

**COMRADE HYDER BAKSH JATOI'S STITCHING ROLE
IN PAKISTAN'S PATCHED DEMOCRACY, 1947-1969**

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ABSTRACT

This article examines Pakistan's formative years' political policies and responses of the leadership. However, the focus of the article is to assess Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoui's stand on Pakistan Governments' policies and programs (1947-1969). Thus, the article is organized in two parts; section one is about Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoui's biographical sketch and his struggle. Moreover, part two is the exploration of his political pamphlets written in the English language. These pamphlets document the non-democratic steps of Pakistan Governments; spotlight Sindh Hari Committee's struggle to make Pakistan secular, democratic and true federal state. These pamphlets also unpack the federal government's policies about the land grant schemes, Indian migrants' settlement policies, snatching of Karachi city from Sindh, one-unit scheme, languages' politics and allocation of the state lands of Sukkur Barrage, Kotri Barrage and Guddu Barrage and the tenancy rights in Sindh province, Pakistan.

Keywords: Pakistan, Sindh, One Unit, Sindh Hari Committee, Martial Law, Karachi

INTRODUCTION

The long struggle of the un-divided Indian people, consequences of World War II, and the international politics compelled the British Empire to grant independence to its Indian colony. Thus, the Indian Independence Act, 1947 was enacted by the British Parliament. The Act caused the British Crown to relinquish its sovereignty over India and transferred the powers to the newly created territories – Pakistan and India. Thus, the Government of India Act, 1935, was amended to bring it at the par the purpose as laid down in the Act of 1947. In

Pakistan three Governors-General (Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Ghulam Muhammad and Iskander Ali Mirza) and four Prime Ministers (Liaquat Ali Khan, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Mohammad Ali Bogra and Chaudhry Muhammad Ali) and two constituent assemblies – 1947 to 1954, and 1955 to 1956– lingered on the constitution-making the process (Sayeed, 1959). However, in 1956 Pakistan's first constitution was announced, it was rejected at the day of its adoption, i.e., 29th February 1956. The political instability and weak democratic institutions paved the way for the martial law, which was announced by General Ayub Khan on 7th October 1958 (Jahan, 1972). He enacted the 1962 constitution through an executive order. On the other hand, political parties and their leadership was under pressure – Communist Party of Pakistan was banned in 1954, students' organization namely Democratic Students Federation was also banned in 1954, and leadership of Azad Pakistan Party and National Awami Party was also under pressure or arrested. Meanwhile, a one-unit scheme was imposed by merging Sindh, Baluchistan and NWFP and Punjab (Sayeed, 1959). The leadership of the smaller provinces was arrested. In Sindh, two prominent leaders, GM Sayed, and Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi played their role to make Pakistan federal and secular state. However, GM Sayed remained house arrested, and Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi was imprisoned due to his progressive politics.

Part-I

Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi (1st October 1901-21st May 1971) was born at village Bakhodero District Larkana, Sindh, Pakistan (Soomro, 1973). He was Theosophical (Sanai 2015) and influenced by Ingersoll's Lectures and Essays¹ and Anne Beasant's books. In 1927, he entered British's prestigious service, Revenue Department (Jatoi 1995). Later, he published an anthology of his poems *Tohfa-e-Sindh* one of the poems was *Shikwah*, where a complaint against God was made. It created pandemonium in Sindh's religious circles. In 1945, he resigned from the government service and joined the Sindh Hari Committee (Jatoi, 1995). He realized the importance of peasants'

¹ Dr. Allama Umer Bin Daudpota (25 March 1896 – 22 November 1958) a well-known Education of Sindh was the one who introduced Ingersoll's Lectures to Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi.

paper. Thus, in 1947 *Weekly Hari Haqdar* newspaper was issued from Hyderabad, Sindh. However, its declaration was canceled in 1954 (Jiskani 1982). Jatoi was the lead architect of passing the Sindh Tenancy Act from Sindh Assembly in 1950.

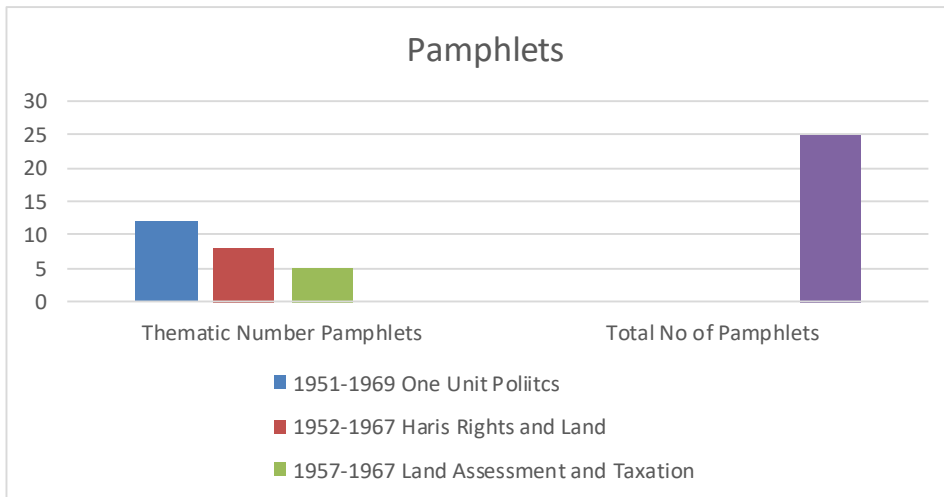
On 15th October 1955 one-unit was announced. Hyder Baksh Jatoi opposed it by celebrating 'Azad Sind Day' (Jatoi, 1953a). Parallely, he also authored pamphlets. He was arrested on various occasions. He was jailed eight-time; its duration ranges from 5 months to 3 years. In total, he remained in jail for seven years six months prisons-Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Sukkur, Karachi, Machh², Campbellpur³ and Lahore (Jiskani, 1982). Perpetual imprisonment, older age, and little care deteriorated his health. In September 1969, he got an attack of paralysis. Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi died on 21st May 1970 at Hyder Mahfil, Hyder Chowk, Hyderabad, Sindh, Pakistan.

Part-II

This section explores the role of Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi's in making Pakistan as a federal state by supporting its constitution processes, democratic institutions, civil liberties, and resistance to the Martial Law. He authored 26 books and pamphlets on different themes. However, some of the topics of his writings were the restoration of democracy, civil rights of the people, status and future of Sindhi language, one-unit scheme, elections' rigging, jail reforms, and socio-political and economic plights of *Haris* (Peasants) of Sindh. This section explores his pamphlets, which fall into three categories: (1) Politics of One Unit, (2) Hari Rights and Land, (3) Land Assessment and Taxation. These pamphlets were written in between 1951-1969.

² Machh Jail exists in a tiny town named Machh, Balochistan, Pakistan. Machh experiences extreme summer and winter temperatures. The imprisonment in Machh is considered an additional punishment.

³ Nowadays, it is Attock city, Punjab. However, its old name was Campbellpur. It was named after the Sir Colin Campbell, who was Commander-in-Chief of British forces. He was the one who rebuilt the city of Campbellpur. However, in 1978, its name was changed to Attock.



Source: Prepared by the authors based on Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi's Pamphlets (1951-1967).

ONE UNIT POLITICS

The Government of Sindh released comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi on account of his son's serious illness on parole on 18th May 1951. He intended to file a petition against the corrupt practice of Ahmed Sultan Chandio. However, he failed. Therefore, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled: *An Appeal to People of Pakistan*. It was against two candidates namely Ahmed Sultan S/o Muhammad Khan Chandio, a resident of Ghaibidero, Taluka Kambar, District Larkana, and Azizullah S/o Khan Muhammad Jarwar, a resident of village Jarwar, Taluka Shahdaskot, District Larkana (Jatoui, 1951).

The petition was addressed to the governor of Sindh under chapter III, Rules from 61 to 64 of Sindh Legislative Assembly Electoral (India, 1936). The petitioner plea says the corrupt practices were carried out in support of Mr. Ahmed Sultan to win the election. The petition cited numerous examples of the violations; he states that on 14th March 1951 Mr. Ahmed Sultan Chandio's men chased the petitioner's car, cut its tires, attempted to murder him. However, the petitioner complained with the District Magistrate and District Police Officer against the culprits, but nothing happened. Further, the petitioner states that Ahmed Sultan Chandio's men threatened Ghulam Muhammad Leghari, Polling Station, Khairpur Juso (Taluka Qambar, District Larkana). Likewise, on 15th March 195 the polling agent

Mehrab Khan Laghari's car was intercepted, while he was heading towards Bhutti Lashkar (Taluka Kambar, District Larkana).

Comrade Jatoi failed to submit the petition because the circumstance did not allow him to arrange and deposit PK Rs.1000/- (Rupees One thousand) before a specified date, i.e., 24th May 1951 regarding the lodging of the petition. However, he verified the facts of the petition on 7th May 1951 from the Central Prison, where he was detained as a condemned prisoner, Central Prison, Hyderabad, Sindh, Pakistan. He was Hyderabad, Sindh. Finally, he submitted the petition to the people of Pakistan, from Radhan Railway Station, District Dadu, Sindh as a prisoner of Government of Sindh, Pakistan on 1st August 1951.

In November 1954, *In Justice to Sindh-I* came out from the same author. The pamphlet proved as evidence that how injustice is being done to Sindh, and he quoted the government published figures and facts. It was mainly directed to Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, who was made the then Chief Minister. It is the greatest insult and disservice to Sindh, which is done by the present Governor General. The author also pinpoints that Mr. Ghulam Muhammad is employing all the illegal means to accomplish the one-unit scheme in West Pakistan. He raises the questions - Is Punjab justified to fight Sindh, Baluchistan, the NWFP, and Bengal who only want to continue their centuries old, historical existence? It is a pity that Punjabi ruling circles see the reflection of their provincialism in the genuine and powerful demands of Sindhis, Baluchis, Pathans and Bengalis for self-existence (Jatoui 1954a). The second pamphlet in the series, entitled *Injustice to Sindh – II*. It argued that Sindh is not a British created administrative unit, instead it is an ancient homeland of Sindhis. The author has reminded that calling Sindh as a unit is a misnomer, it is country, and Sindhis are a nation. He asserts that Pakistan like India and USSR is a multi-state, and abode of various nations (Jatoui, 1954b).

He reminded that over the period, Sindhis are labeled narrow minded and prey of provincial thinking. However, the author refutes the propaganda and argues that Sindhis have always supported the federation, welcomed Indian Muhajirs, and offered them their cities and services, and gesture was extended to Pathans, Punjabis, and non-Sindhis (Jatoui, 1954b). He argued that Punjab wants to counter Bengalis by dilute latter's numerical supremacy. He repeatedly warned

that Punjab under various ideological phrases has stolen, encroached and snatched the resources of Sindh.

He reminded that Mr. Ali Muhammad Shah Rashidi that Sindhi Hari fought for independence voted to Muslim leagues' candidates because their motivation was that there would be good days in a new homeland. However, the partition created an illusion for them, the ownership the land was changed nearly 50% of the land came into evacuee property. The Central Government took charge of allotment by appointing the Rehabilitation Commissioner, with a reporting line to the Central Government rather than Sindh Government. However, he was drawing a salary from the Sindh Government. Resultantly, a vast number of legal cases of Sindhi Haris were rejected the scale of rejection is unimaginable. These were the cases of the evacuee lands, where the peasants have filed the petitions to own the lands (Sind, 1951).

The author defused another argument of one-unit supporters that the scheme is based on Islamic ideology. He pinpoints that even none of the Arab countries will accept it to melt down their identities and became the part of grand Islamic Ideology. They preferred to be independent countries.

Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi was staunch federalist. Thus, he wrote *Let Us Save Pakistan – I* to tell that 'West Pakistan One Unit' is misnamed, it is 'Greater Punjab,' and in support of it, the Constitutional Assembly is dissolved. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad's deviation is letting down the freedom struggle. He went on to suggest that there are 60 elected members in the constitutional assembly, and their opinions have more weight and legitimacy in compare to the opinion of the Governor-General. The pamphlet ends with some action points: (a) pursue the governor-general's team members emergency declaration has created worst situation for Pakistan, and allow the constitution committee to proceed with its agenda, (b) let the constitution be passed on, (c) the one unit scheme must be removed, (d) the current ministries must be abolished, and old ministries should be resumed, (e) Mr. M. A. Khuhro should be compelled to resign from the office of Sindh's Chief Minister, and (f) the leadership of political parties should be called to formulate ways and means to build Pakistan democratic and prosperous country (Jatoi, 1954c).

On 15th December 1954, Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi issued another pamphlet, entitled: *Let Us Save Pakistan – II*. The author state

that on 24th October 1954 emergency was announced and it created fear among the people of Pakistan. He argued that Governor-General had assumed the power which does not associate with his position. In doing so, he is on the way to destroy Pakistan (Jatoi, 1955d). Furthermore, he told that Governor-General had retained the powers with the support of the army, and he has become a dictator. Therefore, he relies on the stand of the Queen of England's 'prerogatives' in Pakistan. The judiciary is worried its verdict is only honored when it has mass support. In the absence of so, it will be another example of Tamizuddin Khan's petition.

Regarding the One-Unit Scheme, the author says, it is an instrument for Punjab to control the whole West Pakistan. The scheme suits Bengal and Punjab. He switched to another discussion point, *Mullaism* which he considerate a threat to Pakistan and its gravity is equal with the British Imperialism and one-unit scheme.

The author invited the citizens to observe 'Azad Pakistan Day' on 15th January 1955 by passing resolutions and issuing statements in support of democratic and secular Pakistan. He suggested that efforts should be focused on to restore the constitutional assembly. The author is confident that the realization of his call will have positive results for Pakistan. In the continuity of the same argument, Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi authored: *Democracy or Dictatorship in Pakistan – I*, whereas, the author compared the democratic system with the dictatorship and argued that democracy is a progressive idea, it has brought prosperity. However, dictatorship has brought disaster and turmoil for the country. He continued his arguments and wrote that the democracy had aligned itself with the advancement of the civilization, and the progress of natural science as and knowledge, and men are consistently participating in the whole affairs that are shaping his destiny. He examined Pakistan and Indian adopted the Government of India Act, 1935, the same as an Independence Act, 1947. Thus, the country, i.e., Pakistan was demanded, struggled for, and gained as the federation of the four provinces (Jatoi, 1955c). He also spotlighted that All India Muslim Leagues passed a resolution at Lahore in 1940, where demand for the separate homeland for the Muslim of India was made.

The author also questioned the arguments of the supporters of the one-unit scheme that Sindh – a Province was the British created phenomena. He states that before the British conquest, Sindh was the

state. He intended that a one-unit scheme should be dissolved. The significant portion of the pamphlet explored the illegal conduct of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, a case in point is of his illegal moves to involve the police department just to be elected an unopposed form Shahdadpur-Tando Adam Bye-Election. The pamphlet ends with an appeal by Abdul Majeed Sindhi (President, Sindh Awami Muhaz), Hyder Baksh Jatoi (President, Sindh Hari Committee) and Muhammad Mahmood (President, Sindh Jinnah Awami League) to people of Pakistan and the press to join them in realizing their demands (Baba-e-Sindh, 1977). It ended with a slogan – Long Live Pakistan (Pakistan Zindabad). On 22nd August 1955, Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi wrote, *Democracy or Dictatorship in Pakistan-II*, where the author mentioned that One Unit Bill's first presentation was forwarded before the Constitution Assembly, Karachi as a step towards the constitution-making, the author considered it the wrongly taken first step. He suggested that one precondition to get justice is to create a supportive environment for the judges, where they could decide freely and without any compulsion or political pressure (Jatoi, 1955b). He challenged the argument that a one-unit scheme is an Islamic idea. He argued that how Sindh is being trapped in placebo phrases. He advocated that Sindh's geographical area and the population is more than some of the independent countries and assured that it could survive without the one-unit scheme (Soomro, 1973). The author reminded the readers that the financial source of Abul A'la Maududi of Jamaat-e-Islami places himself into a middle class, however interestingly in return he protects the interests of the capitalists and Zamindars.

Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi's last pamphlet in one-unit politics supports democracy and constitution; it was *Democracy or Dictatorship in Pakistan? – III*. The subtitle of the pamphlet was *Daultana's Debate Dealt With*. The author wrote, Mr. Daultana, after the two Punjabi gentlemen is the third prominent person who is pledging the case for the one-unit scheme. Mr. Daultana has repeatedly suggested in the constitutional assembly that we should hold the 'argument.' The author refuted it and stated that each case is decided on the specific facts rather than generalization or false analogies to cover the real issues. The author challenged the argument of Mr. Daultana that in Punjab, Islam was accepted neither with conflict nor with delay, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the accepted ruler of

Punjab and the Frontier (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). The author reminded that if it is so, then Mr. Daultana must believe that Buddhism, Vedas, and Islamic ideas are a harmonious set of the same body and he must show it by observing the holidays and continue the parallel study of Holy Quran, Theravadins, and Upanishad (Jatoi 1955a). He advocated that apart from languages' cultural expression, its' economic and political aspects are also considered in society. He warned that when people like Ferozsons, Taj and Din Muhammad who are publishers of Urdu dailies and owner of publication houses declare Urdu as the national language of East Pakistan and West Pakistan, it is merely their commercial interest. The author reminded the readers that Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashto, and Baluchi are ancient languages, and their history goes back to ancient times. In the same pamphlet, the author told that the present, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro government has imprisoned all politicians, who have opposed the one-unit scheme, even writer and poets are jailed. He informed the supporters of a one-unit scheme that neither Sindhi people would abandon their land, nor they will leave Sindh; author warns Pakistan Government if it insisted then the outcome will be dangerous. He reminded Mr. Daultana that Pakistan's creation should not be looked like an isolated act; it is the enacted part of the liberation movement of undivided India. Finally, he asked Daultana that till 14th August 1947, in what camp was the present leadership of Punjab. He has proved that Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and Ali Muhammad Rashidi were supporters of the one-unit scheme for their interests (Soomro, 1973), and their arguments are merely a justification of their misdeeds. Molvi Tamizuddin filed writ petition which is known as 'Federation of Pakistan versus Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan,' whereas the Governor General of Pakistan's dismissal of the 1st Constituent Assembly was legally challenged. Majority of the court supported the dismissal on the grounds of the 'doctrine of necessity,' the court was led by Chief Justice Muhammad Munir.

Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi wrote, *Democracy and Justice of the Chief Justice*, pamphlet, it gave details about Molvi Tamizuddin writ petition, who was the speaker of the constitutional assembly and had lodged a petition in the Chief Court of Sindh (Jatoi, 1956). The court decided in favor of the petitioner. The Pakistan Government challenged the decision in the Federal Court, the chief judge was

Justice Muneer, who decided in favor of the Pakistan Government, and the order of the Governor General was reinstated (Soomro, 1973).

The author documented his intention that at all costs, the democracy in Pakistan should be defended. He sadly wrote to the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Munir in the connection that judgment is not allied with the spirit of democracy. He wrote that Muslim Kings' Judiciary was always there to support them, their Chief Justice (Qazi-ul-Kuzzats) was always there to prescribe Judgment (Fatwas) considering the will and political actions of the kings. Likewise, the chief justice allowed Muhammad Ayub Khuhro to resume his duties as the Chief Minister of Sindh. Finally, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro proved himself the hero of the one-unit scheme - the plan of the greater Punjab. He summarized that Justice Munir is failed to perform what is expected from the judiciary. He betrayed the country, democracy, and judiciary. The author appealed to the court of the people of Pakistan (Soomro, 1973). On 1st January 1955, Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi published *Shall Sindhi Language Stay in Karachi or Not?*, whereas author builds the case that till 1948 Karachi was part of Sindh physically as well as politically, commercially and even culturally. Sindh University was established in Karachi. He told that in 1948 Karachi was taken by the federal government, and soon by imposing of the one-unit scheme, Sindh's name vanished from the map of Pakistan.

The logical consequent was the disappearance of the Sindhi language. After setting the context, he switched to the subject of the pamphlet. He reminded the reader that Karachi University, which is the outcome of Sindh University has announced that the Sindhi language shall no longer opt as the medium of answering (Jatoi 1955e). The decision of Karachi University has triggered the chain of opposition from Sindhi people. It was considered the hostile step against Sindhi language and Sindh. He ends the pamphlet with a postscript note that Karachi High Court has issued a stay order on the writ petition of Sindhi student of Karachi University. He considered it a temporary relief and insisted on its political solution. He was of the view that there should be a high-level inquiry against Mr. Haleem, the vice-chancellor, who has created a mess at the campus.

One Unit and Democracy was authored with an understanding that the One Unit Scheme is the anti-democratic operation in Pakistan. It invited an unending series of crises. It is in its true sense, not an

administrative setup, but it is local imperialism, which promotes 'inter colonialism.' The author listed some ills of the one-unit scheme.

He reminded the people in power corridors that even British not attacked the Sindhi language, although the government of West Pakistan has imposed Urdu as a medium of instruction for our children, which is against the principle of UNESCO, where the mother tongue is considered one of the best medium of instructions. On the other hand, Sindhi Haris are granted the degraded lands, where there are no purchasers (Jatoi, 1955e).

The author argued that due to the one-unit scheme, Sindhi cultivator pays more taxes in compare to Punjabi landlord. In the same pamphlet, he argued that the one-unit scheme had halted the development schemes in Sindh. He concluded that who sided with the people of Pakistan are called troublemakers, and who betrayed the foundation principles of the country, and aligned with the power are called democratic and patriotic. The last pamphlet under the category of one-unit politics was *Breakup One Unit – (Restore Full Provincial Autonomy to Sindh, Balochistan, Pashtoonistan – a Six Sindh MNAs Table Draft Bill*. It started with the forward by the author, were told that six Sindhi members of the national assembly of Pakistan are agreed to table an amendment bill to the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1962 for the breakup of One Unit. He warned that people of Sindh demand full autonomy, what East Pakistan is enjoying. He reiterated that Sindh would not accept the zonal sub-federation scheme, which is being hatched by some Punjabi politicians with their Bengali companions (Jatoi 1969a).

HARI RIGHTS AND LAND

In this category, there are six pamphlets; the first one was *Haris' (Peasants') Petition for Rights Amendments to the Sindh Tenancy Act 1950*. The pamphlet suggested the amendments to the Sindh Tenancy Act, 1950. The pamphlet spotlighted the importance of the peasants' (Haris) population. It indicated that one of the problems of Sindh is the security of Haris' tenancy rights and rehabilitation of Muhajirs. It also figured out that after elections, landlords forget their promises (Jatoi, 1952). He pinpointed that the Sindh Tenancy Act is passed without considering the Sindh Hari Committee's questions and comments. Later, a commentary entitled *Comments on a Bill to Amend the Sindh Tenancy Act, 1950* was written in support of Haris petition regarding

Sindh Tenancy Act 1950 which was passed by Sindh Assembly on 11th 1950. However, there were two major comments of Sindh Hari Committee; one was about the fallow land, and second, was about the security of the peasants' tenure rights (Jatoi, 1953b).

The pamphlet ended with the author's point of view about Dadu-Johi election, (where Comrade Hyder Baksh was also one of the candidates) that how it was rigged He considered that landlords are a hurdle in the development of the country. Therefore, he argued to abolish the land lordship. On 26th December 1955 a pamphlet entitled *Sindh Hari Committee Fights for the Peoples' Rights* was published, where the author argued that Zamindari should be abolished. He elaborated that Sindh Hari Committee has made the specific demands such as security of tenancy rights, legislation to prohibit eviction, a guarantee of tenancy rights, induction of the cash rental system, instead of *Batai* system and free or stop the forced labor extorted by the landlord (Jatoi, 1955f).

The author considered the Kotri Barrage as an opportunity, therefore suggested that the state-owned agriculture farms should be established. He emphasized that instead to create a new landed class, Kotri Barrage lands should be given to the peasants, on the affordable installments. He pinpointed that Sindhi landlord pays 200% more taxes in compare to Punjabi landlords.

The author told that the land assessment rate should be the same in the whole West Pakistan, and he categorically suggested that the small land-holders (25 acres or less) should get 50% tax rebate, gradual rise in income tax should be charged from the landlords, who have fifty thousand plus annual agriculture income. Finally, the author mentioned that the scaled-up insecurity in rural Sindh had created a horrible situation; it is due to local polices' corruption and support of criminal landlords. Another publication, entitled *Lands in Sindh who should own them?* The author advocated the standpoint of Sindh Hari Committee that land belongs to the tiller, Zamindari should be abolished, and Kotri Barrage's lands should be allotted to the landless peasants (Sind, 1955). He asserted that nowadays, Sindh is passing through an 'inter-colonization' process, it could be decoded from the patent slogan of the government that 'We are Pakistanis, none of us are Baluchis, Sindhis, Pashtuns or Punjabis (Jatoi, 1957a).

Likewise, he spotlighted on the evacuee property; he narrated that the central government is trying to rehabilitate the migrants in

minimum time. This scaled effort in Sindh is turning the poor Sindhis into refugees in their areas. He recalled that Sindh's demand from the separation of Bombay was based on economic interests. Now Sindh's opposition to joining Punjab under one-unit scheme based is on the same grounds.

Equally, he narrated about the private proprietorship. It argued that it was created to support Jagirdars and Zamindars' political designs. However, in Pakistan, the Zamindari system is protected by the interpretation of Islam, and in the name of God⁴. He concluded the pamphlet with a set of general principles.

The pamphlet entitled, *The Disposal of Evacuee Property-I* set the context by telling that in his pamphlet entitled, *Lands in Sindh-Who Should Own Them?* he mentioned that in British time, how in Sindh approximately 25 lacs of acres passed from Muslim to Hindus, and that transfer created insecurity among Muslim, and it was one factor behind Sindh's separation from Bombay. It is the same spirits, while Sindhis oppose One Unit Scheme, it is believed that their lands will again pass on from their hand to someone else (Jatoi, 1958a). He reminded that one must understand that Pakistan was impossible to create by the Muslims of the minority provinces. Thus, the role of refugees in the creation of Pakistan is secondary, not a prime as nowadays it is propagated and claimed. He told that the idea of mass migration was neither envisaged by the leadership of Indian National Congress nor All India Muslim League. He reminded that Sindh upheld its tradition of the co-existing and kept her hand unsoiled with the blood of their neighbors and friends. He again, suggested that some good plans for the peasant's welfare must be initiated (Soomro, 1973).

Comrade Hyder Baksh in his pamphlet, *Disposal of Evacuee Property- II* explored how the migrant landlord took the land; he believed that a Hindu landlord had left the lands in Pakistan, and similarly, a Muslim landlord has left lands in India. Now, there is a matter of equal exchange. He elaborates that by that standard and false

⁴ Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi refers a religious decree (Fatwa) issued by Mian Bashiruddin, (Ahmadiyya Movement), Maulana Abu Ala Maudoodi (Jamaat-e-Islami) and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni (Jamaitul Ulema-e-Islam), where they have assured that Prophet didn't abolish Zamindari, which had been existed in his the times. Thus, it should be continued unrestricted.

claims, the country has become real estate business between Hindu and Muslim landlords (Jatoi, 1958b). However, in this affair of the land business, a common Sindhi Muslim, who suffered and sacrificed for Pakistan is left nowhere. He reminded that Pakistan passing through turmoil times, however, some people are getting material benefits, and some are losing what little they have – call it a revolution or whatever you may call it. He explained that one set of an interest group – landlords and capitalists support the Zamindari system. Other groups – Hari and laborers are in favor of socialism. He pinpoints that the Government of East Pakistan has abolished the Zamindari. Therefore, the same should be done in West Pakistan. Regarding, state policy about the dispose-off the lands, Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi authored *Disposal of Guddu Barrage State Lands* it started with a preamble that Sindh's peasant is longing for the state lands. However, till now no any legislation has been done to protect their tenancy rights, including fair distribution of the produce, i.e., *Batai*. (Jatoi, 1967a) He told the Zamindari System has pushed the peasant into perpetual serfdom. He wondered that the present percentage of the peasant of the electorate is 85%, and it a considerable number, till now grip of landlord seems strong. However, under the one-unit scheme, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was made Chief Minister, and land allocation to Haris was stopped (Soomro, 1973). He admitted that poor peasants were not aware of their rights. He mentioned that organized peasants demanded their rights. Consequently, Sindh Hari Committees' leadership was arrested and put behind bars. He vents his point of view that the President of Pakistan must be criticized for many actions. However, he must be appreciated for the land reforms, the tough decision on polygamy, Taskent Declaration, and family planning program. Another pamphlet in the same category was *Disposal of Guddu Barrage State Lands (and Makhi Dhandh area)* the sub-title reads, stop ejection of the local population from Makhi Dhandh Area its preamble stated that ejection of Haris is the violation of Pakistan Resolution, 1940. He narrated that present pamphlet represents Sindhis point of view about the land utilization (Jatoi, 1967b). He stated that data shows that how Punjab has exploited lands of Sukkur Barrage, Kotri Barrage, and Guddu Barrage, and exploitation is continued. The author figured out that Makhi Dhandh area is approximately more than five lacs acres, with the forest and other natural vegetation (Soomro, 1973). The area is habited by Hurs – followers of Pir Pagaro. These

Hurs first fought against Sikhs, later fought against the British. The British availed the services of Baluchistan's Nawab Sir Shahnawaz Khan Bugti to curb the Hurs, he played the role and got rewards in kind of 20,000 acres of land in Sanghar District. At the times of the Quit India Movement, Pir Pagaro, Sibghatullah set Hurs against the Britishers. Consequently, most of the population was confined into camps and Pir Pagaro was hanged, and the Martial Law was enacted. Punjabi Sikhs, as well as Muslim from the side of the British, crushed the movement, they also got the rewards. The pamphlet concluded that the military should deserve and get good salaries, rations in plenty. However, it is not essential that they should be made the owner of the land. He says people are the ultimate force of the country, and the role of the military is to protect them.

LAND ASSESSMENT AND TAXATION

The author under this category author has written five pamphlets; the first one was *Unjust Land Assessment Rates in Sindh, District* whereas he narrated that the land assessment rates, including cresses in Sindh's main Barrages-Sukkur Barrage, Kotri Barrage, and Guddu Barrage. He told that divisional commissioners of Khairpur Mir's and Hyderabad had raised the rates of the paddy crops from Rs.14 to Rs.28 per acre per year (Jatoi, 1957b). He suggested that the cotton and wheat tax rates should be synchronized with the rates of Punjab, where wheat and cotton rates are Rs.21 and Rs.22 respectively. He warned that the situation might lead Sindhis to opt a slogan, 'No Payment of Unjust Assessment.' The Martial Law authorities banned the pamphlet. The Martial Law Court inflicted three years of detention, and the author was confined in Machh Jail of Baluchistan. The second pamphlet in series was *Unjust Land Taxation in Sindh Districts*. The pamphlet revealed how unjust land taxation was collected in the Martial law of Ayub Khan. The author advocated the right of Sindhi Zamindars and cultivators that how they are paying more land taxes in compare to Punjabi Zamindars (Jatoi, 1960). He was of the view that land taxation in Sindh should be designed in such a way that landlord may be able to pay it. Sindh Hari Committee wrote a letter to Mr. Masud, Secretary, Department of Revenue, Government of West Pakistan regarding raised taxes, and requesting to bringing it at par with Punjab. The response from the secretary wrote, 'overall incidence of Government demand on the land is not higher in Sindh that

elsewhere' (Masud, 1956). The response was vague and generic. On the other hand, Mian Kifiat Ali has written that per capita taxation in Punjab is Rs.12.7 whereas Sindh pays Rs. 21.1 as the per capita tax (Pakistan 1955). He reminded the authority that narrow or selective interpretation of the application of law leads towards degraded suppression (Soomro, 1973). He suggested that the government must be moderate and accommodative to its citizenry. In April 1966 *Higher Land Taxation in Southern Zone (Sindh) - I* was published, where author opened it with a complaint of Sindhi agriculturists that they are paying more taxes in comparison to the agriculturalists of other areas. However, the federal government's standard response was, 'Sindhis do not pay more,' 'Soon uniform rate system will be established' or 'there are big obstacles.' The author argued that data is taken from government records, and it is stated that Sindh is paying more from its Punjab counterpart. He argued that the existing system of irrigation is not guaranteed to generate wealth.(Jatoi 1966a) He was of the view that Sindhi agriculturists should be dealt fairly to create fraternity among people of Pakistan. Another article, *Higher Land Taxation in Southern Zone (Sindh) – II* started with an introductory comment that 27 members of West Pakistan's Assembly and Sindh's Assembly have written to the governor of West Pakistan to get relief in land taxation. The meeting was held on 7th June 1966. The delegate endorsed the pamphlet findings (Jatoi 1966b).

The author ends the pamphlet in all or whatever might be circumstances the tax should not be raised more than 25% of the net profit of the cultivator. He argued that Sindh's landowner is being pressed hard. Thus he is not able to contribute to a national economy. He reminded the government that until now the best land is given to highly placed officials, and it should be stopped. The last pamphlet in this category was *Higher Land Taxation in Southern Zone (Sindh) – III* where author expects the more extensive publicity of the pamphlet might be instrumental in getting justice for unlucky land, i.e., Sindh. He pinpointed that it is impossible to compare Sindh' case to the northern zone; both have different revenue systems. It must be considered that in the revenue taxation, the first aspect is to consider the soil, and in later crops are considered to fix the taxation. (Jatoi 1969b) It is beyond imagination to separate the soil and crop. One must understand that crops and its value determines the type of land,

and thus, crops and products become the source to calculate land taxation.

CONCLUSION

The political processes and decisions of the subsequent governments instead to make Pakistan federal state, having a secular look, and governed by the constitution. The political parties, their leaders played a role to make Pakistan pro-Islam in doing so the constitution assembly was dismissed. Later, in the name of the party, the one-unit scheme was launched. However, the most nefarious phase in Pakistan's political history was the imposition of the martial and dismissed the fundamental rights of the citizens. Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi exposed, refuted, and challenged all unconstitutional and undemocratic steps of the governments. Another part of the article critically examines and sets the context of his selected English Writings, especially pamphlets. They fall into three categories: (1) Hari Rights and Land, (2) Land Assessment and Taxation, and (3) Politics of One Unit. These pamphlets were written in between 1951-1969. However, most of them were in the response of one-unit politics. In the category One Unit Politics, in total 12 pamphlets are written, the themes of them are pre-one-unit scheme political maneuvering, a case in point is of the installing of Muhammad Ayub Khoro as the chief minister of Sindh. However, he banned by the judicial court to hold any public office. Another aspect, which is dealt with is an injustice to Sindh's land and other resources in the names of land allotment policies, land tax, and revenue collection. The second set of the pamphlets' falls into Hari Rights and Land. In this category, there are six pamphlets, all of them focus at the peasants' tenancy rights, and the state lands' grant policies and land evacuee legislation. The last set falls into land Assessment and Taxation, in which there are four pamphlets, where he has proved from the government data and records that Sindh is paying more land taxes in compare to Punjab. In addition to that, he also challenged the land assessment method. Comrade Hyder Baksh Jatoi's selected English writings, i.e., pamphlets portray themselves the peoples' history that how he strived to make Pakistan democratic, secular, and federal state. In doing so, he paid the price; he was eight-time arrested and remained in prison for seven years and six months.

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