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The Politics of Sindhi Nationalism and Rise of Separatist Elements in Sindh

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ABSTRACT

Sindh has a long tradition of nationalist politics on the basis of Sindhi nationalism. This spirit of nationalism remained present even during the British rule. The demand for separation of Sindh for its separate identity and autonomous status was the nationalistic vision of Sindhis. In this aspect, G. M. Sayed is considered as the founding father of Sindhi nationalism. In post partition era, the Sindhi nationalists were disillusioned by the policies of the state. The strong control of the centre and suppression of provincial autonomy aggravated the situation. The fragile ethnic factor was flourished with immigrants of non-Sindhis. The actual seeds of Sindhi nationalist movement were sown by unification of the West Pakistan as One Unit in 1955, which eroded the separate identity of Sindh. Such policies inflamed the situation and significantly, changed the political dynamics of Sindh. The turning point in politics of Sindh resulted with start of separatist movement for Sindh as "Sindhu Desh". The separatist movement was led by G. M. Syed under the umbrella of Jeay Sindh Tahreek. Later on, the separatist groups' splitted but followed G. M. Sayed's philosophy and continued this movement of separation. This study focuses on the emergence of separatist elements in result of nationalist movement and their effectiveness in politics of Sindh. This paper critically examines the politics of Sindhi nationalism and its impact on politics of Sindh as well as Pakistan.

***Key Words**:* Nationalism, British Rule, provincial autonomy, ethinic fator

Introduction:

According to modernists, nationalism deals with the politics and ideology of ethno national group in minority and those who are in majority. Nationalism does not mean how nations were formed rather it aim at how the nations exert their politics in an environment of shared culture, history and customs. Nationalism is linked to political empowerment but it lacks philosophical powers and it is not ideology. Nationalism has never produced its own thinkers like Hobs, Marx, and Webes etc. While ideology deals with "liberalism" or "fascism", "nationalism" is related to "kinship" and "religion" (Anderson, 1991, p.5). So nation is an imagined political community and it is limited internally though considers to be sovereign. Nationalism is the operative ideology of the modern age. To understand nationalist ideology one has to over look the moral or religious ideas and has to concentrate upon common issues of day to day life which can be exploited for political gains and benefits.

Taking nationalism as a political ideology, modernists like Gellner relate the connection between industrialization and nationalism. According to Gellner state plays a pivotal role in the evolution of nationalism (Emest Gellner, p.1).But it is a reality that nationalism may affect both modern and conservative societies, urban and rural and the societies where literacy rate is higher and those where it is low. It can be explained that nationalism is a political principle. It is an ideology based on cultural and psychological aspects. Therefore, nationalism is basically a study of politics which is constituted by the combination of cultural similarities into a political movement demanding its own state. However, one nation sometimes does not represent singular nationalism. It might comprise different ethnic groups under one political movement propagating their own nationalism. Nationalism is also a tool for achieving, social, political and economic ends. Socio-economic interests are an integral part of nationalism. The economic changes motivate people to be enticed by the idea of nationalism whether they belong to rural areas or that of urban society.

Rise of Nationalism

Nationalism is more intense and stronger where state development is more advanced and it is weaker where it is less so. Nationalism develops when ethnic groups find their culture and language under threat. Ethnic groups are controlled and motivated by the decisions of the central authority. Another interpretation regarding the rise of nationalism is its significance as a doctrine of resistance. In words of Anderson (1991), “Nationalism is an ideology of resistance adopted by nations or ethnic groups to claim their rights and to defeat oppression”(p.3). After the World War I, the idea of nationalism permeated in every corner of the World, laying the foundation of anti-colonial nationalism and later on taking the form of ethnic conflicts in post-colonial societies. In developing Worldthe emergence of nationalism as a political principle is considered to be associated with the colonial state. So the desire for liberty and resistance in the form of national-self determination along with the role of the state instigated for the rise of nationalism in the colonial and post-colonial societies.

The Sindhi Nationalism

Following the partition of British India, the region of Sindh was integrated into the newly formed federation. The province of Sindh is situated in the western region of Pakistan from a geographical perspective. The province of Sindh is commonly referred to as "Bab-ul-Islam," which translates to "Gateway to Islam." The expansion of Islam in the region occurred as a result of the conquest of Sindh by Arab General Muhammad Bin Qasim in the year 712 A.D. The Muslim dominion persisted in the region of Sindh until 1843, when it was subjugated by the East India Company of Britain, leading to the establishment of British colonial administration. The region was first established as an independent province, but in 1847, the British administration incorporated it into the Bombay Presidency (Choudhary, 2013, pp.41-45).

The province of Sindh presented different picture from the other provinces of Pakistan. After Pakistan, instead of cultural assimilation, the political culture of Sindh was characterized by the heterogeneous social set up. The dominant features as the cultural division, rural and urban division, feudalistic society and specially the large number of influx of refugees (Muhajirs) resulted the growth and intensity of nationalistic aspect of politics in Sindh.

The genesis of Sindhi Nationalism goes back to pre-partition days. But the logical basis of Sindhi nationalism as claimed by the Sindhi nationalists is that Sindhis have continuously been denied their basic rights immediately after the creation of Pakistan. The ruling elite adopted the policies soon after the establishment of new state on the name of Muslim nationalism, adopting Urdu as national language, settlement of Refugees, separation of Karachi from Sindh and making it capital, One Unit of west Pakistan and distribution of land of Sindh among non-Sindhis, which resulted resentment and apprehensions among Sindhis and caused the rise of Sindhi nationalism.

Rise of Sindhi Nationalism in Historical Perspective (Pre-partition Era)

Nationalism in Sindh started by the native Sindhi Hindus.After British conquest, the Hindus realized that now they were not only secured as a minority but were also independent. They started extending their business activities out of Sindh, in British colonies in Asia and Africa and established their trading centres in these regions. This business wealth enriched them and they developed cities of Sindh by their wealth. The Cities of Sindh, Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Larkana, Mirpur Khas and Nawabshah became modern and cultural centres where modern western educational opportunities were provided along with hospitals and welfare works. The Hindu traders revolutionized urban life in Sindh and urban culture progressed rapidly with a limited span of time (Ali, M., 1992, p. 252).

The Muslim majority population lived in rural areas of Sindh belonged to landlords and *haries*. There was a vast disparity between urban and rural life as former were educated and cultured while latter were illiterate and backward (Boivin, 2008, p. 47).The Hindus who were minority in Sindh supported Sindhi nationalism to maintain and safeguard their identity and status. With the help of their financial resources they struggled to maintain their position by instigating nationalistic passion among the masses.

To strengthen the roots of nationalism, the Hindus emphasize on the development of Sindhi language and culture. The Hindu writers and scholars translated different literary works in Sindhi language. They published Sindhi – English dictionary and Shah Abdul Latif's "Shah Jo Risalo" was edited and published by Hindu Schoalr 'GharBakhshani'. He also established History of Sindh in the form of Historical Society (Ali, 1992, p. 254). During the early years of 20th century when Sindhi Hindus were supporting Sindhi nationalism, a small portion of educated Muslim feudals from Sindh were exponent of Muslim nationalism in sub-continent as they supported Rashmi Romal Movement, Khilafat Movement, Hijrat Movement and the establishment of Urdu as national language. The Muslim leader Ghulam Murtaza Syed appealed the Muslims of Delhi and Lukhnow to come in Sindh and secure the mulsims from the clutches of the Hindus because at that time it was in their interest through which they could suppress the cultural and political influence of the Hindus (Ali, 1992, p. 255).

Sindh Separation from Bombay

Sindh was conquered by British in 1843 and four years later in 1847 it was affliated with Bombay Presidency. The Sindhi people opposed the merger of Sindh with Bombay Presidency as Bombay was about 1280 km away from Sindh and reaching there was very problematic for people, for their necessary affairs. Then Sindh had its own history and culture different from

Bombay. It had always maintained its separate identity as in the history, "Sindh had remained more or less independent. When Muslims of India demanded for separation of Sindh from Bombay, the Hindu – Muslim differences came on the surface on this issue. The Muslims considered that their interests could be protected through Sindh's separation from Bombay. So the Sindhi Muslims moved this campaign in the name of Muslim – nationalism (Malkani, 1991, p. 95; Zardari, 1996, p. 111).

Before 1924, the Hindus were also in favor of Sindh's separation from Bombay. It was in their interest that the establishment of North – West Railway had increased the significance of Karachi as a port. As All India Muslim League stepped forward to join movement of separation it turned into a sectarian issue. When the Hindus strongly opposed it because the Hindu traders were afraid that in case of a separate province Muslim feudals would attain political strength owing to their majority which would eclipse their business and trade (Ali,1992, p. 257).

The British Government officially divided Sindh from Bombay on April 1, 1936, with the implementation of the Government of India Act. According to Zardari (1996), Karachi assumed the status of the capital of Sindh, with Sir Lancelot Graham being designated as its inaugural Governor, and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah assuming the position of its first Chief Minister. The division between Sindh and Bombay was a significant triumph for Sindhi Muslims who had exerted much effort in their pursuit of establishing Sindh as an independent province (Chandio, 2009). During this particular period the nationalist political parties operating at the province level showed significant strength and popularity in the region of Sindh, as opposed to other areas (P. 98).

The elections of 1937 were won by the provincial nationalist parties. Sindh United Party became the majority party by getting 18 seats. This party was formed in 1936 by the land lords of Sindh on the pattern of Unionist Party of Punjab (Khan, 2005, p.133). It's main leaders were Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, Allah Baksh Soomro, Abdullah Haroon, G. M. Syed and Meeran Muhammad Shah. It was established on non-communal basis supported by both Muslims and Hindus. It won the elections on the slogan Sindh for Sindhis (Ageef, 1989, p.23).

The Sindh Hindu Maha Sabha Party was established with a primary focus on communal interests, aiming to safeguard the rights of Hindus and advocate for the establishment of a Hindu State. The political party achieved victory in the 1937 elections by securing 11 seats in the Sindh Assembly. The Sindh Muslim Political Party, established by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, emerged as the third major political party and secured four seats.The Sindh Congress Party, which is a subsidiary of the Indian National Congress, successfully obtained a total of eight seats.Sindh United Party formed the government and Allah Baksh Somro was elected as premier of the province of Sindh on March 23, 1938. He had confidence of both Sindhi Muslim nationalists and the Hindu members of Congress. During this time Hur movement started in Sindh for independence of Sindh led by Pir Sibghtullah Pir of Pagaro. This movement was based on the Sindhi nationalism. But the British government suppressed and crushed the Hurs movement and hanged Pir Sibghtullah on March 20, 1943, in the case of mutiny and rebellion.

Factors for Growth of Sindhi Nationalism

1. History

History is a significant factor for the establishment of nationalism in Sindh. The roots of the history of Sindh are constructed and based on its pre-Arab conquest. The Sindhi historian portrayed Muhammad Bin Qasim as usurper and oppresser while Raja Dahir as hero who laid down his life (sacrificed his life) for his own land of Sindh. So the symbols of Muhammad Bin Qasim and Raja Dahir were used to imply that intruders were occupying Sindh and it was the utmost duty of Sindhis to safeguard their land.The second important personality in this aspect is HoshuShaidee. He was Negro slave of Mirs of Sindh, who was killed in the battle of Jodba fighting against the Britishers. His personality and role was highlighted and he was given the status of "General Hosh Muhammad Shaheed". He was implied that he sacrificed his life for the protection and defence of Sindh and whenever there would be a question of safeguarding Sindh; its youth would struggle hard to defend it.

2. Settlement of Refugees

The Sindhi nationalism emerged as a result of migration of refugees (Muhajirs) and their settlement in Sindh. With the advent of refugees, two main forces emerged in Sindh as local Sindhis' and migrants. After partition about seven million Muslims came to West Pakistan. The refugees settled in Sindh mostly came from Northern Indian provinces; C.P, UP, Bihar, Bombay and Gujrat and settled in Karachi, Hyderabadand Nawabshah. About 1,046,825 immigrants reached Karachi directly in 1947 and in subsequent years. Later, the migrants who settled in other cities for the time being also shifted to Karachi (Tahir, 2010, p. 173). The Muhajir migrants who established themselves in urban regions of Sindh were characterised by their Urdu-speaking background, which contributed to their distinct language and culture. However, they had challenges in assimilating with the native population of Sindh, including differences in culture, language, and traditions. Therefore, the Sindh province exhibited a distinct contrast in comparison to the other provinces of Pakistan, leading to its separation based on ethnic and linguistic factors.

3. The Sindhi Muhajir Conflict

The Migrants (Muhajirs) who arrived in Sindh were Urdu-speaking, well educated, skilled and comparatively cultured, created ripples in the ocean of Sindhi culture. The migrants (Muhajirs) preferred to maintain their own separate identity instead of mingling with the Sindhis by adopting Sindhi culture. It resulted the emergence of two different cultures in Sindh; culture of local Sindhis and culture of migrants (Muhajirs). The policies implemented by the administration played a significant role in exacerbating the divide between Sindhis and migrants, leading to the federal government's active intervention in the matter of refugee settlement in the province of Sindh. According to Khuhoro (1998, p.324), the federal government exerted its influence on the Sindh government, namely Chief Minister AyubKhuhoro, to facilitate the settlement of refugees, particularly in the urban districts of Sindh. Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, hailed from a community of migrants who diligently endeavoured to facilitate the integration of Muhajirs in the province of Sindh, with particular emphasis on the city of Karachi. There was a

prevailing belief that Liaquat Ali Khan harboured aspirations to establish a constituency for himself in Karachi.

The allotment of evacuee property to migrants instead of local Sindhis, added the resentment among the Sindhis. The local Sindhis claimed the right of the evacuee property because they were the son of the soil. But the Federal government favored the migrants and allotted this property to migrants. The total 417,585 acres land was allotted to Muhajirs out of which only 114,096 acres was left uncultivated and about two third was allotted to absentees residing in cities and most of the absentees Muhajirs landowners sold it to Punjabis. (Tahir, 2010, p. 201) Urdu as the medium of instruction and banning of Sindhi language as medium of instruction in these institutions was the attempt to undermining the indigenous Sindhi culture. The migrants also dominated in bureaucracy and in other official posts because of their better education and skills. The Muhajirs constituted about 3.3 percent of population but had domination in the bureaucracy. In 1947, about half of officers came to Pakistan were Muhajirs and only one third were Punjabis while by 1952 Punjabis had 40 seats (including refugees from east Punjab) in central secretariat and 33 of Muhajirs and only one Sindhi Deputy Secretary (Tahir, 2010, p. 147).The indigenous Sindhi population held the perception that the arrival of migrants, namely the Muhajirs, posed a potential danger to their socio-economic and political standing within the region of Sindh.

4. Declaration of Karachi as Capital

After establishment of Pakistan, the second most significant issue which resented the Sindhis and aroused the Sindhi nationalist sentiments among the Sindhis Public was federal government's decision to declare Karachithe Capital of the country under Federal Government control.The Sindhis considered it against integrity and unity of Sindh and the division of Sindh. The seeds of ethnic strife were planted in Sindh (Boivin, 2008, p. 53). Sindh Assembly opposed the separation of Karachi from Sindh and on February 02, 1948, passed a unanimous resolution against this proposal (Ageef, 1989, p.190).Sindh AwamiMahaz,led by G. M. Sayed moved against this proposal and staged demonstrations in different cities. G. M. Sayed and supporters of Sindh AwamiMahaz were arrested. The Day of Karachi was celebrated in all over Sindh (Khuhro, 1998, p. 340).One of the immediate consequences of the separation of Karachi from Sindh was the prompt elimination of Sindhi as an eligible language for examination purposes at the Federal University of Karachi. The syllabus for Sindhi students in the Federal territories was modified by the Secondary Board of Examination, leaving them with the choice of either selecting English or their native tongue, Sindhi, as a topic for their academic pursuits..

5. One Unit

The decision of merging different provinces of western part of Pakistan into One Unit brought a geo-political change in this part of Pakistan specifically in Sindh. It was the second time that provincial status of Sindh was ended. The provincial status of Sindh was abolished by the government of Muslim League.Basically the idea behind this decision of One Unit was the fear of majority of Bengali population which was equalized by converting western provinces into One Unit as "West Pakistan" and brining it with parity. This threat of dominance was smelled by the ruling elite of Punjab by United Front's victory in elections of Bengal in 1954.The opponents

of decision of One Unit considered it abolishing of their separate provincial identity especially by Sindhis. They had apprehension of total dominance and control of Punjabis in administration where others would have no voice for their rights and share in every institution of the state.

The removal of Abdul Sattar Pirzada, the Chief Minister of Sindh, was prompted by a motion passed by the Sindh Assembly opposing the concept of a unified administrative unit.Following the dissolution of the initial constitutional parliament, the second constituent assembly was elected in the year 1955. The merging of various provinces into One Unit called West Pakistan was met with criticism and opposition by Sindhi nationalists. The act in question was deemed to be in opposition to the principles outlined in the Pakistan resolution of 1940, as well as a breach of the Sindh Assembly resolution of 1943, which endorsed the autonomous status of the Sindh Province. The formation of the Anti One Unit Front was a response by political leaders and parties that were in opposition to the concept of a unified political system (Ansari, 2005, p.162).This anti One Unit Front changed into National Party in Assembly of West Pakistan Province on November 30, 1956. On September 17, 1957, Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgari, moved a resolution against the unification of West Pakistan in Provincial Assembly of West Pakistan. This resolution was passed by 170 votes in favor and only 4 four against it. The resolution wasalso hailed by the people of small provinces. After the establishment of Pakistan, the beginning of nationalism in Sindh can be attributed to the decision of One Unit. Benazir Bhutto pointed it out in these words that "Sindhi nationalism owes its genesis to the creation of the West Pakistan" (Benazir Bhutto, 1988, p.21). This decision granted supremacy to Punjab over the small provinces, which forced Sindhis to compete for services in different departments not only with Muhajirs but also with Punjabis. The middle class of Sindh also opposed One Unit scheme and they were supported by the intellectuals of Sindh. In this anti-One Unit movement, Muhajirs remained aloof from Sindhis because their interests were not affected by this decision (Ali, 1992, p. 265).Sindhis were ignored in jobs and employment. Before One Unit they were promised priority in jobs and quota was fixed as 40% for Punjab and 60% for other provinces. But after One Unit, Punjab dominated in each department from higher to lower rank. For Sindhis, One Unit was the end of their separate identity. Sindhis were in favor of independence and sovereignty of Sindh as a province so that its separate identity could be maintained. Hence the emergence of Sindhi nationalism was natural outcome.

6. Quota System

The implementation of the quota system resulted in the manifestation of discriminatory practises against the Sindhi community. In September 1948, Liaqat Ali Khan implemented a quota system for the civil services with the aim of enhancing the representation of East Bengalis. Despite constituting 56.75% of the overall population, East Bengalis were allocated a quota of 42%. In contrast, Punjab, comprising 28% of the population, received a quota of 24%.In contrast, Karachi, comprising 1.5% of the total population, was granted a 2% quota in services. Additionally, an extra allocation of 15% was designated for prospective migrants from India. The implementation of the quota system was intended to address the issue of regional disparities in employment representation (Khan, 2005, p. 167).This quota was revised in November 1949, 20% was allocated to the open merit category which resultantly proved beneficial to Mohajirshaving 70% literacy rate. By 1950, in civil service examination the share of Muhajirs

among successful candidates was 46.6 percent where they were only 2 percent of Sindh's population (Waseem 1997, p 227; Khan, 2005, p. 167).

The phenomenon of Muhajirs being disproportionately represented in the civil bureaucracy and military persisted until the tenure of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, during when the quota system was altered. Prior to the tenure of Bhutto, the martial rule administration led by General Yahya Khan introduced a novel approach by assigning representation for the rural and urban populace in a ratio of 60:40, respectively, within provincial and federal agencies (Waseem, 1997, pp. 228-31). Z.A. Bhutto made modifications to the prevailing quota system by decreasing the allocation for the merit category from 20% to 10%, while also allocating shares to other provinces based on their respective populations.However, in the province of Sindh, there exists a disparity between the rural and urban areas, resulting in the division of the provincial share of Sindh into two portions: 11.4% allocated to the rural areas and 7.6% allocated to the urban areas. The amendment in question was implemented with the objective of guaranteeing the representation of rural Sindhis within the power framework (Chandio & Jabeen, 2010, p.293).

The period of about 20 years of discrimination with Sindhis due to their very miner share in employment and services created apprehensions and disappointment among Sindhi people. In 1970 a list was compiled which showed that during OneUnit period only 53 out of 184 postings of DIG's of police and 41 out of 150 postings of Commissioners and deputy commissioners were given to Sindhis (Ahmed, 1998, p. 75).

7. Punjabi – Muhajir Dominance in Civil - Military Bureaucracy

The Punjabis and Muhajirs were in minority as compare to Bengalis who had majority and were about 55 percent of the total population of Pakistan. But in the decision making process both Punjabis and Muhajirs held control. This situation was inherited from the British rule. The two provinces, Punjab and North West Frontier Province (now KPK) were the major suppliers for British Indian army services because Punjabis and Pukhtoons were the martial races (Khan, 2005, p. 63).The Muhajirs who came from the United Province of India had more share in the British Administration as compare to their population for example in 1913, Muslims were only 14 percent of the population but they occupied 35 percent of important jobs of the province (Quoted in Khan, 2005, p. 64).

The Punjabi Muslims were 75 percent of the British Indian Army out of total Muslims in the Indian Army before the World War II and after the independence 60% of Pakistan army was from Punjab (Quoted in Khan, 2005, p. 64).Secondly, because of delay in constitution making the state system was administered under the Government of India Act 1935 which had central control. The apprehensions of the provinces became very open during this period as the real authority remained in the hands of bureaucracy and military. Even after the implementation of the constitution of 1956 (which only remained intact for two and half years) till 1971, muhajirs also played an important role as the ruling partner in Punjabi-dominated system.This Punjabi Muhajir nexus in ruling elite had two concerns. The perception of external threat from India which required a strong army means the control of army and the internal threat of domination of Bengali's majority. That's why the general elections were avoided till 1970.

General Zia-ul-Haq implemented a policy that granted a specific allocation of positions within the civil services to military personnel. This policy included a 10 percent quota for military personnel in administrative roles and a 33 percent quota for military ex-servicemen in lower-level positions within the industrial sector (Waseem, 1994, p.160).Dr. Hassan AskriRizvi described:

> "However, the real breakthrough came in the form of military officers' appointment to the top bureaucratic jobs. Where, they occupied almost quarter of permanent secretary ship. From the top of military officers none of them was Sindhi. In 1982, almost half of the Pakistan ambassadors were from military while many officers were inducted into higher administrative services on permanently or on control" (Rizvi, 1992, p.243).

After General Zia-ul-Haq's rule during the democratic period Muhajir's representative party MuthaidaQaumi Movement (MQM) enjoyed the power mostly as the coalition partner in governments.The MQM continued the policy of inducting its representatives in jobs especially in urban areas of Sindh i.e. Karachi, Hyderabad andSukkher. Again, General Pervaiz Musharraf's rule was the prime time for the Muhajirs who enjoyed the full control of administration of Karachi and Hyderabad. Whenever MQM became the part of the government as coalition partner, it got the ministry of ports and shipping by its own choice and demand. It was explicit that MQM wanted to adjust its workers and provide jobs to Muhajirs. Most of the departments and institutions in Karachi and Hyderabad have been saturated and dominated by Muhajirs as Pakistan Steels, Karachi Metro Politon Corporation and ports and shipping.

Sindhi Language: As a Factor in Rise of Nationalism

The Sindhi language underwent a process of consolidation as a distinct language during the British colonial era, with the adoption of the Arabic and Persian scripts. Sindhi served as the designated language of the province in an official capacity. The language in which the revenue record and legal documents were preserved was consistent. Sindhi academics and politicians have endeavoured to incite the sentiments of Sindhi nationalism, resulting in their advocacy for the recognition of a distinct identity for the Sindhi language. The establishment of Sindhi nationalism was anticipated to be predicated upon linguistic factors. According to Ali (1992), the Sindhi community recognised that Muslim nationalism did not align with their interests. As a result, they established their own sense of nationalism, focusing on language rather than religion (p. 266). Regarding language, the sign of Sindhi nationalism, Shah Abdul Latif's "Shah Jo Risalo" has become the Bible of Sindhis. Sindhi nationalism is deep rooted in the grandeur of Shah Latif's personality; his Urs and Latif Day is celebrated in Sindh.

Following the establishment of Pakistan, a significant number of Muslims undertook migration and subsequently settled in the major towns of Sindh, namely Karachi, Hyderabad, Sakkhar, Mirpur, and Nawab Shah. In addition to the influx of other cultural influences, Urdu emerged as the predominant language in urban areas, resulting in Sindh being a province characterised by bilingualism. The Muhajirs who migrated and established themselves in the interior regions of Sindh displayed a notable inclination towards embracing the Sindhi language and culture. This inclination fostered a sense of harmony and mutual understanding between the Muhajir and

Sindhi communities. The integration of outsiders or intruders into Sindhi culture has been a well-documented historical phenomenon (Ali, M., p. 264). As G. M. Sayed said:

> "After the birth of Pakistan it had been our demand that Sindhi should be given the status of a national language and made the sole official language of Sindh. In 1848, Governor of Bombay had made Sindhi the official language of Sindh. In 1857, the commissioner of Sindh made Sindhi the court language of Sindh. This was the state of affairs till 1947" (Sayed, The case of Sindh, pp. 189-190).

In 1948, the federal government of Pakistan officially designated Urdu as the National Language, despite the fact that it was spoken by only 3.7% of the country's population (Ahmed, 1999, p.48). In 1952, a distinct university was created in Karachi, with a particular emphasis on promoting the use of Urdu in contrast to Sindhi. During the academic year of 1957-1958, the University of Karachi implemented a policy that prohibited students from responding to examination questions in the Sindhi language. This decision sparked the Sindhi Language movement, which gained significant traction and subsequently led to the emergence of the Sindhi-Urdu debate (Chandio, 2004, p. 83).The Sindhi Adabi Sangat has made a petition to the government, urging them to designate Sindhi as the national language. In support of their request, they have cited the example of India, which recognises 14 national languages.In 1959, Ayub Khan announced national educational policy as:

> "The mother tongue should be used up to class V as medium of instruction and Urdu should be introduced as medium of instruction from Class VI from 1963 and should be continued progressively in the higher classes. It is necessary to give Urdu the same position in Sindh as in the rest of West Pakistan" (Rehman, 2000, p.116).

This policy of government was strongly opposed and criticized by the people of Sindh and in response on November 9, 1962; they observed the "Sindhi Day". The Sindhi nationalists demanded the restoration of status of Sindhi Language (Rehman, 2000, p. 116).As a result of the Ayub Khan administration's decision, the Sindhi language experienced suppression while Urdu was actively promoted. This was seen in the reprinting of official records, which were originally maintained in Sindhi, now being produced in Urdu. The Sindhi writers and newspapers experienced suppression. The disregard of the Sindhi language by the federal government provoked discontent among the populace of Sindh (Chandio & Jabeen, 2010, p.292). The Sindhi nationalists voiced their objection over the substitution of Sindhi with Urdu on official structures such as railway and bus stations during this particular timeframe. There has been a reduction in the number of radio broadcasts and programmes available in the Sindhi language.

The ideological conflict between the Muhajir and Sindhi communities emerged as a prominent factor contributing to the Sindhi language movement, ultimately leading to the occurrence of language riots in the region of Sindh. G. M. Sayed, a prominent figure in the development of Sindhi nationalism, alongside other nationalists, vehemently expressed their opposition against the prominence of Urdu and advocated for the recognition of Sindhi as a national language. G. M. Sayed posited that the Punjabi governing elite, in partnership with the Muhajirs, sought to exploit the autonomy of the Sindhis, thereby establishing political, economic, and cultural

dominance over the region of Sindh. In contrast, the ruling elite categorically labelled all manifestations of Sindhi nationalism as communist in nature and as part of an Indian conspiracy, similar to the manner in which they characterised the Bengali language movement. According to Rehman (2000, p.119-120), there was a belief that granting national language status to any language other than Urdu would lead to the disintegration of the country. Additionally, Urdu was closely linked with the religion of Islam.

The Language Riots of 1972

Following the riots that occurred in January 1971, temporary measures were implemented to restore order and manage the situation in Karachi and Hyderabad, with the assistance of the military. However, the level of polarisation between the muhajir and Sindhi communities escalated. The issue became further exacerbated when the Sindhi nationalists disseminated brochures proclaiming: "Non-Sindhis! The imperative statement "Learn Sindhi or Leave Sindh" emphasises the importance of acquiring proficiency in the Sindhi language or considering relocation from the region of Sindh. In 1972, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, the Chief Minister of Sindh, made a declaration in which he expressed his commitment to accomplish his promise of restoring Sindhi to its previous position, equivalent to the one it held prior to the implementation of the One Unit Scheme. The Sindhi Language law, which aimed to reinstate the prominence of Sindhi within the province, was proposed and approved by the Sindh Assembly. The bill received fifty-one affirmative votes out of a total of sixty votes (Korejo, 2000, p. 66).

The main part of the bill as:

(1) “Sindhi shall be compulsory subject for study in classes IV to XII in all institution in which such classes are held.
(2) The introduction of Sindhi as a compulsory subject shall commence at the lowest-level namely class IV and by the stage to be prescribed, be introduced in higher classes upto class XII.
Subject to the provision of the constitution, government may make arrangements for progressive use of Sindhi Language in offices and departments of government including courts and Assembly.” (Rehman, 2000, p. 124)

The dispute between the Urdu and Sindhi languages led to a significant outbreak of violence, resulting in one of the most severe instances of bloodshed in the region of Sindh. The Muhajir community engaged in hostilities against the Sindhi population in Karachi, resulting in the destruction of the Department of Sindhi at Karachi University. Processions in support of the Urdu and Sindhi languages were initiated. A conflict ensued between the parties involved, resulting in mutual aggression and the subsequent proliferation of violence throughout the entirety of the Sindh province. A curfew was enforced in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad, accompanied by the imposition of section 144. The matter was temporarily settled with the involvement of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who modified the bill's decision in order to appease the Muhajirs. Additionally, Mumtaz Bhutto was replaced by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as the Chief Minister of Sindh, a candidate deemed acceptable to the Muhajir community. In order to reach a consensus, a decree was enacted to prohibit discrimination in provincial government services and employment based on the lack of proficiency in Urdu or Sindhi for a duration of twelve years.

Ousting of Bhutto form Rule and His Demise: Rise of Sindhi's Sentiments

On July 05, 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law in Pakistan and ousted Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto from power. This was a real shock for Sindhi people whose trust and interest had been developed in politics of Pakistan. They were more than satisfied that a Sindhi leader was holding the highest post in Pakistan that since the independence they were neglected and marginalized. Sindhi people had apprehensions of being victimizing by the military government. Sindhi people strongly protested against the military regime as they were most directly affected by the military take over in many ways. Firstly, by military coup, the ever first Sindhi leader in government was alienated from the power. This created a sense of deprivation among Sindhi people because common Sindhi had an easy access to the government.Secondly, the military regime started to terminate and suspend the Sindhis from services. The military regime considered that these employees were supporters of Bhutto and involved in politics. By February 1978, about 1746 Sindhis had been removed from the provincial service (Jelal, 1995, p. 195).

Subsequently, the Zia-ul-Haq military administration endeavoured to foster divisions between the Sindhi and Punjabi communities residing in the province of Sindh. The Punjabi-speaking population, who migrated to Sindh during the British era, became integrated into Sindhi culture and society following the construction of the Sukkur Barrage in 1932. The military dictatorship provided support to the settled Punjabi population in their efforts to establish a distinct community identity. The establishment of the Sindh Punjab Abadgar Board was undertaken as a response to the existence of the Sindh Abadgar Board, with the former being utilised for its own specific objectives.

Such actions and policies created feelings of deprivation among Sindh. Some Sindhi nationalists and Pakistan Peoples Party raised the voice against these discriminatory policies of the military government. G. M. Sayed a leading Sindhi nationalist and separatist did not oppose military regime's policies but he adopted a conciliatory policy with Zia. G.M. Sayed did not raise the voice in favour of Bhutto.

Execution of Bhutto and Movement for Restoration of Democracy

The assassination of Bhutto has enduring implications for the political landscape of Pakistan, namely within the region of Sindh. The inhabitants of the province of Sindh perceive the trial of the Sindhi Prime Minister as an egregious instance of injustice and unfairness. Eventually a big wave of protests started in the country against Bhutto's execution. The intensity of demonstrations in Sindh reached the highest level. The violence spread in Sindh and as a result large number of PPP workers and supporters were arrested, lashed and sentenced by the military courts. Thousands of political workers were sent behind the bars. In the revenge of Bhutto's execution, the militant organization Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) was formed and run from Kabul. Later on, this Peoples Liberation Army changed into Al-Zulfiqar Organization (AZO) led by Bhutto's sons, Mir Murtaza and Shah Nawaz (Arif, 1995, p. 267).

The Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was initiated by the allied political parties in response to Zia-ul-Haq's imposition of Martial Law. The coalition articulated a comprehensive four-point agenda, which encompassed the termination of Martial Law, the reinstatement of the 1973 Constitution, the holding of parliamentary elections, and the transfer of power to elected public representatives (Waseem, 1994, pp. 392-393). While the MRD achieved a certain level of success nationwide, it exhibited a higher degree of intensity specifically in the province of Sindh. The initial phase of the movement was characterised by nonviolent actions; nevertheless, the situation escalated into violence when the military dictatorship resorted to employing forceful measures to repress it. In the province of Sindh, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was joined by leftist political groups such as the Sindh Awami Tahreek, under the leadership of Rasool Baksh Palejo, in actively participating in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The Jeay Sindh Tahreek, led by G. M. Sayed expressed opposition towards this campaign, asserting that it was the Pakistan People's Party's attempt to consolidate power through feudal means. Despite his criticism, he was not heeded by the populace of Sindh, who dismissed his views and instead rallied behind Bhutto's vision and policies.

Demand for Separate Muhajir Province

The voice for a separate province for Muhajirs in Paksitan for the first time came openly by Altaf Hussain while addressing from London on telephone on February 18, 1994, he said:

> "We scarified two million people to achieve Pakistan, not to see our children killed and elders humiliated by law enforcing agencies. The state repression has resulted shifts in our strategy. From the early plate of Socio-economic grievances, MQM has switched to calling for greater administrative autonomy for Karachi and demanding a separate Muhajir Province with in Sindh (The Journal of the International Institute, Vol. 4, Issue 1, Fall 1996).[1]

The Muhajir Rabita council orchestrated a series of protests advocating for the partition of Sindh in favour of establishing a separate province for the Muhajir community. Additionally, a projected map outlining the envisioned territorial boundaries was made publicly available. The map encompasses significant districts in the lower Sindh region, namely Karachi, Hyderabad, Thatta, and Mir Pur Khas. According to an article published in The Express Tribune on May 26, 2012, these districts serve as the primary drivers of economic growth in the province of Sindh. During the session of the Sindh Assembly on Friday, October 24, 2014, the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) introduced the topic of the Muhajir province for the first time. This occurred when their Member of Provincial Assembly (MPA), Kamran Akthar, addressed the assembly. According to the speaker, there is a perception of discrimination across several sectors by the government, which is predominantly influenced by the Sindhi community. Muhajirs are experiencing marginalisation in relation to employment opportunities within the government sector, the allocation of resources for development initiatives, and the admissions processes of public universities and colleges. The proposition for the establishment of an autonomous Muhajir province has been put out (The Express Tribune, 2014, October 25). In response to the

[1] *(The Battle Field of Karachi Ethnicity, Violence and the state (By Vazira Fazila Yacoobli)(http://htt.handli.net12027/Spo.47520978004,608*

aforementioned comment, Sharjeel Memon, the Information Minister of Sindh, emphasised the importance of refraining from engaging in hate speech within this context, since the government holds definitive perspectives regarding the establishment of a new province. According to an article published in The Express Tribune on October 25, 2014, it is stated that it is not possible for anyone to leave the province of Sindh.

The Sindhi Separatists Elements

1. Jeay Sindh Tahreek by G. M. Sayed

Jeay Sindh Tahreek was established by Ghulam Murtaza Sayed, who is commonly referred to as G. M. Sayed. The party in question was a nationalist and secessionist political organisation that actively campaigned for the attainment of independence for the region of Sindh, referred to as "Sindhu Desh". G. M. Sayed's birth took place on January 17, 1904, in Saan, Dadu, Sindh. He commenced his political career at the age of 14 and actively engaged in the Khilafat movement of 1919. He played a pivotal part in the Pakistan movement. He maintained his membership in the All India National Congress and subsequently relinquished it to align with the All India Muslim League. In 1936, he participated in electoral contests and subsequently secured a seat in the Sindh Assembly as a member of the Ittehad Party. Subsequently, he assumed the presidency of the Sindh Muslim League on March 03, 1943, and diligently endeavoured to establish its organisational structure within the region of Sindh. In the context of the 1946 elections, a divergence emerged between him with the central leadership of the Muslim League. After his departure, he established the Sindh Progressive Muslim League (SPML) and achieved success by securing four seats at the January 1946 elections. In the December 1946 elections, the individual in question experienced electoral defeat. However, they subsequently contested the election outcome by legal means by challenging the results in the Election Tribunal. Ultimately, in 1949, the Election Tribunal proclaimed them as the successful candidate.

G. M. Sayed expressed his opposition to the division of Karachi from the province of Sindh and the establishment of the One Unit policy in West Pakistan, leading him to establish the Anti One Unit Front. G. M. Sayed participated in the electoral process of 1970 as a candidate for the Sindh Mutahida Mahaz party. However, he faced loss in the polls. According to Sayed (1993), it was acknowledged that the nationalist party failed to secure any seats in the 1970 general elections as a result of the government's policies (p. 252). On March 31, 1973, G. M. Sayed articulated the need for the independence of Sindh, referring to it as Sindhu Desh. The members of Jeay Sindh Tahreek vocalised the rallying cry of 'TunhanjoDeshMuhanjoDesh Sindhu Desh Sindhu Desh' (The nation belonging to you and me is Sindhu Desh). The argument put up in favour of this proposition was that if the Bengali majority was unable to secure its rights, it would be far more challenging for the Sindhi population to do so.

Tahir Amin has described in these words:

> “As the centre adopted repressive measures towards this faction of the movement, it turned secessionist and began openly working for independent state of Sindhu Desh on pattern of Bangladesh” (Amin, 1993, p. 144).

Ghulam Murtaza Sayed's demand for independence of Sindh could not attract popular support of Sindhi masses because the measures taken by Bhutto reduced the grievances of Sindhis. The Sindhi people took the benefits and rejected Sayed's policy. Sindhis were given opportunities and were appointed in government and private sector. They were facilitated in industries and business and Sindhi feudals entered in industry as Jatoi's, Mirs and Jumani etc.After the demise of Bhutto the nationalist feelings in Sindh arose because of his execution and authoritative rule of Zia-ul-Haq. G. M. Sayed and Jaey Sindh Tahreek had opportunity to captive the nationalistic sentiments of Sindhi people as Zia-ul-Haq banned the political parties. But G. M. Sayed and his Jeay Sindh Tahreek was provided free hand in rural Sindh to continue its political activies in form of celebrating G. M. Sayed's birthday, Shah Latif's Day, Jashane-e-Latif and HoushoShedi's Day every year (M. S. Korejo, 2000, p. 82). Due to Sayed's opposition to Bhutto, he favoured Zia-ul-Haq, a military dictator and Sayed had twice meeting with General Zia.

Furthermore, G. M. Sayed appointed Hamida Khuhro as the Chairperson of Jeay Sindh Tahreek, coinciding with her Brother Shah Mohammad Pasha Khuhro's role as a minister in Zia-ul-Haq's cabinet. G. M. Sayed expressed his opposition towards the campaign for Restoration of Democracy (M.R.D), characterising it as a mere power struggle and identifying it as the Pakistan Bachayo (rescue Pakistan) campaign. G. M. Sayed made an appeal to the populace of Sindh, urging them to refrain from endorsing the MRD movement. However, he experienced disillusionment when the people of Sindh did not extend their support to him and instead actively engaged in the MRD movement.

2. Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz (JSQM)

There were two primary factions operating within Jeay Sindh Tahreek, with one being headed by Dr. Hameeda Khuhro and the other by Abdul Wahid Arisar. The Arisar group garnered support from those belonging to the working and middle classes who sought to establish JST as a political party representing the interests of the whole populace. The aforementioned entity was then partitioned into two distinct factions, each under the leadership of Bashir Qureshi and Arisar, respectively. The Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz (JSQM) was established in the year 1994. Both individuals jointly served as leaders of this group for a period of five years before subsequently separating in 1999. The primary distinction between the two individuals lay in Arisar's pronounced affinity for the Muhajirs, a community of Urdu-speaking settlers.

JSQM led by Bashir Qureshi became popular in Sindh among different factions of Jeay Sindh. Bashir Ahmed Qureshi belonged to Nauderodistrict Larkana. During his student life, he joined Jeay Sind Student Federation (JSSF) in 1976 at Sindh Agriculture University in Tando Jam and later elected President of JSSF in 1980 and in 1982, elected as central vice president of JSSF and in 1986 elected as Central President of JSSF. In 1995, JSQM was formed when he was in jail and was elected its Deputy Convener. He was elected it Secretary General in 1996 and finally Chairman of JSQM in 1998. He was awarded "G. M. Sayed National Award" in 1997. He remained in jail about 7 years for his struggle and nationalist movement. His major political contribution was Freedom Rally in Karachi in March 23, 2012, in which hundreds of thousands people participated. He disowned the 1940 Resolution and argued that creation of Sindhu Desh and elminiation of Pakistan was in the best interests of humanity and global peace.

By extensively traversing the region of Sindh, he gained a comprehensive understanding of its political landscape. The individual in question effectively orchestrated extensive public gatherings, lengthy processions, and demonstrations, ultimately achieving the successful mobilisation of a significant segment of the Sindhi community. He endeavoured to relocate the focal point of nationalist politics from Hyderabad to Karachi. However, the group's strength and the nationalist movement were significantly weakened following the enigmatic demise of its leader on April 7, 2012, and subsequently, the passing of his brother and successor, Maqsood Qureshi.The current leadership of this section of JSQM is headed by Sanaan, the son of Bashir Qureshi. The individual in question exhibits a very youthful age and a dearth of political experience, so indicating a deficiency in formal political education and training.

The resurgence of Sindhi separatism has its genesis till the perception that non-Sindhi ethnic groups, dominance as Urdu-speaking Muhajirs in key areas of Sindh including Karachi, non recognition of Sindhi language at provincial level, huge migration of non-Sindhis into Sindh, Punjabi dominance in military, increasing Taliban migrants to Sindh. The resurgence of Sindhu Desh Liberation Army (SDLA) started in 2010; it bombed several railway tracks in Hyderabad, Sukher and Nawabshah. It attacked on National Bank of Pakistan (NBP) in different districts of Sindh. The occurrence of violence and terrorist actions perpetrated by separatist nationalists is characterised by low-intensity bomb explosions and targeted killings in the regions of interior Sindh and Karachi. The majority of these attacks have been perpetrated by proscribed separatist organisations, namely the Sindhu Desh Liberation Army (SLDA) or the Sindh Liberation Army.The SDLA is the armed wing of JeaySindh Mahaz or United Sindh Front, a faction of Jeay Sindh Movement founded by G. M. Sayed. It appealed through pamphlets and messages to Sindhi people to take up arms and join movement. The SDLA says that Sindhi Separatists must get the same worldwide recognition as the separatists in Baluchistan, and asks people to stand up against the government, army and ISI.

The major force behind all attacks by SDLA is ShafiBurfat, fugitive chief of JSMM. Burfat is carrying head bounty ofRs. 0.5 Million, Burfat and most wanted terrorist, being sought by criminal investigation department CID of Sindh. It is reported that Burfat is based in Kabul, Afghanistan and has established his control Centre there with help of Indian Intelligence Agency RAW.

3. Jeay Sindh QaumiMahaz (JSQM) Arisar Group

Jeay Sindh Quami Mahaz (Arisar Group) is a separatist Sindhi nationalist group struggling for freedom of Sindh. Abdul Wahid Arisar is the head of this group. He remained Chairman of JSQM during 1990's. Jeay Sindh Movement (JSM splitted after the death of G.M Sayed in 1995), Arisar along with Gul Muhammad Jakhrani, Bashir Khan Qureshi and Shafi Burfat founded Jeay Sind Quami Mahaz in 1996. After the differences with JSQM Chief Bashir Qureshi, Arisar made his separate faction in 2006 (Dawn, March 4, 2015).Abdul Wahid Arisar, belongs to Unnarabad near Chhor Taluka of UmerKot, bordering India. He is a renowned scholar; writer and researcher, born on 11 October 1949, in a village in India and later his parents migrated to Paksitan. He got education from Madrassah, graduated from Oriental College Hyderabad in 1968 as maulvi, and appointed as Khateeb at Hanifia Mosque, on Doman Wah Road, Memon Mohallah, Hyderabad (The Express Tribune, 2015, May 3).Arisar was much

impressed by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and always quote him in his speeches. Impressed by philosophy and views of G. M. Sayed, he joined Jeay Sindh Mahaz in 1972 (Dawn, 2015, May 4).

Arisar Spread the nationalist movement from educational institutions of Sindh to the streets of the cities and villages of Sindh by his speeches and broaden the political base of JSQM along with Abdul KhaliqueJunejo.Arisar, as a nationalist leader, remained in Jail about five years during different times. He was first imprisoned in April 1975 and remained in Mir Pur Khas Jail for three months and again from April 1976 to September 1977. He was again arrested in August 1978 in reaction to his speech in favor of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman in Sindh University and remained in jail for three years and lastly he remained in jail from October 1992 to 1993. (Express Tribune, 2015, May 3) After his death – Aslam Khair Puri is his successor as the Chairman of JSQM. (Arisar Group).

4. Jeay Sindh MuttahidaMahaz (JSMM)

The Jeay Sindh Muttahida Mahaz (JSMM) is a faction comprised of Sindhi nationalists advocating for the separation of Sindh from Pakistan. The group subscribes to the ideology of armed resistance as a means to achieve their objectives. Despite its relatively low popularity among the Sindhi population, this particular phenomenon has managed to extend its influence to many universities in the Sindh region. The Home Ministry of the Government of Pakistan branded JSMM a terrorist outfit in 2013, resulting in its subsequent prohibition. It is implicated in many terrorist activities, including bomb explosions and acts of violence in several regions of Sindh. The media has documented instances of young activists going missing and subsequently their disfigured remains being discovered in abandoned locations (Dawn, December 4, 2014). Shafi Burfat, the current leader of JSMM, previously held a prominent position inside the Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party. However, in the year 2000, he decided to separate from Dr. Qadir Magsi and establish JSMM. This decision was primarily motivated by Magsi's more moderate approach and his emphasis on parliamentary politics in the Sindh region. Shafi Burfat is a member of the Burfat tribe hailing from Jangara Bajara, a mountainous region in close proximity to Sehwan Sharif.JSSM was formed in Nov. 2000 at Saan, (home town of G. M. Sayed) in a Jeay Sindh workers conference under leadership of ShafiBurfat and other nationalists leaders Samiullah Kalhoro, Muzaffer Bhutto, Shah Malluah and Hafeez Sindhi, Ideology of the JSMM.JSMM regards G. M. Sayed as ideal and role model for movement for freedom of Sindh. It does not believe in the parliamentary way of struggle but it strongly believes in armed struggle as the most effective way to get freedom. It favours all forms of anti-state movements for freedom. It fully supports the political and armed struggle of SinduDesh Liberation and justifies the anti-state attacks and terrorists activities to compel the state for freedom.

Political Wings

JSMM has different political wings working and active in rural Sindh as under:

1. Jeay Sindh Student Federation (JSSF)
2. Jeay Sindh Latif Sangat as Youth Wing
3. Jeay Sindh Naari Tahreek as Ladies Wing

4. Jeay Sindh PorhiyatMahaz as Labor Wing

Issues and Basis of Struggle of JSMM

The JSMM asserts its position on the exploitation of natural and mineral resources in the province of Sindh, simultaneously expressing strong disapproval of such practises. According to a source (Dawn, 2012, December 27), it is said that the lack of intervention from feudal Lords has resulted in the exploitation and depletion of Punjab's resources. The author suggests that natural resources such as rivers, seas, forests, oil, gas, and coal are valuable deposits that should be preserved for future generations. Furthermore, the JSMM strongly expresses its opposition towards the unauthorised movement of individuals to the province of Sindh from other regions within the country, as well as from outside nations. According to a report published in Dawn on February 10, 2009, it is argued that individuals who migrated to Sindh after 1954 have assumed complete control and power over the region's resources. Furthermore, it is claimed that these migrants are gradually reducing the indigenous people to a minority status. Furthermore, the JSMM expressed significant opposition against the Kala Bagh Dam and the Greater Thal Canal, as reported in Dawn on September 20, 2004. According to a report by Dawn (2001, April 9), the responsibility for the water problem is attributed on Punjab, as it rejected the 1991 water deal. Furthermore, it has insisted that Sindh receive water in accordance with the 1995 accord.

It is supporting that JSMM believes in armed struggle for freedom of Sindh and involved in terrorists attacks and bomb explosions but it has strongly condemned the attacks on NATO convoys and staged protest against these attacks and even had protested against terrorists attacks in Europe. It has paid tribute to 9/11 victims across Sindh on 9/11, 2012 (Daily AwamiAwaz, Sep 12, 2012).

5. Jeay Sindh Tahreek (Dr. Safdar Sairki Group)

The Jeay Sindh Tahreek saw a fragmentation into multiple factions subsequent to the demise of its founder, G. M. Sayed, in 1995. One of the factions within the organisation is led by Dr. Safdar Sarki. He is a physician of Pakistani-American descent who holds American citizenship and is actively involved in the Sindhi nationalist movement. Dr. Sarki obtained his medical degree from a university in Pakistan before immigrating to the United States and then acquiring American citizenship. In 2006, the individual in question embarked on a journey and subsequently encountered apprehension by the Security forces of Pakistan. Following a legal process, the Supreme Court of Pakistan issued an order mandating the leaders of Pakistan's military intelligence to either present the individual or ensure their personal appearance in court. Consequently, the individual was released on May 2, 2008.JST Safdar Sarki group does not believe in parliamentary politics as per following the policy of G. M. Sayed. He believes in freedom of Sindh and demands the referendum for separation of Sindh from Pakistan.

6. Jeay Sindh Tahreek (ShafiKarnani Group)

ShafiKarnani was the founding member of Jeay Sindh Tahreek. Jeay Sindh Tahreek splitted into many groups even during the life of G. M. Sayed, the founding father of this movement, but after his death Jeay Sindh Tahreek divided further into more factions using the same flag, and slogans

and G. M. Sayed their leader. Some of its factions started armed struggle and it became violent like ShafiBurfat and Safdar Sarki Group. While ShafiKarnani holds his own group not involved in armed struggle but supported other violent Sindhi nationalists. ShafiKarnani has been shot dead by unknown target killers on his way back to home in Thatta on April 07, 2016 (The Nations, 2016, April 08).

Conclusion

It is an established historical truth that the nationalist phenomena predate the foundation of Pakistan, as evidenced by the existence of the Hur movement, which emerged as the foremost nationalist movement against British authority in the Indian subcontinent. Another political movement advocating for the secession of Sindh was from the Bombay presidency. The drive to reduce the influence of the Hindu Trader community was spearheaded by the Sindhi Muslim feudals, despite the fact that there were some Hindus who supported the movement for the secession of Sindh from Bombay. Despite this, the provincial political parties continued to exert their influence over the politics of Sindh.In the year 1943, the Sindh Assembly achieved the distinction of being the initial legislative body to adopt a resolution endorsing the establishment of an independent state known as Pakistan.

The Sindh Assembly overwhelmingly voted to accede to Pakistan with ambition of true federation and provincial autonomy, keeping its separate identity. However, immediately after the inception of Pakistan, Sindhis felt that they were being exploited politically and economically. This exploitation led to the emergence and development of nationalist sentiments in Sindh. The nationalist elements appeared on the political scene due to many factors. The Sindhis perceived that non-Sindhis in the province were over-dominating as compared to indigenous population, both in numbers and occupation of economic resources in shape of settlement of refugees.The situation was further aggravated with the unification of West Pakistan which eroded the separate identity of Sindh province was eroded. It was the grave violation of Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940. It was also against the “Objective Resolution” of 1949 as the foundation of future constitution of Pakistan, was to be placing on the principles of federalism. The purpose of this One Unit was to undo the majority of East Pakistan, which constituted 55 percent of total population and this was eventuated with the efforts of ruling elite of Punjab and the military establishment. The Punjabis and Muhajirs had domineering role in decision making through their occupation of civil and military bureaucracy. This total dominance and control of Punjabis with muhajirs and their nexus in administration of the country continued till 1970, where Sindhis had no voice.They were discriminated in every field and department. This factor further instigated the nationalist element in the politics of Sindh.

These apprehensions and nationalist feelings were pacified in Sindh when Zulifqar Ali Bhutto became the prime minister of Pakistan, the ever first Sindhi person in power since 1947. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto facilitated the Sindhis in promotion of Sindhi culture, recognition of Sindhi as official language, development of infrastructure and specially the provision of quota in jobs and services for the rural Sindhis.During this period,political changed with separatist movement of Sindh demanded “Sindhu-Desh” and this slogan was raised by the father of Sindhi nationalism, G. M. Sayed. Sayed’s demand for independence of Sindh could not attract the popular support of Sindhi masses because the policies adopted by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto reduced Sindhisgrievances.

The Sindhi people availed the benefits during Bhutto's period and rejected G. M. Sayed's thought of separation of Sindh.

In consequence of military coup, Bhutto was ousted from power and later was hanged.It inflicted a great shock and setback to the Sindhi people. The majority of the Sindhis considered that Bhutto was executed because of his nationality of Sindh. In reaction of oppressive and brutal measures of General Zia-ul-Haq and his military regime a Movement for Resotration of Democracy (MRD) was started. This movement was vibrant in Sindh, but got a very pathetic response from Punjab that contributed in strengthening the nationalist feelings in Sindh. The Sindhis feelings against the Punjabi dominated ruling elite and army further strengthened and Sindhi nationalist groups made this movement a revolutionary movement. The politics of nationalism and efforts for real provincial autonomy became more popular and vehement during the decade of 1980 and continued during 1990's. The nationalist parties were re-organized in Sindh and some new small nationalist groups emerged and started separatist movement.The separatist groups followed G.M. Sayed's philosophy and started movement for separation of Sindh from Pakistan.After the deaeth of G.M. Sayed, the separatist groups splitted and continued their strugge under the leadership of different separatist persons i.e.Jeay Sindh QaumiMahaz (JSQM), Jeay Sindh QaumiMahaz (Arisar Group), Jeay Sindh MutahidaMahaz (JSMM), Jeay Sindh Tahreek (JST), Dr. Safdar Sarki Group and Jeay Sindh Tahreek (JST), ShafiKarnani Group. Although these separatist groups continued their separatist movement by starting militant activities and farming different wings. Consequently, theses separatist groups and their separatist movement failed in resultant of measures taken by the State and significantly poor support and response by the masses of Sindh.

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