



SANGAT

SINDHI ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA

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Special issue: 21st Annual Convention

July 2005



Dr Feroz Ahmed

Today we remember and pay tribute to Dr. Feroz Ahmed, one of the few distinguished members of our community, who initiated the idea of founding Sindhi Association of North America.

Dr Feroz was a professor in the School of Social Work at Howard University Washington D.C. He received his doctorate in demography from the John Hopkins University School of Public Health and did his post doctoral research at Harvard University's Center for population studies. Dr. Ahmed taught at several universities in the United States, Canada and Pakistan, and lectured worldwide during the last twenty years.

Dr. Feroz had been the author of twenty books and monographs and published over thirty scientific papers in peer review journals and nearly three hundred articles in daily papers and popular magazines. He was the founding editor of the critical magazine 'Pakistan Forum', which was published in early 1970's, in Urdu, from Karachi, Pakistan. In addition, he was a regular contributor to Africasia (Paris) and Viewpoint (Lahore). The broad range of subjects on which Dr. Ahmed has written includes sociology, political economy, politics, demography and epidemiology. Dr. Feroz Ahmed Died in April 1997.

21st Annual Convention:

SANA welcomes the participants

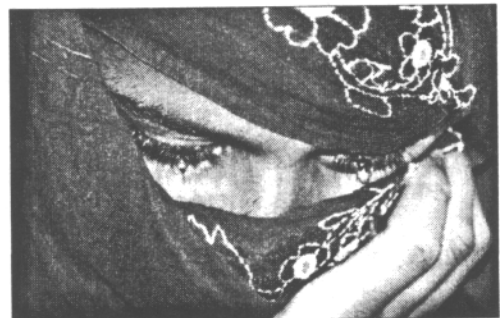
We at SANA EC welcome all the participants at the 21st Annual SANA Convention in Washington, DC (July 2-3, 2005) and sincerely hope that you would enjoy all the programs.

We also urge you to get involved in the community work and support various programs announced at the Convention that include the establishment of SANA Head Office/Cultural Center, holding of SANA Sindh Convention, establishment of SANA Book Club, Micro Credit Scheme for Sindh and some other programs in the fields of education and health.

SANA Executive Council:

Aziz Narejo (President), Jamil Daudi (Vice President), Surriya Panhwar (Vice President, Women Affairs), Kohsher Ahmed (General Secretary), Taj Nizamani (Joint Secretary), Sarfraz Memon (Information Secretary), Talat Talpur (Treasurer), Kalid Channa (RS Zone 1), Ghulam Mohiuddin (RS Zone 2), Khalid Memon (RS Zone 3), Salim Langha (RS Zone 4) and Mashhood Qazi (RS Zone 5).

Crying humanity in Pakistan



A tearful rape victim at a recent press conference in Islamabad

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Editor: Aziz Narejo

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Let's move forward!

Dear friends, its time that we look into the future and take steps to strengthen our organization in North America as well as embark on specific programs to help our folks back home. To achieve these objectives, I would like to present to you one more time the 'SANA Program for years 2005-2006'.

I would however emphasize that nothing could be achieved until the community members come forward, show their concern and goodwill and become part of all the efforts. There is no other way. I wish there was.

The program outlined here is two fold i.e., what we want to do here in North America and what we would like to do for our folks back home:

1. Our first and foremost responsibility would be to strengthen our organization. We have to urge all the estranged community members to forgive and forget any past mistakes and come back to the fold of this wonderful organization that belongs to all of us and not to any particular individual/s or a group of people.

2. To strengthen our organization, we have to increase our membership base. We must try to attract the members of our community who traditionally haven't been associated with our organization.

3. Establish a SANA families' network to bring our people closer, inculcate a feeling of belonging to one big family and address social issues. I would like to inform you that this program has already been initiated with Mrs. Fariha

Riaz Ansari coordinating it and also offering matrimonial services to the community.

4. One of the major responsibilities of SANA should be to familiarize our children with our great civilization – with our heritage, our language, literature, culture and our history. We should initiate a program to have CDs and DVDs on learning our language and brief information on above subjects. Our youth also must play an important role in our annual conventions.

You would be happy to know that Sindhi Language Committee under the able leadership of ex-VP SANA Mr. Sajjad Siddiqui has already initiated Sindhi teaching program through internet.

5. We should make our annual conventions more meaningful and theme oriented. They should have an educational aspect too besides promoting our music and culture.

6. To organize regional programs in all the zones more frequently preferably with some theme. It will help membership drives and networking among other things.

7. Explore the possibility to start a SANA Book Club (SBC). We may help publish books on an important subject and then its distribution among the members of SBC. This is a doable thing. It will promote our language and culture. We will not only publish books but also CDs and DVDs and from the funds collected for this project, pay the writers and artists. Details of this project would be announced at the Convention.

8. To initiate programs aimed at helping the community members in their education, careers, business and other professional endeavors. Help, support and encourage them in attainment of their goals. Help and guide the newcomers to settle in North America.

9. Help and guide our younger generation to become better citizens - better equipped to meet the challenges of life.

10. Initiate a program to write the history of SANA. With time many things start getting murkier. Its time we start a project to document SANA history. Once we do the basic work, it can be updated every five years or so.

11. Explore the possibility to initiate some NGO like small projects in Sindh in the field of extending micro-level business loans, and also in the health, education and other fields.

12. Help and guide students from Sindh who want to pursue their education in USA and Canada.

13. Help raise voice for democracy, justice and fair play in Pakistan so that all the people get equal opportunities and level field in competition.

14. To hold a SANA Convention in Sindh. It will give an opportunity to our members to meet old friends, socialize, listen to the voices of Sindh, interact with educationists, health specialists, social workers, NGOs, common men and women, students, government functionaries, intellectuals, writers, poets, artists, visionaries, political activists and others and discuss with them important matters.

15. Create a new SANA website.

16. Run the organization according to its bylaws.

17. To consider having a head office for SANA that could work as a Sindhi North American cultural center, a library and a research center, a music, audio/video & cultural artifacts store, a learning center for our children where they can study their language and culture, a meeting hall for regular meetings, gatherings, workshops and seminars on issues related to Sindh and holding of functions to promote our culture and also a place for safekeeping of our records, papers and documents. (A. N.)

I am of the opinion that my life belongs to the community, and as long as I live it is my privilege to do for it whatever I can: **GEORGE BERNARD SHAW**

Causes of the deterioration of education

An exclusive article for "Sangat" by
M.H. Panhwar



My professional career has involved me not only in recruitment of scientists and engineers for different kinds of jobs but also in providing them on the job training for specific purposes. This has covered wide range of fields, like mechanical, electrical, civil, industrial and environmental engineering, scientific equipment for higher education, research and industry, agriculture specially value added horticulture, post-harvest technology of horticulture products for export, animal sciences, fisheries, renewable energy, wind mills, solar panels, gasification of agriculture wastes for power production bio-gas, processing agriculture products, mechanized agriculture, irrigation, drainage, water logging, salinity and degraded land reclamation, rain water harvesting etc. My teacher at Madison (Wisconsin) had told me that technology is changing so fast that you have to change your profession five times in the next half a century. He was perfectly right and I have changed profession more than five times. I had two guides in this respect, books and travels to many foreign universities, where I discussed the subject with professors, considered to be, among the top in their fields.

During the past sixty years I have collected some 25,000 books and bulletins on science and technology, and other 15,000 on horticulture crops printed after 1980. I have discarded twice as much material as obsolete and no longer needed for reference or just to save space for new acquisitions. This change from one field to other has been easy due to the background of study of sciences at Matriculate and Intermediate Science levels. I am always grateful to the British for imposing on us text books of science, prescribed for similar classes at Oxford and Cambridge universities and text books were written by the same authors, and printed in England. The world War-II had brought shortage of paper and new text books were not being published except in new fields like radio, television and wireless technologies etc. As a student I had chance to see examination papers of Cambridge university and surprisingly Bombay University teachers were extracting their examination papers from those of Cambridge or Oxford from Matric to engineering examinations. I remember having written to Mr. Kewalramani, the principal of NED University, that there was nothing new they taught me at Texas A&M College for Agriculture Engineering courses, which I had not studied from a poor NED college of a poor country and I had preferred to leave and get practical training with International Harvester, world's largest company of agriculture machinery at that time. It employed four hundred thousand persons being USA's fifth biggest. This company told me "You cannot learn mechanization of crops unless you know soils, agronomy of each crop, irrigation, fertilizing, plant protection, post-harvest and storage". They gave me many books and manuals on all those subjects published by them.

I felt no difficulty in understanding them as one of the three text books in first year science of biology course was botany taught in D.J. Sindh College. My experience is that almost all branches of engineering or agriculture are applied physics, mathematics, chemistry and biology. If a student is weak in them, he cannot be a scientist.

The standards of education have been falling. A decade after I left NED Engineering College in 1949, new candidates of NED had thirty three percent less knowledge than we had been taught under Bombay University. At end of second decade in 1969, Mehran College of Engineering candidates had about 33% knowledge as we had acquired, but this was also year of great disaster for education in interior of Sindh. A ruthless officer of Anti-Corruption Department wanted every Sindh officer to be removed from job especially those opposed to "One Unit government's working". Dr. Qadeer Afghan Principal of Mehran College being one, was involved in a false case of refusing to perform supervision of construction an additional duty assigned to him, on the plea that unless transport is made available to him, he cannot go to all sites of construction in an area of thirteen thousand acres or twenty square miles. No transport was provided. The engineer in charge was booked for corruption and Dr. Qadeer was arrested for negligence in delaying the orders, due to which civil engineer in charge had free hand to misappropriate. From jail he sent a word to his students to go on indefinite strike till he is released and in return all students of all classes in Mehran College would pass annual examination and would be promoted to higher class. He was released and kept his word. This was the beginning. Some thing else happened to deteriorate education further. In 1976, two new universities were created out of Sindh University, Sindh Agriculture University and Mehran University of Engineering and Technology.

Mehran had strict Pro Vice Chancellor and two senior professors, who discouraged copying, which had become a rule, but then Minister for Education Sindh visited university and stopped all the three of them from visiting examination hall, so that students freely copy and pass. This was a serious blow to technical education in Mehran University and yet Vice Chancellor and some professors sincerely tried for improvement, but

copy culture was now fully established and threatened those, who wanted to maintain standards.

After defeat in East Pakistan, the Government to reconcile people to the new situation emphasized Pakistan Studies, a subject to be taught at all levels in the schools and universities. General Zia himself son of a Mullah of a mosque in Jalandhar introduced Islamic studies at all levels from the primary to university level. Before this in 1966 there was agitation to replace English with Urdu in the government offices as well as in educational institutes. President Field Marshal Ayub after set-back in 1965 war and Tashkent negotiations, had lost prestige and surrendered. Sindhi teachers and students agitated that Urdu is as alien to Sindh, as in Bengal. Notwithstanding Ayub's government surrendered. This was unfortunate for education Pakistan.

On the other side of the border, Government of India in 1948 had decided that Hindi will replace English and a Committee of experts was formed to coin technical phrases and words for those of English. A story was current then that the committee met Prime Minister Nehru in 1963 and informed him that some four hundred thousand words had been coined and equal number of words of new terminology developed since end of World War-II in 1945, had to be coined. Nehru just asked a simple question: How many words has the Hindi language? The reply was, one hundred thousand. Nehru then asked: under such situation can Hindi easily absorb those four hundred thousand words and phrases? The result was putting the issue into cold storage for ever. India's strong point is; English as medium of instructions, whereas, we are no where. It is worth pointing out that Nehru was not only a statesman, but literary giant whose glimpses in World History and Discovery of India are classics.

Although English is still continued as a medium of instructions at higher level, but use of Urdu and Sindhi at High

School and Intermediate levels in technical subjects and less emphasis on English language, has produced students, who cannot read text books in English and the substitute is local text books summarized from large English editions and which did not impart correct concepts of these sciences.

I have been interviewing all kinds of candidates to be trained as farm managers for the past fifteen years. I found that the present Kamdars (foremen) used on the farms are incompatible with advanced agriculture and more so with horticulture I wanted to replace them. I have advertised periodically in news papers and have also put advertisements on notice boards of various departments of universities at Jamshoro, Tandojam, and Khairpur during the past fifteen years.

Getting less response, I talked to a professor, who told me that 'candidates want easy jobs, easy time/schedule, facilities like furnished office, electric bell to call peon for cup of tea on reaching office, relax for while, walk around the farm, for one round of short duration and return back to office. Your systems is that each manager in charge of 5-10 laborers to get some job done during the day or week, switch over to other jobs and continue year around on different jobs on different fruits. You are doing unconventional agriculture which involves new crops, dwarf trees, high density tree planting, feeding fertilizers foliarly, use of micro-nutrients, elimination of synthetic pesticides, mulching of trees, no use of tractors and inter-cultivars, organic agriculture and use of natural pesticides. All these are labor and supervisory intensive. This means strict timing and supervision and your timing is 8.00 am to 5.00 pm with two hours break in summer and 8.00 am to 4.00 pm in winter with one hour break'. He said that he had discussed with many graduates and post-graduates and they think that they do not like this kind of punctuality. A few astray candidates did come for interviews and though some how none was up to the mark, yet I thought they could be trained on the job and made offer to them. Only a few

joined and were trained on the job. To our utter surprise when some jobs were advertised by government or some private parties, they applied and were immediately taken up without asking any questions, stating that the employers know the quality of work the candidate must have learnt at our farm and therefore were immediately employed.

Recently we needed some twenty persons and advertised for a walk in interview of any graduate in any field and bring with themselves marks of matriculation and intermediate. Some 200 candidates appeared. They were graduates in engineering, sciences, agriculture engineering and social sciences. The number of graduates in liberal arts and social sciences was limited. What we found was shocking and needs attention of whole nation. Almost 95% of them had over 85% marks in Sindhi, Urdu, Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies. They had between 40-50% marks in English. In six practicals of physics, chemistry and biology accounting for 25 marks each or total of 150 marks, they had 23 or 24 marks out of 25 i.e., 92-96%, but in theory papers of physics, chemistry, mathematics and biology, they had just pass marks or a few more than 33%. Enquires were made to find how students got 138-144 marks out of 150 in the science practicals. We were informed that practicals take place in the very colleges students attend. They take tuitions and pay the teachers, who in turn get them these marks. Some had even failed in theory, but were condoned. The problem to ponder about is that they got high percentage marks in arts subjects and got admission in scientific universities, because of those subjects and not of sciences. It was concluded that they cannot be scientists all their life. Further examination showed that though they were B and C grade in Matric and Intermediate but, they were first class in the universities from the first year to the last. How this miracle happened needed further probe.

Some ten years ago I invited applications for a World Bank project

and found a very suitable person in one of the universities. I offered him Rs.50,000 a month, while university was paying him Rs.18,000. He agreed and when project was about to mature, he backed out on the plea that he had to help his students in writing their thesis for MSc and he was not interested in money, but service to nation. I thought he was great and told of this sacrifice on his part to another professor of the same university. He told me that he was not a madman but I was. He charges Rs.20,000 per thesis, with guarantee to pass the student, pays about 16,000 as income tax on his salary of Rs.216,000, saving Rs.200,000, but he makes another Rs.300,000 from writing thesis himself for students, making a total of Rs.500,000. Even if he has 10 students, he will make Rs.400,000. It was surprising, but on questioning about thesis, some candidates admitted that their thesis was written by their teachers on payment which was customary. I remember my own days. After graduation from NED College, I went to work with Buckwell and Co. They put me in charge of repair shop, where on the first day, after a caterpillar tractor engine was opened, I realized that text books knowledge was totally out-dated and I started my higher education on the job. From that day onwards I am learning something new every day and some times every hour. My new teachers for the past 56 years are the latest books.

In new era, there will be many people who would keep researching and learning throughout their life. A quarter of century ago, US had planned that of their population, 45% will be white collared and 55% blue collared. The white collared would be of BA-BSc level and of them 15% would have MA-MSc education. Again of these 15 persons, 7 would go for PhD. All those 7 would be involved in research and development all their lives. Exactly opposite is the case in Pakistan. On leaving the university, they give life long vacation to their books, read and experiment little and boast as if new technologies are revealed to them every day.

I do part time farming for my living. The farm is one hundred and three acres orchard, where in I grow fruit crops like mangoes, lychees, longans, peaches, apples, grape fruits, grapes and pomegranates for past forty years. From the beginning in 1965, I had observed that labor will work only if supervised very strictly by foremen called Kamdars. However tragedy was that these Kamdars had risen from labor and were equally ignorant, but had become crafty due to their position and continuously created problems, which they alone could resolve with labor or neighbors and made owners helpless. Their main defect is that they neither know the technology nor are willing to accept any advice beyond what others do and any thing new is totally wrong, and they refuse to accept or execute it. I lost thousands of plants and scores of new varieties of fruits and other crops due to their open negligence and considering it unworkable.

My conviction is that unless the supervisor is motivated and convinced that what he is doing is right, he will not execute the assignment properly. I tried to introduce new innovations from the beginning, but Kamdars rejected them and did not execute them. I tried to introduce new crops and with them mortality rate some times was 100%. Finally I got hold of some MScs in Agriculture who though technically poor, were at least amenable to discipline and were willing to carry out experiments as I suggested to them, but were hindered and ridiculed by Kamdars. One Kamdar told these MScs and BEs that his knowledge starts, where theirs ends. On this I decided to get rid of the Kamdars once for all and try educated ones. Between 1990 to this day I have advertised a number of times and interviewed many. I found many of them technically very poor and unwilling to work. I knew the reasons and causes of lack of knowledge, but that gap was easy to fill if they were only willing to carry out the instructions for which I decided to prepare a monthly instruction manuals. A large majority of candidates were reluctant to be punctual to timing of 8 am to 5 pm and also were not willing to supervise

work of labor in the field. Only those needy would join. These usually were those, who had remained unemployed for 5-8 years and had learnt that their education was too defective to keep them employed.

The basic cause of this deterioration of education is the syllabus and education beginning from the Primary school level. In earlier days, at the primary schools they taught geography from class II to Matric, a total of 11 years, starting with geography of Taluka or Tehsil, district, Sindh, India, Asia and World, but both political and physical, including solar system and galaxy. In history they started in Primary class IV with history of Sindh, then of India in brief in the lower classes and in the higher classes in more details and analysis. Then started history of England from 1500 AD along with history of India for four years. History of England was in brief history of World. Most important subject in primary education was arithmetic which indirectly taught to analyze. Matric examination had Mathematics, physics, chemistry as compulsory subjects and even clerks and typists in the government service had to be matriculates knowing these subjects. These subjects developed higher level of IQ among students to think for themselves.

We eliminated all that and made two categories of matriculates in humanities and sciences. This trickled down to primary level and arithmetic was the first victim of new educational policy. In my opinion lack of good standard of mathematics has caused the worst damage to education.

I have been visiting university libraries periodically in search of some material on engineering, horticulture and Sindh. I have seen only a few teachers visiting the libraries. Students do visit, but majority of them to read newspapers. Many librarians are well qualified, but funds to purchase books are lacking. In case of most technical libraries only a few books are imported after 1965. Many local or Indian technical books are substandard. Sindh Agriculture

Research has purchased books under Agriculture Research Project-II, but all of them are Indian publications and mostly substandard. Cost involved in foreign exchange was millions of dollars. The amount could have been well spent by import of standard books from the Western countries.

This is what happens to loans and aids, our future generations have to pay. After 1966, teachers took standard text books of 400-500 pages summarized them in fifty pages of notes and taught from these notes. As standard of the English language was very poor, students could not refer to original texts and depended on notes. Since most of the students were granted first class at the university, they were selected as lecturers and taught from the same notes. In 2005, they are still teaching from the same notes prepared in 1966. The teachers themselves have such poor knowledge of both the English language and the subject they teach, that they cannot grasp the subject themselves. They themselves are the examiners and set papers. At end of the semester, they issue a paper of probable questions, the final examination may have and it lists 100% questions that are in the final examination. One tragedy is that because of poor standards of English, they cannot pass TOFEL and other examination conducted by US and other Consulates and the only foreign universities available to them in the past were Eastern European, Russian, Philippines, Egypt and Thailand etc. In most of them there was different syllabus for foreigners and they got PhD degrees very easily, without adequate knowledge. Such teachers have not improved the standards of students. Being aware of the low standards of education, the government decided that any promotions beyond the level of Assistant Professor would be from PhDs of the subject. On this has started rush to register for Ph.D. It is not American system of studying 40 or more subjects and a research thesis for PhD in addition. It is a British system of PhD by thesis, but the British make students to carryout research on latest topics with all

facilities and candidates have to work day and night. In Pakistan, thesis are written by some senior teachers for their juniors, against some payments. Some ten years back rate was Rs.40,000 for PhD and today it must be multifold. The reward for PhD to a teacher is increment in salary by Rs.5,000 per month, but the same amount is to be paid as extra to normal pension after retirement and costs a university more than rupees one million per PhD. The favoritism to admit or not to admit candidates for PhD degrees has been a rule since 1960 and many brilliant persons were refused admission on some or other pretext, but now degree is a marketable commodity.

How every student in the universities in Sindh secures first class is a complex issue. There are strong political groups among the students and on new admissions, they recruit students to their groups. These groups are utilized by the teachers against administration. Teachers put pressures on Vice Chancellors in cases of new recruitments, promotions and other facilities and when denied, students groups are called upon to agitate for removal of Vice Chancellors. All students co-operate in return for first class in every subject. The recruitment pattern also shows that relatives and children of senior or influential teachers get jobs in these very institutes by same tactics.

The education has been systematically destroyed by changes in syllabus from the Primary school level and beyond. During the British rule there in Sindh was a test called Vernacular Final Examination of eight papers conducted by the Government of Sindh after completing eight years of Primary education. The candidates who passed it were qualified to be taken up as Primary School teachers, Tapedars (low level revenue officers), Abdars for distribution of water in Irrigation Department and Munshis in the courts. Such was the high standard that not many matriculates of Bombay University could pass it. It was tough in arithmetic, geometry, history of India, geography of world, commercial accounts, general science, advanced

Sindhi grammar, and Sindhi literature. The candidates were recruited as teachers and after some years experience were sent to Teachers Training College Hyderabad for updating for a year at a time and a total of three years. Such were the high standards, that when Sindh University started Sindhi language classes for Masters degrees, these primary teachers were brought in, to teach Sindhi language and they worked in place of senior professors for many years. After independence, the government changed rules of recruitment of teachers and allowed Middle class pass students of High School to become teachers. The Primary Educational Systems was immediately destroyed. The present recruitment of teachers allows Intermediate (Class XII) pass students to become Primary teachers, but majority of them have studied only humanities or liberal arts and cannot teach arithmetic or science subjects. The result then is the students weak in sciences and arithmetic, remain weak in mathematics and sciences right up to university level. One would wish that old Vernacular Final Examination System is restored to recruit teachers and we begin afresh; but then question is, will the examination be honest? This is where I see dead end of street.

(Regrets: the above article is based on the situation prevailing in the interior Sindh. It may not be much different in other parts of the country).

If you are planning for a year, sow rice; if you are planning for a decade, plant trees; if you are planning for a lifetime, educate people. - Chinese proverb



Sindh's last call: education

By Dr. Manzoor Memon
(Ophthalmologist), LMC 62.
Essex, UK

(For those who love Sindh and want to do something about it)

There are 44000 (36000 Primary + 8000 Higher) Government Schools and approximately 175000 teachers. More than 50% of them either exist on paper or functioning below par which goes for schools as well as teachers; some of those get paid without going to school!

In a small project in Naushehro Feroze, we found paying for one extra teacher was all that was required. In one instance, chalks, blackboard and notebooks' supply got a school going. In another project, a hired bus collected small children (girls) from different villages taken to a school in Naushehro Town Girls' School and returned them to their homes in the evening.

Difficult but not impossible:

1. Find out about Government Schools in your village. If you come from a big city, search outside the city. 300 schools are closed or part closed in Naushehro District alone.
2. Adopt one School (Building and teachers are earmarked by the government). Appoint a relative, a friend or any locally unemployed graduate to visit a school and find out what could be done to restart or improve it.
3. If you visit Pakistan, go and see if you can help such schools even if it requires help from the local rich people.
4. You can only change the fortunes of Sindh by educating its people.
5. We are in UK/USA because of the Education. It is our duty to pay back. Let us not deny them their Human Rights.
6. Do you think it makes sense? If yes, please consider it. Its Sindh's last call.

Foreign Investment

Exclusively written for "Sangat" by
Shahzad Kazi



We constantly hear from various government officials about how the government is trying to encourage foreign investments in Pakistan. At the same time we hear of foreign firms shutting down their businesses in Pakistan and leaving.

Identifying the reasons for foreigners willing to invest in a country is not hard; it is the change from status quo to attract foreign investment that is hard. The key factors attracting foreign investment can be divided into three distinct groups. These groups relate to ease of doing business, economics and personal comfort factors. If we look at countries that have seen foreign capital inflows, at least two of the three groups of factors are present. Unfortunately none of the three exist in today's Pakistan.

If our aim is to promote Pakistan's economy by attracting foreign investment then we as a nation will have to put in a lot of hard work and effort to make sure that at least two of the three factors are present.

Economic Factors:

The first thing to note is that no company or investor would risk his capital if he did not expect to make a significant profit from his investment. In order to ensure profitability, the following things need to be present:

1. Significant local market for goods and services. This is dependant upon the purchasing power of the population and the size of the middle class that forms the bulk of the consumers who drive demand.

2. Availability of raw material at low cost with consistent supply.

3. Cheap and uninterrupted power sources.

4. Availability of cheap and skilled labor.

We can see that in Pakistan 1 and 3 are non-existent. Even if 1 is non-existent, but a sufficient export market exists for goods and services produced, an investor would still be able to get a good return on his investment. So it may be safe to assume that it is item 3 that needs to be focused on.

Ease of Doing Business:

This group relates primarily to the laws in force and bureaucratic and other hurdles. Investors are not happy with hurdles in going ahead with their plans. Any company or business owner would like to have a minimum in terms of paper work and permits that allow him to work. We can see from the list below that this group of factors is a major impediment to attracting investment to Pakistan:

1. Simple and few regulations.
2. Dealing with few regulatory bodies.
3. Corruption (Lack of).
4. Non-restrictive labor policies.
5. Unions, pressure groups and extortionists.
6. The ease of getting work permits for expatriate staff.

Unfortunately, there are major issues with all six factors listed above and if Pakistan cannot take care of these, let alone attracting new foreign investment, we can safely say goodbye to the existing one.

Personal Factors:

Most multi-national companies start off their businesses with expatriate management and as the company develops a sense of comfort with local management, the expatriates are

gradually pulled out and locals are inducted into management. In addition to this there is also a constant stream of technical experts and executive management into the country from overseas. Therefore, a key factor here is the sense of comfort that senior management develops with a country and the convenience that they have in traveling to and fro to that country. Some of the factors that I am going to list below may be categorized as intangibles, but play a very important role in deciding where investment goes.

1. Safety and security of personnel. This is the most important factor of all and needs the most focus. If an investor fears for his own life in traveling to a country, there is no way that he will invest in that country no matter what the expected returns are.

2. Before even considering any economic issues, the first thing that an investor sees is the image of a country. If all a person sees on the media is images of bearded mullahs burning flags and vehicles and militants carrying guns, then one can safely assume that the thought of investing in such a country will not come into anybody's mind.

3. Assuming that a potential investor applies for a visa, gets it and then lands at the airport, the experiences that he has gone through in the process of entering the country are very important and will remain in the back of his mind and will ultimately influence the investment decision.

4. Familiarity and comfort. This is an intangible factor, but is very important. When a westerner goes to a country and spots a Wal-Mart or a McDonalds, he immediately feels at home. Therefore, a proliferation of foreign retail chains actually encourages large foreign investment in a country.

5. Quality of housing for expatriates.

6. Quality and availability of shopping venues.

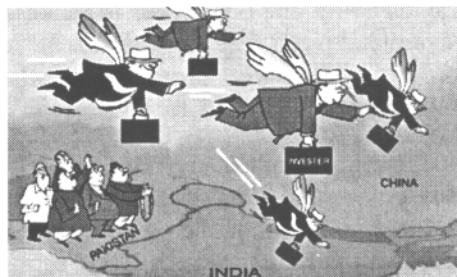
7. Entertainment. This is another factor that is often overlooked by planners, but is very important. When an expatriate is living in a foreign land away from family and friends and is cut-off from familiar surroundings, his need for venues of entertainment is much higher than the need that he would have living at home. It may be just a good restaurant, a bar or a movie theater, but the need is always there. A few good golf courses also help in a big way.

I believe that the personal factors play at least as major a role if not more as the other two groups in influencing an investment decision. Other than 4,5 and 6 above, we can see that a lot of work has to be done on fixing the rest.

Safety and security of course is the single biggest issue currently facing Pakistan in all avenues. The image of the country also needs bolstering and the policy makers would do well in setting up media and public relations campaigns.

In summary the key factors hampering foreign investment in Pakistan are Law and Order, Bureaucracy and Corruption, which at the end of the day are all, linked by a common thread.

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Pakistan as a foreign investment destination

No sour grapes: My trip to India

By Dr Mahmood Qalbani



From L to R: Devan Qalbani, Mahmood Qalbani, Shirin Qalbani, L.K. Advani and Askar Qalbani in Delhi

Most of us (APPNA members) went to India for sightseeing with family members and close friends plus added bonus of CME with some tax benefit. We did not go there to build the bridges and most of did not care about that part of the tour.

My few comments are:

The tour was very well organized. The tour operator and his associates did great job. Only a few practical problems occurred which were expected and were dealt in a professional way. CME was of high standard, we learned a lot about the advancement of medicine in India and the zeal and passion local experts demonstrated about their work was very well appreciated.

Dr. Najma Heputulla, is a great lady. She treated us very graciously. I do not care what her personal thinking was but she was genuinely welcoming and extremely friendly making our trip like a royal visit.

Dinners and evening Galas: Almost every night, we had lavish dinner and some musical or dance program. All programs were of high quality and very entertaining.

Day 1: Music program by a local artist, was actually very good. He sang wide range of songs and made many of us dance and have really a good time.

Day 2. A big Gala by Dr. Hepatulla at the Ashoka hotel. It was really a grand gala. We had Indian Defense minister as the Chief Guest and his daughter gave an extra ordinary dance program on Faiz Ahmad Faiz's Dasht-E-Tanhai and on Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan's songs. Mr. Advani was there too as a special guest. Lots of APPNA group members were very happy running to have their photo taken with Mr. Advani, his wife and his daughter. No one was forced to meet with Mr. Advani. (I have video recording of all the nice people enjoying their picture taking with Mr. Advani and his family.) He was nice and very polite to all of us. My wife enjoyed talking to his daughter and Mrs. Advani who used to live behind The Regal Cinema in Karachi close to our flat. I do not think Mr. Lal Krishin Advani really cared too much about the so called **Award**.

The dinner at Agra was of Mughal theme. All waiters were very well dressed in Mughal dresses and food was little bit Mughlai. The evening program of female Qawal was enjoyed by every one thoroughly. The Rajasthani dinner in Jaipur was out of this world, The lavishness shown by the event organizers was appreciated by every one. I heard some one saying "It can not get better than this", every one to my knowledge was mesmerized and showed their gratitude to the tour coordinators.

In Mumbai, the dinner and the classic dance at The Nehru Center was of the highest quality. The music and seven different dances on the same song was a visual treat. Bollywood night at the hotel in Mumbai was of usual affair as expected. This was probably the only function organized by our executive committee and was sort of disaster and wastage of our time. However, Johnny Lever and the main singer were pretty good. Sunil Dutt made fun of us. And the disaster of attempting to do fund raising happened on this night.

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has: Margaret Mead (1901 - 1978)

Journey to Banda Aceh: the worst hit area by tsunami

By Dr Afzal Arain



We left by Singapore airline from San Francisco on the 12th February. At San Francisco Airport even our wallets were checked by security. Airport security guard did not seem to be in hurry and seemed to be enjoying going through our personal objects. Our flight went through Hong Kong to Singapore. From Singapore we went to Jakarta. At Jakarta, Singapore airline agent received us to facilitate our visa. Mustafa of Indonesian Red Crescent was waiting at the airport to receive us. At Jakarta airport we paid \$20 for visa. When they found out that we were there to help them, our money was withdrawn from the bank and returned to us. Immigration officer commented that "you have come here to help us. We can not charge you the fee. Thanks for coming to our help".

Mustafa took us to Indonesian Red Crescent head quarters. We had to travel through massive traffic jams. We had a meeting with Dr Basuki who is an orthopedic surgeon and has been to many parts of the world to serve the humanity. We found him very knowledgeable and devoted person. He shared with us the situation at Banda Aceh. He showed us the maps, albums

and a documentary. He showed us the plan of the future hospital in Banda Aceh. They have rented a multistory building and already have 40 beds functioning hospital with operation room and needed subsidiaries. Estimated cost to make this hospital fully functional was 0.5 Million US dollars. They have already received \$25,000 from a Middle East agency as down payment for hospital property. They also had received two ambulances which were fully furnished and were purchased at the cost of \$22,000 each. Indonesian air force was going to fly them to Banda Aceh. We had a dinner with chicken and rice wrapped in banana leaf and a paper. There were small sealed glasses of clean water. We stayed at a Jakarta hotel. It was no less than a 4 star hotel but cost only \$40 for the night. Next morning we were joined with Chairperson of Islamic relief Malaysia and flew from Jakarta to Medan where we had to take Adam air line to go to Banda Aceh. We went to Banda Aceh which is about 30 Km from Iskandar Moda airport. Islamic relief of Malaysia arranged our transportation from airport to Banda Aceh city. We visited the make shift hospital of Red Crescent. It is a three story building with clinic, x-ray, lab and Operation room on the ground floor. There were about twenty patients on the second floor which were mainly trauma patients. Most of them had infected wounds. We found out that most of the foreign medical teams were very liberal with amputations. Not realizing that the artificial limbs were scarce in Indonesia and amputees will have to live a handicapped life.

We also had glimpse of devastation of the area by air and also we drove by to see the famous land mark of the area, "Masjid Abdul Rahman", lone building in ten mile area of massive devastation. I could not sleep till late that night. I kept thinking about all the people who disappeared and what the tsunami left behind. I kept thinking how best we can help these unfortunate people. Even though the people have faced a major disaster, they were very polite, hospitable and appreciative. Some

local people told us that some missionary people have purchased local land by proxy and are making small gated areas with Christian names and were preaching Christianity. They felt very uncomfortable because of what appeared as conditional support. Because they were on the receiving end they took it quietly. They have substantial Christian population and get along well with each other.

Next day we again saw several patients and visited more devastated areas. Local doctors told us that some aid groups had been using Banda Aceh disaster as their training ground. They had brought physician assistants, nurses and students and let them practice on the injured. Many patients got amputations for the wounds which could have treated conservatively. I saw a patient with hernia operation with groin and scrotal incisions. He had skin staples at the scrotum for over three weeks with pus pouring out of the incision.



Visiting devastated areas, what we saw was beyond imagination. Buildings completely washed away with only floor left. A school building had only steps left. We saw many mass graves. I saw dead bodies wrapped in yellow plastic bags lying on the road side to be picked up by disposal trucks. I have been through wars but this destruction of human life and property was beyond imagination.

We saw a huge ship which was five stories high and weighed 200,000 tons which was lifted by tsunami waves 5 KM deep into the heart of the city. This was the powerhouse for the city and was undamaged. This was sitting cross ways on the road. There were intact buildings between the ship and the

ocean. Most of the people who stayed on the ship survived.

I also saw multiple ships washed away and were lying next to mountains. Many places there were boats laying in the front yards of the houses. I also saw a large ship turned upside down. I visited several clinics which were seeing up to two hundred patients a day. Many places refugees had built small shops on stands and were selling basic necessity.

Next morning we visited hospitals of the area. Zainul Abidin Hospital was a 400 bed university hospital with 900 medical staff. Only one third of them have been accounted for. Numerous patients and hospital supplies were washed away. Hospital was still under five feet of stinking tsunami mud. Most of the surviving patients were suffering from mud pneumonia and injuries. They were still finding dead bodies in mud. Australian and German teams were trying to rehabilitate the hospital. We saw major hospital equipment buried and damaged in mud.

Military Hospital was clean and in working order, but even this hospital lacked basic equipment. They did not have Ultrasound machine. They treat 20% military personnel and 80% civilians. Due to struggle for freedom in area people and military were not comfortable working with each other.

Fakina hospital was about 110 bed hospital and appeared to be in good shape and had almost all the rooms occupied by patients. This was a private hospital and was well maintained. Almost all of the 200 hundred doctors had vanished in the tsunami. Hospital had 110 employees and all could be kept on the job with mere \$15,000 per month.

We also visited refugee camps. There were miles and miles of refugee camps with different NGO's waving their own flags. Most of the camps appeared to have adequate necessary supplies. All the refugees were keen to get back to work and rebuild their lives.

Next day we went to visit boys and girls orphanage. This was a very sad seen. We took candies drinks and milk for

them. Orphans were between two years to 17 years age. Some of them will come and hug you will not let you go. Some of them clearly remembered how they lost their loved ones and how they were saved. They had become very close to each other but looking into their eyes you could sense the loneliness and uncertainty of future.

Banda Aceh area is some what warm and humid. There were no fans or air conditioners in the orphanages. Electric fans could be purchased for about \$30.00. Being warm and humid, it was very uncomfortable. I could not think of anything else and donated \$400.00 to each place to purchase fans. It was difficult to hold back tears after seeing these little angels who left in this world with uncertain future with no one to love and provide them comfort.

Before leaving Banda Aceh I visited many NGOs and discussed the need for opening a hospital. Clinics were easy to set up and easy to maintain and every body was concentrating to make a clinic. Islamic relief was very receptive and they had raised over 20 Million euros and were actively working to provide assistance to the victims of tsunami. Housing, food, clean water, provision of jobs and psychiatric support were the priorities. One boat cost about \$4,000 and provided lively hood for four families.

On 22 February we left Banda Aceh and went to Jakarta. We had final meeting with Chairman of Indonesian Red Crescent. He gave us plans of the new hospital with details of all the needed supplies. He promised that if any doctors want to go and help his people, they will be provided transportation, accommodation, meals and working environment. We also discussed about concept of taking specialty teams and have camps for few weeks every six months or as needed.

The universal brotherhood of man
is our most precious possession:
Mark Twain (1835 - 1910)

My Jamshoro

By Mohammad Ali Mahar

Rambling aimlessly, like a bunch of lost cows, on the empty boulevards of Jamshoro, Iftikhar and I were cursing our stars as well as the cousin whose advice, unfortunately, we had decided to heed.

It was a gently cold January afternoon. We had arrived in Jamshoro about a couple of hours ago upon the advice of one of our mutual cousins who, in all his sincerity, had advised that we arrived one day ahead of the classes to familiarize ourselves with the campus as well as the environs.

And now we were wandering around the deserted Sindh and Mehran universities. The only person having greeted us at the hostel being Allah Bachayo (May his soul rest in peace) who himself looked like a genie from a bottle – albeit a famished, smaller version. And a derelict, dilapidated Sir Syed Hostel in which we had been allotted a room seemed, from the cracks in the walls and the ceiling, more a haunted house than a college dormitory.

Sun was about to set behind the eucalyptus trees and the hillocks in the west looked farther than they actually were and no one from our freshmen class or the seniors had arrived so far.

Neither Iftikhar nor I had been on our own before. We suddenly felt home sick and the cool but pleasant Jamshoro breeze carrying all the fragrance of the nearby sesame trees lost all its charm for us. We seriously started thinking of taking the next train to Rohri, and not return until we were assured somehow that the university had returned to life when suddenly a white car screech stopped by us. The person who descended from the car would be known for the next four years as 'Riddha (lamb) Shah. So we were three now.

By the nightfall, however, the hostel and the surroundings started to give

some semblance of life with students arriving in twos and threes.

Jamshoro had always been a dream destination right from my childhood days when I had set my foot here for the first time to see my mother's ailing aunt who was undergoing a surgery at LMC. I had fallen in love with the town with the very first sight. I remember that upon seeing those glowing, gleeful faces of young students and a very nice weather of Jamshoro, from the depth of my heart, I had solemnly prayed to God Almighty to bring me here one day as one of those students.

Jamshoro has forever possessed a great romance for the people with a vision for Sindh. I had read a lot about Jamshoro's role in Sindhi rights movements during my childhood years. And its students' valiant and defiant resistance campaigns against tyranny had been an inspiration for a romanticist like me.

Later when the time came to elect between pre-medical and pre-engineering, I chose pre-engineering. Not just because I hated the smell of medicines but also because all those selected for the medical degree from our area had to go to CMC, Larkana, and I wanted to go to Jamshoro at any cost.

Jamshoro of our time, however, was to be poles apart from the Jamshoro of yore.

نه سي وونڻ وٽن ۾ نه سي ڪاتاريون
بندر بازاريون پسي هنيون لوڻ تي

Gone were the days of idealism and student activism. The agencies and the powers that be having realized the potential of the 'student might' had already emasculated the activist groups of our time by infiltration and inducement. All that was left in the name of nationalist leadership was freeloaders who enjoyed beating hapless chowkidars and bus drivers as well as free lunches at the university cafeteria. The biggest favor that the student leadership of my time could extract from the university administration was the control of university ambulance for few hours to take a joyride with their friends to Jamshoro phatak or Hyderabad.

In a systematic way, the genuine student leadership had been replaced by the hoodlums and goons by the agencies and a certain air of distrust was prevalent where everybody was suspicious of everybody else. The standard of the leadership can be gauged from one example: one of the Sindh University student leaders of our time, when finally got arrested, was charged of stealing kilos of mutton from the poor karhaii gosht merchants at the phatak. The leader took pride in feeding his guests at the phatak hotels and walking away without paying his bills. He was also reported to have been involved in gang-molestation of a young Sindhi student at the university who lost his senses forever after the incident! The gentleman in question nowadays holds a senior position at a Europe based advocacy group!

One very funny incident took place on our forth or fifth day at the university: As we were returning from our usual evening walk that day, we found the hostel completely surrounded by the police vehicles. The troops were holding positions around the hostel, training their guns at the hostel gates and windows. Nobody was being permitted to enter or leave the dorm. While his team was inside the hostel doing their job, the subedar sahib sat on a comfortable chair outside smoking his cigarette on a fist. I walked to him and enquired what was going on. "You are asking me?" He barked at me. "You students harbor terrorist and criminals, cause us all the trouble in the world and ask me what is going on!"

They had received a tip off, we were informed, that a terrorist group had brought a large supply of arms to the hostel which had been hidden in the couple of rooms allotted to some criminals and the police were there to recover it and apprehend the culprits. He knew it, whispered one of my roommates in my ear, these universities were a den of criminals and if police had been here they must have had solid information. I completely agreed with him.

Finally, after few hours we were let in. And lo and behold, one of the two rooms that police had broken into on a solid 'tip off', looking for criminals and a cache of ammunition was none else's but ours! The other room belonged to an equally 'hardened criminal' freshman from Dadu. So much about police efficiency!

But those were fun days. Being away from home for the first time, one loved the test of independence and enjoyed every bit of it. Luckily, coeducation had been introduced at the Mehran only recently and the very outlook of the university had started to change for better -- from rustic to more modern and city-like.

However, the extracurricular activities had to wait for a few more years to be accepted as a norm for they were still considered a taboo by the so-called leadership.

Later I moved to a newer and more prestigious Shah Latif Hostel where most of our friends already lived.

One afternoon as I was sitting in the hostel common room reading a newspaper, my friend Zakaria walked over to me and asked if I was interested in joining him and other friends who were leaving for Sann to attend Saaeen G M Syed's birthday. I told him that I had to take care of something important at Jamshoro and I could not come. He told me that they had already arranged for the university buses and it would be great fun as lots of other friends were going there too. Even though I was tempted to join them, I could not go.

Later that day the word started to spread that the university buses had been fired at by the security agencies. No one believed it at first. For why would security agencies fire at the buses occupied by the unarmed innocent students who were on their way to have a good time and nothing more? However, the news was confirmed when the university officials rushing to the hostels ordered us to vacate the buildings in minutes. The next day I came to know that among

those martyred by the brutal military was one of my dearest friends, Zakaria Memon. When I reminisce that day and remember how tempted I was to go with Zakaria and other friends a chill runs through my spine as I know for sure that had I gone, I would have definitely taken a seat right next to Zakaria. Who knows if I would have been alive today to tell all this had I decided to go to Sann that unfortunate day.

Present Crisis in Sindh

*An exclusive article for "Sangat" by
Mushtaq Ahmed Shoro*

When people cherish some set of values and do not feel any threat to them, they experience well-being. When they cherish values but do feel them to be threatened, they experience a crisis -- either as a personal trouble or as a public issue. And if all their values seem endangered, they feel total threat, which creates panic and a sense of insecurity among that group of people and they turn inward. So is the case with Sindhis: the cultural values cherished by Sindhis are felt by them to be threatened by dominant groups of Pakistan. We, the people of Sindh are no more emotionally self-sufficient people; no more independent people; can not do our planning and are unable to work things out in our own way.

As a result of unique historical circumstances today, Sindh has been shattered almost beyond recognition, suffering horrendously for the first time in its history under the oppressive domination of outside forces.

Past many years have been quite unsettling for Sindh and Sindhis. Deterioration of law and order, severe unemployment, social and economic underdevelopment, corruption, moral decadence and a leadership crisis have confused Sindhis to wonder about their individual and collective future and destiny. These concerns have caused a great deal of frustration in Sindhi society.

Sindh is passing through a very critical phase of its history. Democracy has been banished and fundamental human rights stand suspended. The wealth and natural resources of Sindh are being frittered away and usurped and Sindhis are being discriminated against in every field. The national autonomy of the people is being subverted by constant influx of people from beyond the borders. Sindhis have been deprived of their inherent right to run their own affairs; the destiny of Sindh and its people is in the hands of the brutal and oppressive alien forces. The ruling masters have already established despicable tradition of appointing officers belonging to particular provinces to send a message as to who the real masters were and who the slaves. And now non-Sindhi retired and in-service generals and other military officials have been imposed on Sindh in the name of the so-called good governance. These appointments on key positions in Sindh have further aggravated the feeling of deprivation and frustration among the educated unemployed youth of Sindh. The present trend of appointments also shows the thinking of the rulers, who wish to convey to Sindh and its people that whatever be the form of government, Sindh will always be ruled by a particular province and particular set of people to continue the process of colonial rule.

The problem is that those officers from other provinces don't have any attachment to the land and the people that they are meant to serve. And as they are not above corruption and nepotism, they frequently indulge in money-making to the detriment of the indigenous people. They cause miseries to the local population and are the source, the agents and abettors of uneasiness and unrest in Sindh. They are the cause of the high rate of suicide incidents among Sindhi youth these days. On the top of it, a large number of Sindhis have been thrown out of the government departments and corporations like PIA, KESC, Pakistan Steel Mills, Karachi Port Trust, Qasim Port etc.

All that has been done on the ground that these people had been employed during the tenure of the Pakistan Peoples Party governments. The ratio of Sindhi-speaking employees in the government departments and the government owned corporations is already abysmally low. The unemployment situation in the educated middle class is appalling. If some Sindhi youth were given jobs to correct the imbalance in the services, it is sheer tyranny to deprive them of their livelihood merely because they were recruited by PPP governments. It is sheer discrimination that the Sindhi-speaking employees are being targeted.

Sindhi language and literature have also been relegated to inferior status. Our national heritage and culture are being desecrated by deliberate design. Irrational and unscientific ideas are being expounded that are bound to cause an irreparable damage to spiritual as well as material life.

The first failure to recognize the concrete reality of Pakistan led to the imposition of Urdu language upon the Bengali people, thus igniting the first spark of the conflagration, which eventually resulted in the traumatic defeat and dismemberment of the country. That the lesson of Bangladesh has not been learnt has been demonstrated by nauseatingly repeated statements and demands by all kinds of pseudo-leaders and pseudo-intellectuals about the creation of more provinces and division of Sindh. Sindh is a compact region and a geographical reality. It can not be altered at the whims of the forces that control Pakistan politically, economically and militarily. Any attempt in this regard will be detrimental to the existence of Pakistan and will bring great disaster for the federation as such a ridiculous and irrational idea can not be implemented without causing Bosnia and Kosovo like ethnic cleansing of Sindhis. Sindh is fed up and furious at the cruel and unkindly mishandling of things during last 57 years. Sindh must not be taken for granted as life of a nation has its dangers and mysteries.

Federal government and Sindh provincial government have callously neglected and destroyed the oldest and the most reputed institutions of learning and literature in Sindh since 1977. The University of Sindh, Liaquat Medical College, Sindhi Adabi Board, Sindh Text Book Board, Sindhi Language Authority and the Bhatt Shah Cultural Center are but a few victims of their apathy, antipathy and myopia. These famous institutions today stand as glaring examples and symbols of soullessness and incompetence. In the eyes of all those who love Sindh, its language, its culture, its traditions and its heritage, all original work in them has come to a stop. Only the spurious is produced and published in these institutions to the horror of all the thinking mind and sympathetic public.

Even the British had to recognize the advanced development of Sindh. They decreed Sindhi to be official language to be used in the schools, courts and revenue records. A standard script for Sindhi language was developed. Sindhi prose and poetry made considerable progress. Even novels came to be written in Sindhi. This literary and cultural advancement was no way comparable to the backward state of the surrounding nationalities.

After independence, the high-handedness with which the Sindhi language, literature, heritage and culture were suppressed and destroyed and Sindhi people turned into second class citizens in their homeland could most appropriately be described as an attempted cultural genocide and an act of fascism.

Historically Sindh has been land of peace and tolerance, tradition and refuge for thousands of years. It is the hospitality, secularism and down-to-earth attitude and independent mindedness that make Sindhis different from other people. It is a strange phenomenon for outsiders that during the entire 5,000 years old history the tolerant and Sufi-influenced inhabitants of Sindh never pursued their economic or territorial interests beyond their own homeland. But today these peace loving

people, who throughout their history did not allow fundamentalism and intolerance to establish their roots in Sindhi psyche and culture, are at the crossroads of the history where their very existence is in danger. For Sindhis the pressure of millions of aliens in their midst who refuse to integrate or even accept the basic values of secularism, liberalism and democracy, presents an uncomfortable dilemma. Sindhis ask the obvious question: "If these people hate us, our culture, our language, our traditions, our way of life, our secularism and our society so much, why did they come here in the first place? And if they are so deeply unhappy, why don't they go back?"

Sindh has paid heavy price for its role in the creation of Pakistan. Political hypocrisy, cultural hegemony, administrative tyranny, economic robbery and brutalized society are the gifts of independence to Sindh! This God given land gives every impression of a God forsaken land.

During the dark era of despotism and terror of General Zia's regime, it was Sindh that took the lead in movement for restoration of democracy popularly known as MRD. Movement was started from Sindh in 1983. It was unfortunate that Sindh was betrayed by the MRD leadership belonging to other provinces and was left alone to face the brunt of Martial Law and police brutalities and atrocities and mischief of the intelligence agencies. A cruel, wicked and inhuman military action was taken against the people of Sindh, thousands of people were massacred, villages and towns were bombarded, burnt and bulldozed, children, men and women were molested and cold blooded murdered. The vicious, vengeful and ruthless handling of protests in Sindh was a flagrant demonstration of hatred against Sindh. Some counts put the dead bodies at 10,000. The province saw a tremendous display of tears, sweat, blood, bravery and torture.

The insensitivity and ruthlessness of Pakistan's rulers culminated in the separation of East Bengal from

Pakistan in 1971. Yet, no lessons were learnt from that experience and similar atrocities have been committed against the people of Sindh and Balochistan. The Baloch people were subjected to armed suppression from 1973 to 1977 resulting in their almost total alienation from Pakistan. Since 1977, Sindhis are victims of exceptionally harsh treatment. National oppression of Sindhis is even more severe than that of the Bengalis before 1971 and the degree of their dispossession may even be comparable to that of the Palestinians and American Indians. That this is not an exaggerated claim can be judged from the study of the treatment meted out to Sindhis since 1947.

Agriculture lands were considered to be the bastion of Sindhi economic power. But since the creation of Pakistan, that situation has been drastically altered. The nearly two million acres of land left behind by emigrating Hindus were awarded to refugee claimants rather than being distributed among landless peasants. More than a million acres of land brought under cultivation by the construction of the Kotri and Guddu barrages was awarded to non-Sindhi military and civil officers or sold to prosperous Punjabi farmers in give-away auctions. As much as 40 per cent of Sindh's prime agriculture land may have already passed into the hands of non-Sindhis, while three fourths of Sindhi peasants own no land at all.

The lucrative commercial, transportation, construction and service sectors, which comprise 55 per cent of Pakistan's gross domestic product, are also located largely in Sindh. But Sindhis do not have even marginal share in those sectors. More than one half of Pakistan's industry is located in Sindh but Sindhis have practically no participation in it whether as owner/manager or as worker.

The economic disinheritance, political domination and demographic engulfment of the Sindhi people found their correlate in attempted cultural genocide. First of all, because of the

mass refugee influx, Sindhis in Karachi were turned into strangers in their own town where very few people spoke their language and in turn were forced to learn Urdu.

Military Junta itself had admitted that there were three million illegal immigrants in Sindh. And now at the behest of the MQM, the president and Prime Minister, they were being granted Pakistan citizenship. All over the world illegal immigrants were being repatriated to their countries of origin, but in the case of Sindh they were being rewarded with citizenship!

Economic development in Sindh under the present social system has largely meant de-Sindhization. Living under military dictatorship amounts to living in an alien-occupied country because Sindhis have no participation in the military. The ideological legitimacy adopted by Pakistan's rulers is seen as an affront to the culture and values of Sindhi people, who have a tradition of religious tolerance as opposed to the bigotry preached by Pakistani rulers and their ideologues.

Pakistan was created as the finest of hope but has been paralyzed into a non-entity. It is in the grips of terrorism, sectarianism, religious intolerance, brutality and scandalous collapse of state machinery. And Sindh with its rich natural resources, agricultural abundance and wonderful people was reduced to poverty and hunger. The land of plenty reduced to penury, privations, shortage and hunger and starvation.

Sindh is forced to face the disastrous consequences of the Afghan policy. A sober society of Sindh became victim of guns, narcotics, smuggling and economic destitution and is watching helplessly the periods of cheating and deceit by alien powers and creation of novel nomenclature of caretakers and undertakers – they came by fluke, they ruled by goof and they disappeared like UFOs.

After suffering indignities for 57 years, the people of Sindh now feel that:

1. They are homeless in their own homeland and are condemned to live a life of deprivation and indignity;
2. Repression and deprivation have become their only lot;
3. Their language, culture and traditions are being destroyed;
4. Most of Sindh's economic resources have been usurped and taken away from their control;
5. A fair and honorable participation in the Government has become impossible for them;
6. Immigrants from four corners of the world are being rehabilitated in Sindh whereas its own people have no shelter and they are being converted into a minority deliberately and systematically;
7. Their universities and colleges are not under their control and the Sindhi medium schools are being gradually closed down;
8. Their historical identity is being erased; and
9. It is only a matter of time, when Sindh's national existence and historical identity will be destroyed forever.

In the backdrop of these facts, and keeping in view the history of Pakistan, and considering the present situation of Sindh, the only rational and pragmatic solution that can save Sindh as well as Pakistan is the establishment of a political system based on the fundamental contract envisioned in the Pakistan Resolution of 1940.

The main cause of the political instability and crisis of confidence is deviation from and violation of the 1940 Resolution – the basic document and fundamental contract for the creation of Pakistan, which envisages that the federating units of Pakistan would be "Autonomous and Sovereign".

All the political experiments carried out in the country, based as they were on the negation of the Pakistan Resolution, did not succeed in spite of all kinds of repression, tyranny and manipulations:

I. The experiment of the Unitary form of government resulted in giving rise to distrust and disunity among the people of Pakistan and was an utter failure.

II. Imposition of One Unit in West Pakistan resulted in serious discord and differences between the Punjab and the smaller provinces and did not succeed.

III. The experiment of the so-called political "parity" introduced between the Eastern and the Western wings of the country did great harm to the universal democratic principles and divided the country.

IV. The experiment of the strong center and truncated provincial autonomy in the shape of the 1973 Constitution also proved to be document of hegemony of the Punjab and today even in its death throes is being used as an instrument of discrimination and repression.

V. The experiment of Islamization proved to be disastrous and was a catastrophic failure. It resulted in giving rise to religious intolerance, sectarianism, fundamentalism, brutalism and the terrorism in the name of 'Jihad'. It is not too difficult to visualize its ultimate results from the atmosphere of hypocrisy and obscurantism prevailing in the country.

What did these experiments of deviation from and violation of the principles underlying the foundational contract of Pakistan Resolution of 1940 achieve during the last 57 years in concrete terms?

Instead of considering and recognizing newly created Pakistan as a multi-national secular state, which it should have been according to the basic contract of Pakistan Resolution, the country was ordained to be called a single Pakistani Muslim Nation, only to achieve the object of supremacy and

hegemony of a particular province, just as these Muslims of India were called a separate nation to achieve the political objective of the division of the sub-continent. To achieve the particular objective:

1. The country was deprived of universally accepted traditions of democratic rule and interference by the Armed Forces in politics became the order of the day;

2. Autocracy, dictatorship and bureaucratic tyranny became hallmarks of Pakistan's social life;

3. Mistrust and political discord between the federating units reached its climax;

4. The eastern wing of the country was separated;

5. The ultimate supremacy and hegemony of the single majority province in politics, economics and government of the country has become a horrifying reality;

6. Corruption, nepotism and economic exploitation prevail as the daily routine in the socio-political life of the country;

7. Internationally, Pakistan's prestige has become unenviable – it is being seen as rigid, largely illiterate and terrorist country;

8. Martial Law and military rule have become constant 'sword of Damocles' for the rule of law, judicial system and democracy.

Every right thinking patriotic citizen of the country realizes the gravity of these hard realities but he is helpless. Even the common citizens complain these things but consider their sufferings as ordained by fate. Pakistan is a dream turned into nightmare.

Sindhis, like the Punjabis, Pakhtuns and Baloch, are a historically evolved nationality. Their decision to be part of Pakistan can not deprive them of their inalienable historical rights.

Recognition of national rights does not mean only that discrimination in jobs be ended, that usurped lands and properties of the Sindhi people be returned to them, that Sindhis and all other nationalities be given fair and equitable right of participation in a democratic policy, that an adequate quantum of autonomy be granted to the provinces but also that the historical fact must be recognized that these are distinct nationalities which should have full freedom to develop their culture and national personality and to determine their future without coercion. Only a voluntary and equal association of the nationalities of Pakistan on the basis of their geographical, historical and economic relation, rather than on the basis of the fanciful and coercive Pakistan ideology, has any chance of success. There can be no other basis for a multi-national state like Pakistan.

Struggle for democracy and social justice can not be waged in the ideological framework that is designed to enslave all the people of Pakistan. The less privileged nationalities of Pakistan have never accepted opiate which was sold previously under the labels of 'national integrity' and 'Islam in danger' but which is now being pushed down the throats of the Pakistani people as 'Pakistan ideology', 'Islamic ideology' and 'Islamization of society'. The time has arrived that the people of Punjab also cast aside the shibboleths which their rulers use to oppress not only the other nationalities but the Punjabi people themselves. A democratic movement must have a democratic ideology. In Pakistan's context, it must not only be secular but must also incorporate national rights and social justice. Religion can not be the only glue to hold together disparate communities.

In the struggle for existence some nations are better equipped than others to meet the test of survival. Sindhis who withstood all the storms in the past have no other option but to rise to the challenge of change in an enlightened and constructive fashion.



Ali Shaikh at the 19th Annual SANA Convention in Los Angeles, CA in 2003. So cheerful, so youthful, so brilliant, so radiant, so gracious, so generous, so friendly, so helpful, so outstanding and so exceptional he was - a real gem of a human being. And very active in our organization and our community. It is indeed an unbearable loss. We will miss him profoundly as we would miss a loved and adored member of our family. Ali, you didn't have to leave us so soon.

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