Syed Salimul Haq	MQM
NA186	Cen 1	Kanwar Khalid	MQM
NA187	Cen 2	Imran Farooq	MQM
NA188	Cen 3	S M Aslam	MQM
NA189	South 1	Benazir Bhutto	PPP
NA190	South 2	M Farooq Sattar	MQM
NA191	South 3	Syed Tariq Mahmood	MQM
NA192	East 1	M Farooq Sattar	MQM
NA193	East 2	S Zakaria Kazmi	MQM
NA194	East 3	S Aminul Haq	MQM
NA195	East 4	Mahmood Hussain	MQM
NA196	East 5	Wasim Ahmad	MQM

## BALUCHISTAN

NA197	Quetta/Chaghi	H Hussain Ahmad	JUI
NA198	Pishin	M Abdul Ghani	JUI
NA199	Loralai	Baz Mohammad Mir	PPP
NA200	Zhob	M M Khan	JUI
NA201	Kachhi	Tariq Hussin Magsi	Ind
NA202	Sibi/Kohlu/Dera	Bugti/Ziarat	Ind
NA203	Jafarabad	M Zafarullah	JUI
NA204	Qalat/Kharan	M Siddiq Shah	JUI
NA205	Khuzdar	M Arif Jan	BNA
NA206	Lasbella/Gawadar	Ghulam Akbar	JUI
NA207	Turbat	Manzoor A Kachki	BNA

# MQM's 25-point Charter of Resolution

**KARACHI, —** The MQM is negotiating its post-election strategy with the two leading parties in the National Assembly — the PPP and IJI — on the basis of a 25-point Charter of Resolution (Qarardad-e-Maqasid).

Following are the 25 points in brief: 1. Sind domicile should be given to only those people who are residents of Sind at least for 20 years, except those who were settled in Sind after the fall of Dhaka. Domicile certificates of all non-locals should be cancelled and the certificate should be made compulsory for issuance of ID cards.

2. Only locals should be recruited to all police and intelligence departments and locals should be appointed in the province.

3. Arms licences should be issued to Mohajirs and Sindhis and the procedure should be simplified as in the case of radio and TV licences.

4. Afghan refugees should be shifted to camps near the Pak-Afghan border and they should not be allowed to buy property or carry out business or interfere in cities.

5. All immigrants into Sind from other provinces should be provided jobs in their areas so that the illegal increase in Sind's population is arrested.

6. Kachchi Abadis set up by 1978 only should be regularised and landgrabbing should be declared a crime. The police station concerned should be held responsible for any landgrabbing in its jurisdiction. All allotments to non-locals as rewards should be stopped.

7. A modern and fast transport system should be introduced in Karachi and Hyderabad and government transport should be given to municipalities. Driving licences should not be issued to non-matriculates and locals should be preferred in issuance of professional driving licences.

8. Locals should be given first preference for all government and semi-government, corporations and administration jobs, from the lower to the highest level. All non-locals already posted in these positions should be sent to their respective provinces. Locals should be preferred for all trade and industrial facilities like issue of licences, quotas, NOCs for industries and tenders.

9. Only locals of Sind should be given the right to vote as hundreds of thousands of non-locals have voting rights in Sind as well as their home provinces.

10. Minimum voting age should be reduced to 18 years.

11. An honest census should be held to determine the population of Sindhis and Mohajirs and they should be given their proportion-

ate share in power, jobs and educational institutions both in the Centre and the province. A joint committee comprising elected representatives of Sindhis and Mohajirs should be set up to implement the quota system in a fair and just way. Ten per cent quota of merit in federal jobs should be abolished and these jobs should be distributed among all the provinces according to their population. All federal jobs, including those in administration or defence, should be allocated according to the population ratio.

12. Mohajirs should be constitutionally declared a separate nationality in Pakistan.

13. Locals should be preferred in all public and private sector industrial units in Sind and contract system should be abolished.

14. Uniform service and retirement rules should be made for all federal, provincial, government and semi-government departments and corporations. All anti-Mohajir policies in these organisations should be changed and lay off of Mohajirs should be stopped.

15. Pakistanis stranded in

Bangladesh should be accepted and repatriated as Pakistanis.

16. The Khokrapar rail route with India should be immediately reopened.

17. The same postal tariff should be fixed for India as is being applied to other neighbouring countries of Pakistan.

18. All locals should be given first preference in admissions to

educational institutions in Sind.

19. A new hospital should be set up attached to the Sind Medical College.

20. All local residents of Sind who do not own a house should be provided plots at concessional rates and loans should be given to help them build their houses.

21. KESC should be separated from WAPDA and services of all non-locals in KESC should be deputed to WAPDA.

22. Municipal Committees should be given the right to collect the Motor Vehicles Tax.

23. Fuel Adjustment Charges should be made uniform throughout the country.

24. Sind Government should be authorised to collect Sales Tax.

25. Annual 'Urs' of Shah Latif Bhitai and death anniversary of Liaquat Ali Khan should be declared national public holidays and observed as national days.

## Muslims in U.S. Pressing To Stop New Rushdie Novel

By AZIZ HANIFFA

WASHINGTON — The Muslim Alert Network, the information and lobbying arm of the Islamic Circle of North America, has begun a concerted campaign to stop publication of the latest novel of Indian-born Salman Rushdie, "The Satanic Verses," in the United States. The novel is scheduled to be published in the U.S. in February by Viking, which is an imprint of Penguin in hardcover.

The book, published in Britain by Penguin, allegedly blasphemes Islam and has already been banned in India, Pakistan, South Africa, Saudi Arabia and several other Arab countries.

"Satanic Verses," according to the Muslim Alert Network, "thinly disguised as a piece of literature, not only grossly distorts Islamic history in general, but also portrays in the worst possible colors the very characters of the Prophet Mohammad and the Prophet Ibrahim."

The organization asserts, "For long, books written in the West on Islam by so-called orientalist have been damaging the image of Islam, by stereotyping and ridiculing it. These images have influenced generations of non-Muslims and their behavior toward Muslims."

The Network says, "Now this author, who has studied Islamic history at Cambridge University, is repackaging all that filth to make it available in a popular novel format. Based on the myth of the

interpolation of the so-called 'Satanic Verses' into the Qur'an, this novel stands out as the crassest sacrilege of all that is sacred for Muslims."

As part of its campaign to counter "the irreparable damage" the novel would "inflict on the image of Islam in America," the network has mailed letters to Muslims across the country urging them to lodge a protest against the book with Viking and to prevail upon it not to publish the book in the U.S.

It has also called on Muslims to demand that Penguin withdraw the book immediately from the market and apologize "publicly for the offense caused to Islam and Muslims."

The network has also suggested that Muslims in the U.S. write to non-Muslim religious organizations about the "treatment Islam and Muslims are receiving in the Western media and request them to join in protest."

However, it has cautioned Muslims in the U.S. not to write "letters to the editor until you see any review, news or article about the controversy in the newspapers."

Meanwhile, it has sent letters to mosques, Islamic centers and organizations in the U.S. drawing their attention for protesting against the novel.

It has also sent off letters to all the ambassadors of Muslim countries in Washington requesting them to bring this matter to the notice of their governments "for appropriate action."

# Benazir Doubted Father's Execution

## Bhutto May Have Died Resisting a Forced Confession

By PATRICK WORSNIP

LONDON (Reuters) — Benazir Bhutto suspected that her father, former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, might not have been hanged but died in a fight in his condemned cell, according to her autobiography published this week.

But Benazir Bhutto, whose Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was contesting national elections on Wednesday, refused to allow his body to be exhumed to check the cause of death, saying he should rest in peace.

In the book "Daughter of the East" she quotes a family retainer who handled the burial as saying the body showed no signs of hanging. The neck was not broken but there were strange red and black dots on the throat.

Bhutto says she "tended to believe" a report that her father had been knocked out during a fight with military officers trying to make him sign a confession, hours before his execution was due. The dots could have been caused by a tracheotomy as part of a failed attempt to revive him.

The official version is that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, overthrown in a military coup by the late General Mohammad Zia-ul Haq in 1977, was hanged for murder on April 4, 1979.

In one of the most dramatic sections of the 320-page book, Benazir Bhutto recalls how she awoke in terror at the police training camp where she and her Iranian mother Nusrat were being detained, about the time her father died in a Rawalpindi jail. "I couldn't breathe, didn't want to breathe. Papa Papa I felt cold, so cold, in spite of the heat, and couldn't stop shaking."

She narrates how she failed to save him by smuggling out a message about his impending execution, whose date had been kept secret. The message reached the outside world, but not her call to her supporters to rise in protest.

Bhutto describes her book, much of it charting the years she spent in jail and house arrest, as "not an in-depth study of Pakistan, but a glance into the transformation of a society from democracy to dictatorship."

It gives an emotional and inevitably highly partisan account of her struggle against Zia's 11 years in power, portraying the military ruler as a brutal dictator and unprincipled villain.

She quotes Zia as telling her father by phone hours after his coup: "I'm sorry, sir, I had to do it. We have to hold you in protective custody for a while. But in 90 days I'll hold new elections. You'll be elected Prime Minister again, of course, sir, and I'll be saluting you."

The book was finished just before Zia was killed in a plane crash three months ago that an official enquiry has blamed on sabotage. The General's death is mentioned only in a brief note by the London publishers, Hamish Hamilton.

The book records how Benazir Bhutto was changed by her father's downfall from a Harvard and Oxford student, wearing jeans and reading feminist tracts, into a steel-willed political leader in her Muslim country who agreed to an arranged marriage for the sake of her career.

She describes her wedding last year to landowner and polo player Asif Zardari — a man for whom she admits she felt no more than respect — as "the price in personal choice I had to pay for the political path my life had taken."

But she reflects that marriages based on love can lead to disillusion when they go wrong. "Our love could only grow," she concludes on her marriage to Zardari. Bhutto, 35, states firmly that it is only men's interpretation of Islam, not the religion itself, that restricts women's opportunities.

"Muslim history was full of women who had taken a public role and performed every bit as successfully as men," she writes. "Nothing in Islam discouraged



Benazir Bhutto

them, or me, from pursuing that course."

Little of her political philosophy emerges from the book, although she supports her father's left-leaning social and foreign policies and attacks Zia's Islamization programme.

She voices exasperation at U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for overlooking Zia's human rights record in their enthusiasm for him as a backer of anti-Soviet guerrillas in Afghanistan.

But she notes how she also warned the quarrelling PPP leaders against putting too much trust in the Russians. "If their strategic concerns change, they'll ditch us," she says. British critics have paid tribute to Bhutto's sincerity and charisma, but some have found fault with her book for inaccuracy over her father's rule.

"She unwittingly exposes what many Pakistanis fear, that her years abroad followed by years in jail have given her no deep-rooted understanding of her countrymen, psyche," reviewer Ahmed Rashid wrote in the *Independent* newspaper.

A spokeswoman for the publishers said the autobiography was "basically written" by Bhutto but she had received some help due to her crowded schedule.

## Son Born to Benazir Bhutto

KARACHI (Reuters) — Pakistan's best-known opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto, a favorite to win November's election, gave birth to a son on Sept. 21, her mother, Nusrat, said.

The birth came several weeks earlier than expected by the press and should leave the 35-year-old politician free to campaign energetically.

Bhutto had refused to reveal when the baby, her first, was due.

But leading members of her Pakistan People's Party had accused the late President Zia-ul Haq, her bitter foe, of deliberately scheduling the elections for November to restrict her ability to campaign.

### Prominent Family

The child, who was yet to be named,

## Cassettes Enliven Pak Electioneering

By ANDY McCORD

Special to India Abroad

ISLAMABAD — Cassettes of election slogans set to music are the new medium in Pakistan to woo voters. The success of the pop-political cassettes has sent the older, more conservative parties running to the recording studios.

According to salesmen in music shops here as well as in Karachi and Rawalpindi, Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was the first to put its slogan to music that is sometimes even reggae. The party has released at least seven cassettes.

### Fast-Selling Items

The salesmen say the PPP tapes are among the fastest selling items in the inventory, but they add that in Karachi prolific artists recording for the Mohajir Qaumi Movement have also gained a big share of the market.

The Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad (Islamic Democratic Alliance) as well as its component parties was slow to exploit the new trend and has only recently put commercially produced tape on the market. Salesmen near the Liaquat Bagh in Rawalpindi said last week during a rally for the alliance that the Ittehad tape sold out almost immediately. They were busy making homemade copies while the target audience was nearby.

### Takeoff on PPP Tape

The most frequently played song on the new combine's tape is a direct takeoff of a popular PPP number, using the same tune and a similar if not identical voice to warn the Bhutto party of an impending defeat.

A salesman in Karachi said that a tape of songs to eulogize the late military President Mohammad Zia-ul Haq had sold briefly immediately after his death last August but since then had not been popular.

## Polls for Pakistan Minorities

By ANDY McCORD

Special to India Abroad

KARACHI — When Pakistani voters go to the polls this month for the first general elections in 11 years, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis and other minorities will also be voting, but in separate elections in nationwide minority constituencies.

In addition to 207 National Assembly seats to be filled by Muslim candidates selected by the country's Muslim majority, 10 seats have been set aside for minorities. These include four seats for Hindus, four for Christians, one for a Muslim sect called Ahmadiyas and one for a hodgepodge of non-Muslims that includes Parsis, Sikhs, Bahais, Jews and the Kalash Kafir tribe.

Byram Avari, a real estate developer and well-known yachtsman, lost in the 1985 elections by just 14 votes to his opponent, M. P. Bhandara, the owner of Pakistan's only distillery. Both men said in interviews that they supported the idea of separate electorates for minorities. They reported that they were traversing the entire country in pursuing their campaigns, including journeys into the mountain valleys near Chitral where a diminishing band of people, known as the Kalash Kafirs, live. Their origin is sometimes attributed to stragglers in the army of Alexander the Great.

## **SANA NEWS**

### **Birth Announcement**

Mr. Mushtaq Ali Kalwar, a SANA member, became a proud father to a baby boy SHAN ALI born in August, 1988. SANA congratulates the proud parents and wishes happy life to the newborn.

### **EC Expansion**

The SANA membership has approved an expansion of the Executive Council from 5 to 11 officers.

### **SANA Elections**

Mail ballots for Executive Council 1989-1990 have been issued. The results will be announced shortly after the ballots are received by the election officer (Dr. Altaf Memon) appointed by SANA EC. Following persons have been nominated:

President	Khalid Hashmani
V. President (Senior)	Niranjana Dudani
V. P. (North America)	Mehmood Kalbani
V. P. (Overseas)	Aftab Kazi
General Secretary	Javaid Laghari
Joint Secretary	Aijaz Turk
Information Secretary	Razzak Memon
Treasurer	Israr Ansari
Secretary (East)	Badar Shaikh
Secretary (Mid-West)	Shabir Shaikh
Secretary (West)	Adam Laghari

### **GBM - 89**

The GBM Committee has approved St. Louis, Missouri, as the venue of the GBM-89, July 1-3, 1989. Dr. Mehmood Qalbani will be chairing this meeting. Details will be made available to the members as and when the final arrangements have been completed.

### **New Address for SANA**

Address of SANA has changed. The new address is as follows:

SANA  
P.O.Box 991  
Williamsville, NY 14231

All future correspondence may be directed to the new address. The old address will remain the address for correspondence with SANGAT.

### **Dr. Feroz Writes an Important Article**

Dr. Feroz Ahmed, a SANA member, has written a very important article on **The Rise of Mohajir Separatism**. The article was published in Pakistan in **VIEWPOINT** in August and September of 1988.

The article traces the history and social background of Mohajir politics in Pakistan. It discusses the rise of Mohajirs as a privileged class and their attitudes towards the indigenous people of Pakistani nationalities and development of ethnic frictions. The article studies the emergence of MQM and its potential in the politics of Pakistan particularly in the context of Sind.

### **Sindhi Video Project**

Sindhi language video project which was initiated by SANA has been shelved due to noncooperation from Sindh and lack of support available in the United States. Mr. Aijaz Turk is still keeping the lines of communications open with contact in Sind but is not optimistic for any breakthrough in the near future. Dr. Altaf Memon, who had proposed that the video production be undertaken in USA, has indicated that without resources and serious and active support from other SANA members it would be impossible to complete the project here in USA. It should be recognised that a project of this magnitude can not be completed by a single person in a reasonable time frame. Therefore, for all practical purposes this project is inactive.

### **SANA Condemns Violence Against Sindhis**

The executive council released to press a statement condemning the violence against Sindhis in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. It called upon the community leaders on all sides to take necessary steps in thwarting this vicious cycle of violence and vengeance. It also called upon Sindhis to unite and defend themselves.

### **SANA Sends Congratulations**

SANA has sent congratulatory notes to Benazir Bhutto and other PPP leaders on their party's success in Pakistan and

Sind Elections.

#### **SAUKE Formed**

Sindhis living in UK and Europe held several meetings in October to form an association of Sindhis in Europe on the same lines as SANA. It was decided in these meetings to form a SINDHI ASSOCIATION OF UNITED KINGDOM AND EUROPE ("SAUKE"). A nine member steering committee was formed to undertake preparation of the constitution and by laws. The idea is to proceed towards the object of founding a World Sindhi Congress as proposed by SANA. It was also decided to hold a conference in England in the second Quarter of 1989. SANA has been invited to co-sponsor the same with SAUKE.

#### **SMANA Formed**

Sindhi doctors in North America have formed a professional chapter under SANA. The chapter will be called the Sindhi Medical Association of North America ("SMANA"). The Association has been registered and following Board of Directors has been elected: Dr. Azizullah Ansari, Dr. Zahida Bhutto, Dr. Abdul Wahab Kazi, Dr. M. Yacob Memon, Dr. Amanullah Khan Pathan, Dr. Shirin Galbani, and Dr. Zahida Yousufani.

#### **Sindhi Books in Toronto Metro Library**

About 200 books were received by the Toronto Metropolitan Library. The Library welcomes donations of Sindhi books. For more information, please contact:

Mrs. Griwald  
Language Section  
MTL  
789 Yonge Street  
Toronto, Ont. M4W 2G8  
CANADA

Tel. (416) 393 - 7172

#### **Gathering of Sindhis in Mid-West**

Concerned with the continued violent acts against Sindhis and the deteriorating political and economic conditions in Sind, a large group of North American Sindhis gathered in the St. Louis area on October 22, 1988. Mr. Abdul Hafiz Pirzada and Dr. Suleman Shaikh were also present

in the meeting.

#### **Sind Ja Sajan Organization Proposed**

Dr. Niranjan Dudani has informed SANA that there are plans to form an organization called as **Sind Ja Sajan** or **Sind Anuvadi** in India. The objectives of this organization will be consistent with those of SANA and it will be an attempt towards forming a World Sindhi Congress.

#### **SANA MEMBERSHIP APPROVES CHANGES TO SANA CONSTITUTION**

The SANA membership in a recent ballot approved the following amendments to the SANA constitution:

##### Amendment # 1

Expansion in the SANA Executive Council by creation of six (6) additional offices: Vice President (2), Joint and Cultural Secretary (1) and Regional Secretaries (3). The amendment was approved by 61 members (2 opposed).

##### Amendment # 2

Repeal clause (4) of section FORMATION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL which limited the eligibility of the office bearers to be reelected for a maximum of two terms. The amendment was passed as follows:

Approve Amendment :	51
Disapprove Amendment:	11
Did not vote on Amendment:	1

# A REPORT ON THE GATHERING OF SINDHIS IN MID-WEST

BY: Khalid Hashmani

Concerned with the continued violent acts against sindhis in Karachi and Hyderabad and the deteriorating political and economic conditions in Sind, a large group of North American sindhis gathered in the St. Louis area on October 22, 1988. A majority of the attendees were sindhi medical doctors and SANA members. The meeting was also attended by Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada and a representative of the Sind Graduates Association from Sind.

The marathon meeting lasted more than 12 hours and was organized into two sessions: DISCUSSIONS and ACTIONS. The DISCUSSIONS session focused on the plight of Sind and Sindhis and the role and responsibilities of North American Sindhis to solve the problems of Sind. This was followed by the ACTIONS session which concentrated on the actions and proposals towards achieving the objectives set in the earlier session.

## A. DISCUSSIONS

The following are the major points made during the DISCUSSIONS session:

1. The recent disturbances in Hyderabad and Karachi were not initiated by sindhis. There is every reason to believe that the disturbances were instigated by those who do not wish to see the return of the democracy in Pakistan and by those who want to derive sindhi population from the urban areas of Sind to the interior in order to perpetuate the non-sindhi control of the Sindhi cities.
2. During the recent disturbances, the role and the attitude of some of the Karachi-based social and medical organizations towards the sindhi population was deplorable. In particular, the Edhi Foundation (which has a large fleet of ambulances) did not come to the help of the sindhi casualties.
3. The international media coverage of the events in Sind is unsympathetic to the Sindhi point of view. The stories and the events they cover are either fed by the non-sindhi sources or the news is gathered primarily from large cities and the interior regions are ignored. The national press in Pakistan too continues to be hostile to sindhis. To counter this, the North American Sindhis must play a vigorous role by establishing contact with the media in their areas and informing them on the true facts. However, some attendees cautioned that care must be taken to avoid counter-productive actions which may create a situation where our actions are branded as "anti religion" and/or being instigated by foreign countries.
4. The sindhi population in Karachi and Hyderabad have suffered immense losses in the recent disturbances and they need our help and support. The help is needed so that they can stay put in the cities and protect themselves from the violence in future.
5. The focus of SANA should be on the current realities in Sind and the association should be more aggressive and work vigorously towards the achieving of the historic national rights of sindhis in Pakistan.

## B. ACTIONS

The following actions and proposals were made in the second session:

1. A sum of about \$ 20,000 was raised on the spot for the following projects and purposes of the Sind Graduates Association:
  - \$ 7,000 for the purchase of an ambulance in Karachi for service to the sindhi population.
  - \$ 10,000 towards the construction of a Roshan Tara Sindhi school in Karachi and other educational projects in Sind.
  - \$ 3,600 for the 110 freeships for one year in the Roshan Tara schools for poor students

In addition, Dr. Askar Qalbani announced an annual donation of \$ 3,600 towards 110 freeships in the Roshan Tara schools for poor students. The donation was made in the name of his father Late Professor Qalbani.

2. The gathering recommended to the SANA general membership to focus the problems and the rights of sindhis by making an appropriate change in the SANA constitution to emphasize the national historic rights of Sindhis in Pakistan.
3. The attendees recommended to the SANA General Membership to establish a permanent office to be staffed by a paid staff to coordinate and manage the information gathering and dissipation activities aimed at the North American media and political and cultural institutions and their leaders. In order to finance this activity, it was recommended that the SANA constitution be changed to create a life membership category with a fee of \$ 1,000. From the attendees 14 individuals committed to become the life members of SANA. The goal is to raise about \$100,000 through the life membership and other donations so that the proposed permanent office operations become self-sufficient.
4. An association of sindhis, similar to SANA, is being started in Europe. The European association of Sindhis plans to organise an international seminar in U.K. on the human rights of sindhis. The seminar will be addressed by prominent academicians and political thinkers. The seminar is scheduled to be held in April 1989 and SANA has been invited to co-sponsor this event. The co-sponsorship costs are estimated at about \$ 5,000. It was recommended that SANA should participate in this event and a fund drive be started to collect the funds required for the co-sponsorship.
5. It was decided to start a vigorous SANA membership drive with the goal to achieve 50 new memberships before the next GB meeting. All individuals present in the meeting made a commitment to work in their areas to help achieve this goal.

### C. OTHER ITEMS

1. The SANA Medical Doctor's Chapter announced in the last General Body meeting was formally established and the office bearers elected. The first meeting of the chapter will be held in March, 1989 in Florida.
2. Dr. Askar Qalbani made a commitment to ask his lawyer to initiate the necessary steps to get the non-profit status for SANA.
3. All attendees thanked Dr. Mithal Vakassi for the excellent arrangements of this meeting and for his sindhi hospitality. Also thanked were the following St. Louis area sindhis for their help in the arrangements: Dr. A. Wahab and Mrs Samina Kazi, Dr. Amanullah Khan Pathan, Dr. Mahmood and Mrs Shireen Qalbani, and Dr. Shabbir Ahmed Shaikh.

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By: Dr. Niranjana Dudani read in a urdu Mushaira in Boston in 1987

جیسے انسان کہ پوتی ہے انسانیت وئے سندھی کی پوتی ہے سندھیت  
ہر انسان میں شاید انسانیت نہ ہو، لیکن سندھی میں سندھیت لڑھی ہے

سندھیت کے معصوم مداح  
کیا تم نے سنی جو کہنے لگی؟

ا. آد دھیمی سی آواز اُٹھی . دریا کے بہکتے کناروں سے  
آہ ہلکے ٹھنڈی سانس اُٹھی - ریگستان کی ریتی سے  
آہ ٹوٹی پھوٹی آہ اُٹھی - کوہستان کی وادی سے

جہاں سسٹ بھٹکی ویران میں  
جہاں ماروی، بچھڑی ماروٹوں سے  
وہاں شیریں سوہرو بستم زدہ - کہنے اسکی عصمت پھیڑی؟  
کیا تم نے وہ آواز سنی - وہ ہلکے ٹھنڈی سانس سنی؟  
جو گونج رہی ہے کانوں میں - جو سمٹ رہی ہے نرس میں  
وہ پوچھ رہی ہے لوگوں سے - کیا تم نے سنی جو کہنے لگی؟

**EXCERPTS FROM HAFIZ PIRZADA'S LECTURE  
AT SUNNY/AB**

BY: Dr. Javaid Laghari

Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada delivered a lecture, entitled "Pakistan After Zia - Human Rights and Geopolitical Issues" to the Political Science Graduate Group at the State University of New York at Buffalo on October 13, 1988. In his lecture, he described how Pakistan has seen 3 Martial Laws since 1947, which has now become a norm. It was only an accident of history, and not polls, that ushered in 5-1/2 years of civilian rule in 1977, and it is a similar accident that is leading to the polls of 1988. He described in detail how collective human rights were abused under Zia, such as 195,000 convicted, and 80,000 lashed. He himself had spent 4 years in jail and 3 in exile during this period. Promises made to smaller nationalities under the Pakistan resolution were broken and have now become "colonies" of the military, which consists of 92% Punjabis (85% in the officers core). This consumes 11% GNP (second highest after Egypt), and over 45% of the federal budget. The Military expenditures are financed by the centre, which collects 95% of all taxes whilst the provinces get only 5%. On the other hand, less than 1% is spent on items such as education, etc.

The 1983 and the 1986 Sind uprising was described, and Pirzada said that even in 1983, he had identified 6 areas of conflict (i) haves/have nots (ii) urban/rural (iii) centre/provincial (iv) religious/sectarian (v) civilian/military and (vi) ethnic, which was to prove the worst. He said Karachi had turned into a Beirut, and 4 military divisions were now deployed in Sind. Their actions and treatment with the local Sindhi have resulted in the most violent form of Sindhi nationalism. He believed the permanent solution to the ills of Pakistan was the curtailment of the Army and massive decentralization (i.e., loose federal arrangement), otherwise Pakistan will continue to face serious balkanization.

In 1985, he had given a new constitutional proposal to the country, in which only Defense, Foreign, Communication and Currency would belong to the centre, while all major taxation powers would lie with the provinces. Also, an upper peacetime ceiling of 3% GNP for the Military was proposed. As a result of this proposal, he was jailed by the military. He added that now, most of the MRD parties have agreed in principle to these changes. However, the military will not allow such changes to take place, and will definitely move in to take over before they occur. He gave the new elected government a maximum of 2 to 3 years before the Army will move back in under the pretext of maintaining law and order, unless their position is further consolidated under this new regime.

## **HARD TIMES AHEAD FOR BENAZIR BHUTTO**

**BY: A North American Sindhi**

(Author's name withheld per author's request - Editor)

With the recent election victory of the PPP, this is the time of rejoicing for all democracy loving Sindhis. Ms. Benazir Bhutto has been named the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and will certainly be able to obtain the majority vote of confidence from the newly elected National Assembly. Sindhis are, therefore, tending to believe that 1971 has returned back, and Benazir will resume the mission of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (ZAB), the martyred leader who brought self-esteem and confidence to the Sindhi nation in particular, and to Pakistan in general.

There is no reason to deny that Ms. Benazir carries the charisma and intelligence of her father. She is well educated and trained in local politics, particularly in the last two and a half years since her return from the UK. She has also been able to achieve what ZAB could not: unite the Sindhi nation on one platform in their support for the PPP. Democracy has now been restored and, therefore, the Sindhis can only rejoice and see green pastures ahead.

However, a closer and deeper analysis of the present political situation suggests otherwise. This is clearly not 1971! It is a completely different ballgame, and the peace loving and democratic Sindhis are only being handed the other end of the stick, making them believe they have absolute power. In fact, they will have only limited power. And that too will be shared on a throne under the sword of Democles. Let us analyse the situation carefully.

ZAB had many things different and in his favour, when he assumed power in 1971. To start with, a completely demoralized and defeated army, with over 90,000 POWS in Indian camps. There was absolutely no way the army could have administered Pakistan then (they eventually returned back to partial control in Baluchistan in 1973, and finally full control in 1977). Right now, Pakistan is seeing a disorganized but not a shattered army. There appears to be a leadership vacuum within the core commanders, but that is only a temporary phase. Perhaps within twelve months, the army will restructure itself and be back on its feet again, even though they may not find a Zia amongst their command. Excuses can always be created by them to regain control of Pakistan: Afghanistan, India, and civil unrest, particularly in the urban centres.

Secondly, ZAB controlled the National Assembly absolutely. Benazir's PPP, on the other hand, does not have an absolute majority in the present assembly. Granted that with the support of the independents (and smaller groups), and with the "bandwagon" effect in the future, she will run a "comfortable" National Assembly. However, many within the presently elected PPP are "opportunists," who had served with Zia as ministers, legislators or otherwise. Once things appear to tighten up, or a larger carrot appears on the other side of the fence, they will be the first ones to hop out and join the opposite side. This is very typical of Pakistani politics.

Thirdly, in addition to the control of the National Assembly, ZAB was also successful in forming the government in Punjab, the most populous province, and the constituency of the military and the bureaucracy. Unless Benazir can succeed in forming a government there in the near future, there will always be the possibility that whoever controls Punjab will control the Centre. IJI, under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, and with indirect military and bureaucratic support, has already formed the government in this key province. It has also obtained more of the popular votes in Punjab. This majority will continue to remain a decisive and turning point, particularly if Nawaz Sharif remains at the helm of affairs in Lahore. Therefore, with the PPP forming a provincial government in two of the four provinces (NWFP and Benazir's home province of Sind), the odds are strongly against her, particularly when Pakistan is still in the developing stages of democracy, and when only lame excuses are needed to topple governments. This argument holds true especially against the present PPP government, because in 1973, ZAB could only successfully dissolve the NWFP and Baluchistan government with the support of Punjab, with Sind as the silent bystander!

Also in her home province Sind, where Benazir has been declared the undisputed champion of Sindhis, the climate is much different from that of 1971. Mohajirs have more seats now than they had then. They also fully control the urban and industrial cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. Moreover, they are fully united under the umbrella of MQM, and are now openly and constitutionally demanding a separate nationality (MQM's 25 point charter of resolution presented to PPP and IJI after the elections). ZAB did not face this challenge. If PPP seeks their support to ease out ethnic tensions in Sind, it can only do so at a cost and loss to rural Sindhis, Bhutto's main constituency. If not, then MQM will be in a position to make the situation very difficult for the Sind government in years aheads, creating urban unrest and providing an excuse and invitation to the army to intervene again, like they did in 1977.

An important point to make here is that the Bhutto power base is in reality Sind, where an unanimous and overwhelming support was provided to the PPP. Even though the separatists were badly defeated, the Sindhi nationalists were not! What one is actually seeing within the folds of Sind PPP is pure Sindhi nationalism. This was a vote on Bhutto's execution, on rejection of Zia policies and army rule in Sind, on rejection of army collaborators, and a important vote on Sind issues, such as,

Kalabagh Dam, Pano Akil Cantonment, economic exploitation by the Centre, and the threat of being converted into a minority in their own province within this century. Any compromise on any of these terms will definitely be a loss in the powerbase and a major blow to the PPP. Another very important point to realize is that a loss of just 3 or 4 seats in Sind to the IJI would never have enabled Ms. Bhutto to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. It is the unanimous support of Sindhis that has led to this political victory for Benazir. Supporting the Sind issues and retaining therefore the Sind powerbase is essential to her survival at the Centre.

The analysis does not end here, based just on the results of the November 16 and 19 elections. The ghost of Zia still persists in the form of the senate, the upper house, which he did not dissolve. All of them are Zia (and IJI) supporters. However, it is quite possible that a large number of them (again, the opportunist class) may align themselves with the PPP in the near future (the bandwagon effect). But this will still not provide Ms. Bhutto the same two-thirds majority that ZAB had, particularly the one to amend or modify the constitution, as is committed to in the PPP election manifesto. Even if the Senate were to be dissolved through some means and election held, PPP would still not get full control of this house. (There are about 20 senators from each of the 4 provinces). So the upper house is and will continue to remain non-PPP.

Finally, we are not dealing here with the 1973 constitution, but one that has been substantially modified by Zia under the Revival of Constitution of 1973 order, 1985 (RCO). The President now has more powers than the Prime Minister, including the power to nominate the Prime Minister, appoint the Governor of each province (Article 101(1)), who in turn, subject to President's approval, can appoint the Chief Minister, dismiss the provincial cabinet, and dissolve the provincial assembly. This is a very important clause in the RCO, because previously in the 1973 constitution, the Chief Minister could not be dismissed by the Governor. Of course, similarly the President can sack the Prime Minister and dissolve the National Assembly for "almost any reason," like Zia did with the Junejo government and Assembly. The powers of the President are, therefore, not to be equated with that of Fazlulqadir Chaudry of 1973, but with Zia of 1988!

Ghulam Ishaque Khan will most probably continue to be the acting President, till he is elected President with the consensus of both PPP and IJI, as he is the only candidate both can agree upon. This is also because the PPP is not in a position to have their own man elected as President. (The President is to be elected by members of an electoral college consisting of members of both houses, and members of the provincial assemblies (Article 41(3) RCO 85), and the fact that Punjab has such a large number of members (mostly from IJI) will mean that it will have a dominant role in the selection of the chief executive). Therefore, the Prime Minister, PPP, and Sind will continue to play second class to the President, IJI and Punjab.

Other than the hard political times that Benazir will have to face, there will be other difficulties that are the byproducts of Zia's regime, and did not exist during the previous PPP rule. The Pakistani roads, transport system and borders are controlled by the Drug Mafia, strongly supported by the barons of the NWFP and the military. They had a free hand during Zia's time, and would like status quo to remain. Then there are the ethnic riots, particularly in Benazir's home province of Sind (between the Mohajirs and Punjabis-Pathans in Karachi, and with Sindhis in Hyderabad and upper Sind). MQM is armed and has the supremacy in city centres. Even though MQM may want to enter into an alliance with Sindhis (and therefore PPP) to rid themselves of the Punjabi-Pathan element from Karachi, they may eventually want their own domination (and perhaps a province) in Karachi and Hyderabad. This is the single biggest threat that Sindhis will face in the years to come, and they should, therefore, be prepared for this eventual showdown. There can be no compromise on issues with the MQM.

Finally, the economy is in shambles. As ZAB said, PPP will have to "pick up the pieces." This is not easy now, particularly with world economy sliding down. Only aid from the rich nations could make Pakistan float temporarily, but the price is high, as we have learned from the past. US interests will center around Afghanistan and its own geopolitical position in South Asia and Middle East, giving therefore, prime importance to the military instead of to development projects. Also, the nuclear issue will continue to remain a dominant blackmailing factor. With the rockbottom price of oil, the Muslim Arab world may not be in a position to bail Pakistan out for long. Despite Benazir's call not to nationalize, the large investors will proceed very cautiously during her rule, as most of them have acquired money through illegal means anyway and would not like to call attention to their black money.

Therefore, a return to democracy should only be greeted very cautiously. Most of the earlier analysis had anyway indicated that after the death of Zia and his top elite generals, the army would need some time to reorganize and restructure itself, and may need civilian rule for some time instead (paralleling the fall of Dhaka situation). Most important of all, however, was for the army, the bureaucracy, and the vested interest group to "exorcise" ZAB by bringing in Benazir for a limited time only, giving her limited powers. Both of these scenarios are now happening as was originally predicted, and all the military and vested interest groups now need is a little time (perhaps upto two years) to strike back with a forceful vengeance, bringing in their own government, which this time will not be under any political pressure to hold elections, so that the army can rule forever. Yet another scenario is to render a political death to the PPP.

The Kalabagh Dam dispute, particularly between Sind and Punjab, is a trump card up Nawaz Sharif's sleeve. This issue will be raised within 3 months by the Punjab representative government, bringing Punjab in head-on collision with Sind. The PPP Punjabi Assembly members will find themselves cornered; support Sind or support Punjab. If this dispute is not resolved diplomatically, technically and politically, PPP may see a downslide, either in Punjab or Sind, depending on the position they take. The vultures are waiting desperately for this to happen!

Another possible strategy could be the following: the key political urban centres of Pakistan; Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi, are now almost non-PPP controlled, a development different from that in 1971. (With Nawaz Sharif running his administration from Lahore, PPP may lose its present partial control of this city, also). Civil unrest, including ethnic unrest, may also not be very difficult for the opposition to stir up, which could only be curbed down by the military. The drug mafia, along with their Afghan counterpart, are well armed also to initiate tribal unrest in the North, which again, like in the past, can only be controlled using the army. Border skirmishes with Afghanistan or India could well provide another pretext for the military to return. The possibilities are endless, and always present, to create conditions to overthrow the democratically elected PPP government. All the opposition and the military need in this and other cases is a little time to reorganize themselves.

What then, can Benazir Bhutto and the PPP do to delay or even reverse this downward slide from happening? The strategy will have to be well planned, organized, and initiated right from the start. The Sindhis and the democracy loving people are not looking towards the PPP for a few clerical and administrative positions, for a few scholarships abroad, or even a few permits or factory licences. They are looking towards the PPP to set things straight, once and for all. They want initiatives set in concrete, which cannot be overrun by the army bulldozers or tanks. They want a country where prosperity and democracy are a normal way of life, not an aberration. They want guarantees from future exploitations and martial laws.

How can this be achieved? The most important thing is to demilitarize Sind and Pakistan. Obviously, this cannot be achieved in a short time, and, therefore, initiatives must be set in this direction. First and foremost, the Pano Akil cantonement and all other planned cantonements in Sind must be abandoned and cancelled. Secondly, the ethnic nature of the military must be changed from a Punjab-Pathan to also include Sindhi-Baluchi, making it an all Pakistan army. Finally, the size and the budget of the military should be cut down to size gradually. Simultaneously, relations with neighboring countries, particularly Afghanistan and India, should be normalized. The Kashmir issue should be settled once and for all, and free trade opened up with India. This way, a large and powerful army cannot be justified.

The second major challenge to PPP is the ethnic tension, particularly in Sind. To start with, all non-Sindhis, particularly those who have immigrated into Sind after 1977, should be sent back to their respective provinces, and Afghan refugees returned back to camps near their borders. This will ease some of the Mohajir tensions in Karachi. Sind should be declared a bilingual province, with two languages, Sindhi and Urdu, spoken side by side. However, under no circumstances will the Sindhis accept Mohajir as a separate nationality. PPP will lose its power base in Sind if it initiates negotiations with the MQM in this direction. The IJI and vested interest groups, however, will certainly use this as a bargaining tool with the Mohajir to topple the PPP government. Therefore, PPP must proceed very cautiously and diplomatically not to succumb to Mohajir or outside pressure. Any more Mohajirs are totally unacceptable in Sind, particularly the Biharis from Bangladesh. It is, however, very important for both Sindhis and Mohajirs to realize that the present rivalry between them only exists because the pot of resources is small, with Punjab and the military taking away most of it. If Sind were to get its valid revenues and economic share, then there should be enough for all, including Mohajirs and Sindhis, to eat and live peacefully side by side. Also, with any revival of economy in Sind, urbanization of Sindhis should decrease the ethnic polarization in Sind cities. Eventually, the Mohajir's will accept the Sindhi way of life with exposure to Sindhi language and culture in the long run.

Benazir will also face a major economic and reconstruction challenge. However, Sind's position should not be compromised and should be handled carefully. Foremost of all, the controversial Kalabagh Dam should be totally abandoned, perhaps in place of a power generating dam at a more suitable site. All revenues from Sind's natural resources; Coal, oil and gas, and from sales tax, should be turned over to the provincial government to be used only for their own developmental projects. Land, licences and jobs in industrial areas like Noriabad should only be given to the people of Sind. Allocation of residential plots to the military should be completely stopped. Police should be removed from all campuses, Health Care programs in the province should be greatly improved and maintained at grass-roots level, and the education programs completely restructured. Advanced Institutes, particularly in Science and Technology, should be established, particularly if we are to compete with the fast developing world. An educational television channel should be introduced with more time allocated to Sindhi language. Excessive government agricultural land should be distributed free to the landless, and incentives, such as loans, machinery and training, given to the small farmers. Small-scale industrial plants should be established in non-industrial areas, and measures taken for combatting waterlogging problems, and for greening of the Thar desert and other arid areas in the province.

Benazir Bhutto, therefore, faces hard days and a great challenge ahead. The Sindhis, regardless of any political thinking, should give her the benefit of doubt and lend their full hand of support to this great champion of democracy. Sind has given her a full mandate and a unanimous verdict of support, and all peace loving and democratic Sindhis should therefore abide by it. However, as discussed in this article, now is the time for Sindhis not to rejoice, roll over and go to sleep, but instead to stand up on issues and give a helping hand to the PPP to resolve them. Now is the time for Sindhis to help in the reconstruction of Sind. Now is the time when Sind, PPP and Benazir Bhutto should take the initiative to bring about a permanent end to any form of unitary and military rule in the future. A prosperous future is in our hands.

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SANA CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO BENAZIR BHUTTO ON THE SUCCESS OF THE PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY (PP) IN THE RECENT PAKISTAN ELECTIONS

Dear Chairperson Bhutto:

On behalf of the Executive Council and members of the Sindhi Association of North America (SANA), I wish to extend to you our heartiest congratulations on the success of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in the recent elections in Pakistan.

We are very glad and strongly endorse the mandate given to you unanimously by the people of Sind in representing them at both the Federal and Provincial levels, and sincerely hope that you will be able to successfully implement the PPP election manifesto, which amongst others, promises to "...restore the 1973 constitution, provide greater provincial autonomy, abolish the concurrent list, and increase the powers of the Senate..."

As members of the Sindhi constituency based in North America, we would like to work closely with you in achieving your goals, as well as the aspirations of the Sindhi people. Let me take this opportunity to extend our warmest invitation to you to attend and address our 5th Annual Meeting in St. Louis, Missouri, on July 1-2, 1989. (The 4th Meeting in New York City was attended and addressed by, amongst others, Professor Ghulam Mustafa Shah and Makhdoom Khaliquzzaman of the PPP). We strongly believe establishing closer ties between SANA and the PPP would pave the way for Sind to take yet another step closer into the 21st Century.

## شاعري

سدائين ائين ڪين گهٻرائبو آ  
 ڪٿي دل سان ڪڏهن نه ڳالهائبو آ  
 نه شوخن سان دل کي ڪو اٽڪائبو آ  
 جي اٽڪائبو آ نه ڀڄتائبو آ  
 ٻين جي اڳيان جيئن شرمائجو ٿا  
 اسان جي اڳيان ايئن نه شرمائجو آ  
 سڄي عمر پڙهيو پيو آ سبق هڪ  
 پنو عشق جو ڪين اٿلائبو آ  
 زبان مان جڏهن ڪو اکر ڪين اڪلي  
 انهي وقت اکين سان ڳالهائبو آ  
 اوهان سان رڳو دل کي وندرائبو آ  
 نه کٽبو ئي آهي نه هارائبو آ  
 ڪڏهن دشمنن ۾ به ڀڄ ناهي ٿيندو  
 ڪڏهن دوستن ۾ به گهٻرائبو آ  
 تڏهن شعر ”تنوير“ لکيو آ پاڻهي  
 جڏهن گهاءَ دل تي ڪوئي کائبو آ

راڪ رول

ناچ ۾  
 دائرا  
 گول گول  
 سير ۾ آ  
 ڪو خمار  
 راڪ رول  
 راڪ راڪ - رول رول  
 راڪ رول

ٻانهن چيلهه ۾ نه وجهه  
 هڪ قدم اڳتي ڪن  
 هڪ قدم ڀرپرو  
 هڪ قدم پوئتي  
 مان وٺان توکي، تون  
 مون کي وٺ  
 ساز سان سر ملهه  
 ۽ سنڀالي پير ڪن  
 ايترو نه ويجهو اچ

## تنوير عباسي

ڌرتي مائتا

ڌرتي مائتا  
 پختا ٿي ويا  
 توسان نائتا

تنهنجي ٿاڪ تي رات ڪٽي سين  
 تنهنجي مٽي نرڙ کي لائي  
 اوندهه جي سڪرات ڪٽي سين  
 پنهنجي آڻي آڻي ڇاتي  
 تنهنجي ڇاتيءَ سان ملائي  
 توکي ڏاڍو پاڪر پائي  
 سمهي پياسين درد دٻائي  
 جيئن ڪو ننڍڙو ننڍڙو ٻالڪو  
 ماءُ جي ڇاتيءَ ۾ منهن پنهنجو  
 پو کان ڇڏيندو آهي لڪائي

اوندهه جي سڪرات هجي پل  
 تنهنجي وائي هوندي وات  
 دل ۾ هوندو تنهنجو درد  
 تنهنجي سورن جي سوغات

آهيون تولم آتا  
 ڌرتي مائتا!  
 پختا ٿي ويا  
 توسان نائتا.

(خيرپور جيل - ۱۶ آڪٽوبر، ۱۹۷۹ع)

سرجيندڙ سائيه جا

اسن آجاري - ڪڇ ملائي سچ ۾  
پري مٺيون مٺ جون، گهن ۾ ڪاري  
منديون، جانجهر، منگلون، واليون هن واري  
اڃ به سوناري - وڪيون وچ بازار ۾

ساز نه سونارا! ڪڇ ملائي سچ ۾  
پر ۾ ڇنڊ ڇيڙن، مارڪ موچارا  
سونارڪي سونهن کي ڏي سمجهي سيڪارا  
نه ته ماڻهو وس وارا - ٽڪيندڙ دڪان تان

چيني ڏي چوڙا - جن ۾ مير نه مٺ جي  
ڪاها ۾ ڪوڙا - سي نه گهرجن ساهه کي

لٽا لاپارا - پريون گنديون گاج جون  
ڪنهن درڪوٽ ڪلال جي، ڪنهن درڪاتارا  
لائي ويٺا لوڪ ۾، ٺڪ ٺڪ نانارا  
لاوا لاهيارا - ساوا ٿي سائيه ۾

اڃ پڻ اوبارا - ڏي اسانجي ذات کي  
تپش ۽ تپش جا، اسان آسارا  
نار نه نانارا! دوسته اندر جي دڳهه کي

نانارا! نه نار - هن دوسائيءَ ديگ کي  
ڦوڪي ڏنڻو فڪر جي، ڪڇ قلعيءَ جو ڪار  
اندر ائين آجار - ته اصل کي اوڏا ٿيون

نانارن نارو - داگ لڳائي ديگ کي  
موڙهن ڪڏهن مچ کي، پهر نه هاريو  
ڪير جني ڪاريو - سي نه اسانجي سٺ مان

ڪٿان قلميگر! قلعي آندڙ قرب جي  
هٿين هٿ وٺن کي، آجرا ٿين اندر!  
هار پيڙ پهر - ته سامن کي سيڪا ڏيون

سگها ماڻهو سنڌ جا، سگهي سندن ذات  
جن ۾ گپ ڳڻپ جو، تن ۾ ذات نه پلٽ  
ملن ڪيئن چون ملت - جن ۾ سگهه ملير جي

سگها ماڻهو سنڌ جا، سگهو سندن ڏيهه  
جن ۾ ساهه سچ جي، آءُ ٽني وٽ ويهه  
جن جي سڪا ڪير جو، چرو ناهي چيهه  
پکي تنجي پيهه - جي ڪنڊ ملائن ڪير ۾

اڪيون جيئن پٺيان - ڏهر، ڏونگر وڇر  
موڙيان مچر ٿاريون، ڏاڙهون ڪل ڏسان  
مينديءَ رتي هٿ سان - پڪا سنگ پٽيان  
وينو واس وٺان - دلبر پنهنجي ديس ۾

اڪيون پٿر جيئن - ڏهر، ڏونگر وڇر  
ڦٽين چونڊن واريون، اچي پٺيون هيئن  
ڪنڌ ڦيرايان ڪيئن - پسي ڏنڌرا ڏيهه جا

هڏا هاڪارين - آجن آب نه چڪيو  
چڪر چڪڻ ڇڏيو، انگ نه آگاهارين  
آچارا آگر کي، نڪريو نهاريين  
نه چيلا چيڪارين - لڪي ڏوٽن ڪپڙا

وجهي چنڊو منهن ٿي، آڻيا اسر ويل  
ڏاڍو پنهنجي ڏيهه ۾، هر ڪاٺائون هيل  
تلهن ٿا طريل - آئين آءُ اسن جا

آءُ ته چونڊيون پير - لوڏو ڏيئي لام کي  
اچي رگ اڱڻ ۾، پدم جهڙا پير  
اجهو ٿي اوڀر - پاڙي ڇڏي پريشو

هيٺان جر جهتون - مٿان پور پڪين جا  
لڏندي ڪنڊيءَ لام تي، چونگارين چتون  
اسان پڻ وٽون - سينگاري سائيه ۾

ٿورو پاسي ٿي - ته سونهن ڏيکاريندڙ سنڌ جي  
جنهن کي ڪنڊو ڪڇ تي، سا ڌرتيءَ جي آڏيءَ  
جنهن جي چپي چيلهه آ، منهنجو آهي بيءُ  
ادا اٿئي آي - سوپيا هن سائيه جي

هتان بيهه اچي - ته سونهن ڏيکاريندڙ سنڌ جي  
جهار پئي جهارا ڏئي، پٺي آ پوک پچي  
ڏس هو، ڏاند - چڪي - سوپيا هن سائيه جي

ٻولارن پاتارن ۾ پٽڪندڙ ماڻهو

ڪيرئن مشين راڻي ۾ ڦاٿل آهي.

چوڏس ڦهليل ڇانوي جي سس ڪيٽن ۾ ڦاٿل سوئي گئس لائين کوليئڻ بڪيٽ ڪرڻ مشين جنهن کي ڪيڻ لاء سوئي گئس جا سڀ آفيسر، انجنيئر ۽ ٻيا ٽيڪنيشن گڏ ٿي ويا آهن. ۽ ڪيٽن ۾ ڏاڍا ٿيلار ڪريو پيا مشين کي ڪيڻ جي آهون تي ڳالهون ٻوليون ڪن، ۽ هو — هو عيش ۾ آهي. ڪرڻ جي ڊگهي ڊگهي سونڊ مٿان وينو، ماسٽريائي جا پنڌ ۽ ٻيرا ڏسي. لهري پرتل وڳي ۽ اجرڪ ۾ ويڙهيل سڙهيل گئس مٽڪي مٽڪي ماسٽريائي. ۽ ڪن لاء هو پري کان ايئر ماسٽريائي ۾ نهارڻ ۾ کوٽجي ٿو وڃي. ڄڻ ڪا به دنيا آهي. سڀني جي هٿي يا ڪنهن سٺي رنگين انگريزي فلم جي هٿي.

ڇوڌاري ٺيڻ ٺهاري تائين ڦهليل ڪيٽ آهن. ماسٽريائي ۽ ان جي اڳيان پنهنجا ٽڪا ٽڪا هلندڙ پنج-ڇهه اسڪولي ٻارڙا، پٽڪڙا، هو سوچي ٿو: ’هلي ڇا ٿي، جهڙو ڊبل ٻچا ڇنگاڻ کان پوءِ پوڏيسر جي تڙوا ڏانهن وڃي رهي آهي. ۽ هيٺ ڪرڻ جي بڪيٽ ۾ بيٺل ڪليئر پٽڪي ٿو: ’پر، تو وارو پڪي اچي پيو.

’اڙي ڇپ ڪر پڪي جا ٻچا. هي جا لالو واري لوڏ مٿان اچي بهلي آهي، ويندي به يا نه؟‘

’ماڻهن، ڪرڻ تي فيصلو ڪرڻ کان سواءِ اها لوڏ ڪيئن ويندي؟ پر راڻي ۾ ڦاٿل مشين جو ڪيٽن ۾ هلندڙ عشق سان ڪهڙو واسطو؟‘ ’اڙي هي آفيسر وڏا جهرو ٿئي، ٻاهران جيترا پوڻ ٻاٿل، اندران اوترا ٿئي لنگا. رڳو وهو وڃن. الاهين ڏينهن کان فلم ڪانه ڏئي اٿن، بس پاڪستاني فلم جو سين ٿي ويندو. بابا جهنگل ۾ منگل. ڪليئر ڪمسن لڏون ٿو ڏئي ۽ هو مٿان ڏند ٿو ڪري: ’اڙي سان آفيسرن جي پرواهه نه ڪندو آهيان، پر هو ٺاهو اسيريد آفيسر آهي نه، اهو منهنجو سؤت ٿئي، ڏاڍي خوار ٿيندي. تنهنڪري لڪ لڪوئي ڪرڻي ٿي پوي.

’اها ڳالهه آهي، آئون به چوان آفيسر پٽ تي ۽ اسٽور ڪهر آسمان تي. ڪليئر جي ڳالهه تي هو، شون جي سونڊ هيٺان بڪيٽ روپ ۾ تيزي سان لڙڪندو هيٺ لهي ٿو ۽ هن جي ان ريت لڙڪندي لهڻ تي ڪليئر ڪاوڙجي ٿو: ’اڙي-مان، ائين ته مارائي وجهندي، ٽنگ پانهن پڇي پوي ٿي! ميان، آفيسر جو پاء هوندين ته پنهنجي لاء هوندين. گئس ٻڌائو ڪارو ڪارو ڪليئر ڪاوڙجي ٿو وڃي.

’اڙي پاڙين جون ٽنگون پانهون آهن جو پڇنديون.‘ هو ٿڌو ساهه ڀري ماسٽريائي ۾ بهاري ٿو، ۽ وري ڏاڍي ايلاز مان پٽڪي ٿو: ’يار، اها پانهن منهنجي ٿئي، ان رن کانسواءِ آئون ٿو لوڻو لنگڙو آهيان.‘ هو روپ ۾ هٿ وجهيو، ماسٽريائي ڏانهن ڏاڍي موٽي. سان ٺهاري ٿو رهي. ’الا، مون کي نه اها انهن سمورن ٻارڙن سميت قبول

آهي. يار قرآن ڪجهه ڪر. الا ڏيا سهڻا پار چئي ڏيندس.

’اڙي واه، هاڻ سوئي گئس ۾ ٻيا ڪم ڪتا آهن جو هاڻ وري اهو ڏندو به ڪريون؟‘ ڪليئر چڙي ٿو وڃي. ’نه يار، تون ته هر ڀيرو پيو پاڻ کي ڪاريون ڏين. ڏس يار، هيئن ڪر نه، هر راد ڪٿي، هن پاسي چارين ۾ وڃي بلا مار. هو ڏاڍي منت مان ٿو چوي. ’بلا ماريان، اڙي ڪچي پنڪ کائي ويو آهيان ڇا بوبڪ جي؟‘

’يار ڏس، مٿس ٿي، اصل ڏوڏڙ ۾ ڏٺاٺ وجهي ڇڏي، اصل وٽن ۾ واکاء ايمان سان هي سوئي گئس لائن وڇائڻ کانسواءِ ڪجهه به ڪن ڇاڻن. مثل بلا ڏسڻ لاء هڪ سامي ڊوڙندا اينده.‘

’پر بلا ڪٿان ايندي! اڙي پوپا ته ڪن ٿو ڪاڻهن؟‘ ’يار تون به عجيب گڏه آهيان، چئجان ڏرڙ ڳهڙي ويئي آهي.‘

’پر ميان آئون اها ڪٿي جي ڊيوٽي ڇو ڏيان؟ سڀني تون سڄي لپير ۾ ڍنڍورو ڪهڻائين ته ادرو سان مون هيئن ڪهو. اڙي مونکي خبر آهي، تون وڏو پلسٽر آهيان.‘ ’توبه، پلا آئون ڪو ٻري نيت سان پيو وڃان يا ڪو منڊل پيو ڪريان؟ اڙي ڪڏهن ته ڪنهن عاشق جي دعا ڪت. ايمان سان نه ته مون کي بلڪه ميل ڪرڻ به ايندو آهي.‘

’اي هاها، پاڙين جا آٺ ڪاهيا هونده. بلڪه ميل ڪرين يا وائيت ميل.‘

’ڇوڙي، مونکي خبر ڪانهي ڇا ته مشين ڪيئن ڦاٿي آهي؟ استاد نمن جي چانهن ۾ آئند فرمائي ۽ شاگرد هاٿار جيڏي مشين هلائي. اڙي تو وارو استاد به سڪ ٿي ويندو، مونکي سڄي خبر آهي، مشين ڪيئن ڦاٿي آهي.‘

’يار تون ته ڪو وڏو حرامي ماڻهو آهيان! ڪليئر راد ڪٿل لاء وڏي ٿو. هو بڪيٽ ۾ پيچين پيلو اچا، به نمائائي سان ڪم ايلاز ڪري ٿو ته مٿان ڪٿي ڪليئر ڦري نه وڃي.‘

’يار سنگت ۾ ايترو به نه وهندين ڇا قرآن هڪ ئي ملاقات سان منهنجا چوڏهن ڏي طبق روشن ٿي ويندا آهن. مٿس ٿي پاڙيا. ڪونه ٿيون ٻروچن واريون ڪهڙيون لڳندي.‘

”ها بابا تنهنجو وقت آهي، جيڪو حڪم.“ ڪلينر هن ۾ خارن مان نهاريندو وڃي ٿو. ۽ هو سوچي ٿو ته هتي مون جي پهرين چڻي انهيءَ مشين جي سونڊ مٿان نه ڪريانس ته سمجهندس مٿس ئي نه آهيان. ۽ مشين جي اوچي سونڊ ۾ نهاريندي مرڪي ٿو پوي. اوچتو ڪلينر جي پٿڪاٽ تي هو ڏانهس نھاري ٿو. ڪلينر ويندي ويندي موت کائي آيو آهي.

”ٿڪ ٿئي ٻاڙيا، پراڻي چوريءَ لاءِ سنگت ٿو سگهين، پڇڻي ته لکي ٿي به ڪانه ٿي.“

”حرمي، به لٽيون ڏڏڙ ۾ هڻندي هرو چڙهنده ڇا!“

”اڙي پر اڳيان به ڪٽ خالق آهي آفيسرن جي.“

”پوءِ ڏرڙا وري مون سان پٿاڪ نه هڻجان ته هيئن ڪيو-هن، هونئن ڪهوسين.“ ان ڳالهه تي ڪلينر ڪٽيون کائيندو گهر ٿي وڃي ٿو ۽ اوچتو وٿن ۾ واڪا پيدا ٿي ٿا وڃن ۽ هو اک وٺي ٿيو کائي ٿو وڃي. ماسٽريائيءَ جي دڳ جهلي لاءِ. ۽ ڪيئن ۾ هڪ چورو ۽ چوري هڪٻئي سامهون اچيو وڃن.

”ليڊي، هاڻو آر ڊو!“ هو سرهنن جا پٽن ڇپاڙيندي ٿو چوي.

”تون آهين ڪير؟.... تون اهو ست ڪيئن ٿو سارين!...؟“

”تو کي ڏسيو، پاڻ پيدا ٿيو وڃي.“ هن جي ڳالهه تي ڪن لاءِ ماسٽريائي ٻيهي ٿي وڃي ۽ نهايت ٽهمر سان ٿي ڳالهائي: ”هڏ مون کي هڻي ۽ هيڪل عورت نه سمجهه. مان پنهنجي سرم ۾ ٿي مران نه ته ڪاڇن ڇا سان!....“

”ڪچو کائي ڇڏ نه مون کي.“ هن جي نئين ۾ جادوءَ هالا موهه پر جي ٿا وڃن.

”ڏس، شانائتي ڳالهه ڪر. ڪنهن آڇانل عورت جي ائين وات جهلي اشرافن جو ڪم نه آهي. سچ تون مک مان ڪوجھو نٿو لڳين.“

”ان لاءِ ته مان اندران به ڪوجھو ۽ ڪوڪلو نه آهيان. آئون.... آئون راج پاڳ وارو ماڻهو آهيان.“

”تڏهن سدائين ڪيرئن جي چوليءَ تي لڙڪهو پيو هوندو آهين. هڪ غريب ماسٽريائيءَ کي تنگ ڪندي توکي رنيءَ جيترو به ڪهڪاءُ نٿو اچي.“ هن جي ڳالهه تي هو چوٽ کائي، وڏي شوڪاري سان ڏانهس نھاري ٿو.

”غريب؟ تون جي مهاراجا جي ڌيءَ به هجين ها، قرآن آئون تنهنجي واٽن ۾ ائين ڊوڙندو اچان ها، گهوريو اچان ها. کلي وڃان ها توکي.“

”ڇو؟....“ هو ڏاڍي بهزاريءَ سان هيڏانهن هوڏانهن نھاري ٿي ته ڪو ڏسي نه ڪونه ٿو.

”شايد ان لاءِ ته منهنجي.... منهنجي ذهن ۾، جهنن ۾، ساڳي اهڙي آهين.“

”ڏس توکي ڪجهه به نه ملندو ڇو تو منهنجي روزيءَ تي لت هڻين. هي ته ’سروٿان موت، ملوڪان شڪار‘ واري ڳالهه آهي.“ هو روئي ٿي پوي ۽ هو واٽرو ٿيو منجهس نھاريندو ٿو رهي.

”ڇو.... تو روئي ڏنوا.... ڇو؟....“

”.....“ جواب نه پائي، هن جي اندر ۾ چڻ وڌا پولار پاتار ٿيو وڃن. دُڪن جا.

”نه رو، ٺيڪ آهي وري ڪونه ايندس. تو آڏو وري ڪڏهن ڪونه ايندس. پلا مون کي ڪهڙي خبر ته تنهنجي جيون ۾ ڇا آهي ۽ آئون ڇا پيو ڪريان. مون کي ته ايتري به خبر ڪانهي ته تون ڪنواڙي به آهين ڪي نه!.... آئون معافي ٿو گهران!“

”هرباتي.“ ۽ ماسٽريائي اڳتي وڌي وڃي ٿي ۽ هو مٿي نھارڻ لاءِ لوهاڻجي ويندي به مٿي ماسٽريائيءَ ۾ نٿو نھاري ۽ پويان پهر ڪري ٿو. وڪ وڪ تي چڻ ڪاريهر جا ڏنگو ٿو کائي.

مونڊي هن کي پاسي ٿو، ڪيت، آڪاس قرن پها. ڪيت ڪيت فاهن، الاڻي ڇا آهن!

هو ڊوڙندو نڪڙو ڪرڻ ۾ چڙهي ٿو ۽ سلهه ۾ مونجهه محسوس ڪندي هو ڊرائيو لگسيٽ تي ويهي ڪرڻ جو بڪيٽ ليور آپڻ ڪري ٿو. لوهي رسن جي چڪاو سان بڪيٽ مٿي ڪڇندو ٿو اچي. هو هڪدم بڪيٽ ليور ڊائون ڪري ٿو. پاري ڏوڏي سان بڪيٽ هيٺ ڪري ٿو، ڌرتي چڻ ڏهي ٿي پوي ۽ هو روئي ٿو. پوي، ننڍڙن ٻارڙن جيان!

مهاجر قومي معاذ ۽ سنڌ جو مستقبل

از۔ : اختر نرجس دوداڻي

”مهاجر قومي معاذ ۽ سنڌ جو مستقبل“. معاملو ائين ٿي

مڙهيل آهي ۽ خود جنهن نموني موضوع پيش ڪيل آهي، اهو وڌيڪ  
موندجاري جو باعث آهي. هڪ ته ”مهاجر“ ۽ ”مهاجر قومي معاذ“ به  
نرالا عنصر ڄڻجن. هڪ ته ٽڙيل هيل عوام آهي ۽ ٻيو عنصر سياسي  
معاذ. سياست ۾ پيون ڦيرن گهيرون ٿين، ڪجهه سالن بعد شايد  
معاذ هجي ئي ڪونه. مان سمجهان ٿو ته اوهانجو اشارو ”مهاجرن“ ڏانھن  
هوندو. مگر آڻي هلي وري ڄاڻايل آهي، ڇا مهاجر هڪ قوم ٿي سگهي ٿي؟  
قوم صرف مذهب تي ٻڌل ڪونه هوندي آهي. مهاجر به ايراضيءَ ۾  
اُتر ڏو زبان وائرائن ٿا مگر ڪيترن ئي مادري زبان گهراڻي، پنجابي،  
بھاري، ڪشميري وغيره آهي. اڳيرو چيل آهي ته انهنجو وطن ڪهڙو  
هوندو؟ وطن ته سنڌ ٿين، ڇا هن يا نه به ڇا هن. جي اوهان جو اشارو  
اڳوڻو وطن ڪرڻ جو آهي يعني ”مهاجرستان“ ته اهو سنڌي ڀؤ ٿي سان

نھجي ٿو اچي ' آئي تاندي تي پور چياڻي ٿي ويندي ۽ هاڻي مالڪي ٿيڻ جا  
 قذاب ٿي پيا. جي اهو اصول قبول ڪجي ته ٻي عالمي جنگ ۾ لکها لکها  
 جون قربانيون وئڻ ويون. ڇاڪاڻ جو هنلار انهيءَ اصول تي اول آئندڙ  
 ۽ پوءِ چيڪوسلواڪيا، گريڪي، هنڊ، بعد ۾ ڪمپارچي لڙائي اٿس ۽ پوءِ  
 ان اصول کي قبول ڪجي ته دنيا ۾ اڪثر هر ملڪ کي چوٽ ۾ سنڌي  
 ڇاڪاڻ جو هر ملڪ ۾ ڪيترا ئي ڌارين جا ٿين وارا وڃن ٿا. جي  
 ملڪ ۾ اهڙن رهندي جا ٿين ٿا ته ان ملڪ جي جگر جو ٽڪر ڏيئي ته  
 ملڪ ڏيئي وڃي وڃي ٿو ٽڙو ٽڙو ٿي ويندو. مهاجرن کي قوم ٻڌائڻ  
 ۽ ان قوم جي نالي ڌار وطن جو ٽڪر ڏيئي اهڙي قسم جو ٽڪر ڏيئي  
 ڇڏي. اڳيرو هلي وري فرمايل آهي ته سنڌي سياستدانن کي انهن  
 سان تعاون ڪرڻ گهرجي؟ سياستدانن قوم جا نمائنده آهن ۽  
 جا آڳاٽن. آڳاٽن جو فرض آهي هر مصيبت ۾ هر مسئلي جي حل  
 سامهون ٿيڻ. جڏهن مسئلو اٿس ته آڳاٽن تعاون ڪندا ته  
 ٻي اهو بار رهيو. جيئن وڏو ٿين ڪيو؟ اهو ٿيو ڪن ٻوڙن تي  
 پايي سمجهڻ. پوءِ ملڪ ۾ منڊاڻ ٿي پيو ته ميجي. مهاجرن جي مسئلي  
 خود هن صديءَ جي سنڌي سياست جو نتيجو آهي. سنڌي سياستدان  
 تعاون نه ڪندا ته ڇا ڌارين ملڪن جا نمائنده اچي مسئلا حل ڪندا؟  
 منهنجي خيال ۾ جنهن نموني موضوع پيش ڪيل آهي اهو نموني سنڌي  
 نه ٿو لڳي.

## مسئلہ جو پس منظر

ڪنهن به مسئلي جو حل پائڻ لاءِ لازمي آهي ته جيترو قدرتي سگهي ته  
انجو پس منظر وڌوڙجي. جي ست امڃيل هجي ته اڃياڙي پيڃاري  
آڊلي تي ست سمجھائي سگهيو. انهن سوال هي سوال عوامن جو آهي.  
مهاڳر يا غير سنڌي عوام ۽ سنڌي عوام. لاشعور عوامن جو مسئلو  
پٿر امن لڙي سگهڻ سان حل ٿيڻ گھڙجي. عوامن کي وڌيڪ هائڻ  
امير جي طبقي ۽ سامراجي طبقي جي راند آهي. ان وڌيڪ جو فائدو ٻنهن  
کي ٿي ٿيندو، وڃي مارجي ويندا عوام. سلوڪت ۽ محبت پريو حل  
ڪڍڻ، اها سنڌيت جي بآيد آهي. اهو نه وسارڻ گھڙجي ته سنڌيم  
ڌارين جو اچڻ ۽ وسڻي وڃڻ کانئس ٻالھ ڪونه آهي. اهم فرق  
اهو آهي ته ڌاريا آيا، ايندار هيا، ويندار هيا، وسڻي رهيا، مگر جي  
به رهيا آهي اڳي پوءِ سنڌي ٿي ويا، سنڌيت هيئن سان هڻاڻا ٿون  
سنڌي ٻولي، ثقافت، تهذيب کي اڳي سان اڳوڻا ٿون. تڏريل  
صدي ۾ مرزا قليچ بيگ جو عهدو مثال آهي. ماڻهن سان ڪٿان  
جو ڪٿي آيو ۽ ڪٿو نه سنڌي ادب کي مالا مال ڪيائين. تواريخ  
جي هر دور ۾ اهڙا ڪيترائي مثال ملندا. دراصل ائين آهي ته  
جي تواريخ کي سڃاڻي ۽ صفائي سان کولي ته اسان کي جديد  
زماني جي مسئلن جو ڪيتر قدر حل حاصل ٿي سگهي ٿو. مطلب  
ته ڌارين جو اچڻ ۽ سنڌيم جذبه ٿيڻ کانئس گھڻا ڪونه آهي.

موهن دڙي جي زماني کانوئيءَ تائين ايندڙ ٻن سھادي ويا سنڌ آڳي کان  
 آڳري ٿيندي رهي. معنيٰ ته معاصر به سنڌ ۾ محبت سلوڪت سان رهي  
 سگھن مگر آڳي پوءِ سنڌيت جو پلٽڻ اينائڻو پوندن. ڪيئن ٿاڪن،  
 ڪڏهن ٿاڪن اهو سندن ضمير تي، ذهنت تي، احساس ۽  
 منهن تي ته مدار رکندو. انهن کي ۽ سندن سنڌي پاڙيسرين کي پيار  
 پنهنجائيءَ جي وات اختيار ڪري پوندي. ان جي اها معنيٰ ڪونهي ته  
 پنهنجي اصليت بنهه وساري ڇڏن - بلڪل نه. اُتر ڏوٻوليءَ ۽ ثقافت،  
 گجراتي زبان ۽ تهذيب پنهنجي ۽ انهن ريتيون رسمن وغيره سڀ  
 قائم رهي ٿا سگھن بشرطيڪ غير سنڌي، سنڌ ۾ رهندي سنڌي  
 ٻوليءَ ۽ تهذيب کي، سنڌيت کي پنهنجو ڪن. اها وات فھيده  
 آهي، سنجيده آهي ۽ سڀ لاءِ سٺائي واري وات آهي. اميرڪا  
 ۾ رهي اسان هتان جي زبان ٿا واپرائون، چيڙو لٽو ويس ٿا پايون،  
 ثقافت ٿا اينايون ۽ گڏوگڏ پنهنجي زبان ۽ تهذيب، ريتون  
 رسمن قائم ٿا رکن ته سنڌ ۾ رهندي معاصر به ائين ڪري ٿا  
 سگھن. آڳي پوءِ ائين اوس ٿيڻو آهي ۽ تواريخ انهيءَ گواهي آهي.  
 لاشڪر هر سياسي جماعت کي ان راءِ تي قدم رکڻا پوندا. جاستو پنج هزار  
 سالن کان هلندي آئي آهي ان کي هضم ڪرڻ جي ڪوشش سان ڪري  
 ٿا ڏکن، ٿا ڪن ۾ ڏڏي ويندي. مان نٿو ڀانيان ته معاصر اها راءِ ڇڏي  
 ڇاهيندا. ان راءِ مان ڪنهن کي منافعو ڪونه ٿيندو، ملڪ زبون ٿيندو. جي  
 ملڪ ويو ته ساج ۽ انسان ڪيئن بچندا؟

## جديد سنڌي سياست

تندريل چاليه سالن ۾ ڏسجي ته ڪراچي، حيدرآباد، سکر ۽ ٻين سنڌي شهرن ۾ معام آباد ٿيا آهن. سکيا ستابا گهڻي قدر آسودا چئجن. سندن رهڻي ڪهڻي، ويس وستر، گهڻو ڦرڻ، جاين زمين مان آسودگي بکي پئي. ڪن ٿورن کي ڇڏي معامن مفت ۽ اورچائي سان پاڻ ملهائڻ آهي. ڪراچي جي آسپاس صنعتي ترقيءَ کي وڌي ڪشي ڏيڻ اٿاڻن. ڪارخانا، بازاريون، آمدرفت، رستا، جايون، مارٽ، انجنيئرس جا ڪيڙا جو ثبوت آهن.

اهڙي نموني جيڪي به سنڌي مجبوريءَ طور يا چاهنامي سنڌ کان ٻاهر هليا. ڀلي هندستان ۾ هجن يا يورپ، آمريڪا، ايشيا، آفريڪا ۾ جتي جتي سنڌي ڏسجن ٿا اهي به مفت اورچائي، جفاڪشيءَ جي بدليءَ ٺهيا ٿيا آسودا وٺيا آهن. سنڌ ۾ غير سنڌي ۽ سنڌ کان ٻاهر رهندڙ سنڌي جنکي 'ولائيءَ سنڌي' به چئجي انهن سيني جي رهڻي ڪهڻي ۽ حاصليت ۾ گهڻي سائپائي آهي. توهان موضوع ۾ معامرن ۽ سنڌين جو ذڪر ڪيو آهي. مان ان موضوع کي وڌائي انهن ۾ سنڌ کان ٻاهر سنڌي يعني ولايتي سنڌي به شامل ڪندس. موضوع ۾ سنڌ جا سنڌي سنڌ جا غير سنڌي يا معامري پٺاڻ، ۽ ٻاهر رهندڙ ولايتي سنڌي شامل ڪرڻ گهرجن. اڳر سنڌ، سنڌي ٻولي ۽ سنڌيت جو آئيندو سوچيو آهي ته هن چوڪنڊي تي نظر ورائڻ گهرجي. انهن

ٻڌي ٻڌي عناصرن جو ذڪر ڪرڻ گھرجي. سريٽ جي چياري جو سوال آهي  
 ته ولائي سنڌين کي به دلچسپي آهي، انهن جي به غرض آهي. اوهان موضوع  
 جي صرف ٻن ڳنڍن جو ذڪر ڪيو آهي، ان جو ارمان اٿس. سنڌ اندر  
 پٺاڻ به آهن ۽ سنڌ کان بهر سنڌين کي ڪو مالي حق يا جائداري  
 ورتو ڪو نه گھرجي. نه وري ڪنهن آستان يا زمين جي تعريفي حق تسليم  
 ڪرائڻ ٿا چاهن. ولائي سنڌي پنهنجي بوليءَ، ڪلچر، ثقافت، تهذيب  
 جا خالق آهن. سنڌيت جا ڪاري آهنون. ولائي سنڌين کي اهڙي  
 دماغي تعذيبي يا چوڪبي ۾ ڳنڍڻ سان سنڌي سياستدانن وٽي  
 سگھي پائي ٿو سگھي. چؤپٿر جي راندي ڳوٺن کي ڪهڙي طرح استعمال  
 ڪجي يا تاس ڪيندڙ ۾ ڪهڙن پٽن کي پٿر ۾ آڻجي انجو بوج سياستدانن  
 تي آهي. موضوع تي بحث ڪرڻ لڏڪڻجائش آهي ته هر پاسي کان ڇٽي  
 طرح جا ڇڙ پرتال ڪجي. برابر موضوع نهايت منجهائيندڙ سوال ٿو اٿري  
 مگر ان سوال کي اتهاڪو نقطو ننگا ڪان سوڙي برصغير جي تقريبن ۽ جديد  
 حالتن کان اڳهه نٿو ڪري سگھجي، ان تي ڪي دل سان غور ڪرڻ جي گنجائش  
 آهي. سڪ، سلوڪ، سمجهاڻي، پيار يا پوره سان هڪ ٻئي جي خيالن  
 جي ٽيوٽ ڪرڻ سان مشڪل سوالن جو حل نڪري سگھندو. مگر هو  
 ڪوئي حق ڪرڻ گھرجي، جا آهي ته سنڌ، سنڌيت ۽ سنڌي بولي کي  
 ڪوئي چيهورسڻ نه گھرجي.

نهنجي دوست داني