

---

**NON-VIOLENCE, THEORY AND PRACTICE: THE IMPACTS OF  
PRINCIPLED NON-VIOLENCE ON KARACHI MOVEMENT (1947-1948)**

***Muhammad Aslam***

*Lecturer (Pakistan Studies) Government Degree College Shahdadkot and PhD  
Scholar, National Institute of Pakistan Studies Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad*

***Muhammad Hassan, PhD***

*Senior Research Fellow National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research,  
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad*

**ABSTRACT**

*The resistance to save Sindh from division had begun in 1947, when the newly founded federal government of Pakistan had declared to include Karachi, the mega city of the province into federal territory. It was also announced that Karachi would be given the status of capital of the country. Moreover, the capital of Sindh province would be shifted to Hyderabad, the second largest city of the province. On this decision, the people of Sindh outraged and considered it injustice and reacted non-violently against the decision. Gandhi called this public reaction on perceived un-justice as principled non-violence (Satyagraha). In this research paper, it is to see how principled non-violence influenced the movement leaders. Apart from this, the people of the province stood against the division of Sindh. They also declared to launch a peaceful resistance for the annulment of the government's decision which was perceived as a Sindhi ethnic struggle in Pakistan. There is dearth of academic research on this subject as no scholar has connected theory and practice of non-violence with peaceful resistance to save the status of Karachi.*

*This paper attempts to analyze Karachi Movement as non-violent action in the light of principled non-violence. The paper contributes a different approach to the knowledge regarding association of Satyagraha and Karachi Movement. As, the peace and non-violence theories are gaining much attention in the world. Thus, it is significant to investigate the first non-violent struggle of Pakistan.*

---

**Keywords:** Non-violent Action, People Power, Civil Resistance, Satyagraha, Principled Non-violence, Passive Resistance and Karachi Movement

**INTRODUCTION**

Non-violence is a peaceful method used to gain objectives of struggles without harming opponents. The leaders use methods of non-violence to increase public support for their movements without destruction (Case 1923:1-3). Gene Sharp has analyzed many cases of

non-violent movements and estimated the exercise of non-violence in distinct ways. The theorist has introduced one-hundred ninety-eight techniques of non-violence which covers protest and persuasion, economic non-co-operation (boycotts and strikes), political non-co-operation and unarmed intervention (Sharp, 1973:136). Protest and persuasion include protesting songs, rallies, public speeches, slogans, banners, posters, leaflets, books, pamphlets, political mourning, social disobedience, student strike, total person non-co-operation, protest emigration *hijrat* (migration) (Sharp, 1980).

#### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In the year 1947, the federal government of Pakistan declared to separate the mega city Karachi from Sindh province. It also decided to fuse Karachi into central territory (Wynbrandt, 2009:162). The provincial leaders and activists such as Hydar Bukhsh Jatoy, Ghulam Murtaza Sayed (G.M Sayed), Jamal-u-Din Bukhari, Abdul Wahid Soomro, Sobho Giyanchandani, Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Pir Ilahi Bux Soomro, Hashim Gazdar and workers of Hari Movement (Farmer Movement) considered the declaration of the government as unjust (Weekly Hari Haqdar, 1947). Moulavi Azizullah active member of Hari Committee called for hunger strike at Koto Moto Chowk Shahdadkot (The city situated in the north Sindh which connects Sindh with Baluchistan). In the leadership of Sayed Shah Muhammad Amroti and Moulavi Taj Muhammad, a procession was organized at Locus Park Sukkar in the last week of December 1947. After procession, they also went on hunger strikes (Nizamani, 1947:3). There were protests and rallies in all over Sindh province. (Solangi, 2007:30-3). Consequently, they outraged on the perceived injustice and opposed the separation of Karachi from Sindh province (Chandio, 2009). This public outrage, reaction and opposition on perceived injustice have been called by David Hess and Brian Martin as backfire an approach to pragmatic non-violence (Martin, 2006).

#### **THE AIMS OF OBJECTIVES OF SAVE KARACHI MOVEMENT**

1. To oppose the division of Sindh province.
2. To condemn the negation of provincial autonomy as mentioned in Pakistan Resolution (Khuhro, 1998:610).
3. The main demand was the withdrawal of decision of central government regarding separation of Karachi from Sindh province.
4. To save the territorial integrity of Sindh province (Solangi, 2007:39).

The main stream leadership of the movement such as G.M. Sayed, Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Sobho Giyanchandani, Hyder Bukhsh Jatoi strongly condemned the occupation on 566,81 square kilometers land of Karachi by the central government. The provincial government also recorded protest against the central government's occupation on provincial land which was considered as the negation of Pakistan Resolution (Khuhro, 1998:611-13). Sindh government strongly condemned the separation of the mega city of the province. Aside from this, the federal cabinet neither consulted nor tried to satisfy the second largest province of Pakistan (Jarwar, 1948). The Muslim League Sindh branch did also not accept the scheme. It not only protested but also demanded the cancellation of central government's scheme immediately (Sayed, 1964). Despite strong opposition, the central cabinet was determined to implement the scheme at any cost. Consequently, protests, rallies, demonstrations and processions in many cities of Sindh (Sukkur, Shahdadt, Larkana, Kamber, Jacobabad, Rato Dero, Dadu, Moro and Naseerabad) were announced by the political leadership of the province (Bhatti, 1991).

Clarence M. Case introduced two fundamental approaches of non-violence: persuasion and coercion. Persuasion is a method of non-violence which tries to motivate rivals by arguing and coercion (Case, 1923:1-5). Richard B. Gregg, the follower of principled non-violence preferred non-violence as alternative to violence (Gregg, 1966:56). Gene Sharp introduced 198 tactics of non-violence such as protests, demonstrations, strikes, hunger strikes, processions, rallies, marches and conferences etc. According to him, if movement activists use a few tactics that movement may be called as non-violent action in terms of tactics of non-violence theory (Sharp, 1973:509-13).

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the founder of Satyagraha (principled non-violence) explains that non-violence is effective than violence to win the hardest hearts of opponents. It can also change the strict behavior of rulers about non-violent activists and discourage the use of violence (Gandhi, 1916:361). In simple words, non-violence does not allow the use of violence in difficult conditions. *Ahimsa or* non-violence always discourages the use of violence against opponents. Both the terms are opposite to violence. Therefore, Gandhi called *Ahimsa or* non-violence as the similar sides of one coin (Gandhi, 1929:137-50). Joan V. Bondurant places analysis on

Gandhi's concept of Satyagraha or *Ahimsa* means the rejection to hurt adversaries (Bondurant, 1965:23-24).

According to Mahatma Gandhi to tolerate on violence physically without responding violently against opponents is not easy task for a common human being. However, non-violent activist is bestowed by God with such spiritual power to bear the violence of opponents (Gandhi, 1970). The followers of principled non-violence such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King Junior had favored the use of non-violence on ethical and religious grounds. However, Richard B. Gregg preferred non-violence on moral and psychological grounds (Richards, 1991:50-55). Therefore, principled non-violence is considered idealistic in nature and it is beyond the realism. Despite absence of realism, Gandhian approach to non-violence enriched the theory of non-violence and it provided basic idea to the practitioners of non-violence in the world. Resultantly, the practice of non-violence increased in the movements of world (Dalton, 1993).

#### **LITERATURE OF REVIEW**

Two types of literature have been included in this research paper. In the first type of literature, a few eminent books on the theory and practice of non-violent action haven been discussed. The second category of literature covers specific literature on Karachi Movement. The movement was restricted at provincial level thus no vast literature on the subject has been produced at provincial level. A few vernacular works are available and have briefly discussed Karachi Movement from ethno-nationalist perspective. This research paper connects theoretical literature with Karachi Movement to broaden its domain.

The work of Gandhi (1929) in his *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* is a theoretical building approach which has developed the idea of *Ahimsa/ Satyagraha* (non-violence). Gandhi (1916) in his book *Non-violent Resistance (Satyagraha)* has simplified the concept of *Satyagraha* which supported the existence of truth. According to his principled tradition of non-violence, there is strong connection of truth and non-violence and every evil takes in society due to negation of truth (Gandhi, (1916).

Richard Gregg (1966) was highly inspired by Gandhian approach towards non-violence. He examined the approach of Gandhi and then developed the concept of moral jiu-jitsu in his book *The Power of*

*Non-violence*. Gregg has covered unarmed movements of the world and tested his concept. Moreover, the theorist has also discussed the practice of non-violence in the movements of the world and tried to place principled non-violence perspective (Gregg, 1966).

David Hardiman's (2004) work *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas* is a comprehensive source on principled non-violence which connects theory and practice of non-violence in Gandhi's movements in India and South Africa. The author has discussed the practice of principled non-violence used by Petra Kelly, Jaya Parkash, Luther Martin King Junior and Nelson Mandela. They were highly influenced by Gandhian concept of non-violence. They had also practiced principled non-violence in their own movements. The Civil Rights Movement of America led by King in an inspirational example in this regard (2004).

Adeeb Inqulabi's (1982) *Jeay Sindh Students Federation Jee Dah Saala Taarekh Tay Sarsari Nazar* is mainly focused on the role of Sindh students in different provincial movements which took place on perceived injustice. Kazi (1996) *G. M. Sayed Jedojehed Aen Nationalism*, Mari (2004) *Qaumi Tahreek Jo Mukhtasar Taaruf*, and Suleman Kazi (2000) *Sobai Khudmukhtiary Ain Markzi Siasat*, provide comprehensive analysis of the events. Murtaza (1989) *Naen Sindh Lai Jedojehed* and Murtaza (1964) *Azadi Chho Ain Cha Lai* provide comprehensive knowledge on the regional movements of Sindh province. However, the authors of above-mentioned book have seen Karachi Movement as nationalist movements.

Sarah Ansari's (2005) *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh 1947-1962* is mainly focused on the settlement of migrants in the capital of Sindh province after the partition of sub-continent in 1947. The book deals with events regarding the issue of separation of Karachi and accommodation of outsider population in the province in post-partition era. However, book does not cover the Save Karachi Movement. It does also not discuss the tactics of non-violence that were used in Save Karachi Movement activists (2005).

Bhatti (1991) in his work *Sindhian Te Zulum Keesaitan*, has placed critical analysis on the state repressive policies against the activists of the Karachi Movement and Anti-One Unit Movement. He has also covered the nationalist aspects of regional movements of the

province. Bhatti argues that authoritarian policies of unconstitutional governments of military dictators gave birth to Sindhi ethno-nationalism in Pakistan.

#### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research paper is based on secondary and vernacular sources to analyze the movement. Qualitative research approach has been utilized to critically assess the Karachi Movement as it does not measure the successes and failures of Movement. However, the research paper has attempted to build a vast understanding of theory and practice of principled non-violence in case of the Movement. The sources and relevant material on the subject are based on the secondary and vernacular sources. The sources from local press such as old newspapers, magazines and books written in local language have been abundantly utilized in the investigation.

In Philippine struggle for democracy, the term ‘People Power’ was used for non-violent action. People Power movement began in 1983 which toppled dictator Ferdinand Marcos from the office of President in the year 1986. The success of the movement against dictatorship in Philippine developed the alternative term for non-violent action (Schock, 2005:56). Like non-violent action, people power needs more public participation to challenge a power or authority (Martin, 2015:20). The authors such as Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash proposed the people power as a suitable term for non-violent action (Roberts and Garton Ash, 2009:1-3). It also includes many techniques such as peaceful protest, strikes, processions and unarmed rallies which are usually used to increase pressure on governments and challenge the unconstitutional policies without killings as well as beatings.

Kurt Schock has considered ‘Civil Resistance’ as another alternative term for non-violent action. However, there are a few differences between civil resistance and non-violent action. In non-violent action, activists use methods of non-violent action to pressurize regime whereas in civil resistance, government use violence while civilians combat peacefully. They do not respond violently (Schock, 2005:56). Apart from this, civil resistance does not include the conditions in which civilian activists react with outrage and start struggle against government as non-violent action, activists react with

anger on perceived unjust and begin movement against a power. Despite differences in both the terms, Brian Martin a pragmatic non-violence political thinker has proposed civil resistance as the alternative for non-violent action (Martin, 2013:201-230). Steven Duncan Huxley explains that it was 1900s era when non-violent action was considered as passive resistance whereas non-violent action is not passive in nature (Huxley, 1990:37). Unlike passive resistance, non-violent action was active in nature and did not need passivity thus the term passive resistance led Gandhi to develop local term 'Satyagraha' in his Indian Freedom Movement (Martin, 2013).

Non-violence was misunderstood and connected with passive resistance and conventional political action. However, non-violence covers active action and it does not cover passivity. Thus, there is huge difference between non-violent action and passive resistance. Moreover, non-violent action needs unarmed active action whereas passive resistance relies on passivity (Hess and Martin, 2006). In simple words, non-violence does not harm rivals and it also does not destroy the properties of opponents. However, violence brings changes with destruction and killings (Burrowes, 1996:78-80). Thus, violence and non-violence are opposite in nature and terms and tactics. The principled and pragmatic non-violent political thinkers like Gregg, Gandhi, King, Sharp and Martin have constructed different paradigms which indicate visible differences among non-violence, passive resistance, violence, and conventional political action. Their theoretical approaches have developed a clear picture of non-violent action.

Non-violence research includes peaceful resistances/people power movements/civil resistances/non-violent actions, the tactical analysis, nature criteria, standards and parameters of such struggles (Martin, 2005). Gandhi's and Sharp's approach towards non-violence has enriched this uncovered domain of non-violence theory. The practice of non-violence used by Gandhi and King in their own struggles remained an inspirational example for the international non-violent activists (Huxley, 1990). In Pakistan, the movement leaders of Karachi Movement, Anti-One Unit Struggle, Movement for Restoration of Democracy and Lawyers Movement followed non-violence to gain the aims and objectives of their struggles. Apart from this, the activists of Philippine People Power Movement and Pro-

Democracy Movement in Burma also used non-violent to succeed their struggle against dictatorship in their countries.

#### **GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF SATYAGRAHA**

Father of principled non-violence, Gandhi introduced regional word Satyagraha for his unarmed struggle. The term is combination of two words Sat and Agraaha which stands for truth and firmness (Gandhi, 1916). Later, the term transformed to Satyagraha which stands for movement or struggle in Gujrati language (Gandhi, 1929). In fact, non-violent action is the translation of Sanskriti word Ahimsa which stands for love and charity (Ramchiary, 2013). Gandhi said that Satya stands for the existence of truth. His approach towards non-violence suggests that peace as well as truth is interrelated. According to principled non-violence there is no difference between non-violence and truth (Dalton, 1993). Gandhi used Satya or truth as well as Ahimsa or non-violence as basic tools to broaden his philosophy of Satyagraha (Gandhi, 1970).

Gandhi believes that the followers of Satyagraha need the tool of tolerance. Non-violent activists should give up anger and hate against his rivals (Gandhi, 1929). A Satyagrahi (the follower of Satyagraha) responds positively on the actions of rivals with peaceful manners. He never leaves the element of patience and tolerance when he is assaulted during a movement. Satyagraha gives the message of self-determination and stand for the quest of truth and opposes injustice peacefully. According to Gandhi's concept, hard hearted human has a soul and sense of thinking for his opponents which compels him to think positively for fellow humans (Gandhi, 1916). In a same context, Parekh also supports the connection of Satyagraha with soul. Moreover, he proposes that interrelation of Satyagraha with soul usually stimulates soul-force (Parekh, 1997).

Satyagraha opposes the use of violence against opponents. It aims to bring change peacefully and it is a dialectical quest for truth (Richards, 1991). The major objective of Gandhi concept of Satyagraha is to change the heart and soul of opponent with the power of love and moderate persuasion. A Satyagrahi believes that human is never corrupt and evil but he thinks about the corruption of systems and also points out the difference between system and humans. Moreover, Satyagrahi opposes evil systems, not humans, because he believes that human's heart and soul can be changed with love and



tolerance. Non-violence can change the vision of wrong doer (Kumar, 1948).

Gandhi was of aware of the weakness of an appeal to reason alone as a way of exciting a man's sense of justice. It is by tolerant persuasive reasoning together with self-suffering that Satyagarhi must take efforts to change the heart of his opponent or wrong doer and open his eyes to the truth (Gandhi, 1929:135). The political philosophy of Gandhi also includes religious quest which rests on the concept that there is one God behind everything and being, and as such the same God exists in every one of us (Luther, 1958). Gandhi was dedicated and devoted to non-violence on ethical grounds; a tactic in the modern history of unarmed struggles is currently known as principled tradition of non-violence (Bondurant, 1965). Beyond idealistic approaches to non-violence, activists and leaders generally use the tactics of non-violence for social and political change.

#### **THE PRINCIPLED TRADITION OF NON-VIOLENCE**

Gandhi's concept of non-violence covers principled tradition of non-violence whereas Gene Sharp's non-violence covers the pragmatic non-violence. Principled non-violence is far from realism; however, pragmatic non-violence is realistic approach in nature and characteristics (Dalton, 1993). The followers of principled non-violence believe that it is wrong to use of violence in hard and difficult conditions (Sharp, 1979:133). Gandhi also prohibited the use of violence against opponents on moral grounds whereas Sharp thinks that non-violence is effective than violence to succeed the movement. Apart from this, a Satyagarhis refuse to join military services, no matter, how estimable and worthy cause it is, but their principled non-violence does not allow them to join armed forces. Satyagarhi follows non-violence willingly, carefully and sincerely because he is committed to his principles (Kumar, 1948:223).

Satyagarhi knows the importance of non-violence and he believes that violence affects the body of opponents physically, but it cannot affect the heart and soul of humans spiritually. Thus, Satyagarhi opposes the use of violence against opponents (Parekh, 1997:68). Furthermore, the use of violence forces rivals to destroy his principles and morality. Therefore, Gandhi opposed the use of violence on ethical and religious grounds and he used principled non-

violence in his struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa. He also preferred use of non-violence in Indian Freedom Movement against British government (Ackerman *et.al.*, 1994). It goes beyond the scope and significance of this research paper to cover more principled theorist and practitioners such as Richard Gregg and Luther Martin King Junior.

#### **LIMITS OF GANDHIAN THEORY**

Gandhi believed that self-suffering is effective tool of principled non-violence to win the hearts and soul of opponents. However, he knew his Satyagrahis were normal human beings with lower ability of self-suffering as well as tolerance and they were unable to bear long lasted violence of cruel rulers of the time. Nevertheless, he claimed that Satyagrahis would not leave the element of self-suffering in extremely hard condition at any cost which was contrary to the fact. Apart from this, to bear self-suffering for a long period for a common human was difficult task. Thus, Gandhi's idea of self-suffering was beyond the reality (Weber, 1997). Not only Satyagrahis but also other humans have limited parameters of patience and self-suffering, therefore, they are unable to bear the torture of cruel opponents such as foreign invaders, rulers, and dictators (Parekh, 1997:71-72).

Burrowes points out that Gandhi used same force such as economic boycott; non-payment of taxes, non-co-operation, and *hartal* (strike), none of them was signifier of spiritual power of suffering love/self-suffering alone (Burrowes, 1996). Apart from this, Gandhi's approach had double standards, on one hand he was speaking about spiritual power and self-suffering. On the other hand, he was focused on non-violent warfare and unarmed uprising to pressurize opponents for settlement (Parekh, 1997). This fact cannot be denied that, the principled non-violence Satyagraha cannot be applied in practical life (Martin, 2012). Despite non-practical claims of spiritual power and unlimited self-sufferings, he continued pressurizing his rivals to gain the aims of his struggle which was the complete negation of the principles of Satyagraha. Gandhi also explained that Satyagraha does not forcefully change the opinions of rival, but it changes the heart and soul of opponents. However, Gandhi was developing force against his opponents which indicates irrationalism in his concept (Weber, 1997).

Gandhi considered Satyagraha as more esteemed, non-wounding and never associated with anger or hatred. It is never fussy, never intolerant, and never vociferous (Richards, 1991). Despite such huge non-practical claims, Satyagraha was used as supernumerary for violence to succeed the movement and it was also used to pressurize rivals for the settlement unwillingly. However, in South African struggle and Indian Freedom Movement, Satyagraha was never used by Satyagrahis to affect the heart and soul of rivals for political change as proposed by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

In practical life, the concept of Satyagraha is full of flaws and inaccuracies and it is not solution of social and political uprising. How it is possible to attract the soul and hear of political rivals to resolve the social and political conflicts in this modern era. Principled non-violence may be applicable in a few exclusive cases where people believe in myths and they think more positively (Parekh, 1997).

#### **THE CAPITAL OF COUNTRY AND PROVINCIAL HEAD QUARTER**

The capital of country is an area or territory which has been particularized by the constitutional provisions. The legislature of the country unanimously selects the area for the capital of the country according to constitutional laws. The specified area for the capital of the country or state is considered as central headquarter of country where federal meeting places such as national assembly, senate, president house, prime minister house, headquarters of the all federal ministries and supreme court of the country are settled in the capital of country (Shahid, 2010:530). While, a province is considered as an administrative division or federating unit of the country. The word province is taken from Roman *Provincia* which was used a main regional or administrative unit of the Roman empires. These federating units had their regional possession and they were outside the Italy (Haq, 1978:293-95). In Pakistan, there are four provinces with territorial autonomy as well as possession and two autonomous units. These provinces are also called as federating units of Pakistan.

#### **NON-VIOLENT ACTION IN PAKISTAN**

In Pakistan, several non-violent actions had occurred since the birth of country in the year 1947 (Bhatti, 1991). There were well-organized, rallies, marches, demonstrations, strikes, hunger-strikes, processions, protests and strong agitations during 1947-48 on the

decision regarding division of Sindh province (Solangi, 2007:30-31). The central government had decided to separate Karachi the mega city of Pakistan from Sindh province. The people of the province perceived it as unjust and they stood against the decision of federal government (Khuhro, 1998:603-604). Apart from this, the people of Sindh province had also reacted non-violently to the One Unit Plan in the year 1954 when all the provinces of Pakistan namely Sindh, NWFP (North West Frontier Province currently known as Khyber Phakhtunkhwa), Punjab and Baluchistan were fused to form One Unit of the West Pakistan (Rizwan, 1988). The activists of the Anti-One Unit Movement used methods of non-violence to succeed the movement. However, they failed to gain fruitful outcomes for the cancellation of One Unit Plan.

Apart from this, Pakistan witnessed more non-violent actions like Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) that took place against the dictatorial government of General Ayub Khan (Talbot, 1988:117). The opposition political parties also started another unarmed movement under the umbrella of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) against Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government (Ziring, 2004:179). The activists of Karachi Movement, Anti-One Unit Movement, Pakistan Democratic Movement, Pakistan National Alliance's Movement and the MRD movement had operated peacefully to gain the aims of their movements.

There is a broad history of unarmed movements in the country, but it has not been put in perspective. Moreover, it is still absent in academia and no proper research has been conducted on the subject to highlight the issue specifically. It is largely missing in academic inquiries. This is the first academic research paper which has discussed non-violent actions of Pakistan briefly. It has also tried to explore Karachi Movement in terms of tactics of non-violence. The aim of this research paper is to draw the attention of research scholars of this domain towards the uncovered history of non-violent actions of the country.

Although, it is difficult examine principled non-violence in Karachi movement, yet an attempt is made to see how activists of Karachi Movement used non-violence to resolve their political problem.

### **NON-VIOLENT STRATEGY OF KARACHI MOVEMENT**

Sindh Progressive Muslim League called for strikes at Hyderabad and Dadu in the last week of December, 1947. Later on, they began with non-violent protests throughout the province against the separation of Karachi from Sindh province (Khuhro, 1998:615). Rasool Bakhsh Palejo along with opponents of government plan organized marches at regional level to save Sindh from division (Ali, 1962:62). Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, the Chief Minister of the federating unit was also against the separation of Karachi from Sindh province. Consequently, Khuhro was replaced from this office for not entertaining the central government's decision (Sayed, 1995). Although, Khuhro had majority in Sindh cabinet yet he was removed from office Chief Minister leading the province into sense of deprivation as well as alienation (Chandio, 2009). Resultantly, the province showed a great public participation in the protests, processions, marches and demonstration (Solangi, 2007:40).

The political parties from the Sindh province such as Sindh Progressive Muslim League and Sindh Awami Mahaz (Sindh Peoples Front) brought resolution in the provincial house which was unanimously passed on February 2, 1948 (Kazi, 1996:45). The non-violent activists of Karachi Movement used methods of non-violence to develop pressure on the government for the annulment of division of Sindh province as suggested by Gandhi and Sharp. G.M. Sayed and his followers were ready for self-sufferings as proposed by Gandhi (Kazi, 1996). Sayed along with his supporters were arrested and they faced hardships and strict measures. However, they did not answer with violence (Bhatti, 1991). Their self-suffering and tolerance did not melt the hearts and souls decision makers.

The government arrested many non-violent activists of Karachi Movement particularly active members of Hari Committee. Despite strict measures, public participation increased in the movement. Sindh Hari Committee also became the part of Karachi Movement (Kazi, 2000:54). Furthermore, the president of Sindh Hari Committee Hyder Bukhsh Jatoi, Jamal-u-Din Bukhari vice president, Abdul Qadir Muhammad Khan general secretary and Moulavi Azizullah Jarwar joint secretary organized many conferences at regional level to aware people of the province about the regional integrity (Weekly Hari Haqdar, 1948). In Ratodero, city a subdivision of Larkana District, the

mainstream leadership of the movement called for a two-day conference which finally held as Ratodero Hari Conference on May 30-31, 1948 (Solangi, 2007:36). The people from every walk of life participated in the conference where all the members unanimously passed condemnable resolution against the division of Sindh (Chandio, 2009).

#### **IMPACT OF PRINCIPLED NON-VIOLENCE ON KARACHI MOVEMENT**

A few leaders of Karachi Movement such as G. M. Sayed and Sobho Giyanchandani were the followers of principled non-violence. Like Gandhi and his Satyagrahis, they believed in self-suffering and tolerance. Therefore, they bore hardships and self-suffered to melt the hardest heart of decision makers of division of Sindh province. Among nationalists of Sindh province, G. M. Sayed was prominent political figure of the province that almost passed his whole life imprisoned. However, all his movements from Karachi Movement to the Movement for Sindhudesh (independent Sindh) failed to achieve goals. In the light of existing evidences, this research paper contributes that there were no impact of principled non-violence in Karachi Movement.

Hayder Buksh Jatio and Rasool Bukhsh Palejo were the supporters of pragmatic non-violence who believed that non-violence is effective than violence to gain public support for a movement or struggle. Therefore, they preferred to use different methods of non-violence such as, protests, processions, resolution, strikes, black day observations and Karachi day celebration for the success of Karachi Movement. The Hari Committee led by Hyder Buksh brought resolution regarding separation of Karachi from Sindh province in the alliance of the political parties of the province to unite the people on one platform (Sayed, 1989). A particular day observation is a technique of non-violent action which usually increases pressure on governments. In many cases, activists of the movements observe black day to gain public support for the success of the struggle (Sharp, 1993). Following the pragmatic tradition of non-violence, the leaders of Karachi Movement celebrated Karachi Day on July 2, 1948 (Khuhro, 1998:496).

#### **FAILURES OF KARACHI MOVEMENT**

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, the Chief Minister of Sindh province did not see eye to eye with the federal government's decision

regarding separation of Karachi from the province. Resultantly, he lost office of the Chief Minister (Khuhro, 1998). The first Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan convinced Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of the country and the federal cabinet on the issue of separation of Karachi from Sindh province (Chandio, 2009). In its effect, the Governor of General authorized Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the Governor of the province to terminate the Chief Minister Khuhro under the particular emergency powers noted in section 51(5) of the Government of Indian Act 1935 and amended by Pakistan Provisional Order 1947 (Khan, 2001:174). As a result, Karachi Movement faced failure. Eventually, Karachi was merged into federal territory and declared as the capital of Pakistan on July 23, 1948 (Solangi, 2007:36).

### **CONCLUSION**

The research paper focused on the principled non-violence which has indicated a clear connection of principled non-violence with Karachi Movement. It also concluded that there was impact of principle non-violence on the leaders of Karachi Movement. Karachi Movement began in 1947 when the central government of Pakistan declared the separation of Karachi from Sindh province. The movement was just not a simple struggle, but it had introduced a new history of the non-violent actions in Pakistan. This paper concludes that there was strong connection between theory and practice of non-violence in case of Karachi Movement. When people react non-violently to injustice this non-violent reaction has been called as Satyagraha. People of Sindh province reacted non-violently on the decision of separation of Karachi from Sindh. They perceived the decision of federal government as injustice as did Satyagrahis when British government imposed tax on salt in 1930. They responded non-violently to British government, in the same vein the people of Sindh province responded to federal government of Pakistan. Like Satyagrahis, the response of people of the province was non-violent and they used principled non-violence to convince federal government for the annulment of declaration of separation of Karachi. However, non-violent activists of Karachi Movement failed to melt the hardest heart of decision makers as Satyagrahi failed to convince British government regarding withdrawal of tax on salt.

## REFERENCES

- Ackerman, Peter and Christopher Kruegler. (1994). *Strategic Non-violent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century*. West Port, CT: Praeger.
- Ageef, V.F. (1989). *Sindh Tareekh Ke Aaine Mein (Sindh in the Mirror of History)* Karachi: Danyal Press.
- Ali, Babar. (1992). *Political Forces in Sindh: Regional Imbalance & the National Question in Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.
- Ansari, Sarah. (2005). *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh 1947-1962*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bhatti, Qammar. (1991). *Sindhian te Zulum Keesaitan (Up to what Time Oppression on Sindhis)*. Larkano: Publisher Atal Sindhi.
- Bondurant, Joan V. (1965). *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Burrowes, Robert J. (1996). *The Strategy of Non-violent Defence: A Gandhian Approach*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Case, Clarence M. (1923). *Non-violent Coercion: A study in Methods of Social Pressure*, New York: The Century Co.
- Chandio, Amir Ali. (2009). *Politics of Sindh under Zia Government an Analysis of Nationalists VS Federalists Orientation* Unpublished PhD thesis. Department of Political Science and International Relations, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan.
- Curry, Sue Jansen and Brian Martin. (2003). Making Censorship Backfire. *Counterpoise*, Vol.7, No.3: 5-15.
- Dalton, Dennis. (1993). *Mahatma Gandhi: Non-violent Action in Power*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gandhi, M. K. (1929). *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.
- Gandhi, Mahatma. (1916). *Non-violent Resistance (Satyagraha)*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand. (1970). *Essential Writings*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publication House.
- Gregg, Richard B. (1966). *The Power of Non-Violence*. New York: Schocken.
- Hess, David and Brian Martin. (2006). Repression, Backfire and the Theory of Transformative Events. *Mobilization*, Vol.11, No.1.
- Hardeman, David. (2004). *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- Hess, David Brian Martin. (2006). Repression, backfire and the theory of transformative events. *Mobilization*, Vol.11, No.1, 249-267, <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/06mobilization.html>
- Huxley, Steven Duncan. (1990). *Constitutionalist Insurgency in Finland: Finnish 'Passive Resistance' against Russification as a Case of Non-military Struggle in the European Resistance Tradition*. Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society.



- Inqulabi, Adeeb. (1982). *Jeay Sindh Students Federation Jee Dah Saala Taarekh Tay Sarsari Nazar* (Brief Analysis on the Ten-Year History of Jeay Sindh Students Federation). India: Sorth Publication.
- Jansen, Sue Curry and Brian Martin. (2004). Exposing and Opposing Censorship: Backfire Dynamic in Freedom-of-Speech, *Pacific Journalism Review*, Vol.10, No.1:29-45.
- Kazi, Azad. (1996). *G. M. Sayed Jee Jedojehed Aen Nationalism* (Struggle of G.M. Sayed and Nationalism). Karachi: G. M. Sayed Literary Society.
- Kazi, Fazal Suleman. (2000). *Sobai Khudmukhtiari Ain Markzi Siyasat* (Provincial Autonomy and Federal Politics). Karachi: Sindhi Adadbi Academy.
- Khan, Hamid. (2001). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Khuhro, Hamida. (1998). *Mohammad Ayub Khuhro: Life of Courage in Politics*. Karachi: Feroz Sons.
- Kumar, Bose Nirmal. (1948). *Selection from Gandhi*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.
- Luther Martin King Jr. (1958). *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*. New York: Harper and Brother Publishers.
- Mari, Meer Alam. (2004). *Qaumi Tahreek Jo Mukhtasar Ta'aruf* (Short Introduction of National Movement) Sanghar: The National Academy.
- Martin, Brian and Iain Murray. (2005). The Parkin Backfire, *Social Alternatives*, Vol.24, No.3:46-49:70.
- Martin, Brian Wendy Varney and Adrian Vickers. (2001). Political Jiu-Jitsu against Indonesian Repression: Studying Lower-Profile of Non-violent Resistance. *Pacific Review*, Vol.13, No.2.
- Martin, Brian. (2004). Iraq Attack Backfire, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.39, No.16:1577-1583.
- Martin, Brian. (2005). Researching Non-violent Action: Past and Future Possibilities, *Peace History Society and Justice Studies Association*, Vol.30, No.2.
- Martin, Brian. (2005). The Beating of Rodney King: The Dynamics of Backfire, *Critical Criminology*.
- Martin, Brian. (2006). Paths to Social Change: Conventional Politics, Violence and Non-violence. <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace.html> (Accessed 02/05/2017 07:55).
- Martin, Brian. (2008). How nonviolence is misrepresented. *Gandhi Marg*, Volume 30, Number 2, July-September 235-257.
- Martin, Brian. (2012). *Backfire Manual: Tactics Against Injustices*. Sweden: Irene Publishing.
- Martin, Brian. (2012). How Non-Violence Works, Essay Quoted in Charles P. and Jorgen Johansen, *Peace and Conflict Studies*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Martin, Brian. (2013). The Politics of Gene Sharp. *Gandhi Marg*, Vol.35, No.2:201-230.
- Martin, Brian. (2015). *Non-Violence Unbound*. Sweden: Irene Publishing.

- Mazhar-ul-Haq. (1978). *Modern Constitutions*. Lahore Book Land Publishers.
- Parekh, Bhikhu. (1997). *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ramchiary, Arpana. (2013). Gandhian Concept of Truth and Non-Violence. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.18, No.1.
- Richards, Glyn. (1991). *The Philosophy of Gandhi: A Study of his Basic Ideas*. United Kingdom: Curzon Press.
- Rizwan, Malik. (1988). *The Politics of One Unit 1955-1958*. Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre University of Punjab.
- Roberts, Adam and Timothy Garton Ash. (2009). *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to Present*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sayed, Ghulam Murtaza. (1964). *Azadi Chho Ain Cha Lai (Freedom Why and for What)* San: G.M. Sayed Academy.
- Sayed, Ghulam Murtaza. (1989). *Naeen Sindh Lai Jedojehed (Struggle for New Sindh)* Kandyaro: Roshni Publication.
- Sayed. Ghulam Murtaza. (1995). *The Case of Sindh*. Karachi: Naeem Sindh Academy, 1995.
- Schock, Kurt. (2005). *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Non-democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Shahid, M Imtiaz. (2010). *An Advance Study In International Relations*. Lahore: Advanced Publishers (AP).
- Sharp, Gene. (1973). *The Politics of Non-Violent Action*. Boston: Porter Sargent Publication.
- Sharp, Gene. (1979). *Gandhi as a Political Strategist: With Essays on Ethics and Politics* Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.
- Sharp, Gene. (1980). *Social Power and Politics Freedom*. Boston: P. Sargent Publishers.
- Solangi, Ashique Hussain. (2007). *Sindh Hari Committee: Tarekh aen Jedhojehd (Sindh Farmer Committee: History and Struggle)*. Larkana: Lab-i-Dariya Historical Society.
- Talbot, Ian. (1988). *Pakistan: A Modern History*. London: Hurst & Company.
- Weber, Thomas. (1993). The Marches walked forward until struck down: Non-violent suffering and conversions, *Peace and Change*, Vol.18, No.2:267-289.
- Weber, Thomas. (1997). *On the Salt March: The Historiography of Gandhi's March to Dandi*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.
- Wynbrandt, James. (2009). *A Brief History of Pakistan*, New York: Imprint of InfoBase Publishing.
- Ziring, Lawrence. (2004). *Pakistan at Cross Currents of History*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.
- Weekly and Daily News Papers**
- Jarwar, Moulavi Azizullah. (June 1, 1948). *Haftewar Hari Haqdar* (Weekly Peasant Righteous) Hyderabad.
- Hyder Bukhsh. (1953). *Azad Sindh* (Independent Sindh) Nawab Shah.