

JINNAH - KHUHRO

CORRESPONDENCE

Edited by:

S. K Chandio (1995)



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Sani H. Panhwar (2019)

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1938

Khuhro intends to meet Jinnah.

1939

Jinnah requested to solicit intervention of Viceroy against anti-Muslim attitude of Sindh Government - also for annexation of Sindh with Punjab - Sir Karim bhoy and Nawab of Mamdot visiting Sukkur.

1940

Compromise with Congress - Extension of Regulation 1872 and 1892 to Sukkur to be withheld - Unity between the Muslim parties inside the Legislative Assembly.

1941

Khuhro advised to stand by the resolution passed by Sindh provincial Muslim League on 20th December - Jinnah informed of the progress made in pursuance of the said resolution - Sayed's proposal for unity,- Jinnah advises loyalty of League: his comments on 'Azad Pact' - Jinnah's presence in Karachi requested - Jinnah wants to see Khuhro at Delhi - Formula how to form the Ministry - Compromise with Allah Bakhsh - Status quo in Sindh as regards Ministry - Compromise or no-confidence motion - All parties Advisory Committee avoided by Khuhro - Financial help from centre requested - Friction among Muslim ranks -Gandhi and Congress criticized- Interim settlement with Congress supported - Forming of Ministry in Sindh.

1942

Stafford Cripps informed that- Sindh Muslims supported Jinnah and League demands - Election in Constituency of Haji Abdullah Haroon - Election campaign in North Sindh - Application of Martial Law in Sindh - Jinnah's meeting, with Rashdi Floods in Sindh - collection of donations - League's coalition with Muslim individuals - Ghulam Hussain accepts Muslim League. ideals and politics - Dismissal of Allah Bakhsh - Hindu's behavior - Restoration of Manzilgah Mosque - Large number of Assembly members join League.

1943

Murderous attempt on Jinnah.

1944.

No confidence Motion against Khuhro.

1945

Khuhro in special Jail Sukkur - Jinnah regrets to undertake his defence - Khuhro's acquittal - Jinnah goes to Karachi - G. M. Sayed adjourns meeting of Parliamentary Board - Muslim League needs help of Sardar Abdur Rahim Khoso, Pir Ahmed Shah of Ranipur and Khan of Kalat - Yousuf Haroon arrested - Sayed and followers willing to join League - permission of Jinnah for their entry requested - Jinnah does not allow removal of ban on Sayed and his followers as long as they remain in, enemy camp.

1946

Sir Ghulam Hussain forming Ministry without. getting party decision - Desertion of G. M. Sayed. - Muslim League candidates elected - Khuhro elected unopposed- Distribution of portfolios - Khuhro not given a chance for selection of portfolios - Members want Khuhro to be a leader of the Party - Muslim League sworn in Government.

Summary of Documents

17 August 1938

Khuhro intends to meet Jinnah at Simla in September.

12 October 1939

Jinnah requested to solicit intervention of Viceroy against anti-Muslim attitude of the Sindh Government and also to request him for annexation of Sindh with Punjab.

28 December 1939

Khuhro learns from Abdullah Haroon that Jinnah was deputing Sir Karim bhoj and Nawab Sahib of Mamdot to visit Sukkur and to report about the causes for disturbance. He requests Jinnah to send them by 2nd or 3rd January.

3rd February 1940

Jinnah informed that Muslim public opinion and Khuhro's Assembly party favored reasonable compromise with Congress.

7 February 1940

Jinnah requested to urge Governor General to withhold necessary sanction of Regulation 1872 and 1892 to Sukkur.

Enclosure:

Request of other politicians on some topics found lying with above telegram.

20 January 1941

Jinnah advises Khuhro to stand by the resolution passed on 20th of December by the Council of the Provincial Muslim League, the only honorable line on which Muslim League could exist in Sindh.

30 January 1941

Khuhro informs Jinnah of the progress made in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Provincial Muslim League on 22-12-1940.

8 February 1941

Mir Bande Ali Khan's resignation comes under discussion - Sayed's proposal for unity of various Muslim groups in the Assembly appreciated and recommended as most necessary - Assembly League party meeting called on 12 instant.

Enclosure

It is a copy of the letter sent to Nihchaldas Vazirani by G. M. Sayed and Khuhro with different assurances only to bring about unity between the Muslim parties, inside the Legislative Assembly in the larger interest of the province.

8 February 1941

Jinnah desires end to the Sindh muddle - Advises to be loyal to the League - Gives remarks about 'Azad Pact'.

13 February 1941

Khuhro feels Jinnah's presence in Karachi necessary failing which wants to meet him at Delhi before 20th.

14 February 1941

Jinnah confirms appointment to see Khuhro at Delhi on 18th - On the back of this telegram two formulas' are given about how the Ministry should be formed.

Enclosure:

Formulae

23 February 1941

Khuhro seeks advice of Jinnah as regards compromise with K. B. Allah Bakhsh if Muslim League was given premiership along with one Ministry in Cabinet - Khuhro calls meeting of Parliamentary Party on 2nd March.

26 February 1941

Khuhro advises Jinnah to maintain status quo in Sindh as regards Ministry.

2 March 1941

Khuhro seeks instructions from Jinnah whether they should compromise or withdraw no-confidence motion against Government.

19 March 1941

Khuhro informs Jinnah about their coming out of the office and that they did not compromise with Congress - He also seeks financial help from Centre.

Enclosure:

Khuhro writes to Mr. Sidhwa informing him that there was no use their functioning on All parties Advisory Committee as then no all-party Government existed.

25 March 1941

Jinnah appreciates the stand taken by Muslim Leaguers in Sindh - He advises them to stand together and that he will do his bit to help them financially.

23 August 1941

Muslim premiers appointed war councilors - Khuhro sees friction among Muslim ranks - Advises Jinnah to avoid rift.

24 September 1941

Khuhro shows his surprise on the silence of Jinnah on the then developments in Sindh - He criticizes Congress and Gandhi's policies and principles - Khuhro invites Jinnah to visit Sindh - Appreciates Jinnah's tactfulness in avoiding threatened cleavage in the Muslim League ranks.

1 October 1941

Jinnah replies letter of 23 V September appreciates Khuhro's criticism of Gandhi and Congress high command - He advised Sindh Muslims to be organized so that they could resist the existing state of things in Sindh.

13 October 1941

Khuhro asks Jinnah as to when was he leaving Bombay and reaching Delhi - He intends to meet him on 20th or 24th.

16 October 1941

Khuhro informs Jinnah that K. B. Allah Bux wants to see him - Shaikh Abdul Majeed supports interim settlement with Congress - Khuhro wants to know Jinnah's views.

24 March 1942

Khuhro sends to Jinnah a copy of his telegram sent to Sir Stafford Cripps and informs him that he will see him on 30th morning at Delhi.

(Enclosure)

Khuhro informs Sir Stafford Cripps that Allah Bakhsh did not represent Sindh Muslims - They supported Jinnah and League demands.

22 April 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that Sardar Ali Gohar was elected unopposed.

30 April 1942

Jinnah glad to know that Sardar Ali Gohar was elected unopposed.

2 May 1942

Khuhro requests Jinnah to urge the authorities at Delhi to postpone the elections in constituency of Haji Abdullah Haroon owing to his death. As Yousuf Haroon's name was not given in the electoral roll - K. B. Moula Bakhsh Soomro, brother of Allah Bakhsh, was going to contest the election - Amendment in the electoral roll could be made only by the Governor General.

5 June 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that League appoints G.M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid and Khuhro to tour north Sindh in connection with election campaign - Mostly in the Area of Allah Bakhsh, Jaffer Khan Jamali remained with them - Reports progress of the campaign to Jinnah.

10 June 1942

Jinnah appreciates and feels glad on successful tour of north Sindh by the League Committee.

16 June 1942

Khuhro seeks guidance of Jinnah on application of Martial Law in half the province of Sindh - Sends copy of the resolution passed by Sindh Provincial Muslim League - Also requests Jinnah to visit Sindh.

(Enclosure)

The resolution of Sindh provincial Muslim League suggests the measures as to how to meet with the situation arising from the declaration of the Martial Law in Sindh on 1st June, 1943.

24 June 1942

Jinnah feels anxious to know the result of deputation which met the Governor of Sindh -Regrets to go to Sindh and advances some valuable advices.

13 July 1942

Jinnah conveys to Khuhro the details of his meeting with Rashdi and what Jinnah advised him.

2 August 1942

Khuhro, Sayed and Shaikh inform Jinnah of floods in Sindh and their progress in collection of funds.

7 August 1942

Khuhro requests Jinnah to postpone meeting of the Working Committee so that they could organize relief work.

7 August 1942

Jinnah sympathizes with Muslims of Sindh owing to calamity of Indus floods and contributes rupees one thousand.

10 August 1942

Khuhro wants to know the date for meeting of the Working Committee.

11 August 1942

Khuhro thanks Jinnah for his sympathies and generous donations.

22 August 1942

Khuhro requests Jinnah telegraphically not to take action till deputation from Sindh see him,

26 August 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah about his sending telegram to him And requests him to convene a meeting of the Working Committee.

26 August 1942

Khuhro again requests Jinnah to summon meeting of the Working Committee in view of the Viceroy's conciliatory statement.

1 October 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that amount donated by him was not received by them and requests him to issue All India appeal for funds.

4 October 1942

Mr. Jinnah informs Khuhro that he will send the donation if proper Committee is formed and will appeal All India people after he knows what was subscribed by the local people.

13 October 1942

Khuhro and Sayed inform Jinnah that the provincial Working Committee and Council were considering Assembly Party Resolutions next day.

14 October 1942

Jinnah informs Khuhro that League's coalition with Muslim individuals or groups will destroy fundamental principles and League policy. If Khuhro could not form Ministry in coalition with non-Muslims the only honorable course was to continue in opposition.

16 October 1942

Khuhro and Sayed inform Jinnah telegraphically that Ghulam Hussain had accepted Muslim League ideals and policy. League Assembly party had therefore accepted office.

17 October 1942

Jinnah informs Khuhro that they cannot accept office without his permission.

18 October 1942

After the dismissal of Allah Bakhsh Mr. Khuhro informs Jinnah the details of the deliberations of the Muslim League Assembly party upon the situation arising from the said dismissal.

(Enclosure)

Khuhro sends a copy of the Resolution of Sindh Muslim League Assembly party passed at its meeting held on 16th October, 1942.

(Enclosure)

Khuhro sends copy of Sir Ghulam Hussain's letter to Jinnah in which he admitted the ideals and programme of the League and offersto join his Cabinet.

(Enclosure)

Khuhro sends a copy of the Resolution of the Sindh provincial Muslim League and Working Committee passed at their meeting held on 18th October, 1941.

19 October 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that in pursuance of resolution of League Assembly party and provincial Council. They were sworn in Government - Sayed, Yousuf and Khuhro want to meet Jinnah.

23 October 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that Sir Ghulam Hussain had joined Muslim League.

24 October 1942

Khuhro clarifies and assures Jinnah that there had been no misuse of the flood relief funds and gives details of the fund.

24 October 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah of Hindus behavior during the Ministerial crisis and that how Sindh Muslims had behaved on sudden exit of Congress from power.

27 October 1942

Khuhro writes to Jinnah that he was sending a complete survey of situation in Sindh during the recent Ministerial crisis.

1 November 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that the formula prepared by the Sindh Government was somewhat unsatisfactory and that he could not carry it through the Restoration Committee as they would object to the restoration of the Mosque buildings at any rate.

15 November 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that Sir Ghulam Hussain was sincerely working for the party and was increasing its number and that Mr. Nihchaldas was carrying on his intrigues as usual

28 November 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that Pir Illahi Bukhsh a Minister and nine Assembly members join Muslim League.

Enclosure

This letter was found lying in Khuhro's file with Quaid-e-Azam in which Khuhro informs Nawab Muhammad Ismail of the names of ten members who had joined the League and three others who were expected to join League.

9 December 1942

Jinnah informs Khuhro that he was not going to interfere in the matters of the Sindh Ministry and that he would act upon the report/decision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

16 December 1942

Khuhro informs Jinnah that two more members had joined League.

26 July 1943

Khuhro congratulates Jinnah on coming safely out of murderous attempt.

5 July 1944

Khuhro informs Jinnah that Sayed was intriguing against Khuhro and was going to move no-confidence motion against him.

10 July 1944

Khuhro requests Jinnah to instruct Sayed not to create a disruption among Muslims and leave it to Sir Ghulam Hussain to decide the matter. According to him Sayed was being guided by Nihchaldas Vazirani.

23 February 1945

Khuhro requests Jinnah from Sukkur special Jail to undertake his defence in Sessions Courts.

24 February 1945

Jinnah regrets to undertake Khuhro's defence for personal reasons.

3 August 1945

Khuhro congratulates Jinnah telegraphically on acquittal of Khuhro brothers.

3 August 1945

Jinnah congratulates Khuhro on his honorable acquittal.

August 1945

Khuhro thanks Jinnah for his message of congratulations on Khuhro's acquittal.

18 August 1945

Khuhro desires to meet Jinnah and wants to know his programme.

20 August 1945

Jinnah informs Khuhro that he was reaching Karachi on Tuesday 28th.

1 October 1945

Khuhro, Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali inform Jinnah that G. M. Sayed had adjourned meeting of Parliamentary Board. The reasons and what they wanted Jinnah to do, is given in the telegram.

3 October 1945

Khuhro, writes a lengthy letter to Mr. Jinnah following the above telegram and giving details of the trouble in question requests him to come to Karachi. He also requests him to urge upon Khan of Kalat and Pir of Ranipur to help League.

7 October 1945

Khuhro again requests Jinnah to reach Karachi earlier and not to stay with Sir Ghulam Hussain as Nihchaldas the Revenue Minister was terrorizing the Muslim officers about their postings with the consent of Sir Ghulam Hussain, therefore, the people in Sindh would not like him to stay with Sir Ghulam Hussain.

13 October 1945

Jinnah replies to Khuhro that only issue before Muslims was Pakistan versus Akhand Hindustan and if Sindh failed God helps ,them and that there will, be nothing left; all will evaporate and Sindh Muslims will stand paralyzed.

16 November 1945

Khuhro informs Jinnah that Yousuf Haroon was arrested in connection with the Palestine day procession.

17 November 1945

Sayed and followers willing to join League permission of Jinnah, for their entry requested.

18 November 1945

Jinnah does not allow removal of ban on Sayed and his followers as long as they remain in enemy camp.

26 December 1945

Khuhro reminds Jinnah that Muslim League needed help of Sardar Abdur Rahim Khan Khoso and Pir Ahmed Shah of Ranipur. He, therefore, needed a letter of Jinnah on Ahmad Yar Khan of Kalat so as he persuades these two gentlemen to help.

4 January 1946

Khuhro informs Jinnah of the situation in Sindh after sudden desertion of G.M. Sayed.

January 1945

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah contemplated forming Ministry without getting party decisions - Jinnah's intervention requested.

12 July 1945

Khuhro congratulates Jinnah that all three Muslim League candidates for Constituent Assembly were elected.

Enclosure

Copy of Khuhro's telegram to Sir Ghulam Hussain which asks him to protest to Jinnah if he accepts interim plan.

6 November 1945

Khuhro informs Jinnah that he had returned unopposed to Sindh Assembly. He was therefore going to tour Sindh in order to help the other candidates. He gives his programme in the letter.

Enclosure

Khuhro sends a copy of his letter (written to Liaquat Ali Khan) to Jinnah in which Khuhro had given account of elections and criticized the League policy in case of Certain constituencies.

22 December 1945

Khuhro requests Mr. Khurshid, Secretary to Quaid-e-Azam to seek time to see certain groups of people from Sindh to discuss the question of Ministry formations.

Notes in hand of Quaid-e-Azam on back of the above letter showing distribution of portfolios of Sindh Ministry.

There are some names of prominent politicians of Sindh lying with Khuhro's letter of 22 December 1946 on letter head pad of Minister, Government of Sindh.

24 December 1945

Khuhro writes to Jinnah a long letter full of complaints that he was not given the choice in selection of the portfolios and that he was not given the position according to his status, though he had withdrawn to contest for premier's position against Sir Ghulam Hussain.

Enclosure

Khuhro sends a lengthy note to Quaid-e-Azam giving details of his own services during the elections.

25 December 1945

Khuhro sends to Jinnah signatures of 20 Muslim League members of Sindh Assembly proposing him as a leader of the party.

Enclosure

Names of signatures of the members of the Muslim League Assembly party proposing Khuhro to be leader of the party.

Enclosure

Names and signatures of two other members of the League Assembly party proposing Khuhro to be leader of the party.

26 December 1945

Khuhro sends signatures of nine other M.L.As to Mr. Khurshid, Secretary to Quaid-e-Azam, who were against the leadership of Shaikh Ghulam Hussain - Now there were 33 signatures against Ghulam Hussain - Khuhro desires Jinnah to announce his award earlier.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MRS KHUHRO WITH QUAID AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

28 November 1944

Mrs. Khuhro writes a letter to Mr. Jinnah in Urdu giving details of Khuhro's services to the Muslim League with an appeal to help as he was involved in a murder case by his political rivals.

28 November 1944

A summarized translated version of Mrs. Khuhro's letter to Jinnah.

13 December 1944

Jinnah expresses his full sympathies with Mrs. Khuhro and advises her that since her husband's case was subjudice, it was better to wait for its decision by the Court of Law.

29 December 1944

Mrs. Khuhro telegraphically asks Mr. Jinnah that Gazder was excused although he had arranged destruction of Sindh League Ministry while the innocent Khuhro was not being helped.

27 January 1945

Mrs. Khuhro informs Jinnah that Hindus were laughing at Muslim League officers who managed a case against Khuhro.

10 February 1945

Mrs. Khuhro requests Jinnah to urge Sayed to help Khuhro.

3 August 1945

Mrs. Jinnah congratulates Mrs. Khuhro on honorable acquittal of Mr. Khuhro.

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PREFACE

Several historians assert that the Congress rule forced the Muslims to demand a separate state for the Muslims, Pakistan. This assertion is equal, if not more, applicable in the case of Sindh. The course of South Asian history would have been difficult had the Congress been more tolerant of the Muslim view point during the period of its rule. The pace set at this time continued till Independence. The real story of Muslim response to the Congress moves and Muslims aspirations still remain to be told. The lack of source material has been a major hindrance. The present work attempts to provide some source-material to the historian.

Correspondence constitutes a vital source to construct history. I plan to publish Sindhi leaders "correspondence with Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam. The present work comprises Muhammad Ayub Khuhro's correspondence with Jinnah. Ayub Khuhro played a prominent role in the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. He was a devoted follower of Jinnah and remained associated with the Muslim League for the whole of his life. He regularly corresponded with the Quaid. He kept the latter informed about the day to day political developments in Sindh. Thus enabling him to strengthen his hold on the political situation in Sindh.

The main text of correspondence is preceded by, an introduction which simply gives an account of the main events that took place during the period covered by the correspondence. The Introduction is meant to enable the readers to understand the correspondence in correct perspective. This collection of correspondence is primarily based on the one available in the Quaid-i-Azam papers and Shamsul Hassan Collection preserved in the National Archives of Pakistan. A few letters that are still under embargo have not been included in this collection. There might be some correspondence with the Khuhro family, but my letters to Dr. Hameeda, daughter of Ayub Khuhro, in this connection did not evince a response. I shall be grateful to those who have in their possession any correspondence that passed on between Khuhro and Jinnah and provide me with copies for inclusion in the next edition of this book. Those enclosures, and letters referred to in the correspondence and were not traceable in the National Archives have been indicated in the footnotes.

I came into touch with this correspondence quite incidentally during search for source material for my doctoral thesis entitled "Pakistan Movement in Sindh 1937-47." I however, am thankful to the officers and staff of the Department of National Achieves of Pakistan in finding the relevant documents and getting their copies photostated.

During the compilation of this book I have been serving as Controller of Examinations to the Federal Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Islamabad which is in

itself a very time consuming job. Nevertheless I undertook this grueling job of compilation merely because of the encouragement of my friend Dr. Rafique Afzal, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and my beloved wife, Sat Bherai, who supported, assisted, entertained me so carefully in so charming a manner that I never lost my interest in this work. For all this encouragement and help I am really indebted to them from the very core of my heart. With their continued encouragement and help I think the next of this series will be in the hands of the readers very soon.

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INTRODUCTION

After the separation of Sindh from Bombay on April 1, 1936, a few Sindh politicians, who had worked for the development and prosperity of Sindh thought of forming a new political party that would be free of the sub-continental level problems or at least keep itself away, from the issues on which the Congress and the All India Muslim League had differences. G. M. Syed took initiative and circulated a questionnaire among the leading politicians of Sindh. Consequently a get-together was held which did not bear fruits, however, it was noted that none of the Congress workers had attended this moot. Actually the impending elections necessitated unity amongst all the Sindhis irrespective of caste, creed or religion; but the attitude of the Congress made it clear to them that they could not divorce themselves from all-India issues. There were numerous rival groups which had formed themselves into parties but their mutual schism, rivalries and jealousies made any compromise impossible. These parties struggled for political dominance in Sindh and were led by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Sir Shah, Nawaz Bhutto, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, G.M Sayed, Allah Bakhsh Soomro and Nihchaldas Vazirani.

The provincial elections under the Act of 1935 were held in January-February, 1937 in which all the active parties and groups, besides many independents, participate. The results of these elections were.¹

Congress	8
Non-congress Hindus	14
Muslim Independents	9
Muslims united	-
Muslim league	-
Other Muslims	7
Other parties	18
(including the Sindh united party)	

¹ K. K. Aziz, *'Muslims under congress rule (1937-1939)*, Documentary series: 3, volume-1, Islamabad, 1978, p. 58.

The results of these elections as given by G. M. Sayed [G. M. Sayed, *Struggle for New Sindh* (Sindhi) p. 8.] though do not need to be repeated; but these results since do reflect upon a few facts of historical importance they are being quoted hereunder:

Ittehad party	22
Congress	7
Muslim political party	3
Sindh Azad party	3
Independents	all the rest

(European and Anglo Indians)	-
No party (Independents)	4
TOTAL	60

One thing is clear from these results that the Muslim League did not participate in the elections as a separate party. The reason could be that Act of 1935 itself restrained the central Muslim leadership from making inroads into the provincial sphere. The federal part of the Act was yet a dream. Naturally the provincial realm, which had been the conserve of the regional leaders, had no room for intrusion from outside. Besides the Sindhi leaders had been awfully busy in the movement for the separation of Sindh from Bombay.

Since there was lack of political awareness in Sindh the elections were won mainly on the basis of personal influence and individual service rather than on the basis of any party principles. In the atmosphere of political backwardness, Sir Lancelot Graham, Governor of Sindh, brushed aside all the democratic principles and invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, whose party (i.e. Muslim political party) had won only 3 seats, to form the Government. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah bargained the portfolios of Speakership and Ministerships with Hindus and other independent members or groups of members. Thus the first cabinet of Sindh was sworn into office. The others occupied the opposition seats. The Opposition parties, the Ittehad party and the Congress, now attenuated. Their cleavage between Congress and Ittehad party and started a united campaign against the Government.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah had acquired political and administrative experience during his membership of the Bombay presidency. He skillfully worked out a compromise with the Ittehad party; but could not win the Azad Hindu group on his side, with the result that they went into the opposition. The Ittehad party in reciprocation of its alliance, demanded some Ministerships, for K. B. Allah Bakhsh, K. B. Khuhro and Nihchaldas Wazirani, which Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah could not give. As a result he lost its support. The Congress and the Azad Hindu group were already against him, therefore, he lost the majority and was defeated on a one rupee cut motion, moved by Mr. Sidhwa. On March 23, 1938 Khan, Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, a leader of the largest party in the Assembly, formed the new Government. Allah Baksh a farsighted politician, now concluded that the Muslim members were interested in their own personal business rather, than their party programmes. He forgot his promises to the people and struggled to stay in power by any means.

The only other party capable of facing the Congress coterie in Sindh was the Muslim League. The people of Sindh, therefore, summoned a provincial Muslim League Conference at Karachi in 1938; which was attended by Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Moulvi Fazal Haq and other leaders of 'all-India' repute. This

conference implanted Muslim League's foothold on strong foundations. Efforts were made to win over all the Sindh Assembly. Muslim Members, with the result that twenty six Assembly members joined the Muslim League on this occasion. Allah Bakhsh had proposed that no election for a new chief Minister would be made; which was not accepted, with the result that he refused to join the League and did, not care for the exit of the Muslim supporters in such a large number. Perhaps he knew that he could purchase members of the Assembly. He also enjoyed support of the Governor; who despite repeated requests did not summon the Assembly until he was sure that no-confidence motion against the Allah Baksh Ministry would not succeed. Allah Baksh had weaned away a number of Muslim League Assembly members including its parliamentary, leaders, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Deputy Leader, Mir Bandeh Ali Khan, who joined the Cabinet. Thus the no-confidence motion failed. The Congress eluded a formidable attack so suddenly made by the Muslim League.

The Muslim League, however, continued its struggle. When it found the Congress members had split up in two groups, it won over enough members to form its own Government with Mir Bandeh Ali Khan as the Prime Minister on March 18,1940. Due to his ineptitude and lack of leadership, qualities his decline started within five months of his assuming power. The affairs of the Government came to be controlled by the bureaucracy. In these circumstances some Sindh politicians invited Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress president, who inspired a sense of cooperation in the Sindh leaders prepared them to work collectively in the larger interest of the people. Allah Bakhsh was unwilling to accept any portfolio other than the Premiership; but owing to the hectic pursuit he accepted a Ministership in Mir Bandeh Ali's cabinet. So a coalition Government was formed. Jinnah visited Sindh in December 1940 in order to organize the Muslim League. He directed the Sindh Muslim League either an effective role in the Assembly to enforce its policies and programmes be played or it should come out of, the Government, leaving it to the Congress and Allah Bakhsh. Next day Mir Bandeh Ali Khan suddenly announced that he was joining the Muslim League and thus Sindh Government was changed into Muslim League Government.

When the Congress and Hindu members in the Assembly learnt about the advice of Jinnah that he would not allow the Muslim League to remain in the coalition, if it did not get effective role in the Cabinet, Allah Bakhsh on their advice, demanded a fourth Ministership as had been promised in the agreement for coalition which the Muslim League could not accede to. Consequentially, after about a month, during the budget session, on a cut motion Allah Bakhsh and the Hindu group occupied the opposition benches. Mir Bandeh Ali Khan was, therefore, left with no choice but to resign as he had lost the majority in the Assembly. The Sindh Muslim League was dejected by this attitude of the Hindu and Congress politicians. It lost all hopes of organizing Sindhis on non-communal basis in order to keep them out of the all-India conflicts. It had to have a recourse to create political awareness in Muslim based on Islamic ideology. Hectic

efforts were made in the interior of Sindh to popularize Muslim political ideology which evinced a positive response from the public.

This was the time when about eight thousand square miles in northern Sindh was plunged into floods, crippling the agricultural life and damaging precious properties. The total loss was of about Rs. 20 crores. This was also the time when due to the Hur armed struggle and the 'Quit India Movement' thousands of Muslims were jailed. Martial Law was imposed in a large area of Sindh. Since jails proved insufficient and unsafe, concentration camps were set up where the detainees were put to inhuman treatment and suffering. Owing to this policy of the Government Allah Bakhsh renounced all the titles and honors conferred on him by the British with the result that he was dismissed. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah formed the next Government of the Muslim League Now on the demise of the president of the Sindh Muslim League, Sir Abdullah Haroon, differences arose among Leaguers on the election of his successor. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi and Muhammad Yusaf Haroon were the candidates for the party presidentship. Shaikh Sindhi and Yusaf Haroon were thought to be strong candidates. However, a serious conflict was averted, because of the bye-election to the seat of the Central Assembly vacated by Abdullah Haroon. The party postponed the presidential elections in view of the bye-election. Ayub Khuhro and Shaikh Sindhi continued to look after the party affairs as Vice-President and General Secretary respectively. Yusaf Haroon was the Muslim League's official candidate. Haji Moula Bakhsh, brother of Allah Bakhsh was the rival, and a strong candidate, for this seat. The Muslim League realized, that they could not afford differences at that crucial stage.² The Muslim League stood so firmly united behind Yusaf Haroon that Haji Moula Bakhsh had to withdraw his candidature.

The next stage was the elections to the central and Provincial Assemblies. The All-India Muslim League laid down a well planned strategy. It set up a central parliamentary board, and parties as well as ministries, wherever these existed. Quaid-i-Azam appointed the following on the provincial parliamentary board of Sindh;

1. G. M. Syed
2. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah
3. Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur
4. Pir Ilahi Bakhsh.
5. Ayub Khuhro
6. Syed Khair Shah
7. Agha Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan

The provincial board invited applications for the Assembly membership. Seventy candidates applied for 35 seats. On October 1, 1945, the Sindh Parliamentary Board met

² Z. H. Zaidi, *M. A. Jinnah-Isphahani Correspondence*, Karachi, 1976, page 307.

to take decision. It was alleged that 'conservatives' who had majority on the Board began to give tickets to their own favorites. According to G. M. Syed, Chairman of the Board, about twenty five members requested him to suspend the proceedings of the Board's meeting so that the issue could be discussed by the provincial party Council. In response to their request, he adjourned the meeting, and informed the Central Parliamentary Board of the new situation in Sindh. As a result, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Muhammad Ismail and Hussain Imam were deputed to investigate the matter. They according to Sayed, held him personally responsible for all that had happened in Sindh.³

The Sindh Muslim League was now divided into two groups: G. M. Syed group and Sir Ghulam Hussain Group, or as G. M. Syed puts it, the progressives (his own group) and the conservatives (Hidayatullah's group). Because of this rift, the Central Parliamentary Board itself made the final selection of candidates. Since the majority of the candidates so selected belonged to the conservative group, the progressives separated from the Sindh Muslim League in October 1945. Before the nomination papers were admitted Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Qazi Isa visited Sindh and negotiated with G. M. Sayed. They reached an agreement but unfortunately when Sayed came to know that four tickets issued to members of his group had been cancelled by the Central Parliamentary Board he left the Muslim League for good.⁴

The general elections for provincial Assemblies were held on February 22, 1946 and Sindh had won 28 out of 35 seats.⁵ After these elections and desertion of G. M. Sayed group Sindh Assembly became an amphitheatre of politics. Not only no-confidence motions and cut motions were presented repeatedly, but loyalties of members also changed every now and then. These conflicts further divided the Sindh Muslim League into two groups: one of Khuhro and the other of Hidayatullah. The Governor summoned the Assembly session on September 5, 1946 to pass the supplementary grant which, due to equal show of strength on both sides, of Government and opposition, could not be passed, and since none could show the majority, the Governor dissolved the Assembly and announced for new elections; but allowed the League to continue in power as a caretaker Government. In these newly held elections, Khuhro had won a majority of about 25 members out of 35 Muslim League members⁶; nevertheless, Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to form the League Government.

The opposition leaders desperately struggled to unite against the Sindh Muslim League; but by 1947 it was a lost battle for them. The League's roots had gone so deep into the masses that no effort could dislodge the League. The Congress also did not see any benefit in joining hands with these groups who had a negligible minority. Moreover,

³ Op. cit., *Struggle for New Sindh*, p. 252.

⁴ *Ibid.* p.274.

⁵ Department of National Archives: *Tehrik-e-Pakistan Manzil Ba: Manzil*, 1984, Islamabad, p-16.

⁶ Khuhro to Jinnah: Document No. 91 to 95, p. 101 to, 104.

the Muslim League knew that its efforts were going to bear fruit without the help of any such group. Consequentially it also did not attach any importance to them. Thus the 'progressive' Muslim parties or groups could do nothing beyond holding a few meetings. They perhaps did not realize that, they had been defeated completely.

There is a general impression that the All-India Muslim League mostly consisted of Nawabs, Jagirdars and big Zamindars who had good relations with the British rulers, which facilitated the creation of Pakistan. The veracity of this statement has not been confirmed so far. As far as Sindh is, concerned the situation was well controlled by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah with the help of the English Governor. Had Sir Ghulam Hussain not sought the help of the Governor the Congress in coalition with other Muslim political groups would have endangered the establishment of Pakistan. The elections of 1946 in Sindh, were actually the victory of Sir Ghulam Hussain or if it was the victory of Jinnah Sir Ghulam Hussain's victory was no lesser than that of Jinnah. Hidayatullah had successfully used the League machinery and maneuvered the situation in such a way that he had almost destroyed the Congress including other rival political groups in Sindh.

One, however, cannot deny the farsightedness of Quaid-i-Azam, his strict adherence to his policies, his indomitable courage in fighting through the most difficult political situations and his unostentatious belief in service and suffering which ensured the establishment of Pakistan and that which achieved independence on August 14, 1947 when Sir Ghulam Hussain was appointed as Governor of Sindh and K. B. Khuhro was elected as Prime Minister. Then started another chapter in the history of Sindh.

JINNAH - KHOHRO CORRESPONDENCE

(1)

124 Muslim Colony
Britto Road, Karachi.
17th August 1938

My dear Jinnah,

As I propose to see you and discuss with you several important matters in connection with the position of the Muslim League in Sindh, I should like to know your programme as early as possible. It will suit me to meet you at Simla in the first week of September in case you are there: Kindly let me know early and oblige.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely
M.A.KHUHRO

(2)

Telegram

Sukkur
12th October, 1939

Mr. Jinnah President Muslim League, New Delhi,

Pray convey to his Excellency viceroy feelings of Sindh Muslims about Manzilgah mosque and anti Muslim attitude of Sindh Government and solicit his intervention. Also pray urge annexation of Sindh with Punjab.

Md. Ayoob Khuhro
Leader Muslim League,
Assembly Party

(3)

Larkana, Sindh
28th December, 1939

My Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have heard detailed news from Sir Abdullah Haroon who came to see you at Bombay regarding the trouble at Sukkur. I have been receiving enormous letters and

personal messages about the atrocities on innocent Musalmans in villages by certain police officials. These allegations also require to be investigated to find the truth. I am informed that by this time nearly one thousand Musalmans have been arrested and put in jail. The atrocities and *zulms* in Congress governed provinces which are being so much, talked of by the All India Muslim League are nothing as compared to what is happening at Sukkur. I learn from Sir Abdullah Haroon that you have kindly deputed Sir Karim bhoy and Nawab Sahib of Mamdot to visit Sukkur and report about the causes for trouble, responsibility of Government, and the after effects of this trouble. May I, therefore, request you kindly to wire Nawab Sahib of Mamdot and speak to Sir Karim bhoy personally to come to Karachi latest by 2nd or 3rd of January. Some of us will go round with them in order that they may be in a position to complete their report by 10th January and place it in your hands. We will then request you to take up this matter with the Government of India as we Musalmans have lost all faith in this Government. The Ministry is only anxious to. retain office at all costs and therefore we apprehend they would stay at nothing in securing their position in the Assembly.

Awaiting your early reply

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours
M. A. Khuhro

(4)
Telegram

Karachi
3rd February, 1940

Mr. Jinnah, President Muslim League, New Delhi,
Sir Abdullah Haroon, New Delhi
Sir Sikander Hayat, Premier Punjab, New Delhi

Muslim public opinion and my Assembly Party strongly favor reasonable compromise with Congress STOP League and Congress combined could form stable Ministries in provinces following national programmes ameliorating condition Muslim masses in majority provinces STOP Allah Bakhsh Ministry here exploiting disagreement between two parties STOP Respectfully urge for honorable, settlement and save Sindh.

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro
Leader Assembly Party.

(5)
Telegram

Karachi Napier Market
7th February 1940

Muhammad Ali Jinnah,
President A. I. Muslim League New Delhi

Sindh Ministry rushing through Bill extending Sindh Frontier Regulation 1872 & 1892 to Sukkur District with Congress and Hindu members support STOP Speaker Sindh Assembly ruled previous sanction of Governor General necessary consequently bill being referred to His Excellency for sanction STOP Pray submit our earnest request before Governor General withhold necessary sanction STOP Muslim public opinion strongly opposed to this antiquated and repressive measures and majority. Muslim members of Assembly also against it STOP Hundreds of innocent people will be unduly victimized STOP Allah Bakhsh Ministry adopting such measures to please Hindus and Congress retain themselves in office.

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro
Leader Muslim League Party
Sindh Legislative Assembly.

(6)
Telegram
(Enclosure)

Karachi
7th February, 1940

Mr. M.A. Jinnah,
President All India Muslim League, New Delhi

Pray place our request before his Excellency Governor General withhold previous sanctions to extending with Sindh Frontier regulations STOP We Muslim members of Government party are strongly against this repressive measures.

Mir Ghulam Ali, Ghulamullah
Mir Allandad Togachi
Pir Mulan Hyder
Muhammad Yusuf
Muhammad Usman
Rasul Bux

(7)

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay
20th January, 1941

Dear Khan Bahadur Khuhro,

I find from the various reports that the Congress leaders have started their maneuvers to create trouble and all sorts of misrepresentations are appearing in the press I sincerely hope that you will, as a member of the League stand by the resolution passed on the 20th⁷ of December by the Council of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League. That is the only honorable line on which the Muslim League can exist in Sindh. I also feel that your colleagues Mir Bandeh Ali and Sheikh Abdul Majid will, be equally firm and will stand by those resolutions. Please do keep me informed as to what is the position and how it is developing.

Any departure from the line that we have laid down by those resolutions will be disastrous not only to the League but also to the Musalmans of Sindh, and its repercussions may even cause damage to the All India Muslim cause. I hope you will keep me in touch with the situation as it is of a very great importance at this juncture.

With, kind regards

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah

Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro
Minister, Sindh Government, Karachi

(8)

Sindh Secretariat,
Karachi 30th January, 1941

My dear Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of date. I have again looked up both the resolutions passed by the Provincial Muslim League on 22-12-1940 in your presence at the residence of Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon.

⁷ In the following letter of 30 January, 1941 the date for passing the Resolutions is mentioned as 22-12-1940. Jinnah also has mentioned its date as 22-12-1940 vide his letter of 8th February 1941 which must be correct.

The first resolution refers to the formation of the Muslim League party inside the Assembly by 31-1-1941 and I undertook to do so. Immediately after your departure I started the work and wrote to all the M.L.As to join the party of the Muslim League. I have so far secured fifteen pledges and I hope to get more shortly. I have also convened a meeting of the party on 12-2-41 when a full stock of the situation will be taken and I shall then be in a position to communicate to you the exact number of M.L.As who join the party inside the Assembly and the names of the office bearers.

The second resolution refers to the subject of joint electorates in local bodies *i.e.*, District Local Board & District Municipalities for which two bills already prepared by Government are coming. We have explained the entire position to the Advisory Committee yesterday that in pursuance of the resolution of the Provincial Muslim League, we will have to oppose the measures. The Committee in order to meet our wishes have therefore deferred the subject (these bills) sine die and thus there is no likelihood of these bills coming up in the next March sessions if we are in the Cabinet.

As regards the resignation of the Hon'ble Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur on 15-2-1941, which point you have referred to in his letter and not mine, we shall be sending you a reply in a day or two.

Do pray let me know when you intend going to Delhi and whether there is any likelihood of your coming over to Sindh in the near future.

With all best wishes,
Yours sincerely
M. A. Khuhro

M A Jinnah, Esq., Bar-at-Law., M.L.A., (Central)
President All India Muslim League,
Malabar Hills, Bombay

(9)

Camp Hyderabad, Sindh
8th February, 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I have already replied to your letter on the 30th instant which I trust you have received. I have also seen your letter dated 30th January 1941 to Shaikh Abdul Majid and of 2nd February, 1941 to Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon. I am afraid the letter, of the Mir Sahib has not conveyed to you the full implication of his understanding. In fact the Mir sahib had of his own free choice given a verbal understanding to Moulana Azad that he intended

to resign of his own free will on account of some of his private affairs by the middle of February, 1941 and he conveyed this fact to His Excellency the Governor as Well.

Mr. G. M. Sayed & myself wrote a letter⁸ to Mr. Nihchaldas C. Vazirani which makes a mention of this, will give you complete information as to what is being styled as an agreement. I have read the correspondence passed between you and Mr. G. M. Sayed and looking to the conditions obtained here, I fully agree with the views of Mr. Sayed that the unity of the various Muslim Groups in the Assembly is most essential and should be achieved and preserved at all costs.

We have called a meeting of the Assembly League party on the 12th instant where we will discuss these matters fully and I will let you know the decisions arrived at there.

Yours sincerely
M. A. Khuhro

M.A. Jinnah Esqr., M.L.A., (Central)
President All India Muslim League,
Bombay, India

(10)
(Enclosure)

Karachi
20th November 1940

Dear Nihchaldas,

We have discussed the question of bringing about unity between the Muslim parties inside the legislature in the interests of the province. In order therefore to unite the party in power and that of the opposition, we have reached the following conclusion:

1. That of the four sitting Muslim Ministers Hn'ble Shaikh Abdul Majid has kindly agreed voluntarily to resign his place in order to accommodate one member of the opposition in the cabinet who will be either Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh or Sir Ghulam Hussain.
2. That by 15th of February Hn'ble Mir Bandeh Ali Khan has kindly consented to give up post of Premiership in the interests of the Province and that

⁸ See Document No 10 (Enclosure)

if at that time either K. B. Allah Bakhsh or Sir Ghulam Hussain is chosen as Premier we shall have no objection.

3. That in case Mir Sahib decides to stay as a Minister, one of us will make room.

Yours Sincerely
(Sd/-) G. M. Sayed
(Sd/-) M. A. Khuhro

(11)

[Camp Hyderabad Sindh]
8th February, 1941

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th January. I am very glad that you are earnestly giving effect to the resolutions passed by the Sindh Provincial Muslim League on the 22nd December 1940 and I note that you have so far secured 15 pledges and that you hope to get more shortly. That is the only way to build up a solid Muslim League party. I am waiting to know the result of your party meeting which is going to take place on the 12th of February when you will let me know the exact number of M.L.As. who join the party inside the Assembly and the names of the office bearers.

As regards the second resolution I am glad to learn from the press reports that the Government have decided to drop the bills that were likely to come up before the Assembly in your next session. I also want to impress upon you that Borough Municipalities where joint Electorates Act has already been passed should be suspended or withdrawn because the Muslim League, can never accept it.

With regard to resignation of Mir Bandeh Ali - a point which I have, referred to him in my letter - you promised by your letter under reply that "we shall be sending you a reply, jointly in a day or two". I am still waiting for that joint reply. If necessary I may come to Karachi at any moment, because I am very anxious that the Sindh muddle must be put to an end. It has now reached a state when it has become intolerable. I hope that you four *viz* Mir Bandeh Ali, Shaikh Majid, Haroon and yourself will stand together, no matter what the consequences may be. I am sure that if you stand together and united as honorable men and remain firm, all difficulties and opposition will melt away and you will be free from the most humiliating position as well as Muslim League. I therefore request you all to serve selflessly and fearlessly the cause for which we all stand.

I have issued a statement to the press, a copy of which is enclosed herewith and you will gather from it that the so called "Azad pact", is a pure maneuver and no such arrangement between some individuals can, by any stretch of imagination, be called a pact and I am sure that you along with your other colleagues in the Ministry will stand loyally by the instructions of the League. In conclusion I hope you will all act on the lines of my statement without hesitation and without faltering in any way.

Hope you are well,
With kind regards

Your sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro,

(12)
Telegram

Karachi
13th February, 1941

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Your presence here failing meeting you Delhi kindly fix date before twentieth wire reply.

Khuhro

(13)

Karachi Sindh
14th February, 1941/J

Dear. Mr. Khuhro

I received your telegram yesterday the 13th February and also I was glad to receive your telephone call this morning informing me that you were coming to Delhi to meet me before any final decision regarding the Sindh affairs is taken.

I confirm the appointment of your meeting me at Delhi on the 18th and I have also wired to Mir Bandeh Ali to come to Delhi.

With kind regards

Yours Sincerely
M. A. Jinnah

Khan Bahadur
M. A. Khuhro

(14)

(A Formula -)

(1) accept all the terms as proposed.

(2) Three Muslim Leagues viz. -
Shahid Abdul-Majid
Khuro vs Mir
Premier vs League

1. Premier ^{B.} Khuro vs Mir
Shahid Abdul-Majid

(2) There will be three Ministers - one League ^{to}
Premier ^{to} Khuro vs Mir

(15)

CONFIDENTIAL

124 Muslim Colony,
Karachi,
23rd February, 1941.

My dear Jinnah,

I reached Karachi on 21st and read out your letter to Mir Sahib and had also a talk with him. The other side are trying their level best to defeat us. Yesterday K. B. Allah. Bakhsh came to see me in the evening and he has now made a well considered and serious proposal that he will agree to the Muslim League Premier and one Muslim League Minister to remain provided of the three Muslim League Ministers resign and one in his place is taken up from the party of K. B. Allah Bakhsh. I discussed this question with Mir Sahib as well and he is of opinion that it will be quite, a reasonable compromise

looking at the conditions at this moment in this province we have only 16 members out of 35 of the League and therefore our strength is less than 50%. But if they agree to retain our Premier balance of power will be on our side. The Ministry is always of the Premier as he is the leader of the team and if this position is accepted I am perfectly certain that in the course of next 3 months our party in the Assembly will be larger and we will get more than 20 members in our party. Not, only that but our, position in the future elections will also considerably improve and by remaining in office our party will be able to secure at least 25 seats in the coming election and it will considerably enhance the position of the Provincial Muslim League. I will place this proposal of K. B. Allah Bakhsh before the parliamentary party meeting which I have called on 2nd March and I will apprise you of their decision, I will await your instructions. Meantime, however, I would request you kindly to give me clear indication of your mind so that I may, be in a position to successfully negotiate for our side.

I may also bring to your kind notice that the Hindu Ministers will not come in our, way in the day to day Administration nor do I think the non-league Ministers will oppose any agrarian acts provided for the Muslim masses of the province as they are the dire necessity, to improve the condition of most backward Muslim population. We must show our work to our people and that is which will make us successful on the polls. Our decision handing over the Sukkur, Mosque and Manzilgah to the Muslims and utilizing the grounds for Muslim education has thrilled the Musalmans throughout the province and now they are very grateful for the efforts of the Muslim League Ministers. Such things as you know attract rapid attention of the masses and go a long way in elections. Bearing all these things in mind, I would, emphatically request you to agree to the compromise which is advantageous to its and not the other side at the present moment .

I will be awaiting your reply.
With kind regards.

Yours sincerely
M. A. Khuhro

(16)
Telegram

(Place not given)
26th February, 1941

M. A. Khuhro, Minister, Karachi

Your letter 23rd February please adhere strictly lines laid down my last letter Mir Bandeh Ali press statements STOP cannot consider any proposal unless sent me in

writing from responsible quarters and threat break Ministry abandoned STOP Status quo any cost my advice STOP Show this telegram Mir Bandeh Ali, Majid, Haroon.

Jinnah
10, Aurangzeb Road.

(17)
Telegram

Karachi,
2nd March, 1941

Muhammad Ali Jinnah esq. care Nawab Mamdot, Lahore.

Your wire negotiations ceased STOP General Sentiment Assembly party & provincial committee accept two non-leaguers one League Premier & one Minister STOP Possibility of success Mir formula STOP Wire whether negotiate subject withdrawal non-confidence motion STOP Awaiting orders.

Khuhro

(18)

124 Muslim Colony
Britto Road, Karachi
19th March, 1941

My dear Jinnah,

I hope you have received hill information regarding proceedings in Sindh following my interview with you at Delhi.

In accordance with your advice we have come out of the office and have not in any way compromised with the Allah Bakhsh party or the Congress in Sindh. About 14 members of Assembly stand by us, although one cannot be sure how many of them will continue to do so till the end of the term.

The Hindus seem to have made K. B. Allah Bakhsh agree to a policy of repression against the League leaders. Both the elements are of the view that the League movement be crushed, otherwise it will upset all their hopes and designs in the future elections. Prosecution of Mr. Gazder is about to be sanctioned and many more are likely to follow him in his wake. Our another handicap is lack of organization and finances. For the last four years we have been carrying on the struggle in one form or another, and the pressure on our own resources has been tremendous. Besides we are likely to

have general elections by about the end of the current year, and we have got to give a final and decisive battle to *allahbuxites* on that occasion. That again will throw additional burden on us. Not only that, but preliminary propaganda and organizational activities which will occupy our next ten months, must also cost a good deal. These are some of the circumstances we have to face, even if we ignore the demoralization and discontent which our abdication from office has caused in the friendly circles which have throughout been of the view that with only ten months in between the new elections the power patronage should not have been placed into the hands of the enemies.

After considering all, aspects of the matter I am of the view that you may kindly give us at least one month of your time, and that also immediately after the Madras session is over, in order to set our future plans right. If we are not helped by the center to stand on our feet at this crucial stage in our life, Sindh shall have gone down the ditch at least, for a long time to come. Some poor candidates will also have to be helped from the party fund, which practically does not exist here. For all these matters we have got to discuss with you on your visit to Sindh. With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely
M. A. Khuhro

P.A.

I enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Sidhwa, leader of the Congress party in the Sindh Assembly

Sd/19.3

(19)
Enclosure

Karachi,
18th March, 1941

Dear Mr Sidhwa,

I have received a notice signed by you last evening, intimating me to attend the meeting of the All Parties Advisory Committee today at 11 a.m.

In reply to that I wish to inform you that Advisory Committee of sixteen was appointed with a view to maintain an All Parties Government in the province and secure support for it, from all the parties in the House. That is why there are representatives of every party and interest in the house on this Advisory Committee.

But now that all party Government no longer exists due to the efforts and machinations of the Congress Assembly Party, no useful purpose will be served by our functioning on this Committee.

This view is shared by my other, colleagues as well and they have authorized me to write to you on behalf of them all.

Yours faithfully,

M. A. Khuhro

Copy to Mr. M A. Jinnah, (M.L.A. Central)
President All India Muslim League, New Delhi

(20)

1.0, Aurangzeb Road,
Karachi,
25th March, 1941.

Dear. Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th instant and the enclosed copy of the letter addressed to Mr. Sidhwa dated the 18th March and thank you for it.

Let me in the first instance say that at least the Muslim League in Sindh Assembly have adopted the right course. You will soon realize its effect on our people as well as on our opponents. It now lies in your hands to stand together as one man in the Assembly and organize the Muslim League outside the Legislature. I am hopeful that the Muslim League will sooner than later occupy the honored position in the Government of your province.

As I have already informed you that I shall do my very best to do my bit for the Sindh Muslim League, I shall certainly bear in mind your suggestion that I should visit Sindh after the Madras Session.

I am glad that you realize that it is a crucial stage in our political life in Sindh.

I hope you will be coming to Madras. We will then have the oppertunity to talk over the matter further.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards.

Yours Sincerely
M. A. Jinnah

(21)
Telegram

Karachi
23rd August, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah Bombay,

Muslim Premiers appointed war councilors their official capacity which original publication names 22nd July alphabetical orders reveals STOP Friction among Muslim ranks this juncture harmful STOP Pray avoid rift maintain solidarity for higher interests of Muslim nation.

Khuhro, leader League Assembly Party.

(22)

Larkana, Sindh.
24th September, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah,

I am sure you must be taking some interest in Sindh politics because of the recent developments that have taken place after I saw you at Bombay. Your silence however, on the subject, is somewhat surprising. I enclose herewith for your kind perusal, cutting⁹ from newspapers in which 3 of my statements, at different times, issued during the last fortnight, appear. There are also the accounts of flight of K. B. Allahbakhsh - the Sind Premier to Wardha to see Patel and Gandhi. It is quite obvious that the Congress Organization which claims to be the great adherent of its pronounced policy and programme and also claims to be a highly and well organized party in Indian politics, has completely surrendered to K. B. Allahbakhsh. Strange enough that leader like Gandhi and his associate in the so called high command have bid good-bye to all cardinal principles which they have too often broadcast and advocated from public platforms, merely to see that the 4th province - Sindh - also does not fall into the hands of the Muslim League. People who have willingly and voluntarily abandoned power in no less than 7 provinces should cling to Sindh, comparatively a very small province, even at the cost of their pronounced policy and programme, is indeed a disgraceful conduct, to say the least I wish you could kindly issue some statement making known to the public what the Congress is up to and why they have sacrificed their principles to placate Allahbakhsh and keep him in power at all costs.

⁹ Cuttings were found not attached with the document.

The argument very commonly used by the Congress leaders and the other supporters of the present Ministry that the conditions in Sindh are peculiar and extraordinary, is a myth and a fabrication. The conditions in fact in all the provinces are almost the same and so also the degree of cooperation and distrust between the two major communities. The Manzilgah agitation and the consequences that followed were mainly due to the attitude of the Hindus of Sukkur and the policy of procrastination followed by the premier. However those who advance such arguments should remember that the things that have happened in other parts of India just as Bombay, Ahmedabad, Bihar, Dacca, Cawnpure etc., were equally bad if not worse. It is therefore very unfair to single out Sindh and make it a target of attack. If Allahbakhsh is to be helped by the Congress they could do so for other reasons and the real reason being that he is enemy of the Muslim League and lie is out to divide the solidarity of Musalmans by playing into the hands of the Congress whom this attitude of Allahbakhsh helped in higher politics. The Muslims here are suffering locally both in the legislative programme for the benefit of agricultural population and also in the matters of their share in Public service. You must have noticed in various issues of 'The Muslim Voice'. How, the suppression of Musalmans has become the order of the day But the Muslims here are hopelessly backward educationally and politically and it is a stupendous task to educate the masses and make them realize what their rights are which are being denied to them. Very unfortunately for us the postponement of elections indefinitely has encouraged the Ministers to play pranks and ignore the claims of the members of their own community (Muslims) entirely. Without being regarded a pessimist I feel that the future for Muslims here is dark. The Hindu minority is combined and, well organized and by dividing the Muslim majority they are playing the game most successfully.

Even in the future scheme of Pakistan if the minorities are to be given adequate and mandatory safeguards politically and administratively, as the present League, resolution says, the Musalmans here do not stand to gain anything. G. M. Sayed's scheme of Pakistan where minorities have no place at least in the sphere of politics is entirely different and much more to the liking of the Musalmans in majority provinces. This however is a separate issue altogether and we will discuss with you when you are pleased to come to Karachi or on the occasion of the All India Muslim League Council session, by the end of this month at Delhi.

Your presence in Sindh, at least for sometime either before going to Delhi or, immediately after your return from Delhi is very essential to study the conditions personally or yourself. We must devise all possible means to strengthen the. League organization in this province where it is very weak and do something to combat the mischief of the Congress in collusion with K. B. Allahbakhsh.

I am glad to find that the threatened cleavage in the Muslim League ranks has been so ably and tactfully avoided by your good self in three other provinces and the

controversy is come to close. The indications are that Moulana Faziul Haq will also change his attitude and come to his senses very soon.

I shall be much obliged for an early reply giving. necessary advice about Sindh politics and your probable dates of visiting Sindh. I would prefer, your visit by the middle of November when you are back from Delhi ad it will he an excellent season in this part of the country.

With kindest regards,

M. A. Khuhro

(23)

(Place not given)
1st October, 1941

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th September enclosing the press cuttings, and while I agree with you as regards your criticism of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress high command in allowing K. B. Allahbakhsh to continue as a member, of the so called National Defence Council, I do not know I can do in the matter. It is entirely in the hands of the Musalmans of Sindh You say, 'The Hindu minority is combined and well organized and by dividing the Muslim majority they are playing the game most successfully'. Well that we know, and that is the very reason why I have been urging upon you and other leaders of the Muslim League organization to organize our people so as to prevent Muslim majority being divided. But you people are so impatient of the result. You want quick results. I again, therefore, emphatically want you and other leaders of the Muslim League to organize our people so that you can resist the state of things in Sindh which you are facing.

As regards your observations regarding Pakistan, I am afraid they are far too loose and I am glad that you also say 'that is a separate issue altogether' and I shall certainly welcome a discussion with you and other Muslim League leaders when we meet.

I hope that you will come in a very strong contingency, at the meeting of Council of the All-India Muslim League which, is going to take place at Delhi in the last week of October. We can also discuss the question of my going to Karachi there if necessary.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Khan, Bahadur M. A. Khuhro.

(24)
Telegram

Karachi
13th October, 1941

Mr. Jinnah Malabar Hill Bombay,

Pray wire when leaving Bombay and when reaching Delhi STOP intend meeting you twentieth or twenty fourth.

Khuhro

(25)

124 Muslim Colony
Karachi
16th October, 1941

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

K. B. Allah Bakhsh saw me on the 13th evening and wanted me to request you on the phone to give him an appointment at Bombay. I, therefore, wired you about your programme and also phoned you on the 14th evening. After talking to you on the phone I communicated him that you had no objection in seeing him at Bombay on the 19th. He has already left for Delhi and will be coming over to Bombay to see you on the 19th from Delhi direct. I request I can't come to Bombay as I have very, unavoidable business here. I am however coming to Delhi earlier and will be reaching there on the 23rd or latest 24th. He has been talking to me and Shaikh A. Majid about his anxiety to meet you and talk to you for interim, settlement with the Congress, on the basis of coalition ministries in all provinces. We do not know whether you will be agreeable to any, temporary settlement for the war period.

So far as Sindh province is concerned, we have told him that if, you, agree to the principle, we will place it before our party meeting. But most of us do not favor the idea of any expansion. I We have therefore told him that in case you agreed, we should have two seats in the cabinet at least, out of four Muslim members in the cabinet and Sir Ghulam Hussain to go. If he gave us any such proposal we will place it before the party meeting and the provincial League, and communicate to him the decision.

It seems obvious that K. B. has been talking to Gandhi and other Congress leaders about interim settlement. I am not aware of your views on the subject, and I will come to see you and talk to you in detail what K. B. Allah Bukhsh says, as soon as I reach Delhi.

Perhaps he may also come again to see you at Delhi 2nd time, after we have seen you at Delhi 2nd time, after we have seen you.

I have written to many Sindhi members of the All India Muslim League to attend Delhi session and reach there before 26th, as it is a very important session and agenda also shows that. More when we meet.

With kindest regards,

I am
Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

(26)

124 Muslim Colony
Karachi
24th March, 1942

My Dear Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a copy of my telegram¹⁰ which I have sent to Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of my party in the Assembly, for your information. I hope to reach Delhi on 30th morning and stop there for 3 days before proceeding to Allahabad to attend the All India League session. I hope I will have the honor of meeting you at Delhi during my stay there.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely
M. A. Khuhro

(27)
Telegram
(enclosure)

124, Muslim Colony
Briton Road, Karachi
March, 1942.

Sir Stafford Cripps,
Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.

¹⁰ See document No. 27.

Sind Muslims solidly support Jinnah and League demands STOP Khanbahadur Allahbux not representing Muslims STOP He owes premiership to 25 non-Muslim votes plus votes of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries constituting majority in Assembly.

Khanbahadur Khuhro
Leader Opposition,
Sind Assembly.

(28)
Telegram

Sukkur
22nd April, 1942

Mr. Jinnah, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar hills, Bombay.

Muslim League candidate Sardar Ali Goher elected unopposed Ghotki bye election Sind Assembly seat.

Khuhro

(29)

10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi
30th April, 1942

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

Many thanks for your telegram I was very glad to hear that the Muslim League candidate Sardar Ali Goher was elected unopposed.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro, Sukkur, Sindh.

(30)

Karachi
2nd May 1942

Dear Mr. Jinnah¹¹,

You are well aware that owing to the sudden and unfortunate death of Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon a vacancy has occurred in the Central Legislative Assembly. Somehow or the other the Karachi City Electoral Roll does not include the name of Yusuf Abdullah Haroon, Mohammad Hashim Gazder or any other important Muslim Leaguer of the city so much. So that even the name of late Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon is not there. This is gross negligence, on the part of the city League on one side and the carelessness on the part of the authorities on the other. The effort is however being made to get the name of Yusuf Haroon enrolled even now as the Governor General has got the powers under rule 6 of the Legislative Assembly Rules to order amendments in the Electoral Roll at any stage, if there is sufficient evidence to justify such modifications. It is however feared that the Central Government may order holding of election too quickly. This is the function of the Legal Department of the Government of India. I would therefore request you on behalf of the provincial League to ask the authorities there at Delhi to postpone election till the question of Yusuf Haroon is decided, which matter may take a month at least. This entire process of election calling upon the constituency to fill the vacancy inviting nomination papers etc., may kindly be stayed.

I have asked the Secretary of the provincial League in my capacity as the Vice-President, to summon the meeting of the Provincial League Council, on the 17th instant to receive the applications of the candidates and forward them on to you for being placed before the All India Working Committee for choosing the candidate. This process also will, I believe, take whole of May. In case Yusuf Haroon does not succeed in getting himself enrolled as a voter we have to make a choice of another strong candidate to fight the election as Khan Bahadur Moulabux brother of the Sindh Premier, K. B. Allahbux, has announced his candidature and is therefore to bring to your kind notice that very serious effort is required on the part of our organization and a good number of workers and speakers from all parts of India, to defeat this strong and influential opponent. But if, God willing, Yusuf becomes eligible to contest the election the general atmosphere will be in his favor owing to the services of his late father to the community.

I would keep you fully informed of the developments that take place there in this connection from time to time I saw the Chief Secretary to the Government of Sindh

¹¹ Copy of this letter was also forwarded to Sir Feroz Khan Noon on 6th May, 1942.

today, who has promised to write to the Government of India to delay holding the election till the question of Yusuf's vote is decided.

Local Government will also recommend this amendment in the poll to the Governor General as early as possible.

With best wishes and kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

P.S.

As I am leaving Larkana tomorrow for about ten days, kindly reply on my Larkana address.

(31)

Larkana (Sindh)
5th June, 1942.

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

The Muslim League deputation appointed by the provincial League *viz* G. M. Sayed, Shaikh Abdul Majid and myself toured in the part of Sukkur and Jacobabad districts for last one week. We did the election campaign for Yusuf for the Assembly seat and also the organization of the Muslim League work in the area where Muslim League branches never existed before. Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali was throughout with us for our both purposes. He wielded great influence in upper Sindh frontiers district and through his zealous efforts we have had a very warm reception everywhere and also a very encouraging response. This area is the home of K. B. Allahbakhsh the Premier and he has landed property and contracts etc., there. Our success there is consequently a great blow to him. We are therefore of opinion that Mir Jaffer Khan Sahib should be encouraged in doing such solid work for the organization and for this election. We value his work very much and I have been asked by my colleagues, to request you kindly to write an encouraging letter to Mir Jaffer Khan Sahib Jamali (P.O. Jacobabad U.S.F.) appreciating what he has done for the League and for the League candidate and also asking him to continue such energetic efforts for the cause in future as well.

Rashdi has given entirely a false and misleading account in his paper of 23rd May last regarding the proceedings of meeting of the provincial League council about the election of its president. I had written out a lengthy statement giving full details but friends advise that I should not publish it for various reasons I will however send you a copy of it very shortly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

(32)

(Place not given)
10th June 1942

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th of June and I am glad that you had a very successful tour in Sukkur and Jacobabad Districts. I will write to our friend Jaffer Khan Jamali for his great help and our appreciation for what he has done for the League. I have met him more than once and also at Allahabad I saw him. I know he is a very staunch Leaguer.

With regard to Mr. Rashdi's account regarding the proceedings of the meeting of the provincial League Council I should like to know fuller details and I am glad that you are sending me a copy of your statement.

Hoping you are well, with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

M.A. Khuhro Esq.
Larkana (Sindh).

(33)

Karachi,
16th June, 1942

From
K.B. M.A. Khuhro, M.L.A. (Sindh)
Acting President,
Provincial Muslim League,
Napier Road, Karachi.

To
M.A. Jinnah, Esq., M.L.A. Bar-at-Law.,
President All India Muslim League,

Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

Sir,

I enclose herewith a copy of the Resolution passed by the working Committee of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, reviewing the entire political situation in the province, *vis-a-vis* the application of Martial Law to half the province. I request that you will kindly go through the contents of the Resolution very carefully and give us benefit of your guidance in this matter. It is further requested that your presence at Karachi is very necessary at this time. All my colleagues have asked me to request you in this respect. We have to consult you and seek your guidance on very important matters and of a great consequence to the people of this unfortunate province. May I hope that you will kindly make up your mind to pay us a visit by the end of this month or latest in early July.

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M.A. Khuhro

(34)
(Enclosure)

The Working Committee of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League has given its most earnest and serious consideration to the circumstances leading up to and the situation arising from the declaration on the 1st of June 1942 of Martial Law in more than half the province and deems it its duty to take the necessary steps to safeguard:

- (1) the constitutional rights of the people,
- (2) the economy of the province and
- (3) the civic rights of the citizen,

all of which, in the opinion of the Committee have, been seriously infringed, threatened or affected. The Committee records here below its conclusions and appoints the following four of its members, namely:

- (1) K. B. Muhammad Ayoob Khuhro
- (2) Shaikh Abdul Majid
- (3) Mr. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, and
- (4) Mr. G.M. Sayed

to wait upon H.E. the Governor of Sindh and discuss with him the issues involved.

The following are some of the consequences of the extraordinary step that has been taken by the authorities in, promulgating Martial Law:

- (a) complete breakdown of civil administration in more than half the province,
- (b) resort to Marital Law all at once in such a large area in the hope of retr1ving the situation,
- (c) serious likelihood of dislocation of the economic life of the province and the inevitable consequences bordering upon general famine, as a result of the operation of Martial Law on the lines on which it is being at present enforced, and
- (d) apprehension of Martial Law being extended to the remaining parts of the province and thereby making conditions still worse.

2. In the opinion of this Committee, this disastrous crisis is the inevitable outcome of the anti Muslim and unscrupulous policy of exploitation followed by the present Ministers, resulting in a long chain of events that have been taking place during the period they have held the reins of Sindh administration. The Ministers have thereby given an indisputable proof of their incompetence and complete failure to maintain law and order.

3. It is common knowledge that throughout their regime, the Ministers have taken no steps to alleviate the causes of the growing discontent amongst the masses or to reform their masses methods of administration, with the result that the situation has been steadily deteriorating Finding themselves faced with the growing discontent and the serious consequences of their aimless policy which was solely directed against the best interests of the masses, the Ministers have now resorted to Martial, Law and thereby surrendered no less than half the province to military rule.

The Committee is strongly of the opinion, which is shared by a very large and ever increasing section of the population, that the Ministers having been confounded by the growing number of murders; *dacoities* and other acts of lawlessness, were compelled in their bewilderment and to save their face, to take this action. As far as this Committee is aware, in the history of provincial Government in British India, this unhappy province is the first to have achieved the invidious distinction of having more than half of its area subjected to Martial Law, while the so called popular Ministers continue to retain their offices. There are extensive provisions of the existing laws including the all embracing Defence of India rules that are calculated to be adequate to meet even such an abnormal situation as is created by war conditions. On the other hand the Government of India Act 1935 lays down several provisions for effectively dealing in almost every conceivable manner with a situation that appears seriously to threaten the peace and

tranquility of province. In spite of all this, the present Government have deemed it fit to promulgate Martial Law and thereby deprive the larger part of the very people from whom they are supposed to derive their present position as Ministers of their fundamental rights. This position militates against the constitutional law and is quite incompatible with the very spirit of provincial autonomy. It is really strange that such a drastic and desperate step should have been taken without making previous arrangements to see that the, vast numbers of people whose fundamental rights were thereby going to be so seriously invaded were duly instructed and prepared in regard to the handicaps and hardships inevitable to the operation of Martial Law. It was further necessary to restrict this operation to only such a small area as was absolutely essential for the purpose in view and at the same time to ensure that the daily rounds of the people's activities connected with their lawful livelihood were not interfered with and as far as humanly possible no innocent people were victimized. But the Committee regret to observe that no such precautions were taken. Even if the need for promulgation of Martial Law was real, the Committee feels that if the present ministers had any slightest regard to the popular feeling or felt in any manner responsible to the people at large, they would have at the most sought military assistance without placing such a vast area all at once under the military rule, just as it had been done during the unfortunate Sukkur riots. But the hot haste with which a measure of such a drastic nature was precipitated upon the entire population in this vast area, in itself betrays a sad lack of sense of responsibility and unmasks the hollowness of their representative character. Standing as the Ministers therefore do so thoroughly self-condemned and exposed, this Committee which voices the feelings of the entire Muslim population of the province when it emphatically urged upon H. E. the Governor to end this travesty of provincial autonomy and relieve the present Ministers of their office to which they have forfeited every possible claim.

In view of the above, it is the earnest request of this Committee that H. E. the Governor of Sindh will be pleased:

- (a) to convene immediately a session of the Sindh Legislative Assembly to consider the problems of vital nature above referred to,
- (b) to appoint a Court of Inquiry to investigate and report upon the causes responsible for the failure of the present Ministers and their administration that led to the necessity of promulgation of Martial Law, without having tried the various remedies provided under the Government of India Act and the Defence of India Rules,
- (c) to take steps to see that Martial Law is so administered that while it enables to effectively deal with the turbulent and guilty elements it does, not restrict the lawful pursuits of agriculturists or the carrying out of legitimate activities of constitutional nature and the exercising of civil rights by peace-loving and law-abiding citizens.

5. The Committee further deems it necessary to draw the attention of the authorities to the handicaps of the citizens occasioned by the operation of Martial Law in the affected areas in particular so as to make it possible for agricultural operations to continue unhampered, as otherwise, is, serious danger to the economy of the province which may, be so adversely affected as to create a situation that may bring a widespread ruin upon the entire province. Side by side with this, the Committee urges the necessity of suitably amending, relaxing or rescinding the restrictions imposed upon the population under the provisions of Martial Law so as to enable the people to carry on their social activities of peaceful nature. and at the same time to enable the recognized political bodies to carry on their constitutional propaganda and organization work, especially when a bye-election for the Central Assembly seat is shortly to take place Some of the difficulties which are being experienced by the people now and which need to be remedied immediately are the following:

- (a) The ferries on the river be opened to traffic with suitable provisions to check the movements of undesirable persons so as to permit agriculturists, fire-wood sellers, cattle owners and others whose livelihood makes it necessary ,to use the ferries,
- (b) The night movements of agriculturists be permitted in order to enable ` them to irrigate their fields if their turn for water happens to be fixed during night-hours or if they have to work their persian-wheels for Jowar (Indian Millet) and other food-crops in lift lands or in non-barrage areas,
- (c) The carrying and use of hatchets and other implements necessary for agricultural operations be made possible,
- (d) The restrictions imposed upon the assemblage of five or more persons be suitably amended so as to permit the carrying out agricultural operations such as canal-clearance, division of crops, ploughing, transplantation, harvesting etc., and performance of social duties connected with marriages, deaths, etc.
- (e) The order regarding wholesale disarming of people at one and the same time throughout the vast area now under the Military should be modified with suitable precautions to ensure their rightful use, as otherwise the bad characters may be able, to carry on their unlawful activities without any fear of armed resistance from the disarmed population. In such villages where the population exceeds 500 souls, at least six or more guns be permitted to be retained by the people for protection of the villages or town. Complete disarming of the civil population will, in the opinion of the Committee, create chaotic conditions and a very difficult situation in the mofussil, particularly when it may not be possible for the Military authorities to arrange their own patrol, for each and every village, in such a vast area of over twenty thousand square miles controlled by them,
- (f) Those persons in this area who had a genuine cause of fear due to personal enmity and were therefore granted extra or special gun licenses

by the civil authorities for the protection of not only their own person and property but also of their localities should be restored their arms and encouraged to render assistance to the police authorities or he provided with military or police at their own expenses,

- g) Where arms cannot be restored, effective protection for immediate aid in time of danger must be made,
- (h) With a view to achieving quick results, the restrictions and hardships inevitable upon the operation of Martial Law should be applied only to those areas which are the source of trouble. The area should therefore be confined only to:
 - i. Shahdadpur and Sinjhor talukas of Nawabshah district,
 - ii. Sanghar and Khipro taluks of Thar and Parker District,
 - iii. Mirpur Mathelo and Ubauro talukas of Sukkur district,
 - iv. To the area within one mile on each side of the Railway line between Kotri and Reti on the N. W. Railway and Khokhrapar and Hyderabad Sindh on the J. Railway.
 - v. To the left bank of river to check the traffic on the ferries and across the river, and
 - vi. The eastern, border to check the movements of suspicious characters to and from the states of Jaisalmer and Jodhpur,
 - vii. Local Advisory Committees be set up to advise and collaborate with the Military authorities in the course of their duties so also to eliminate the possibility of harassment of innocent persons through the machinations of local subordinate police upon whose advice the Military may have to depend, being unaware, of local conditions and approaches to out-of-way places to be visited by them in the course of their rounds,
 - viii. Large number of people who seek to migrate from the affected areas to places of their permanent residence, or for personal safety or convenience may, be enable to do so, especially those who move each season across the river for harvest work in the Barrage areas and return to their homes on the close of the harvest also those traders and their agents from Karachi who have to bring cattle by road across the river from the affected areas for the supply of meat and milk to the urban population of Karachi and Hyderabad be afforded easy and safe passage including the use of ferries to save them from loss of money or personal inconveniences and also to ensure the regular supply of these needs of the urban population.

The Working Committee further resolves that a copy of this Resolution may be forwarded to:

- (1) The President All India Muslim League,
- (2) The Private Secretary to H E the Governor of Sindh,
- (3) The Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy and Governor General of India,
and
- (4) The Secretary of State for India

Sd/
President
Sindh Provincial Muslim League

Sd!-
General Secretary,
Sindh Provincial Muslim League

(35)

Bombay
24th June, 1942

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th of June along with a copy of the resolution I have already written to Mr. Sayed asking him to let me know the result of your deputation having met the Governor of your province.

As regards my coming to Karachi much as I would like to, it is difficult for me to get away at present I have to attend to so many things requiring all my energy and time. But I am glad that the Civil Defence Committee will be soon in Sindh now and you can all put your, needs together and adopt some policy and programme that you should all follow not only with regard to the situation that has arisen owing a policy for the Musalmans generally.

I am sure I will get a report from the Civil Defence Committee as to what is the position in Sindh as soon as they conclude their visit in Sindh and I assure report of the Civil Defence Committee will enable me to understand the situation better when I may be able to write to you and place my views before the leaders of Sindh provincial Muslim League.

I have not yet received your promised report as to what happened in the last meeting of the provincial Muslim League.

Yours sincerely
M.A. Jinnah

M.A. Khuhro Esq.
Karachi.

(36)

Bombay
13th July, 1942.

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

Many thanks for your letter¹² of the 6th of July and enclosing the notes of the meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Council held in May last. Please keep me in touch with you from time to time.

As regards Mr. Rashdi, he came to see me here a few days ago and I told him that from the reports which I have received against him from various quarters, what I gathered from his writings in his own paper was enough to create apprehensions in the mind of those who have been watching developments that have taken place in Sindh. I advised him that if he cannot see eye to eye with the majority and there are now responsible men at the helm of the Muslim League his proper course would be to persuade them and not be aggressive and create a division and that he should really devote most of his time in making his paper really a first class paper and leave the affairs of the Muslim League in the hands of the office bearers and the executive. I hope that he will follow my advice and not create any trouble. But of course you are the best judges as to how you should deal with him and what you should do in the matter.

As regards my coming to Sindh, or calling a meeting of the Working Committee or the Council at Karachi, I shall certainly consider your suggestion and see what I can do in the matter. But you know it is not very easy to get the people to go to Karachi as it is not a very central place. I can quite appreciate your desire to get us all there. No doubt it will give a considerable impetus to those of you who are carrying the burden and working for our cause. So I fully appreciate your point of view, but you must also understand the difficulties.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely
M.A. Jinnah

Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro
124, Muslim Colony
Britter Road Karachi.

¹² Not available on record.

(37)
Telegram

Sukkur
2nd August, 1942

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Malababar Hills, Bombay

Widespread distress due unprecedented floods Provincial League organize relief collected so far 7600 thousands required for, relief Congress Hindus working separately Kindly appeal Indian Muslims contribute liberally Provincial League.

Khuhro, Sayed, Shaikh

(38)

Larkana (Sindh)
7th August, 1942

My dear sir,

I acknowledge with thanks your kind letter¹³ dated 31st July last, regarding my appointment as one of the members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

The floods in upper Sindh have caused great havocs. One really cannot imagine what a great damage has been done to the life, property, cattle, buildings and crops, unless one has seen it personally. The Muslim League workers are busy in both districts giving possible relief as much as they can do, but we cannot possibly do much as the area is very vast and all the communications have been cut off due to the floods.

There are rumors that you are calling a meeting of the Working Committee on the 15th or 16th instant. I would request you that it would be much better if you can postpone it for at least a week, as that will give me and Sayed more time to organize relief work here. Hoping to see you in the near future at Bombay.

With kind regards,

¹³ Not available on record.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M.A. Khuhro

(39)
Telegram

Mount Pleasant Road
7th August, 1942

Khanbahadur Khuhro, Larkana (Sindh)

My most heartfelt sympathy for Musalmans who have suffered specially poor owing calamity, Indus flood please announce my humble contribution rupees one thousand posting cheque sincerely hope Musalmans will do all they can help our brethren in distress - Jinnah -

(40)
Telegram

Larkana
10th August, 1942

Mr. Jinnah, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Please wire express date Working Committee meeting.

(41)
Telegram

Khuhro

Larkana
11th August, 1942.

Mr. Jinnah Malabar Hill Bombay,

Your wire thanks STOP Sindh Muslims grateful for your profound sympathy and generous donation.

(42)
Telegram

Khuhro

Karachi Sindh
22nd August, 1942

Jinnah Esq. Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,

Pray defer taking any action till our deputation personally place case before you for final orders. Reaching Delhi two days before Working Committee meet

Sayed and Khuhro

(43)

Cecil Hotel, Simla
26th August, 1942

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I have this day sent you a telegram. Copy of which I enclose herewith confirming it. I do hope you will kindly come over to Delhi and review the entire situation and get in touch with H. E. the viceroy. It will be a good thing if you could kindly convene a meeting of the Working Committee at Delhi, as soon as it may be convenient to you. I am only anxious, as many others are that our case may not go by default. Hindus may, in our absence, frame the constitution of their own liking and it will be difficult for us later on to get it changed.

I am here in connection with Sindh - Punjab water dispute and I hope to go back to Karachi on Thursday or Friday at the latest.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro.

(44)

Telegram
(Enclosure)

Simla
26th August 1942

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill Bombay.

In view of Viceroy's conciliatory statement giving definite assurances regarding strict adherence to proposals of 16th May and particularly provincial and Group

Constitutions and no decision possible on any major communal issue unless majority Muslim members agree and also giving reasonable assurances regarding functioning and personnel of interim Government. I earnestly request you summon Working Committee meeting at Delhi early date to review latest political situation and consider whether modification of Bombay decision desirable STOP yourself may further clarify doubtful points with Viceroy at Delhi.

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro

True copy in confirmation.

(45)
Telegram

Karachi
1st-Oct 1942

Mr. Jinnah Aurangzeb Road New Delhi,

Your promised donation not received Pray send soon Also please issue All India Appeal for Sindh floods Muslim League fund enormous demand but our funds inadequate.

Khuhro

(46)

10, Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
4th October, 1942

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I have received your telegram and I am quite willing to send my promised donation but I hear that no proper committee is yet constituted who will be responsible and accountable for the proper use for the specific purpose for which the donation is raised and for which I had wired to you informing you of my bit, namely, towards the relief of those who have suffered during the recent floods in Sindh.

I cannot assure an All-India appeal unless I know what is the amount subscribed by the local people and who will be responsible for the money and keeping the proper account of it. In the first instance it is the well-to-do people of Sindh who should subscribe and also set up a body who will command the confidence and respect of the people.

Please let me know all the particulars and I shall send you my cheque.

Yours sincerely
M. A. Jinnah

Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro
Muslim Colony, Karachi.

(47)
(Telegram)

Karachi
13th October, 1942

Mr. Jinnah, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,

Party meeting since three days have tried constantly speak you phone all three days without success line either engaged or not in order. Detailed letter posted Provincial Working Committee and council considering Assembly Party Resolutions tomorrow will communicate decision. Kindly meet phone tomorrow evening.

Khuhro and Sayed

(48)
Telegram

10 Aurangzeb Road, Delhi
14th October, 1942

'SHADMAN' Karachi,

Your telegram League cannot join Ghulam Hussain Ministry. Our agreeing form coalition with Muslim individual or group will destroy fundamental principles League policy. If Khuhro Muslim League leader cannot form Ministry in coalition non Muslims only, honorable course continue in opposition. Nothing prevents you support any Ministry so long they follow League policy serve Muslim interests. Cannot believe, public opinion expects us for getting three ministerships sacrifice fundamental principles destroy League prestige credit under slogans 'otherwise Allah Bux becoming powerful.' Ghulam Hussain Ministry will be puppet Ministry like Allah Bux and precarious. No Ministry can exercise power till solid disciplined majority behind it. Refusing commission Muslim League leader and simultaneously, holding out threat suspension Constitution unless League sacrifices its principles and surrenders to

Ghulam Hussain whose past well known Governor alone responsible if he persists this course.

M. A. Jinnah

(49)
Telegram

Karachi
[16] Oct 1942

Mr. Jinnah Aurangzeb Road New Delhi,

Ghulam Hussain accepted Muslim League ideals policy programme in writing League Assembly party consequently resolved accept office and provincial League Working Committee and council ratified above decision. Accordingly party accepting office Detailed letter posted Our Deputation also meeting you Delhi shortly.

Khuhro - Sayed

(50)
Telegram

(Place not given)
[17] Oct 1942

Mr. Khuhro

You cannot be authorized by your party or Provincial Muslim League or its executive accept office without my approval see Resolution No 2 All Indian Muslim League dated as follows:

You and Sayed - Come Delhi immediately before accepting office joining Ministry - am surprised you say my telephone not working - am receiving calls in perfect order.

(It appears to be from Mr. Jinnah¹⁴)

(51)

154, Muslim Colony,
Karachi.
18th October, 1942.

¹⁴ Jinnah sends this telegram to Khuhro in reply to his telegram of 13th October, 1942 and of 15th October, 1942. See Document No. 47 and 49.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After the dismissal of Mr. Allah Bakhsh, our Sindh Muslim League Assembly party has been meeting since the 14th instant in order to discuss and deliberate upon the situation arisen from the said dismissal. Your telegram was also placed before the party meeting, wherein 14 out of the 15 members of the party participated in these deliberations in the light of your telegram as well as local conditions and public opinion prevailing in the province In the meantime. I have taken the opportunity as the Leader of our party to meet the Governor and place before him the Muslim League point of view and to ascertain from him the reasons that led him to invite Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and not the Leader of the Sindh Muslim League Assembly Party to form the new Ministry, when this party happens to be the largest single party in the Sindh Assembly. The Governor explained that as the Hindus were definitely anti-League he thought that a third non-party man would be better able to form a new Ministry as he would be in a position to rally round himself the remaining Assembly members, Muslim as well as Hindus for that purpose. The Governor further stated that under section 51 of the Government of India Act, 1935, he was empowered to call upon any member of the Assembly who in his judgment, was likely to command majority in the House for the formation of the Ministry.

During these discussions our party had four alternative courses of action open, from which one had to be decided upon. These were:

- (1) Whether to continue to remain in opposition,
- (2) Whether to give our conditional support. to Sir Ghulam Hussain's new Ministry,
- (3) Whether to form a separate Ministry with the collaboration of the Hindus, and
- (4) Whether to join the Ministry formed by Sir Ghulam Hussain.

After due deliberation, our party came to be of the opinion that if we continued to remain in opposition, it would be playing the game of the Hindus, who anxious to show it off to the outside world that without their protégé Allah Bakhsh no Ministry was possible in Sindh, and by continuance in opposition, the way would be paved for the suspension of the constitution and this could be utilized by the Hindu press to serve their All India game. Such a course was not, in the opinion of our party, in the best interests of the Muslims, and could not, therefore, be approved by our party.

In considering the second issue before us, whether we should lend conditional support to Sir Ghulam Hussain's Ministry there was before us the experience of the Congress Party in Sindh, which had earned a bad reputation by offering conditional support to Allah Bakhsh Ministry without having any active share of effective voice in the actual

working of Government in Sindh. We, therefore, saw that though this course would eliminate the possibility of suspension of the Constitution which the Hindus desired and at the same it would prevent the formation of Allah Bakhsh's puppet Ministry again, there was yet every possibility of our coming into disrepute, if we lent our support without having an effective check upon the actual day-to-day working of the administrative machinery. This course was accordingly considered unhelpful and was therefore dropped.

As for the third, alternative before us, our party had to take into account the following facts In the Sind Assembly, except for the Congress there is no solid Hindu party. As a matter of fact, there is only a group of individuals led by Mr. Nihchaldas C. Vazirani who, for the purpose of protecting and promoting the vested Hindu interests and capturing power through office, have always tried to lend their support to that party which is prepared to play, into their hands as Allah Bakhsh Ministry did. These Hindus are afraid of Hindu public opinion particularly in respect of All India matters. Besides it has always been their wont to demand as a condition precedent to their collaboration more than their legitimate share in all spheres of administration for their community at the cost of the Muslim rights, with the result that Sindh Muslims have suffered a great deal both in their share of services and other things throughout the period that Allah Bakhsh and Nihchaldas have been in office under the leadership of the latter, it has been the constant endeavor of this Hindu group to keep in power. Allah Bakhsh as he alone offered himself to be an easy tool in their hands for their above purposes. It will be remembered that only two years ago, *i.e.* in 1940 we sought to get rid of Allah Bakhsh through the support of this Hindu group, but the bitter experience that we had of thus playing into their hands had once for all shown to us that in view of the anti-Muslim interests and the unreliable character of this group of Hindus in the Sindh Assembly it would hardly be seen to repeat the old mistake.

Our party was thus left with only the fourth alternative, namely to join Sir Ghulam Hussain's new. Ministry. However, in view of your telegram directing that we may coalesce with any Muslim individual or group, our party decided not to commit ourselves even to this only acceptable alternative and accordingly communicated to Sir Ghulam Hussain our inability to join his Ministry and we also showed your telegram to him. He appreciated our stand and at once tell in line with our views. He therefore wrote the letter¹⁵ to us, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. In view of this letter of Sir Ghulam Hussain our party passed the resolution¹⁶ a copy of which is also enclosed herewith.

We believe that this is an opportunity when 20 Muslim members of the Sindh Legislative Assembly-barring the Speaker who is a non-party man and the five personal

¹⁵ See Document No. 53.

¹⁶ See Document No. 52.

followers of Allah Bakhsh - out of the total number of 25 Muslim M.L.A's can meet on one common platform under the control of the Muslim League and at the same time, form a Ministry that will be entirely free from Hindu dominance. The strength of Sir Ghulam Hussain's following amongst the Muslim MLA's is 7, while that of Pir Ilahi Bakhsh's is 5, the two between them, having thus twelve Muslim. MLAs behind them; so that if our party consisting, as it does, of 15 members joins them, our joint-strength out of the 34 Muslim MLAs will be 29 including the 2 pro-Government members. These 2 together with the 3 European MLAs will bring the new Ministry's strength to the 32 in an Assembly consisting of 48 members at present when 10 Congressites are in jail and one Hindu deceased member's seat continues to remain unfilled owing to the Hur trouble and Martial Law prevailing in that constituency. Besides there will be the additional strength of a few of the individual Hindus Whom we expect to come over and join us.

As stated above, I am enclosing herewith Sir Ghulam Hussain's letter which will speak for itself. This written undertaking of his makes it quite clear that he completely identifies himself with ideals, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League and will carry out the League Programme.

We therefore hope that in view of these peculiar circumstances and conditions in Sindh, you will be pleased to bless the above arrangement, which will virtually mean a Muslim League Ministry in Sindh and will best suit the Muslim interests in Provincial matters and at the same time will support fully the All India aims and aspirations of our organization.

I know, sir, that some of our Sindh Muslim M.L.As have misbehaved in the past and Sir Ghulam Hussain is one of them But also know that your generosity has been great and in view of the facts submitted above you will be pleased to forgive Sir Ghulam Hussain for the past just as you did in the case of Mir Bandeh Ali Khan two years ago. We know that your role is not only that of a strict disciplinarian but it is also one of a missionary, wherein sometimes the prerogative of mercy has to play its part.

The Sindh Provincial Working Committee as well as the Council met today, when over 50 out of a total of 79 members were present, and both the bodies unanimously endorsed the resolution of the Sindh Muslim League Assembly Party, (copy attached)¹⁷.

A deputation of the Provincial Muslim League will also shortly take an opportunity to wait upon you and personally acquaint you with the details, of the situation here.

With kindest regards,

Yours respectfully,

¹⁷ See Document No 54.

M. A. Khuhro

Quaid-e-Azam M. A Jinnah Esq.
President, All-India Muslim League.

(52)
(Enclosure)

**RESOLUTION OF THE SINDH MUSLIM LEAGUE ASSEMBLY PARTY PASSED
AT ITS MEETING HELD ON 16TH OCTOBER, 1942.**

"In view of the assurance given in writing by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, completely identifying himself with the Ideals, Policy and Programme of the Muslim League in his letter dated 16th October, 1941¹⁸ addressed to the leader of the party and, further in view of his having agreed to carry out the appended programme pertaining to the province, it is hereby resolved that Muslim League Assembly Party do join the cabinet of Sir Ghulam Hussain".

Carried by 13 against 1.

True. Copy
Leader, S.M.L. Assembly Party.

(53)
(Enclosure)

Karachi
16th October 1942

My dear M. A. Khuhro,

The viewpoint of the Muslim League has been communicated to me.

I am in complete agreement with the ideals and programme of the Muslim League.

As the Premier of Sindh, it is my desire to carry out the policy and programme of the Muslim League.

¹⁸ It must be 1942, but the original document No.53 signed by Shaikh Ghulam Hussain also shows the same date. It has therefore been corrected.

In view of the above assurance, I hope your party will decide to join the Cabinet, so that we may jointly carry out the above policy and programme in the best interest of the Muslims of Sindh.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Ghulam Hussain

(54)
(Enclosure)

RESOLUTION OF THE SINDH PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE & WORKING COMMITTEE PASSED AT THEIR MEETING HELD ON 18TH OCTOBER, 1941

"This meeting of the Sindh Provincial Working Committee and the Council, having been acquainted by the Leader of the Sindh Muslim League Assembly Party of the day-to-day developments in the matter of the present Ministerial crisis, views with satisfaction the letter written by Sir Ghulam Hussain to the Leader of the Assembly Party, completely identifying himself with the Muslim League by accepting in writing the Ideals, Policy and Programme of the Muslim League. This meeting in view of the above, endorses the resolution of the League Assembly Party and resolves the Muslim League Assembly Party should accept office".

Adopted unanimously.

True copy.
Sindh Provincial Muslim League.

(55)
(Telegram)

Karachi.
[19th] October 1942

Mr. Jinnah Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi,

In pursuance resolution League Assembly Party and Provincial Council we were sworn this morning your telegram¹⁹ received five afternoon. Detailed information already submitted by air. Telephone trunk line not functioning since five days. Consequently could not book call. Sayed myself Yusuf meeting you Delhi shortly to submit explanation personally.

¹⁹ It refers to document No. 50.

Khuhro

(56)

Karachi.
23rd October, 1942

Jinnah, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Sir Ghulam Hussain joined League, signed membership and issued public statement announcing his decision Sayed and myself starting second November, reaching Delhi fifth. Pray wire whether this suits you or you want us earlier.

Khuhro

(57)

Karachi
24th October, 1942

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.
Bar-at-Law,
President All India Muslim League,
10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

My dear sir,

Your letter²⁰ of 4th instant was redirected to Larkana and now after much roaming came back into my hands on 18th instant. I assure you that there has been no misuse of the Flood Relief Fund. In the beginning however when most of us were busy in various parts of the flooded area and the League Relief Fund had just been started, there was no other alternative but to give money to the workers to spend according to the necessity at each place. Now we have got regular committee which was formed in the later part of August. I am the Chairman of the Committee, Yusuf Haroon is the Treasurer and Shaikh Abdul Majid is the Secretary of it. Besides we have got 3 local Committees one each for District affected *viz* Larkana, Dadu and Sukkur. The funds have from very commencements been in charge of Yusuf Haroon. All those people who received funds in the beginning have rendered account of the expenditure. For these reasons there is no apprehension that the funds were mishandled.

²⁰ See Document No 46.

There appears to be some intrigue and for some other differences with us these disappointed persons may be carrying on some kind of propaganda making false allegations about the managements of the funds. We have so far roughly collected Rs 22,000/- from the province and of this we have utilized hardly Rs 8,000/- for immediate relief and when we get more funds we would utilize these Rs 14,000/- in the balance plus those funds in giving help to people by opening cheap grain shops at various centers or purchasing blankets and clothes. We cannot of course tackle the big problem of reconstructing the destroyed houses. This however will have to be done through the Governor's fund and the provincial Government's contribution as it involves a very heavy expenditure running in several lakhs of rupees. I am very particular about the management of our funds and you need not have doubt about it.

I hope this will satisfy you with respect to the management of our League Funds.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

(58)

Sindh Secretariat,
Karachi
24th October, 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my previous long letter to you on the subject of present ministerial crisis I am sending you the two cuttings²¹ from a local daily paper which indicate how the Hindu Party of Nihchaldas was behaving during the crisis. The whole game of the party of 11 Hindus under the Leadership of Nihchaldas was to keep the Muslims of Sindh divided and join one of the two sections *i.e.*, either Sir Ghulam Hussain group or the Muslim League Party on their own terms and thereby continue to rule over the province.

During the last 5 years Hindus' Party has always got the best out of such an arrangement as they have always been the main stay of the Ministerial party, except the first year of the Hidayatullah Ministry in 1937, as they were divided between themselves at that time.

²¹ Not available on record.

The Allahbux-Nihchaldas combination in Sindh has proved to be a great curse and the Muslim Population of this province was rightly sick of them. There have been jubilations all over the province at their sudden exit from power. I have been receiving numerous telegrams congratulating me and the Muslim League Party for this decision and resolutions have been passed in public meetings all over the Province much before we joined the Ministry, expressing great satisfaction at the removal of Allahbux and Nihchaldas. We took this step as you know after the specific undertaking in writing from Sir Ghulam Hussain that he would fully cooperate with us in supporting the ideals of the Muslim League and will give effect to its policy and programme.

Further, he had given his personal assurance that immediately after the decision of the Hindu Party or the breaking of the Hindu Party, he would become the full-fledged member of the Muslim League. The Hindu Ministers were; sworn on 22nd instant and Sir Ghulam Hussain signed the Muslim League membership form on the 23rd, instant and issued the statement to that effect on that date. The result is that the Hindu Party today stands divided and the Muslim solidarity except of Allahbux and his 4 or 5 personal supporters is an accomplished fact. In the present arrangement the Muslim League enjoys the predominant position.

After the two Hindu Ministers who resigned from the Hindu party and joined us, the local Congress Committee organized severe picketing at their houses. This clearly shows how the Congress is enraged at the present arrangements and feels thwarted in its attempt at keeping the Muslim League in Sindh always out of power. Their anxiety was to make us play their game by the Muslim League Party becoming dependent upon the support of the solid Hindu Party, and thus be ever ready to act at their dictation. And at the very first opportunity they would have tried to turn us out and would have brought Allahbux back into power. The Congress game has always been to keep Allahbux in power as his Ministry is as good as any. Congress Ministry. Moreover his policy has been to be an easy tool in the All India political game of the Congress, of which you are fully aware.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A Khuhro

M A Jinnah Esquire, Bar-at-Law,
President All India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

(59)

Sindh Secretariat,
Karachi

27th October, 1942

My dear Sir,

I enclose herewith complete survey of the situation in Sind during the recent Ministerial crisis and after prepared by Mr. G. M. Sayed¹ and signed by him, I will be much obliged if, you kindly go through it before we have seen you. As wired to you previously we propose to come down to Delhi and see you on the 5th or 6th of November, 1942. I hope you will be at Delhi during the time.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

M.A Jinnah Esquire, Bar-at-Law.,
President All India Muslim League,
10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

(60)

124, Muslim Colony, Karachi
1st November, 1942

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The formula (draft) prepared by the Sindh Government has already been sent to you by Sir H. A. Haroon I feel it is somewhat unsatisfactory and requires to be modified. It will not be possible for me to carry it through the restoration committee. Main objection will be with respect to the evacuation of the mosque buildings and at any rate the period of six weeks fixed by the Government for announcing the decision is too long. I feel it should under no circumstances be more than four weeks. Language in this draft is not so offensive as that used in the previous draft. But you may slightly modify it here and there, if you think it necessary to do so I have meeting of the Restoration Committee at Sukkur on the 5th instant. And prior to that your latest draft will have to be discussed with the Government on the 4th, at the latest. At least one clear day will be necessary for discussion with the Government; so I would request you kindly to wire your draft to Sir Abdullah Haroon at Karachi, on the 3rd, at the least.

With kindest regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

(61)

Sind Secretariat,
Karachi
15th November, 1942

My dear Jinnah,

I, Sayed, Gazdr and Yusuf attempted to meet you on the 10th before leaving for Sindh 2 or 3 times but we failed as once you had gone out and another time you were busy. I believe Sir Ghulam Hussain has written to you of his sincerity and loyalty with the Muslim League organization and about implicit faith in your guidance. He is now sincerely working to increase the number of our party and has started taking signatures on the Muslim League pledges from the remaining Muslim Members of the Sindh Legislative Assembly and in a few days time you will, be glad to know that our party is not of 15 but of many more members. Hindus under the leadership of Mr. Nihchaldas are carrying on intrigues as usual as they do not like, the Muslim League to come into, power in any province and more so in Sindh but thank God we have achieved a great thing by breaking the monopoly of Nihchaldas who is rank communalist and has in every possible way attempted to harm the Muslim interests during the time they remained in power.

We will be keeping you fully informed of developments in Sindh from time to time I hope you will spare some tune to pay us a visit in Sindh in December or early January. The election of Mr. Haroon is also likely to take place sometime in January.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely
M A Khuhro

M A Jinnah Esquire,
Bar-at-Law, President All India Muslim League,
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

(62)
(Telegram)

Karachi
28th November, 1942

Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan

Care Muslim Bag Delhi

Nawabzada Liyakatali Khan,
Tharding Avenue, New Delhi.

Mr. Jinnah,
Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi
Pir Illahi Bakhsh Minister and nine other Assembly Members joined Muslim League Party. Signed pledges our strength now twenty-six and all Muslim Ministers Leaguers.

Khuhro

(63)
(Enclosure)

Sind Secretariat, Karachi
4th December, 1942

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Thanks many for your letter dated 29-11-1942 received today. The following members of the Sindh Legislative Assembly have now joined the Muslim League:

1. The Hon'ble Pir Illhi Bakhsh.
2. Makhdum Ghulam Hyder of Hala.
3. Mir Ghulam Ally Talpur of Tando Mahomed Khan.
4. Mir Ghulamullah Talpur.
5. Nawab Jam Jan Muhommad Khan.
6. Rais Rasul Bakhsh Unar.
7. Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Shah.
8. Arbab Togachi.
9. Khan Sahib Shamsuddin Khan Barakzai.
10. Khan Bahadur Haji Amir Ally Lahori

These members are in addition to the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain and 10 others. Thus our number now is 26. We expect the following 3 members shortly but as the communication is not satisfactory they have not been able to come to Karachi and as soon as they reach we shall get their signatures:

1. Sardar Suhrab Khan Sarki.
2. Mir Mohommad Khan Chandio.
3. Khan Bahadur A. K. Gabol.

As regards the letter of Sir Ghulam Hussain to Mr. Jinnah he had dispatched it on the 14th of the last month. Perhaps because Mr. Jinnah was out on tour of Punjab he must have received it late. In any case it must have come into his hands before this. I enclose a copy of letter addressed by him to Mr. Jinnah. In fact I sent it to you on the 18th or 19th of November 1942 on your Meerut address but I wonder why you did not receive it. I am therefore sending this letter by registered post. Pray now issue the decision as quickly as possible and oblige. Now All the three conditions have been satisfied *viz*:

1. The letter of Ghulam Hussain.
2. The enrolment of Pir Illahi Bakhsh and
3. Good many members of the Sind Legislative Assembly have also joined the League.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, Mustafa Castle Meerut.

(64)

Hotel Cecil, Agra, U.P.
9th December, 1942.

Mr. M. A. Khuhro,
Minister to Government of Sindh,
Sindh Secretariat, Karachi.

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th ,November and it seems that it has been following me on my tour as I only received it yesterday.

I am sorry I missed you when you attempted to see me before leaving Delhi.

In regard to the Sindh Ministry of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, you know that the matter is left entirely in the hands of the Committee that were appointed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League on the 8th of November, and therefore you can well understand me not interfering with the matter but awaiting their report and final decision, it is for this reason that I have refrained froth replying to Sir Ghulam Hussain's telegram as well as his letter but I hope you will please convey to him that I mean no discourtesy to him. Until the final decision and report of the Committee I do not propose to say anything with regard to this matter.

As regards my going to Sindh, I shall be pleased to do so as you know I have always been ready to do my bit towards helping Sindh. I have already written a formal letter to you as the President, informing you that I should like to know your views in regard to the holding of the next session of the All India Muslim League and also whether Sindh would be prepared to invite the sessions I wonder whether you can undertake to invite the holding of the sessions of the All India Muslim League in Sindh during the next Easter. I think it might be a very good thing for Sindh in many ways if the League meeting took place there during Easter.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah



(65)

M. A. Jinnah

Sukkur (Sindh)
18th December 1943.

Khyber Circle - Azam Sahib

Thanks many for your two letters which I received last night in tour, as I left Karachi on tour of 10 days on 9th instant. Two more Muslims have joined our party and our party has the strength of 28 members. I hope we will be able to make it 50 in a short time. The decision of the Committee is long overdue and I shall be much obliged if you kindly tell Nawab Md. Ismail to announce the decision soon.

As regards inviting of All India Muslim League session I am going to Karachi tomorrow and will consult friends and will write to you within two three days.

With kindest regards
Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

(66)
(Telegram)

Karachi,
26th July 1943

Mr. Jinnah, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Much perturbed. Learn ugly news cowardly attack²² on yourself. Thanks God Almighty yourself safe, disgraceful attempt failed. Pray accept hearty congratulations. Muslim nation spared catastrophe. Wire health.

M. A. Khuhro

(67)

Karachi.
5th July, 1944.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah,

Sayed again out intriguing to oust me and disturb smooth working Ministry. Has intrigued with opposition and Hindus and caused non-confidence motion being moved against me. Working Committee consisting Sayed's relatives friends and nominees activated to pass condemnatory resolutions against us. League Assembly Party being ignored altogether. This is function Leader Assembly Party and Sayed constitutionally has not to interfere with Assembly Party. This policy leading to disruption. Assembly meeting 17th. Request issue interim stay orders to Sayed pending your decision.

Khuhro

(68)

Sind Secretariat,
Karachi,
10th July, 1944.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I sent you a telegram a few days back about the trouble between Mr. Sayed's provincial League working committee and the Ministry. You must have seen summary of his resolutions in press which he has got passed against the Ministry inspite of the fact that we have done our best during the period we have stayed in office for the masses in general and Muslims in particular. We will shortly issue statement in which we will recount all our work and services to the Province during the period Muslim League coalition Ministry has functioned here.

According to the constitution of the Muslim League it is primarily the function of the League Assembly Party to criticize the actions of the Ministry and to pass resolutions

²² Rafiq Sabir, a young Khaksar fanatic attacked Jinnah with a dagger.

giving advice what to do and what not to do in the various spheres of ministerial activities Mr. Sayed himself is a member of the Assembly Party and he could move any resolutions there. Failing that he or any other member could appeal to the All India Parliamentary Board against it and to the Working Committee of All India Muslim League.

I would, therefore, request you kindly to instruct Mr. Sayed not to create a disruption among Muslims and leave it to the Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain to decide the matter. If he is not satisfied with it he can put it before you on 29th instant at Lahore where myself and other Ministers will be coming to attend the Working Committee and the Council meetings by the end of this month. I may also inform you that Mr. Sayed is being guided by Hindus chiefly by Mr. Nihchaldas Wauirani in creating this trouble as their soul object is and has always been to divide Muslims and rule over them. It will be a serious calamity which should be avoided at all costs and in the interest of the Muslims of the Province.

I hope and trust you and Miss Jinnah had a good and pleasant holiday at Kashmir. May I know when are you returning to Delhi?

With all best wishes and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. B. M. A. Khuhro

Quaid-e-Azam M A Jinnah,
Bar-at-Law
Srinagar

(69)
(Telegram)

Sukkur (Special Jail)
23rd February, 1945

Mr. Jinnah, Malabar Hills, Bombay

Earnestly request kindly undertake my defence sessions court. Best criminals lawyers in Sindh will assist you. Case commencing fifteenth March. Agreeable paying your fees. Wire consent.

Khuhro
Special Jail

(70)
(Telegram)

Bombay
24th February, 1945

Khuhro, Special Jail, Sukkur,

Your telegram extremely sorry unable take up your brief given up my professional practice now more than five years besides my public commitments and engagements and pressure of work of All India Muslim League such as make it impossible take any professional engagements but I sincerely hope you will be honorably acquitted.

Jinnah,
Mount Pleasant Road
Malabar Hills, Bombay

(71)
(Telegram)

Karachi
3rd August, 1945

Mr. Jinnah Malabar Hill, Bombay,

Congratulations Khuhro brothers acquitted.

Khuhro

(72)

Mr. Khuhro.

Heartiest congratulations all the sufferings and trials that you have gone through are rewarded in your honorable acquittal.²³

Yours sincerely,
Jinnah

²³ Khalid Shamsul Hassan, *Sindh's Fight for Pakistan*, Karachi, 1992.

(73)

Muslim Colony, Karachi
Date [not written], 1945

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

Your sweet message of congratulations on my acquittal moved me more than I can tell you in words. The terrible ordeal which it was my lot to go through for an offence of which, at least in God's eyes, I could not be, and was not at all, guilty, becomes a pleasurable memory, if only because of affection and confidence which friends like you have - generously reposed in me.

Believe me, I shall endeavor my utmost to serve my country and my people with the grace of God Almighty, so long as it is given me to live.

Please accept my grateful thanks, for the kind personal interest you took in my affairs.

With kind regards,

I am,
Sincerely yours,
M. A. Khuhro

(74)

Karachi
18th August, 1945

Mr. Jinnah Malabar Hill, Bombay,

Propose meeting you early date, Pray wire early program.

Khuhro

(75)

124, Muslim Colony, Bombay
20th August, 1945

Khan Bahadur Khuhro, Karachi,

Your telegram. Have already previously booked for Karachi airmail. Leaving Tuesday twenty eight.

Jinnah

(76)
(Telegram)

Karachi
1st October, 1945

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Care Highness Kalat,

Parliamentary Board started deliberations from 29th September. Work commenced smoothly. Tickets for 4 Larkana, 2 Jabobabad, 4 Nawabshah seats allowed unanimously. Today Chairman G. M. Sayed adjourned meeting *sine die* after proceedings had begun Majority, of members against postponement, Chairman's ruling illegal, unconstitutional, high handedness. He desired his favorite Sayeds be allotted tickets in Tharparker, Hyderabad districts. Majority wanted fair decisions allotting tickets such candidates who enjoy majority support in constituencies having reasonable chances of success. This upset Sayed hence illegal ruling calling council meeting on 12th. This Council packed with Sayeds henchmen. Our Board answerable Central Parliamentary Board and All India Working Committee. Consequently pray wire Sayed stopping Council meeting. Your Board presence essential 12th Pray wire advise both sides reach soon. Wire date arrival.

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
Muhammad Ayoob Khuhro
Pir Illahi Bux
Mir Ghulam Ali

(77)
124, Muslim Colony,
Karachi,
3rd October, 1945

Confidential

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

You must have received our telegram regarding the rift in the Sindh Parliamentary Board.

The work of the Parliamentary Board was going on smoothly and Larkana, Jacobabad and Nawabshah District's candidates were chosen unanimously. But the trouble arose over Hyderabad and Tharparker District candidates. The trouble unfortunately is that all the candidates in these Districts were either favorites of Mr. G. M. Sayed or K. B. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan and Hon'able Pir Illahi Bux.

According to the convention agreed upon by us we wanted to issue tickets either by unanimous votes or by overwhelming majority. This convention was followed in the above mentioned Districts *i.e.*, Larkana, Jacobabad and Nawabshah Districts.

But it was not possible to do so in Hyderabad and Tharparker Districts as there were three Ministers on one side and three including Mr. G. M. Sayed on the other. It made no difference which side I voted as the voting in all cases, so far as these Districts were concerned would be 4 against 3 and in such cases, according to the convention the matter was to be placed before the Central Parliamentary Board for decision.

Mr. G. M. Sayed however, suddenly adjourned the meeting inspite of the fact that 4 voted against the adjournment and 2 voted for adjournment. It was really unfortunate to have caused this trouble when it could easily have been avoided by the Chairman by referring such contentious matters to the Central Parliamentary Board for final decision. In any case the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board would have prevailed.

I am however glad to learn from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in reply to my telegram that the Central Parliamentary Board will be coming to Karachi on the 12th instant and that the Working Committee of All India Muslim League is to meet at Karachi on the 14th instant.

I would request you kindly to come back to Karachi on 10th or latest 11th instant so that the matter could be talked over and settled amicably.

Mr. G. M. Sayed has acted very wrongly by causing the rift which could have easily been avoided but Messrs Ali Muhammad Rashdi and M. H. Gazdar are at the back of it. Mr. Rashdi wanted to bring about the disruption in the League Circles at the instigation of the Hindus who are the enemies of the League. He is their hireling and agent who utilize every opportunity to misguide Mr. Sayed and thus cause trouble in the League circles. But your presence will help considerably in surmounting the difficulties created by our enemies. The situation is such that only the Central Parliamentary Board should deal with two Districts specially, Hyderabad and Tharparker Districts, after obtaining advice from us here at Karachi and in important case they could consult you at each stage.

I also wanted to come and see you at Quetta for another purpose but I regret I could not get accommodation at such a short notice. I have also to be back here on 10th instant. I

wanted to request you speak to H. H. the Khan of Kalat to ask Pir Ahmed Shah of Ranipur to help us, that is, our League candidates in the coming elections. The Pir Sahib is very influential in Sukkur district particularly and also in Jacobabad District. I would request to kindly to speak to His Highness the Khan of Kalat about it so that the needful may be done by him as early as possible.

With best wishes. and kindest regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

(78)

Larkana (Sindh)
7th October, 1945

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I have sent you one letter through Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali from Karachi on 4th instant I do not know if you received it. I gave you some account of the Sindh Parliamentary Board activities in that. As the Working Committee of All India League is meeting at Karachi on 14th, I expect you will be arriving at Karachi earlier. I learnt at Karachi that you perhaps intend staying with Sir Ghulam Hussain while at Karachi. This will not be considered desirable by many people. I would therefore request you kindly to stay either with Lady Haroon or some other neutral place and not with any member of the Parliamentary Board.

The attitude of the Premier with regard to posting of the Muslim Officers of Revenue department who are being terrorized by the Revenue Minister Mr. Nihchaldas, to which the premier is a consenting party, is greatly resented here. If this attitude prevails I am afraid the League candidates suffer and it will make a poor show in the coming elections Sir G Hussain is a Leaguer but his actions prove the contrary. This sort of behavior is very dangerous and we are considerably handicapped and we cannot attack him in any public meeting and the Ministers with whom the masses are sufficiently dissatisfied. On the other hand instead of getting any support from them we are suffering more by their misbehavior and other underhand methods. The officials are being transferred or harassed lest they may show any sympathy for the League organization.

I fail to understand how such a Premier and such a Ministry could be regarded as a League Premier or League Ministry.

Pray let me know the date of your arrival at Karachi by wire on my Karachi address. More in person.

With best wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Khuhro

(79)

Mastung
13th October, 1945.

Dear Mr. Khuhro,

I have received your letter of 3rd October and also of the 7th delivered to me by Mir Jaffer Khan. I do hope that the Central Parliamentary Board will be able to successfully handle the matter. All I can say is that the only issue before us is Pakistan versus Akhand Hindustan and if Sindh fails God help you. There will be nothing left. All the individual dreams and cliques and groups will evaporate and Sindh Muslims will stand discredited and paralyzed. I do hope that the seriousness of the situation will be fully realized if it is not already realized. I wish people thought less of Premier and Ministries and think more of the paramount and the vital issue confronting us. If you all stand solid and close your ranks, success is within your grasp.

I am leaving Quetta on the 20th and I shall halt at Karachi on my way to Bombay, for a day or two. I will do what I can with regard to the help you require from the persons whose names I have received.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

(80)
(Telegram)

Karachi
16th November 1945

Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah,
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Yusuf Haroon arrested in connection Palestine day procession himself not bail election work suffering myself desire offering bail kindly advise quickly.

Ayoob Khan Khuhro

(81)
(Telegram)

Karachi
November 17, 1945

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, Aurangzeb Road New Delhi,

Sayed and followers willing join league provided ban removed STOP Situation demands their entry STOP Muslim public also anxious settlement STOP Kindly wire approval.

Sir Ghulani Hussain and
Khan Bahadur Khuhro

(82)
(Telegram)

New Delhi.
18th November, 1945.

Sir Ghulam Hussain and Khan Bahadur Khuhro,
Secretariat, Karachi,

Your telegram Ban on Sayed and others in my opinion cannot be removed. They must express their regret and surrender unconditionally. No terms no negotiations so long as Sayed remains in enemy camp.

Jinnah
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

(83)

Larkana Sindh
26th December.

Immediate

My dear Quaid-e-Azam.

The contest here for Sind Assembly seats is very serious particularly at Shikarpur, Ratodero, Mirokhan and Mehar constituencies and therefore we need badly assistance of Pir, Ahmed Shah of Ranipur and Sardar Abdur Rahim Khan Khoso. I had written to you at Quetta requesting you to speak to His Highness the Khan of Kalat for these persons but nothing has happen so far. Now the time is very short and something needs he done very quickly. I therefore write this again to request you most earnestly to send me a letter on Ahmed Yar Khan of Kalat to persuade these two gentlemen to help our League candidates. The letter may kindly be sent to me on my Larkana address as quickly as possible.

We also need funds at least rupee fifty thousand from Central organization for propaganda and some little financial assistance to the League candidates who cannot fight on their own resources. I discussed this matter with Nawabzada Liakatali Khan who must have also written to you. At this time when loyalty of the President of Provincial League is doubtful we expect no help through him to the League candidates. The assistance from the central organization is therefore most essential. This amount may kindly be sent to Seth Yusuf Haroon, and myself, shall after elections, raise provincial fund and pay back substantial amount of money.

With best wishes & kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

(84)

Larkana Sindh
4th January, 1946

My dear Quaid-Azam,

The condition of Organization in this Province, as you know is in a hopeless state at present because of the sudden desertion of Mr. G. M. Sayed. It is therefore very essential I would respectfully submit, that all attention should be diverted by the Central League organization towards our province. In our province if we lose even 6 or 7 seats, there will be Congress Ministry established here in our province which is a Muslim majority province and here establishment of League Ministry and bringing League Organization into power is very important. There are no funds here and whatever was available or was elected was in the possession of Mr. G. M. Sayed, who would not surrender them at this critical time. I would therefore request with all

emphasis at my command to give us a substantial financial help, about one lakh of rupees immediately. I am afraid I shall not be able to come to Delhi as very few days are left in the election. There is very serious contest in the four constituencies of this district and the Shikarpur constituency.

I have therefore no time to spare at all. Yusuf Haroon is however coming personally to explain the situation to you. We also need some top men like Nawabzada Liaquat Ali and Chowdri Khaliquzzaman to come here immediately and organize and speak in favor of our League candidates. Sindh is definitely more important and deserves more help than Assam. If Sindh is neglected at this time, the province will be lost to the League for a long time to come. Chowdri and Nawabzada had personally promised me at Lahore to come to Sindh in early January, but they have not come yet. I would also request you to come to Karachi for a few days. Yusuf Haroon will explain all these points personally.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Khuhro

Note: I would further request that as time is very short Yusuf be authorized to spend money on propaganda. I shall keep general watch on the expenditure incurred. The accounts shall be rendered later. Khuhro

(85)
(Telegram)

Karachi
Jan. 1946

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah Aurangzeb Road New Delhi
Begum Liaquat Ali 8 Harding Avenue ND.

Yusuf arrived received telegram have summoned party meeting sixth February STOP Ghulam Hussain contemplates forming Ministry earlier without getting party decision STOP Kindly wire Ghulam Hussain desist doing so must act constitutionally and please issue statement directing Ghulam Hussain, Khuhro convene party meeting sixth to elect office bearers and Ministry formation also prohibiting League members taking any steps before party decision STOP Wire reply.

KHUHRO-YUSUF

(86)
(Telegram)

Karachi
12th July, 1946

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah,
Hotel Guest House HY (DN)

All three Muslim League candidates constituent assembly elected. Congratulations.

Khuhro

(87)
(Telegram)
(Enclosure)

Delhi
19th July, 1946

Sir Ghulam Hussain Premier,

In case League accept interim plan you must please protest to Mr. Jinnah against Sindh not getting any representative in interim Government although Sindh Muslim did extremely well in general elections unlike Frontier Province.

Khuhro

(88)
Telegram

[Delhi]
4th November 1946

Mr. Khuhro,

Please issue your statement supporting Muslim League candidates all over Sindh STOP Also go Sayed's constituency do all you can along with other leaders STOP am arriving Karachi soon after fifteenth will wire exact date arrival later - Jinnah

(89)

Karachi
[5th] November, 1946

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

You will be glad to know that I have returned to Sindh Assembly unopposed.

I enclose a copy of thy letter to the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, in connection with the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board about assigning some of the League tickets for the Sindh Assembly elections. Do kindly go through it in order to know the real situation here.

I learn²⁴ you intend coming to Karachi by about the 20th or 21st of this month. My wife and I will be very pleased. You and Miss Jinnah kindly come and stay with us. Our present house is very close to that of Yusuf Haroon and we hope to make your stay quite comfortable here.

I got your telegram²⁵ this morning. As I was declared unopposed I decided to tour in Sindh and visit such of the constituencies where contest is serious and where my presence to assist the League candidates will be of material help. In view of that, I have already chalked out a programme with effect from 8th evening up to the 20th instant. Again I shall be starting further. tour in this. connection from 23rd or 24th November. I propose returning to Karachi for 3 or 4 days on the 19th. Or 20th instant, There are at least 8 or 9 constituencies outside Karachi where the contest is very keen and proper help is needed by the Muslim League candidates. More later on.

With best wishes and regards.

Yours sincerely,
M. A Khuhro

Quaid-e-Azam Mr. M.A. Jinnah
10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

(90)
(Enclosure)

Karachi
5th November, 1946

Confidential

Dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,

²⁴ Source of information not known.

²⁵ See document No. 88.

I believe you must have by now learnt that Mr. Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri, who was given Muslim League ticket for Mirpur Khas constituency of Thar Parkar District has withdrawn from contest and this he has done at the instance of Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, I understand, if you kindly refer to my note which I gave you regarding the various constituencies in Sindh at the time when you and your colleagues were in Karachi, you would find that I had expressed strongly against Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri getting the ticket for this constituency is a man with no back-bone and with no sense of his own. Mir Ghulam Ali has merely used him to his own advantage merely to remove his (Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri) another opponent out of his way. The younger brother, of Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri, named Ghulam Mustata, who is great opponent of Muslim League was returned from this constituency last time. He played a clever, trick by filing one nomination paper against Mir Ghulam Ali in Tando Bago constituency and another against his own brother in Mirpur Khas constituency. Mir Ghulam Ali easily succumbed to his threats and persuaded his elder brother Ghulam Rasool who held the League ticket to withdraw in favor of his younger brother, the non-League Mir Ghulam Ali also made two other. Mirs namely Mir Allah Bachayo and Mir Imam Bux to withdraw simultaneously. Had they not withdrawn, it was very easy for any one of them to win in that constituency, on League ticket. Now there are two weak candidates left against Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgri in that constituency namely Mir Ahmad Khan and Mr. Mohammad Ibrahim. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan has given in writing to Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the President of the Provincial Muslim League, that the League ticket be given to Mir Ahmad Khan owing to the withdrawal of Ghulam Rasool Bhurgri. I have no interest one way or the other and I can't say whether League will win this seat now or lose it. You have this time given at least 3 tickets against my wish and express opinion in the matter and I had warned you that we would lose these seats. This was one of those three seats. The other constituency was of Mr. Yusuf Chandio and there also Pir Ali Shah who was not at all a qualified person for League ticket, nor has he any influence in the constituency, was given ticket just because Mir Ghulam Ali wanted to clear his own path and send away his opponent somewhere else. Thus in order to make this (Mir Ghulam Ali's) position safe, two seats of the Muslim League which could have been easily won, have been lost. Similarly just to please honorable Ghulam Hussain, the Premier, by giving his son, Anwar, ticket in Thatta constituency and refusing the same to Mir Maqbul Khan the sitting member, who had been loyal to the League and discarding the claims of Mr. Sadiq Ali Memon who was another strong candidate in that constituency, you have almost made the present of that seat to the opposition It is very difficult, I believe, to win that seat also and by antagonizing Mir Maqbul Khan we have lost Mir Maqbul Khan's support in G. M. Sayed's constituency where he yields good influence I am definitely of the view that this bungling may cost us at least 5 seats if not more. My object of writing this note is to tell you now the Central Parliamentary Board has been successfully misguided in the grant of tickets in certain constituencies in which Hon'ble Sir Ghulam Hussain and Mir Ghulam Ali and some other Ministers were interested. This selection has not been fair at all I am, therefore, afraid that because of

these mistakes we might be losing 4-5 seats and this will naturally, result in making the League Assembly Party weak to that extent it may not again be a strong party.

2 You would be glad to know that 5 Muslim Leaguers have been returned unopposed namely myself, Mrs Allana, Sayed Miran Mohammad Shah, Rais Ali Mohammad Marri and Nabi Bux Bhutto.

3 I am sending a copy of this note to your two other colleagues, Choudhry Khalique Zaman and Hon'ble Sayed Hussain Imam and also copy to Quid-e-Azam for their information.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,
Chairman,
Central Parliamentary Board,
All India Muslim League,
8 Harding Avenue, New Delhi

(91)

Victoria House Karachi
22nd December, 1946

Dear Mr. Khurshed²⁶,

During my interview with Quaid-e-Azam this evening I was asked by him to suggest names of persons whom he would interview to discuss the question of Ministry formation. I am therefore making the following suggestions and I hope Quaid-e-Azam will be pleased to give me time for each one of the following groups:

On behalf of the 23 M.L.As who have subscribed in writing the proposal that I should be the leader of the new Assembly Party :

- a) Kazi Fazalullah
- b) Kazi Mohammad Akber
- c) Haji Mohammad Hashim Gadar

²⁶ He was secretary to Quaid-e-Azam

- d) Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali
- e) Mr. Mahmood A. Haroon, and
- f) Rais Haji Ali Mohammad Mari.

2. Election Committee Members

- a) Mr. G. Allana
- b) Mr. Hassan Ali Barister
- c) Mr. A. M. Qureshi.
- d) Mr. Mohammad Parial Tanwri, Advocate

3. Mr. Yusuf A. Haroon, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League on behalf of the Muslim League Organization.

4. On behalf of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League:

- a) Sayed Saleh Mohamad Shah, Vice President, Sindh Provincial Muslim League,
- b) Mr. Ghulam Nabi Pathan, General Secretary, Sindh Provincial Muslim League,
- c) Mr. Naimatullah Qureshi, General Secretary, District Muslim League, Sukkur, and
- d) Mr. Fakir Mohammad Mangrio, General Secretary, District Muslim League, Thar Parkar.

Please fix up time for each group separately and let me know either by letter or on telephone N.5315 at my residence, so that I may inform them in time to come over for interview. Some of the batches might meet Quaid-e-Azam tomorrow and the remaining on the following day, if so desired, as Quaid-e-Azam might find it a strain to meet so many in one day.

I would also like to see him alone tomorrow or the day after as it suits him.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Khuhro

(enclosure)

SHULAN HUSAIN. Premier & Secy
Finance

Khan. P.W.D
Development
Pir Khali Bakhsh Es. Health
L. S. G.

Ghulam Ali Talpur. Food & Civil
Supply
Agriculture
Industries

Baqar Ali Talpur. Home &

Prison & Salt
Revenue

(93)



- 1 Agha Badruddin M.L.A.
- 2 Mahomed Azim "
- 3 Pir Ali Shah "
- 4 Mir Ahmad Khan "
- 5 Rahim Butko "
6. Sardar Nabi Butko "

(94)

Victoria House,
27, Karachi
24th December, 1946

Confidential My dear Quaid-e-Azam Sahib,

You would remember that in October and November 1945, when you were here, we were shortly to face general elections I worked very hard during these elections and we were able to secure 27 seats despite the fact that Mr. Sayed had revolted just after the nomination papers were filled and it was then too late to put up candidates in those constituencies where Sayed's friends had offered themselves.

2. After the elections were over, the question of formation of new Ministry arose. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan came down to Karachi in February 1946 and according to his desire and your message conveyed to me through him, I withdrew from the contest

and got Hn'ble Ghulam Hussain elected Leader of the Party and I was elected as Deputy Leader. In the formation of the Ministry too, I was assigned place next to the Premier. But later on, at the time of distribution of Portfolios, I was not even consulted and the Premier, in consultation with his two favorite colleagues - Pir Illahi Bux and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan advised the Governor to distribute the folios according to their desire and the first choice went to Mir Ghulam Ali and the second to Pir Illahi Bux and mine remained the 3rd choice. Constitutionally, this position was not correct. In fact, according to the seniority and rank that I hold in the Cabinet and my accepted popularity in the masses and my position in the League Organization, it was my constitutional right to have got the first choice in the selection of Portfolios. In spite of my admitted ability and hard work, the most important folios were given to Mir Ghulam Ali *i.e.* Law and Order and Price Control and Civil Supplies. This is nowhere the case and in no other Province a Premier would do that. But his was only due to the suspicious nature of the Premier and his personal desire to encourage and lend his ear to certain individuals whom he preferred.

3 During the Budget Session of March 1946, I worked very hard to keep the party intact and with great difficulty we survived it Mir Bande Ali Khan actually voted with the opposition and came back the next day when he was made a Minister, and subsequently Pirzada was added.

4 Thereafter in the working of the administrative machinery, I found that the Premier was not fair to me. In his absence, I should have deputized as has been the practice in every other province in India. But here in Sindh I did not get my right and for that Premier alone was responsible.

5 in the course of the last 9-10 months that the Muslim League Ministry has remained in power, nothing much has been done for the masses In the course of my tour in the Province in connection with the recent elections, wherever I went, I received numerous complaints about Police '*Zulum*' [atrocities] and their high-handedness, and mismanagement in the judicial Department and the inefficient administration of the price Control and Civil Supplies Department. People all over Sindh complain about the acute shortage of cloth, sugar and other control articles. The complaints were mostly genuine. On the Legislative side too, we have not been able to show any work. The reason advanced by us was that the Government had no majority and we were unable to face the Assembly and carry through any Legislative programme for the amelioration of the masses. This was to a great extent correct. At least in the matter of distribution of Portfolios, seniority and efficiency of the Ministers should have been taken into consideration.

6 Owing to the complaints of the masses on a large scale and general discontent for reasons stated above, the feeling among their representatives in the Working Committee and Council of the Provincial Muslim League is that there should be a

change in the leadership this time. People apprehend that if the present state of affairs continues and the same leadership is thrust upon them, there would be no progress and the promises given during the election campaign will never be fulfilled or acted upon. It is solely in the interests of the organization therefore that a change should be effected this time in the leadership of the Assembly Party and in the personnel of the Ministry and consequent change in the portfolios of the Government of this province it is very important from the point of view of the masses and their representatives in the Organization, that the Folios of the Law and Order (Home Department), Land Revenue, Price Control and Civil Supplies, and Public Works Department should all be held in order of performances by the best of the Ministers who can properly handle them and no partiality be shown in this distribution. Then alone some appreciable work could be shown to the people, within the period of next 6 or 12 months and thereby redeem to a great extent the promises given to them at the time of elections. On personal grounds too, I think if the present state of affairs remains, *i.e.* status quo in the matter of formation of Ministry is allowed to remain, I am afraid the selection of the folios will again be done as was done on the last occasion and I shall be given no choice in the matter. In fact, constitutionally and in all fairness, Premier should render advice to the Governor in consultation with me, myself being the Deputy Leader of the Party and next to him in seniority and personally too. I must have the first choice of selecting folios for myself and should also advise in assigning folios to other Ministers. But I am convinced that after the whole thing is finished the Premier would forget everything and act in the same old way that he did last time. The work will not be properly conducted, nothing material will be done for the people and we shall be within a year's time very unpopular both within the Muslim League Organization as well as with the public of the province.

7 My humble suggestion, therefore, is that in the matter of leadership of the Assembly Party and the Personnel of the Ministry, the Organization of the League must also be consulted and they should have a full say in the matter. Apart from that, the members of the Assembly Party ought to be allowed their free right of vote in selecting the office bearers including the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Party. They should also exercise their vote in the matter of selecting the remaining 4 Ministers. I would suggest that the Leader and Deputy Leader should be elected by ballot and the remaining 4 Ministers should be elected by single transferable vote which should also be by ballot. The other alternative is that for the six posts of Ministers which are to be filled including the Premier, each person should show his strength. If out of 35 Members, he should be given a place in the Cabinet. But in case the Leader and Deputy Leader are to be excluded from this process, the remaining 4 Ministers should at least show their strength and whoever gets greater strength he should get a place in the Cabinet. By this arrangement, each Minister will be responsible to contribute his might and it will be the best way to keep party intact. In either case, whether by the process of single transferable vote or by each Minister showing his strength if the Ministry is formed, it is sure that the Party will remain intact and majority shall be assured for all

time. If this is not done, I am afraid there will be unnecessary discontent and disruption in the Party and we may not be able to enjoy for long the distinct majority that we have obtained in the recent elections. If, however, Leader and Deputy Leader are selected by you then they, that is myself and Hn'ble Ghulam Hussain should have the choice to nominate two Ministers each at our discretion.

8. I trust you will kindly consider my suggestions mentioned above carefully before reaching the final decision.

May God give you strength to guide the destiny of this province rightly and properly.

With profound respects,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

N. B. I would like to have an interview tomorrow, in case you are meeting President of the Provincial League and other deputations today.

M A Khuhro
24/12

(95)
(Enclosure)

20th December, 1946

During the recent general elections of the Sindh Legislative Assembly, I took a very prominent part in rendering help to those Muslim League candidates where there was keen contest. In fact the keen contest was in:

3 constituencies of the Karachi district *i.e.* those of Haji Fazul Mohammad Laghari, Anwar Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Pir Alishah.

2 constituencies in the Thar Parkar District *i.e.* those of Rais Ghulam Mohammad Wasan and Mir Ahmed Khan Talpur

1 constituency in the Nawabshah district that of Sayed Mohammad Ali Shah.

2 constituencies in the Sukkur district - those of Sardar Kaiser Khan Bozdar and Mr. Rahim Bux Soomro.

2 constituencies in the U.S.F. District - those of Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali and Suhrab Khan Sarki.

2. constituencies in the Larkana district - those of Kazi Fazulullah and Mir Mohammad Khan Chadio; although just 3 days before the polling day, the opponent of Mir Mohammad Khan withdrew.

2 constituencies in the Dadu district - those of Mr. G. M. Sayed and Sayed Ali Akbar Shah.

3. constituencies in the Hyderabad district - those of Makhdum Ghulam Hyder, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur and Mir Hussain Bux Khan Talpur.

Thus it will be seen that where the contest was keen, workers and influential people who could assist considerably in securing votes and render moral and material help to the League candidates, were required very badly. Out of the above 17 constituencies, I personally went and canvassed in not less than 12 constituencies. I started electioneering propoganda work right from 23rd October and in my own constituency I worked in all for 5 days and the result was that my opponent withdrew unconditionally. Thereafter I was free and I worked for the Muslim League candidates. I had worked in all for 30 days, excluding the 5 days that I spent in my own constituency. Besides this, about 4 or, 5 days were spent in travelling from one place to another. With the exception of 2 days, that I had to stay in Karachi due to illness that I suffered owing to hard and strenuous, work and travelling and consequential exhaustion, and 2 days owing to the arrival of Quaid-e-Azam at Karachi, I spent all the remaining days up to the 9th December - Muslim League candidates' constituencies

2. The figures would show that I spent:

10 days in Kazi Fazulullah's constituency, 3 days in Mir Jaffer Khan Jamali's constituency,

1 day in Sardar Nur Mohammad Khan Bijarani's constituency,

4 days in the Nawabshsh district,

3 days in the Thar Parkar district

2 days in Mir Mohammad Khan Chandio's constituency,

3 days in Sardar Ali Gohar Khan and Sardar Kaisar Khan Bozdar's constituencies,

1 day in Haji Ali Akbar Shah's constituency

1 day in Haji Fazul Mohammad Laghari's constituency

I covered not less than 3600 miles by car during these six weeks, and quite a large number of mileage, face serious opposition, not less than 10 or 12 will admit that I rendered them genuine help and contributed considerably towards their success.

3. As against this, no other Minister has worked in other constituencies. The Hn'ble premier has worked for himself and in his son's constituency, at Thatta. Mir Ghulam Ali Khan has worked for himself and Pir Alishah. Mr. Pirzada has worked for Mr. Rahim Bux very considerably in addition to his own. Pir Illahi Bux has worked only in Mr. G. M. Sayed's constituency; but he had, considerable advantage in doing so because he belongs to that constituency and possesses landed property there. His own village, where he is born and bred, and where he still lives, is situated in Sehwan Taluka which is in Mr. G. M. Sayed's constituency. He had direct contact with the people of Sehwan Taluka and therefore he was the only one among the Ministers who could render help in that constituency. On the whole, the strenuous work, the travelling and number of meetings addressed and the other help rendered to at least 12 out of 17 candidates, were all on my part. Thus my record of the election work undoubtedly stands on the top.

Sd/-
M. A. Khuhro

20th December, 1946

(96)

Victoria House, Karachi
25th December, 1946

Dear Quaid-e-Azam Sahib,

I am sending herewith 20 signatures' of the Muslim League Members of the Sindh Assembly, proposing me as Leader of the Party. These were lying with me since last 3-4 days I should have sent them earlier to you.

2 There is one additional member named Rais Haji Faazul Mohammad Khan Laghari, who was unable to come to Karachi but wrote to me a letter that I should be elected leader of the Party. I am unable to lay hands on it but I can send it to you if you so desire.

3 Now since you are deciding the whole question of formation of Ministry for this province, you may kindly take views of these Members also into consideration.

With kindest regards,

I am,
Sincerely yours,
M. A. Khuhro

Quaid-e-Azam Mr. M A Jinnah,
President, All India Muslim League,
Camp Karachi

(Enclosure)

Karachi, 20th December 68.

We the following members of the Muslim League Assembly Party propose that Mr. M. A. Khurro be elected the Leader of the Party.

1. *M.H. Gazder* M.H. Gazder
2. *Mrs. Allana* Mrs. Allana
3. *Sardar Noor Mahomed Bijar* Sardar Noor Mahomed Bijar
4. *Kazi Fazlullah* Kazi Fazlullah
5. *Kazi Mujtaba* Kazi Mujtaba
6. *Mahmood Abdoola Haroon* Mahmood Abdoola Haroon
7. *Ghulam Nabi Dehraj* Ghulam Nabi Dehraj
8. *Ghulam Mahomed Wasan* Ghulam Mahomed Wasan
9. *Arbab Togachi* Arbab Togachi
10. *Sayed Ali Akbar Shah*
11. *N. M. Sayyid*
12. *Sardar Ali Ghani*
13. *Sardar Kaiser Khan*
14. *Mir Nadeem Khan*
15. *Mir Jaffar Khan*
16. *Ghulam Ahmad*
17. *Mirza Aslam Khan*
18. *Mirza Aslam Khan*

We propose Honorable M. A. Khuhro to
be the leader of the said Muslim
League Assembly Party.

Proposed by: Mir Ishtiaq Hussain Khan

Seconded by: Ali Muhammad

of 22.12.46

(99)

Victoria House, Karachi
26th December, 1946

My dear Mr. Khurshid,

I am sending herewith a letter of authority signed by 9 M.L.As. in favor of Quaid-e-Azam. I believe you have already got signatures of 24 M.L.As of whom the following 10 members are against the leadership of Shaikh Ghulam Hussain and have proposed me among the other 21 signatories, for the leadership of the party:

- 1 Rais Ali Mohammad Mari,
- 2 Rais Ghulam Rasul Jatoi,
- 3 Rais Ghulam Nabi Dahraj,
4. Mir Mohammad Khan Chandio,
- 5 Sardar Nur Mohanimad Khan Bijarani,
6. Haji Ail Akber Shah,
7. Makhdum Ghulam Hyder,
8. Kazi Mohammad Akbar,
- 9 Kazi Mujtaba, and
- 10 Rais Haji Fazul Mohammad Lighari.

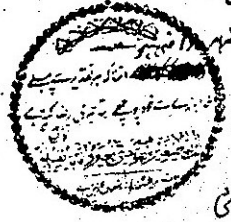
The 9 M.L.As whose signatures are being sent²⁷ herewith have also proposed me for the leadership. Only two of my supporters remain *i.e.* Rais Ghulam Mohammad Wasan and Arbab Togachi, who have already left for their respective destinations and I am unable to secure their signatures. They live very far away from Karachi and it will take not less than 4-5 days to obtain their signatures. Now that there are 33 signatures in your possession, Quaid-e-Azam can announce his award as early as is convenient for him.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Khuhro

Mr. Khurshid,
Secretary to Quaid-e-Azam

²⁷ Not available on record.

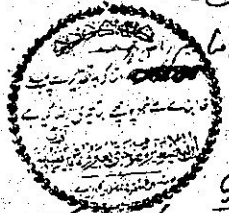
اس کو بھی ہرگز آہستہ سے معذور ہیں۔ (جناب صاحب سے یہ بھی خیال فرمادیں کہ فوجی خلیفہ جہاں دار احمد علی نے
 مسلمانوں کو تین یا ان سے بھی زیادہ ہرگز یا تین یا تین سے بہت سے ملکوں کو تین یا تین ہی ہیں
 کہ سکر فوسا کو بدو بکر کے اطفال والی مسلمانوں کو استراحت دینی ہے
 قریباً دو ہزار مسلمان ہمارے کھیتی باڑی کے لیے تھے۔ اسے تخصیص سے تو کوئی بھی
 نوک مسلمان نہیں دی نہیں رہا کہ مسلمان ہیں۔ سزا کا بندوں نے سزا ہی ہی
 سزا ہی ہی ہے اور کما مطلب قطع سے ہے کہ مایع ایک سے آرت تباہ کر کے اور
 مسلمانوں میں فاقہ نکال کر مگر گذار اور مسلمانوں میں دیر سے مگر کوئی مسلمان
 حکومت جمادیں جیسی کہ مسلمانوں کے لیے اور خاندانوں کے لیے مگر ہی ہی ہے۔



۲۔ کہ بچوں کو شہر میں ہی رہا ہے۔ یہ بات ہی مشہور ہے کہ شاہنشاہ خیر اللہ کو یاد کرنا کہ مسلمانوں کے ہندوؤں کی
 پنجاب نے کہ از کم تین لاکھ روپیہ علیحدہ کر رکھا ہے (نوٹ۔ فرید پور آباد مسلمانوں کی
 کھنڈی کھنڈی کم از کم دو کروڑ روپیہ جمع ہوئی ہوگی لکن مسلمانوں کو یاد کرنے والے کاموں میں ہزارہ
 کو تھپتی ہے) ان تین لاکھ روپیہ میں ہندوؤں نے چار چھ حصے دے دیے ہیں مسلمان اور کتنے بولیں
 آفرین کو رشوت دی ہے کہ از کم دو لاکھ روپیہ روپیہ بات ہی آجیاب ہی آسانی سے
 ملوے کر سکتے ہیں اور ان کا یہ ملوے کرنا بظاہر ہی ہے۔ ہندوؤں نے آجیاب ہی آسانی سے
 شفقت سے یہ ہر جھگڑے تو یہ شفقت ہی آجیاب کو یہ آسانی سے ملوے ہوئے ہیں کہ کوئی بھی بات
 ہرگز چھپ نہیں سکتی۔

۳۔ سنا جاتا ہے کہ اس مقدمے میں بولیں نے بہت ظلم سے ملے لیے۔ کتنے گروہوں کو مایک سخت
 انڈیا راجی کے عدالتوں میں تدر ۱۶۴ تا ۱۶۵ مانتے رہے اور ان کی کچھ ہی اور اتنا عزیز تو کو کو
 تکلف دیا گیا کہ ڈرایا گیا ہے کہ اگر ایک بولیں کا متعلق ہے گا وہ بین جاتا ہے
 تو لوگ اپنے گھر چھوڑ کر جنگوں میں ہٹاگ جاتے ہیں۔ یہ بولیں کی ہار روائی ایک
 بولیں الیکٹر آسانی سے کر سکتا تھا مگر اس ہار روائی میں خود انیسٹر جنرل بولیں کو
 اور ۳۰۰۰ روپیہ کی بولیں کے لیے دو روپیہ ہر ایک ٹنٹا، دلین اور دینی الیکٹر اور چار

اس بات کا بھی آجنا بخیال رہا کہ یہ بات آئیے اہل بیت اور خان کے لائق ہے یا نہیں۔ اور حرکت
 صحیح ہو کہ آج کو مری ملالت ہی اور آجنا سبب کہ یہ اگر کسی ہی اسلئے تیار ہے



سخت دن کا بھی خیال مٹا دیا کہ انہی دن سب اختیار والوں میں
 دلوں کا معاملہ نہ تھے اس لیے فرائض کو ملح اور اکلے۔ یہ مقدم
 اگر خا بجھا کہ جہاد میں یہ تو اتنے رخصت ہوں دیے جاتے جو سب سے
 ہیں آئی ہے اور اتنی ظلم جسے سختی رکھوں گی جاتی۔ یہ بات تو ساری

مندہ اور اجازت ہی شہر ہے کہ مٹر گزر اور مٹر جی نام سید کے سید دن سے ملانے مارتی کھیلیے
 اور یہ مقدم خا بجھا کہ جہاد کو پایا ہے۔ اب بہت امکان ہے کہ آجنا ب سیر خواجہ عینی مٹر

ہو۔ ایسے سید اور مٹر گزر در میان کل دی صلح کرادیں گے۔ کتے لوگ لکھتے ہیں کہ مٹر علی
 حسین کا ارادہ ہے کہ خا بجھا کہ مٹر کو جان سے بھی دینے کو اور وہ سید کے مٹر علی کو اپنی خانہ ک

اور عزیزوں کے لئے خاص ملکیت بنا دیے اور اسلئے اب وہ مٹر گزر اور مٹر سید سے ساز باز
 کر رہے ہیں اور گزر کو دینے سے ہتھ پٹے اور لکھتے ہیں مٹر اور حسین کو اس میں ہتھ پڑا دیں گے

مگر اس طرح کی ماری نام سلو لیک مٹر ہی تو رخصت ستانی کو لفظ اب کے صلح جاری رہیں گے
 جو بات نہ لیک اور آج کے سدا کا موافق بلکل نہیں۔ ایسی باتوں سے سلو لیک فور بدنام

اور سیر یاد ہو جائیگا اور اس سبب سے بھی کہ مٹر لیک سے مٹر لکھانوں کو ہتھ لکھانوں کے
 مقدمہ جاری کرتے ہیں اور کوئی مٹر نہیں کرتے۔ آجنا ب بہ خیال فرمادی کہ اسلئے کہ

رشتہ قوت کے ذریعہ کیا ہوا مندہ اگر مٹر بچا لہذا اس روز نانی کے خلاف کیا جاتا تو
 ساری ہندوستان میں طوفان مٹر پائی تا اور واٹر اور ہک اسکا اثر ہو چکا جاتا

اور سندا کی وزارت ہے کہ اگر سندا کے حوالہ کی جاتی مگر نہایت لانسوس صحیح ہے
 مسلم لیک کے لیڈروں پر کہ ایک مٹر مٹر کے خد متکار کو ہیا مٹی دلائے لیجے کوشش

کرتے ہیں

کرتے ہیں۔ امید ہے کہ اکتھب ایچ خواجہ بی اور قیامت کا حساب یاد فرما کر سر منزل حسی
 اور سیر کو مٹر گورہ سے ملنے کر اور کچھ حیرتوں اور نئے ایچ ایچ کے پیچھے لگی ہو گی باتیں
 سنا جائیں گے۔

(۱) سزہ منبری کو لکھنے میں تو کہیں کہہ نہ سکتے ہیں اس میں سزا کا خلیق لاکھ نہیں
 کیوں حال طورہ نہیں ہے اور فن لوگوں کو بتوتی دی گئی ہے وہ کتنی رتوت۔

(۲) ایک گیسٹ میں تو کہی جاوے کہ پول کے کی نیا آفریندہ شاہوں کو چھوٹ
 لیزا بیک دیکر افسوس کرے گا کہ مانت زبانی دلائی ہے اور کہہ آیا کیا کرے۔
 اور ایک بولس کی رائے تو اس سے بدتر ہے۔

(۳) جتنی بیباکتی ہے جو کہ لہر بیان کی گئی ہے اور شاہد کے خلاف کام میں لائی
 گئی ہے وہ پٹاری جاوے اور اسے متوہر جاوے کہ کورٹ میں یہ لکھت
 حاصل کریں۔

دعا ہے کہ شاہد جو اپنے دریش کو بولے کہ بہرہ سے نکالا جاوے اور حیل سے
 رہتا جاوے سکرنا بولے کہ بہرہ ہی ہوئے بولے کے طرف سے وہ چون گویا
 ہرگز نہ ہی دوگا۔ اصرار تو اس میں ہوگا کہ دریش جو یہی لازم بنا جاوے پتوئے اس میں
 میں ایک اور شخص ہرگز نہ ہی تہ نہ ہو۔

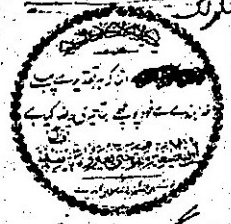
۴۔ میرا ہاؤز میں اور میری موصوع سے بچے بہت مظلوم ہیں اور چوٹی آہن کی کھیل کی
 ہر ای طاقت حاصل ہوا ہے آپ سب کہہ کر کہتے ہیں اسلئے جسے امید ہے کہ اجنباب
 میری اور میرے چھوٹے چھوٹی کی فریاد اور دعا کی قدر کریں گے۔
 بہتریں از آہ مظلومان کہ تمام کا کرک۔ اجابت از در حق ہر اسے استقبال کریں

یارمند مظلوم
 77000 khuhro

قلندرازہ (۱) - اجنباب کی خدمت میں اجنباب بلوچستان جبریل گجر جی ص 25 نومبر 1944

عزیز

عرفت کہی ہوں اس لیے آج تک کہ معلوم ہو گا کہ مسٹر گزدر کو جماعت مسلم لیگ میں کون سے لوگ



کے لیے خارج ہو گئے ہیں اس لیے اس حالت میں قومی امید ہے کہ آج تک اسے مسٹر گزدر کو
 سکون ملے گی جو کہ مسٹر گزدر اور مسٹر علی حسین نے کہا ہے کہ جو مسٹر گزدر کو
 مسلم لیگ وزارت کا دینا ہوا اس لیے کہ اس کے مخالف ہی اسے
 اسے وزارت سے خارج کیا جاویں۔ اگر یہ تاعدہ کی بدعت اور بدعت
 مناسب ہے اگر یہ مسٹر علی حسین اور مسٹر میر نیوی نے کریں تو آج تک

خوبی سمجھ سکتے ہیں کہ اس کا حقیقی ارادہ وہی ہے جو اس خط میں بتایا گیا ہے مسٹر
 جی ریاض سید کا قلعہ ہے ارادہ ہے کہ سندھ لیگ کو گامی سید لیگ بنا کر خود کو مسٹر گزدر سے
 اور آج آج ہی جی ریاض سید سے ہٹا دینا۔ جب اسے ہوا تو سندھ کے لوگ جی ریاض سید کو

حکومت کے ماتحت ہو جائیں گے سندھ میں یہ براہ نام سید کس حال میں کڑی اور اس کے
 گامی سید ہی ہیں حقیقت معلوم کرتا آج تک کہ یہ سید ہی ڈروں ہے اور اسے
 حقیقت کے معلوم ہونے کے بعد آج تک کہ جو یہ معلوم ہو گا کہ مسٹر گزدر کی ریکورڈی آپ سے ہونے

سے کراہے ہیں۔ ڈیو گزدر آج تک کہ اسے (اور ان کے لوگوں) کہ مسٹر گزدر کو اسے مسٹر
 سید سے الگ ہونا نہیں چاہتا۔ مسٹر لعل الوہید جو ان کے 24 نومبر 1942ء کو ہوا ہے کہ مسٹر جی ریاض

سید کے اشارے سے سندھ میں لوٹنے کے لیے مسٹر گزدر کے گھر سے نکلے اور ان کے اجازت سے ان سے ملانے کے لیے
 کانگریسوں کو جو اسے آزار کراہے کے حامی ہیں اور وہ سب سنا کہ وہ سنا سنی ہے اور اسے

اجلانے ساری چیزوں کے ساتھ لیگ کے بائیکاٹ کے بہت سے مخالف ہیں۔ ان سب باتوں
 سے آج تک معلوم کر سکتے ہیں کہ مسٹر سید اور مسٹر علی حسین اور مسٹر گزدر کا ارادہ

کیا ہے۔
 (5) مسٹر گزدر ہی اسے لڑائی کا مسٹر سید نے بہت برا مہاج کر کے کیا ہے اگر اسے ہمارے خلاف

کہ لہجے لگاتے ہیں۔ لیکن سب سے سنی خوں و غم وہ جو اسے لڑائی کا طریقہ لگاتے ہیں اور سہاری
 آج تک ساری چیزیں لہجے لگاتے ہیں لیکن مسٹر سید اور مسٹر علی حسین نے بہت ہی ٹو مسٹر گزدر کی تو ایک حالت

صلوات

مملکت کی برہمنی عزت سے بڑھانے اور سرکاری ڈاکٹر و پروفیسر اور دیگر خدمت سے فرائض کی۔ اور دوسری
 جاگیریں سے عزت سے رکھنا کی جتنی بھی چیزیں آزاد کر دی گئی ہیں اور باقی ہیں
 اختیار سے کہی جاتی ہیں جو ان کے خود وراثتی ملک میں بہت سے لوگوں کو دیے گئے ہیں
 سے سمجھوتہ کر رہے ہیں۔ جا بجا کہ محمد لوب۔ ان کے لیے یہ ہے۔ بڑی طرح کے انسان تھے
 اس سے پہلے سندھی مسلم لیگ کے پیر نے لکھا تھا۔ اب وہ جو روینو دینو میں تھے۔ اس کے بعد
 ہم جناب لارڈ مسلم لیگ کے لیڈر کو شکر کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ تو تو یہ امید ہے کہ ان کو وہاں سے ہٹا
 اور اس میں مسلم لیگ کی بڑی عزت ہوگی۔ یہ جانا۔ کہ ان کے مسلم لیگ کی بڑی طاقت
 حاصل ہے۔ لیکن یہ تعالیٰ کا لال ہے کہ ان کے آج بابت دلی عرصہ درمیان کے قریب آسانی ہو
 سکتی ہے۔ مگر ان کے لیے اور ان کے لیے جو کہ بارہا ہونے لگے تھے۔ اور ظاہر
 کیا کہ ان کے لیے وقت ہی جس کے سزا موت ہوئی جائے گی ہے۔ مگر جا بجا کہ عزت
 تو ایک جیوٹا قدم ایک سزا میں کہیں لیا گیا ہے۔ کتنا بڑا فرق ہے وہ آج بڑے
 خوب سے کہتے ہیں۔ ~~خبریں~~
 (سی) میں نے آج تک پھر دیکھا اور شرافت میں امداد ہے کہ یہم خط سارا پڑھ کر دیکھنے اور
 میں نے مظلوم فیضیہ کو لیا۔ ان جواب سے سرزنس فرمائیں گے۔
 نیا سندھ مظلوم Mrs Khuhro

(101)

Translation

Karachi
28th November 1944

Most respected Qaid-e-Azam,

I am a Purdah observing lady and belong to a very respectable family. I do not know where you might be at this time, but as this letter must reach you before the 29th of November, I am posting it today. Your sister knows me very well.

I have to submit that my husband has been subjected to objectionable treatment and a great calamity has befallen me and my young and innocent children. I hope, therefore that this letter will receive your kind consideration.

1 My husband got the land alienation bill passed by the Sindh Assembly and also the 'Braj Bill.' He also secured big posts for Muslims in the Sindh Government offices and because of this attitude of my husband the Hindus were inimical towards him and would let him down at any cost.

2 Mr. Gazder and Mr. G. M. Sayed also bear enmity towards my husband. Sayed wants that Gazder should become the Premier of Sindh (illegible) the Dictator. I hope you are kept informed of these things. I am sending you a copy of the '*Baluchistan-e-Jadeed*' from which you will be able to see for yourself all that is happening in Sindh.

It is common talk here that Gazder and some police officials have together obtained about two crores of rupees in bribes. This is a blot on the fair face of the League and I hope you will not like that League's name be misused by anybody. I read in '*Daily Gazette*' that Mr. Sayed and Sir Ghulam Hussain are seeing you on the 29th of November. It is probable that you will try to maintain the status quo and through your influence Sayed and Ghulam Hussain might come to settlement, but if Gazder continues to remain in the Cabinet, corruption will never come to an end in Sindh, and all this will be under the name of the League Ministry only K. B. Khuhro will be sacrificed for nothing. He will neither receive proper treatment nor help nor justice from any quarter, he who has done so much for the Muslim League.

In the agitation for the Menzilgah Mosque at Sukkur when about 1500 Muslims were arrested it was Khuhro alone who bore the expenses incurred in the courts and the fees of the lawyers. He spent nearly 15000 rupees in this connection.

In 1942 when due to high floods in the Indus thousands of Muslims were rendered homeless, Khuhro alone came to their rescue. Again in Sukkur riots when about 2000 Muslims were killed and many arrested, it was again Khuhro abut, who helped them in every possible way.

In the Sukkur. bye-election Khuhro's personal influence was responsible for the success of K. .B Sadhayo, the League candidate. Again in 1943 when the All India Muslim League Session was held in Karachi he made a very great contribution to the League funds and did his best to make the Session successful. Scores of visitors from all parts of India were his personal guests.

He deserves help from all Muslims. If he is convicted the Hindus will say forever that the Leaguers do not hesitate to kill their opponents and that the League is an organization of murderers and blood-thirsty people. I hope you don't like that such things should be said about the League and I hope therefore you will use your enormous influence to help me. I am the wife of Khuhro. Nobody can know more than I do and I can say, and I know and am sure that he is innocent. It is the Hindus of Sindh who want to create disruption amongst the Sindh Muslims and they want to establish a Ministry which would be a tool in their hands as that of Mr. Allah Bakhsh and this purpose can be achieved through Sayed and Gazdar.

3 lakh rupees have been earmarked by the Hindu Panchayat to be used against K. B. Khuhro, out of which about two lakhs have been already paid to police officials in form of bribes.

Police have used unnecessary force against witnesses in this case, so much so that whenever they, heard that a police party was coming to their village they would leave their homes and run away to the forests. Accused Daresh was not kept under custody but he was kept with the Superintendent of Police at the latter's bungalow. Mr. Khuhro was not released on bail, simply at the insistence of the Ministry. Hindu papers were left free to indulge in the sorts of remarks against Khuhro, but when Muslim papers, knowing the facts of the case, supported Khuhro, restrictions were imposed on their writing anything about the case though the case had not come up before the court.

All this shows that Gazder and Sayed wish that Khuhro should either be imprisoned for a long term or be hanged. You can do much in this case. If the case is genuine and if Khuhro is culprit then why these bribes and this round-about procedure? I have therefore to submit to you: -

1. That Sindh Ministry should appoint a Committee to inquire whether the Hindus have reserved rupees three lakhs specially to be used against Khuhro and whether any police officials have accepted bribes and how much?
2. That another Committee be set up to inquire into the charges of intimidation of witnesses by the police.
3. That restrictions of K.B. Khuhro be removed and he be let free to seek justice
4. That Daresh should be sent to jail and be not kept under the Police custody because he will not be able to give a statement based on facts.

I have seen from papers that Gazdar has been expelled from the City Muslim League Karachi for a period of three years. I hope you will endorse and appreciate the decision taken by the City League, and ask Sir Ghulam Hussain to remove him from the Cabinet. Sayed is trying his best to secure Provincial League and has issued a statement demanding the release of the political prisoners though this is in contravention of the policy of the League throughout India. Khuhro was the President of the Provincial League year before last, he was the Revenue Minister when arrested, but to such a big man the treatment offered by the police is shameful. When Gandhi started civil disobedience he was arrested and kept in a palace, because the Congress is powerful but the League is keeping mum over the treatment meted out to M. A. Khuhro.

May I hope that this letter will receive your kind attention and that I shall receive an encouraging reply from you.

Mrs. K. B. Khuhro

124 Muslim Colony,
Karachi City.

(102)

[Delhi]
13 December, 1944

Mrs. Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 28th, and thank you for it. I am in full sympathy with you and with what you are going through; but you know that your husband's case is now before a Court of Law, and it is for the court now to deal with it and decide the matter. Let us hope that he will be able to vindicate his honor and secure his acquittal²⁸.

Yours Sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah

(103)
(Telegram)

Karachi
9th December 1944

Jinnah Sahib,
President All India Muslim League, Bombay,

²⁸ Khalid Shamsul Hassan, *Sindh's fight for Pakistan*, P-42.

Gazdar arranged destruction Sindh League Ministry committed inexcusable crime against all Sindh Muslims but you forgave and helped him become Minister. Khuhro is innocent and also no inexcusable crime against Muslims therefore your sacred duty consider vast difference and help him Seth Yusuf at Bombay

Mrs. Khuhro

(104)
(Telegram)

Karachi
27th January, 1945

Mohammad Ali Jinnah Esqr.,
President Muslim League, Bombay,

Even some Hindus laugh at stupid and inhuman meanness of Muslim League officers who got up case against Khuhro. Kindly realize Sindh Muslim League sufficiently disgraced weakened fear God be just and ask Kazi Isa make strictly private inquiry which Muslim Leaguers, did. This private inquiry not against law you send Hussain Imam for much less important matter.

Mrs. Khuhro

(105)
Telegram

Karachi
10th February, 1945

Jinnah Esqr.,
President, India Muslm League, Bombay,

Kindly request Sayed help Khuhro

Mrs. Khuhro

(106)
Telegram

[?]
3 August 1945

Mrs. Khuhro,

Mr. Jinnah and I heartily congratulate you on your husband's acquittal STOP Your patience and sufferings have been full rewarded. Wish you happiness.

Miss Jinnah

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE PROMINENT POLITICIANS OF SINDH

(These biographical sketches have been taken from G. M. Sayed's book *JANAB GUZARIAM JIN SEIN*. Volume-I. Second Edition, Published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, 1979, except his own which has been taken from Qazi Abdul Majeed Abid's Essay '*If he had not been born in Sindh*' published in 'Sindhi Publications' compiled by Ijaz Sindhi and Khan Mohammad Panhwar, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi Number, 1973.

M. A. KHUHRO

M. A. Khuhro, son of Shah Muhammad Khan Khuhro, was born in Aaqil Goth (village). District Larkana in 1901 A.D. He got his Primary education in the village school, and Secondary education at Larkana and in Karachi. He passed his Matriculation examination from the Sindh Madrasatul Islam, Karachi. After passing his first year examination he discontinued his education and looked after his agricultural farms and other properties. In a short span of time he earned good amount of influence and popularity in the public, with the result that he was elected as a member, Legislative assembly, Bombay, in 1923 from Larkana. In 1926, he joined the Sindh Muhammadan Association. In 1928 he became Chairman of the Larkana Zamindari Bank. He was also Director, Provincial co-operative Bank and was Managing Director of *Newspaper Sindh Zamindar*. Besides, he was Member, Senate, University of Bombay, Member of Sindh Madrasa Board and Sindh College Board. He earned rich experience on different Select Committees of the Bombay Council and was known as a capable Parliamentarian.

When the movement for the Separation of Sindh started he wrote a book entitled *The Story of Sufferings of Sindh* (1930). In 1933 he represented the case of separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency, before, the Parliamentary Committee in London on behalf of the Sindh Muhammadan Association. He was nominated as member of the Sindh Administrative Committee by the Government of India in 1932. In 1936 when Sindh was separated from Bombay, he was appointed member of its Administrative Council for one year. In 1937 he was elected on the ticket of Sir Ghulam Hussain's Muslim Political Party and was appointed Parliamentary Secretary. He deserted Sir Ghulam Hussain's Cabinet in 1938. He joined Muslim League Parliamentary Party after Sindh Provincial Muslim Conference was held in 1938. He led the Party up to 1942. He was confined in his village during the Manzilgah Mosque disturbances. He was made Minister in Mir Bande Ali Khan's Cabinet which was defeated on March 1941. On the death of Sir Abdullah Haroon on April 27, 1942, Khuhro was nominated as member of All India Muslim League Working Committee in July 1942. The same year he joined Sir Ghulam

Hussain's Cabinet. K. B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro was murdered On 14th May, 1943. Khuhro was accused of having assassinated him and was arrested on September 26, 1944. He was exonerated of the charge on 3rd August 1945. The elections of 1946 were held on 21 January.²⁹ Mr. Khuhro contested the elections and was again taken on Sir Ghulam Hussain's Cabinet. In September, 1946 on the defeat of the Government, the Assembly was dissolved. The new elections were held on 9 December 1946. Khuhro was elected and taken as a Deputy Prime Minister in Sir Ghulam Hussain's new Cabinet. When Pakistan was established on 14 August 1947, and Sir Ghulam Hussain was made Governor of Sindh, Khuhro was taken as Chief Minister.

SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH SHAIKH

His father, Hidayatullah, was reportedly, a Kashmiri, who-settled in Shikarpur, embraced Islam and married in a local pathan family. Ghulam Hussain was born in 1878. His father died when he was young. He graduated from D. J. Sindh College, Karachi. He graduated in Law also from Government Law School, Bombay and started his practice in about 1905 at Hyderabad.

Ghulam Hussain began his political career with membership of the Municipal Committee, Hyderabad and became its Vice President. In 1909, he became Vice President of the District Local Board Hyderabad. In 1912 he was elected as member of the Bombay Legislative Council and continued to be its member till Sindh was separated from Bombay Presidency. He was selected as a Minister, for Local Self Government, Department of Bombay Presidency, in 1921. He was responsible for the representation to Muslims, especially of Sindh at the Local Board level. By this time he was given surname of 'Khan Bahadur'. In 1926, he got cognomen of 'Sir' and in 1928 he was appointed member of the Executive Council. In 1930, he represented Bombay Government in the Round Table Conference at London and spoke in favor of separation of Sindh from Bombay. In 1932 he was given the Department of Finance in place of Sir Govind Rai Pardhan. In 1933 he got surname of K.C.S.I. (Knight Commander Star of India). When Governor of Bombay proceeded on leave, he was appointed Governor Incharge of the Presidency.

In 1934, he completed his term as member of the Executive Council. The same year he was elected as a member, Central Assembly of Viceroy, from Sindh. In 1936 when Sindh was separated from Bombay Presidency an Administrative Council was appointed to run its business. Sir Ghulam Hussain worked as a member of the Sindh Assembly on the ticket of the Muslim Political Party. Since Sir Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto and Sir Haji Abdullah Haroon, the important Sindhi Leaders of united Party, were defeated in this election, Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to form the Government.

²⁹ Elections were held on 8 February 1946.

During the Budget Session in March, 1938, his Government was defeated. The same year Sindh Provincial Muslim League Conference was held at Karachi, at the end of which 29 Muslim Assembly Members joined the Muslim League. Since Jinnah did not accept Allah Bakhsh to continue as Prime Minister of Sindh (as was Sir Sikander Hayat accepted in Punjab and as was Moulvi Fazal ul Haque accepted in Bengal) he did not join Muslim League. Sir Ghulam Hussain joined his hands with Allah Bakhsh who took him as Minister of Law and Order. Allah Bakhsh Government was defeated because of Manzilgah Mosque differences and disturbances and Mir Bande Ali Khan formed the Government during which Sir Ghulam Hussain remained out of Government. In March 1941 Government of Mir Bande Ali Khan was defeated and Allah Bakhsh formed the Government again, in which Sir Ghulam Hussain was again taken as a Minister. In 1942 when Congress announced 'Quit India Movement' K. B. Allah Bakhsh renounced his titles and awards which were conferred upon him by the British Government. He was therefore, dismissed by them and Sir Ghulam Hussain was invited to form the Government. The general elections of 1946 were held on 21st January and Ghulam Hussain was invited to form the Government again; which could not function for more than a few months. His Government was defeated in September 1946 during the Session and the Assembly was dissolved. The new elections were held on December 9, 1946 and Sir Ghulam Hussain was again invited to form the Government.

ALLAH BAKHSH SOOMRO

The name of his father was Haji Muhammad Umer Soomro, who had two sons, Allah Bakhsh and Moula Bakhsh. Allah Bakhsh was born in 1900 A.D. He got his education from Hopeful Academy Shikarpur up to matriculation. He discontinued his education and helped his father to look after his lands and agricultural farms. Allah Bakhsh was elected as member of Jaccobabad Municipality and District Board Sukkur in 1923. In 1926 he was elected as a member of Bombay Council and continued to hold this membership till Sindh was separated from Bombay Presidency in 1936. In 1931 on the eve of Jaccobabad Horse Exhibition a conference of Muslim Politicians of Sindh presided over by Sir Abdullah Haroon was convened where the resolutions in favor of the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency were passed. In 1934 when Peoples Party was founded at the residence of G. M. Sayed, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was elected Deputy Leader. In 1936 when the United Party was founded he joined it the same year. In party elections he was elected as a leader of the party and M. H. Gazder was elected as Deputy, leader. In 1937 the United Party entered into, coalition with Sir Ghulam Hussain. Later there appeared some differences between Sir Ghulam Hussain and United Party with the result that during the Budget Session of 1938 Sir Ghulam Hussain's Government was defeated. Allah Bakhsh formed the Government in coalition with Congress and Hindu independent members. On 11th October 1938, Allah Bakhsh including other 28 Muslims joined the Muslim League in the presence of Jinnah. Differences appeared on the election of leaders of the Party. Allah Bakhsh was of the opinion that since in Punjab and Bengal the Prime Ministers were accepted as leaders of

the Provincial Muslim League parties and their Governments were kept intact, the same example should have been followed in Sindh, which was not accepted by Jinnah. The Muslim League Assembly party was, therefore, founded, in presence of Jinnah and Sir Ghulam Hussain and Mir Bande Ali Khan were elected as Leader and Deputy Leader respectively. G. M. Sayed was asked to bring a no-confidence motion against the Government of Allah Bakhsh. Before the no-confidence motion was moved most of the Muslim League members including the Leader and the Deputy Leader joined the Ministry of Allah Bakhsh. Only seven members voted for the no-confidence motion.

In 1939 when Manzilgah Mosque disturbances erupted Allah Bakhsh Government was defeated by the Muslim League with the support of Congress and Hindu members. Through Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, G. M. Sayed persuaded Allah Bakhsh to join the Muslim League Cabinet in place of G. M. Sayed who was going to resign. He accepted the proposal with the condition that after two months Mir Bande Ali Khan would resign and Sir Ghulam Hussain would be taken as Minister in the Cabinet, but the Muslim League high command did not allow it. The Congress and the Hindu members, therefore, withdrew their support of the Muslim League and so Allah Bakhsh was again brought into power. In 1942 when the Congress started the 'Quit India Movement' Allah Bakhsh renounced his surnames and awards on September 26, which were conferred upon him by the British Government. His Government was, in turn, dismissed by the Governor and Sir Ghulam Hussain was invited to form the Government. He was then murdered on May 14, 1943 at Shikarpur.

NEHCHALDAS VAZLRANI

His father's name was Chatto Mal Vazirani .He belonged to Thatta Nehchaldas was born on 8 March 1889. He got his primary and secondary education at Thatta Sindh. He passed his matriculation examination in 1907. The same year his father died. He discontinued his education and joined Revenue Department against the pay of Rs. 15/-. In the evenings he used to impart tuition to the students and earned his living. Soon he passed his Departmental examination and was appointed as Mukhtarkar (Tehsildar) after ten years. When he felt that he was not going to get any promotion in the near future, he resigned the job, obtained a law degree and started his profession as an Advocate. Soon he was elected as a member of Thatta Municipality. After separation of Bombay Presidency he was elected member against the candidates of Congress and Maha Sabha. Seven Congress members and fourteen other independent Hindu members, he being one of them, formed a group Mukhi Gobindram was elected its Leader and Nehchaldas Vazirani its Secretary.

In 1938, during Budget Session, when Sir Ghulam Hussain's Government was defeated and Allah Bakhsh formed the Government, Nehchaldas was taken as a Minister. He was given the Department of P.W.D. He quickly prepared the scheme for Lower Sindh Barrage. When Allah Bakhsh Government was defeated by the Congress and Muslim

League coalition, Nehchaldas was taken in the new Cabinet also. He had been elected as a member of the Assembly on Congress ticket. After Pakistan was established, on January 6, 1948, Hindus were looted in Karachi with the result that he migrated to Bombay, India.

PIR ILLAHI BAKHSH

His father's name was Pir Nawaz Ali Shah and was resident of Pir Jo Goth, near Bhan Saeed Abad, Taluka (Tehsil) Sehwan, District Dadu. His family, had their disciples in Kathiawar and its suburbs. Pir Illahi Bakhsh was born around 1897 A. D. He got his early education at his village. He passed his matriculation examination from High School Khairpur Mirs in 1919, after which he got admission in Ali Garh College. In 1920 the students left the college on the advice of Moulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar. He was one of them. He then got admission in the newly established Jamia Millia, which was founded by Moulana Mahmood Hasan, and Hakim Ajmal Khan was its Chancellor. After some time he discontinued his education, came back to Sindh and took active part in the Khilafat movement. In 1927 when the Khilafat Movement declined he again joined the Aligarh College for further education and passed his M. A. and L.L.B. examinations by 1929. On return to Sindh he started his practice as an Advocate at Larkana. After separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency, he was elected as a member of Provincial Assembly in 1937 from Dadu-Johi constituency. He was member of the United Party and remained faithful to it. In Budget Session of March 1938 when Sir Ghulam Hussain's Government was defeated, he was taken as Revenue Minister by Allah Bakhsh in his newly formed Government and remained with him up to March 1940. After that Mir Bandeh Ali Khan came into Power and Pir Illahi Bakhsh remained outside the Government. In 1941 when Allah Bakhsh formed the Government again, Pir Sahib was taken as Minister in his Cabinet again. In September 1942 when Allah Bakhsh renounced the surnames and awards of British Government and was dismissed, Sir Ghulam Hussain formed the Government, Pir Illahi Bakhsh joined Muslim League and was taken as a Minister in Sir Ghulam Hussain's Government.

In the elections of 1946 he was elected as a member Provincial Assembly on Muslim League's ticket. The same year in September when Governor dissolved the Assembly he defeated G. M. Sayed in the elections. G. M. Sayed submitted an election petition against him and in the meanwhile Pakistan was established on 14 August 1947.

G. M. SAYED

His full name is Ghulam Murtaza Shah. He was born on January 17, 1904 (*i.e.* 28 Shawal 1321 A.H.) at Sann. His father's name was Sayed Muhammad Shah, who was murdered due to enmity, when G. M. Sayed was only two years old. Within a year of that his elder brother Sayed Ahmed Shah also died. G. M. Sayed was admitted in Government Primary School Sann at the age of about five years. He passed Class-VI at the age of 11

years and then got his education in Arabic and Persian. Soon he felt that he should get education in English also. He, therefore, went to Moulvi Dr. Hamid Ali and learnt English. This was the time when Khilafat Movement was at its peak. He was then of 14. His blood boiled up and he joined the Khilafat Movement in 1919. In 1921 when he was only 17 years old he founded 'Anjman Sadat Matiari' which continued for a long time. He then struggled for the establishment of a High School and Hostel at Sann which he got established in 1926. In return for his services, public elected him as a member of Tehsil Local Board, Karachi. In 1930 he founded 'Hari-Committee' with the help of his friends, at Mir Pur Khas, which was later led by Haider Bakhsh 'Haider' Jatoi. He was the first Muslim in Sindh who wore 'KHADAR' in 1910 in pursuance of a Resolution of Indian National Congress and founded a 'KHADAR INDUSTRY' *i.e.*, a Textile Industry at Sann for the production of 'KHADAR' In 1931 he started a movement for prohibition of wine and took active part in a move for separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency.

After Sindh was separated from Bombay Presidency on April 1 1936, he stepped forward for its progress and prosperity and formed the 'United Party' of Hindus and Muslims. After some time he left the Congress and joined the Muslim League. He worked hard and laid foundations of Muslim League in Sindh from Kashmore to Karachi and Khirthur to Karoonjher mountains. In 1938 he was elected President of the Sindh Muslim League and then as a member of Provincial Assembly. In 1939 he played an active role in the restoration of the Manzilgah Mosque, Sukkur, to Muslims, as the General Secretary of the Manzilgah Mosque Restoration Committee. He was arrested on 19 November 1939 with other important leaders and released on January 9, 1940. After some time he joined the Cabinet of Allah Baklish Soomro, in the interest of the people and when he found that he had failed to achieve the required ends he resigned his Ministership on November 22, 1940. In June 1941 he was nominated on the All India Muslim League Working Committee. He participated in its meeting held on October 26, 1941 for the first time and came across the All India level problems. It was he who not only tabled the Resolution but got it passed by the Sindh Assembly on March 3, 1943, that Muslims in India where there they were in the Majority, be set free to live their lives in their on way.

On June 13, 1943, he was unanimously elected as President of the Sindh Muslim League by the Sindh Muslim League Council. He invited the Conference of the All India Muslim League at Karachi. in December 1943. He worked hard to make the conference a success. It was the last session of All India Muslim League before Independence and it was made a success. The League elections were held on 14 March, 1944 and in view of the results he was again elected as President of the Sindh Muslim League. Thereafter, he seems be playing prominent part in the change of Government in Sindh, one after another, for one or the other reasons.

On October 1, 1945, the newly formed Parliamentary Board met at his residence in Karachi and started issuing tickets for the ensuing elections. According to G. M. Sayed he received a complaint from 25 members of the Muslim League Council complaining that a number of members of the Parliamentary Board were issuing tickets to their own supporters; he, therefore, prorogued the meetings of the Parliamentary Board and informed the Central Parliamentary Board about the situation. Later, on October 14, 1945, the Provincial Muslim League Council passed a resolution authorizing the Central Parliamentary Board to take up the job of issuing tickets into their own hands in consultation with G. M. Sayed, Khair Shah, Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Sayed Muhammad Ali Shah and Rais Mustafa Khan Bhurgri. The Central Parliamentary Board issued the tickets without consulting the nominated consultants. Again differences cropped up between G. M. Sayed and the Muslim League high command; eventually resulting in the separation of G. M. Sayed from the Muslim League.

An attempt was made by the Muslim League high command to bring about a rapprochement. It was this connection that Liaquat Ali Khan and Qazi Issa visited Sindh. According to G. M. Sayed the differences were settled between them but later on the Muslim League high command gave ticket to G. M. Sayed and ignored his other four supporters with the condition that he would work against each of them. Muhammad Hashim Gazder again attempted to bring about reconciliation between G. M. Sayed and Muslim League. G. M. Sayed was prepared to join provided that formation of Sindh Cabinet would be controlled by the Sindh Muslim League Assembly Party; whereas the Muslim League high command was ready to take them back without any pre-condition. So this attempt also failed. After independence, one more attempt was made to settle the differences between G. M. Sayed and the Muslim League high command; but none of them budged an inch from their respective stands.

SHAIKH ABDUL MAJEED (LEELA RAM) SINDHI³⁰

He was born at Thatta on July 7, 1889. His father's name was Leela Ram. His first name was 'Jethanand'. He got his Primary education at Thatta. From his very childhood he appeared to be in search of Truth. He himself told³¹ G. M. Sayed that while going to School he used to stop near the tomb of Miskeen Shah and then to go to School. Once a religious debate was held between Sanatan Dhara, and Arya Samaj during which they attacked each other's sects very, severely which he did not like and was shocked by their behavior. He was impressed by the comments of his sister during his discussion with her on the above mentioned debate. She had said 'every religion has its own characteristics, so there were a number of good qualities in Islam also'. Once he got Bible and Quran Sharif. He started reading Quran first. Some of his Hindu classmates

³⁰ G.M. Sayed, '*Janab Guzariam Jin Sein*', Volume-I, Shaikh Abdul Majeed (Leela Ram) Sindhi (Thatta: Karachi, published by Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad Sindh, Second Edition, 1979, Page: 163-173.

³¹ *Ibid*, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi, Sindhi Publications Number-2, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Number, Compiled by Ijaz Sindhi, February-March, 1973, Published by Teacher-Student Center, Sindh University Jamshoro, Sindh, Page: 9-21

laughed at him. In reaction to it, he struggled for knowledge a bit more. During this struggle he came across Taj Muhammad Mir Muhammad Baloch, a Municipal Octroy Inspector, to whom he told Hindu point of view against Islam and in reply was told the qualities of Islam. His inner self was perhaps already prepared for a revolution. The ordinary stroke of Islamic qualities converted him into a Muslim. On February 10, 1908 he resigned his job of a clerk of a Hindu Advocate and went to Shaikh Abdul Rahim at Hyderabad Sindh and accepted Islam on his hand; who gave him the new name 'Abdul Majeed.' Due to fear of Hindus he was sent to Ludhiana for about two months after which he returned to Sindh and settled at Hyderabad Rais Ghulam Muhamad Bhurgri had then launched a Newspaper, *Al-Amin*, and appointed Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi as its Editor. Later he appointed him as his Secretary for political affairs. (1914-16).

Moulana Ubaidullah Sindhi while in exile sent a famous 'Silk letter' to India which was caught by the British Government of India. It was called 'Silk letter, Plan.' It carried the names of political workers, Shaikh Abdul Majeed was one of them. He was therefore, imprisoned in 1916 A.D. for three years, kept in Ratnagari Jail and was released in 1919 A.D. He participated in the Khilafat Conferences at Larkana, Sann and other places and made fiery speeches; with the result that he was again arrested and imprisoned for two years. As soon as he was released on June 23, 1923, he participated in the Khilafat Movement and worked for the country's independence with more zeal and zest. The Government asked him to furnish security for taking no part in the political activities for one year, failing which he was sent to jail for one year and was released in December, 1924. He prepared an organizational programme, distributed it in Sindh and appealed to the Sindhi Muslims, to follow it, through *Al-Waheed*. He called a 'New-Muslims Conference' in 1926 to consider and see as to how the teachings of Islam be inculcated in them. He participated in the All India All Parties, Conference in 1929 at Allahabad as a representative of Muslim Parties. He presided over, the All Parties Muslim Unity Conference and participated in another which was presided by Raja of Saleempur. He also presided over the All India Khilafat Conference, Ajmer and Azad Sindh Conference, Karachi, 1930. On 10 September, 1930 he was elected by Muslims as a member Bombay Council from the Karachi District. In 1933 Ghazi Abdul Qayum killed a Hindu Nathu Ram, who had written an enervating book in respect of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), in the premises of the Chief Court. He was condemned to death, therefore, Muslims arranged a procession and protested against the judgment. The Government opened fire on the procession and 24 Muslims were killed. Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi resigned his membership of the Bombay Council in protest. He was, however, re-elected to the Council unopposed.

When Sindh was separated from Bombay presidency he contested elections against Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, the Adviser to Governor, in his home constituency and defeated him. In 1938, Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi presented a resolution at the Muslim League Conference held at Karachi, which could be called the first formal resolution for Pakistan.

In 1939, in view of Manzilgah Mosque disturbances, the Hindus compromised with the Muslim League and brought it into power. Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi was taken on this Cabinet. He then was serving as a member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee. Later he resigned from the Muslim League membership, as he had felt that Muslim League had fallen into hands of some selfish politicians. Shaikh Abdul Majeed among others attempted to gather all those Muslim Parties and groups which were out of the Muslim League. He eventually formed his opinion that Pakistan and India should make a confederation as two separate units on the basis of equal votes, but nobody paid heed to his proposal. After Pakistan was established he announced his sincere cooperation with Government of Pakistan.