

One Unit Scheme in the Federation of Pakistan: A Case Study of Sindh

Abdul Shakoor Chandio
shakoor.chandio07@gmail.com
Lecturer at FUUAST Karachi

Abstract:

This article would attempt to explore the multi-dimensions of the One-Unit Plan which was imposed by the ruling elite of Pakistan by merging all western federating provinces of Pakistan into a single unit. This study is conducted under the aspect of provincial autonomy which is associated in this article with the theory of federalism. This article would envisage the nature of the federation of Pakistan and to what extent do the provinces enjoy provincial autonomy after the early years of its formation. With the introduction of this scheme, all the western provinces lost the status of provinces and became mere a commission rate. This study would generally put a cursory glance on the other federating units but more specifically present the case of Sindh in the federation of Pakistan. This article would attempt to address the questions like, what did Sindh gain and lose under this One-Unit Plan. This scheme was launched to counter the weightage of Bengal which was the eastern province of Pakistan and constituted about 55% people of Pakistan. In this way, the article would also present the case of the provincial autonomy of Bengal which got independence from Pakistan in 1971.

Keywords: One-Unit, Federalism, Provinces, Autonomy, Pakistan, Sindh

Introduction

After the creation of Pakistan, there were physically five major ethnic communities dwelling in the region. Bengal was about 16000 km away and constituted the majority of the population. Punjab was contiguous to the territories of Sindh, Baluchistan, and N.W.F.P which was the second populated province. N.W.F.P was previously part of Punjab and was separated in 1901. Sindh and Baluchistan were the peripheries in the colonial rule of the British while Punjab

played a very important role in the British government. It dominated the military and bureaucracy in the colonial period. It did not want to lose its supremacy in Pakistan under the majority of Bengal. It wanted to undermine the Bengal population. This could be possible only with the merger of smaller provinces into a bigger one province which could be dominated by Punjab. For this purpose, Punjabi leaders amalgamated Sindh, Punjab, N.W.F.P, and Baluchistan into a single province called West Pakistan against the populous province Bengal which was named East Pakistan. This scheme, One Unit came into force on 14 October 1955. Aijaz Ahmed is of the view about the formation of One Unit that some of the Punjabi politicians and some military Generals were not happy with the five provinces set up in Pakistan. They desired to form one province with the combining four provinces of the west of Pakistan. They thought that they could counter Bengal with this scheme. They were already surprised by the absolute victory of the United Front in 1954, provincial elections.¹ They were afraid of a future coalition among the smaller provinces of West Pakistan and Bengal into the parliament. This Consolidation among provinces in the future may isolate Punjab and its vested interests could not be preserved. Punjabi leadership needed to form West Pakistan with the merger of smaller provinces into Punjab. The politicians behind this proposal were incumbent Governor-General Malik Ghulam Mohammad, Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana, and other politicians from Punjab. Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan were fully supporting the one-unit plan. There is also conceived view that Iskandar Mirza and Ayub Khan were actually behind the creation of the plan.² Hamida Khuhro stated in his book that it was Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani who asked Mohammad Ayub Khuhro that the One Unit scheme should be considered the essential requirements of the future constitution of Pakistan. The Generals are behind the idea of One Unit Plan.³ She further opines that the idea had been floating around for some time. It has been pushed up during the premiership of Liaqat Ali Khan, which necessitates crushing the political leadership in smaller provinces of Pakistan⁴. Tanvir Ahmed traces the origin of the idea of One Unit in the November of 1947 during the Governorship of Quaid-i-Azam. The advisor of Mr. Jinnah on the economic

¹ Aijaz Ahmed Qureashi, *One Unit and Sindh* (Karachi: Peacock Printers,2013),p.126

² Ibid.,126

³ Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khan: A Life of Courage in Politics* (Lahore: Ferozsons ,1998),p.410

⁴ Ibid,p411

affairs was Sir Archibald Rowland who presented the idea before Quaid-i-Azam that four provinces of the West Wing of Pakistan should be merged into a single province and M.A Jinnah accepted the idea but he did not operationalize it because he thought that the time was ripe for that type of scheme right then⁵. However, Ayoub Khan credited himself for coining the idea of One Unit. He mentions that he used to work it out on the 'warm night' of October 4 in London and he was impassionately working to write a document to solve the ills of Pakistan.⁶ The daily Nawa-i-Waqt was the representative of Punjabi interests and daily Dawn which at that time was the official organ of the Muslim League supported the One-Unit proposal in the name of supreme national interests and ended provincialism. Malik Feroz supported the idea of One Unit in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1949, in the name of "efficient administration". Begum Shahnawaz was of the view that merging 34 districts of West Pakistan would be favorable on account of the administration and economics. In this way, General Secretary of Pakistan Muslim League, Khan Muhammad Yousif Khan supported the single unit scheme on the same grounds of exiting provincialism and making efficient administration. However, Chaudhary Khaliq Zaman was reluctant to favor the plan.⁷

Result and Discussions

It seems vivid and clear from the formation of the single federating unit that it was Punjab which only thought to counter the majority of Bengal and therefore it concocted the idea of a single unit to preserve its operationalizeested interest. The formation of the scheme was politically and morally wrong due to several reasons. It was immoral to counter and minimize the majority of Bengal. It created Bengalis feelings of distrust and fear of their less representation. Punjab was maximizing its strength on the cost of violating the provincial autonomy and sovereignty of Bengal. However, the interests of the smaller provinces were neglected it looks as if smaller provinces do not have any status in the newly formed Pakistan. As if the smaller provinces do not have existed for the Punjabi politicians.

⁵ Tanvir Ahmed Tahir, *Political Dynamics of Sindh 1947-1977* (Karachi: Pakistan Study Centre, 2010),p.318

⁶ Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayoub Khan*,p.411

⁷ Tahir, *Political Dynamics of Sindh*,p.318-320

Punjabi always fears the dominance of Bengal for which it demanded the parity between the East and West Wing of Pakistan. After dismissing Khawaja Nazimuddin, Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad chose Mohammad Ali Bogra as a Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mohammad Ali Bogra tried hard to bring the constitutional scheme for Pakistan; finally, he presented his constitutional formula in October 1953, in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The Bogra formula provides parity between the two wings of Pakistan. He suggested a bicameral legislature. There were 300 members in Lower House. East Pakistan had 165 seats, Punjab 75, N.W.F.P and tribal areas 24, Sindh and Khairpur possess 18, Baluchistan and its state's 17 which in the Upper House seats were equally distributed, 10 to each unit either it is small or big. The formula tried to reconcile between the Bengal and Punjab. Bengal demanded that the lower house should consist on the population basis and the upper house on the equal representation on the demand of Punjab⁸. The Formula was endorsed by the Chief Ministers of East Pakistan, Punjab, Sindh, N.W.F.P, and Bahawalpur. The Parliamentary Party of the Muslim League also accepted the formula. Only some Punjabi politicians from the Muslim League and other parties rejected the formula on the basis that Bengal is a bigger province that can ally with the party in the upper house or it single-handedly can impose the decision on the Punjab.⁹

This can be called hegemony, on the opposition of some Punjabi leaders other than Chief Minister of Punjab, an approved formula by all Chief Ministers of provinces and Parliamentary Party of Muslim League was rejected on the preposterous logic. Punjab was running Pakistan. Therefore, the demand of Bengal and other small provinces was not given importance. It was the one-unit formula that was opposed by the whole of Pakistan except some Punjabi leaders and it was imposed on the smaller provinces and Bengal. It minimizes the significance of the large province of Bengal. Another example is the separation of Karachi from the administration of Sindh. It was firmly opposed by the Chief Minister of Sindh, Sindh Council Muslim League, Sindh Legislative Assembly, Muslim Students Federation, and people of the Sindh but the decision was imposed on the Sindh through dismissing the ministry of Ayoub Khan. Smaller

⁸ Quraishi, *One Unit and Sindh*, p.128-129

⁹ Ibid.,129

federating units were mere administrative convenience perceived by the Punjabi-Muhajir nexus. Owing to their hegemony some Punjabi leaders rejected the Bogra formula.

Bengal was only one province out of 5 provinces of Pakistan where the Provincial Election was not held till the end of 1953. However, the Term of Assembly of Bengal was expired in 1951 which was elected in 1945-46 elections in British India. The delay in conducting the provincial Assembly election was due to fear of losing the election. Muslim League would suffer great loss due to its organizational weakness. Finally, the elections were held in March 1954. Muslim League could only win 10 seats out of the 309 seats. United Front became absolute victorious in the election.¹⁰

It was the background. The defeat of the Muslim League terrified the whole of the Muslim League's leadership especially of Punjab. Punjabis felt severe that Bogra's formula did not help them because East Pakistan has solidified its power and had manifested its strength collectively. However, the provinces in West Pakistan are on bad terms with one another. This is the prime time to form a single unit out of the four provinces of West Pakistan.¹¹

Due to the rising opposition of one-unit sub-committee of the Muslim League handed over the issue of one unit to the Muslim League Assembly Party. The Assembly rejected the One Unit Plan with the majority on September 3, 1954. There were 32 members present out of the 56 members. Only two members Chaudhry Mohammad Ali and Sardar Amir Azam Khan favored the single unit plan.¹²

Ghulam Murtaza Sayed was the popular leader of the Sindh Awami Mahaz. He strongly opposed the One Unit and demanded a national referendum on the matter merging all provinces into a single province. The demand for GM Syed became popular among the masses but it was rejected by the Government for the reason that nationwide vote was unnecessary and a slow procedure. GM Sayed was arrested under the security of Pakistan Act on 12,

¹⁰ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.153-154

¹¹ Quraishi, *One Unit and Sindh*, p.129

¹² Ibid.

November 1954.¹³ Under the Security Act of Pakistan, not only the politicians but newspapers and magazines were banned. The Al Waheed was put under the ban for a one-year, due to its role against the single unit. It was the Pakistan security Act that was imposed with the order of the chief commissioner to protect Pakistan from the security threat. The other four papers that stood by Al- Waheed and wrote a joint editorial condemning the ban on Al- Waheed paper were Karwan, Hilal-e- Pakistan, Aftab, and Fatah- Islam. The publication of daily Karwan Hyderabad was also banned for a month.¹⁴

Fifteen members from the Sindh Legislature Assembly opposed the idea of a Single Unit Proposal in West Pakistan. They praised the firm stance of the Chief Minister of Sindh, Abdul Sattar Peerzada against the scheme of a single Unit. Sindhi Students United Front passed a condemning resolution in which various Sindhi students of schools and colleges participated. Sindh Awami Mahaz and Sindh Hari Committee held their public meetings in various cities of Sindhi i.e. Thatta, Kotri, Dadu, Mehar, and Lakha, in those public meetings resolutions against One Unit were passed.¹⁵ The president of the Sindh Hari Committee, Hyder Bux Jatoui condemned the arrest of Ghulam Murtaza Syed. He supported the call for celebration of 'Sindh Day' observed on November 22, 1954, to register protest against the proposal of one federating unit. Sindh Youth Forum did not lag behind the opposing scheme and called people of Sindh to observe 'Sindh Day'.¹⁶

Sindh government had an agreement with the Central Government that Sindh Government would accept the one-unit scheme under some conditions. Finally, the agreement was made by the Premier of Sindh, Ayub Khuhro, with the central government. There are eleven conditions of Sindh which were accepted by the Central government before imposing the One-Unit. The conditions are listed below.

- i. The rights which would be given to the Sindh government shall be guaranteed in the future constitution of Pakistan and made justified.

¹³ Tahir, *Political Dynamics of Sindh*, p.346

¹⁴ Ibid.,147

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.,348

- ii. What generated by Sindh as revenues that shall be spent in the Sindh.
- iii. The Provincial Government (formed after one unit) shall protect the rights of Sindhi people to all government jobs in Sindh.
- iv. Landless Haris of Sindh shall be given preferences in allotting the land of Sindh. After allotted land to landless Haris, then there would be no objection to allot land to Muhajirs and non- Sindhis.
- v. The undistributed land, after had been allotted to Sindh, remaining land other than that will be allotted to Muhajir and other non- Sindhis, who have smaller pieces of land.
- vi. A quota shall be reserved for Sindh in all federal jobs.
- vii. The center would retain only three subjects, after the implementation of one-unit plan. Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Currency.
- viii. There will be made no injustice with Sindh in the distribution of Indus waters.
- ix. There shall be no reduction in funds spent on the development of the Sindhi language and culture.
- x. Sindh will have its due share in the armed forces.
- xi. Law concerning Sindh shall not be approved unless it had the approval of the majority of Sindhi members of West Pakistan Assembly.¹⁷

The second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed the one-unit proposal on 30 September 1955; this was the first highly controversial bill. It merged about 310,000 square miles into a single federating unit. Formally West Pakistan had three provinces of Governor and other four Chief Commissioner, these were states and tribal areas, all were incorporated into a single province, named West Pakistan.¹⁸

The One Unit plan was originated from the executive branch of the government. Prime Minister Chaudhary Mohammad Ali was the first to introduce the One Unit Scheme on November 22.

¹⁷ G.M Syed, *The Case of Sindh* (Karachi: Naeen Academy,1994,)p.68

¹⁸ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, 3rd imp*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press2001),p,96-97

Later, Governor-General issued order No. 8 of 1954, to set up an account for the administration of Pakistan, and then Governor-General assumed the powers in March 1955, to constitute the new province of West Pakistan by an order.¹⁹

The Chief Minister of Sindh, Abdul Sattar Peerzada, and the Chief Minister of Punjab, Feroz Khan Noon, and Chief Minister of N.W.F.P opposed the one unit and their ministries were dissolved. The Minister of Bahawalpur Syed Hasan Muhammad was also dismissed on the opposition of one unit issue and his state legislature was also suspended.²⁰

After this development, the provincial assemblies and states passed resolutions in favor of one-unit scheme. The state Assembly of Khairpur adopted the resolution on November 10, endorsing the merger of Khairpur states in a single unit. N.W.F.P assembly became the first one to pass the resolution in favor of the scheme on November 25, 1954. The Assembly of Punjab adopted the resolution on November 30, 1954. Sindh Assembly was the last one to pass a resolution in favor of the scheme on December 11, 1954. The Shahi Jirga of Balochistan did on November 23; the agreement had been signed by the Khan of Kalat and the representation of other states to form Balochistan state union for the merger in West Pakistan.²¹

Hyder Bux Jatoui elaborates the story of how one unit was passed. One Unit scheme was passed by the provincial assemblies under the pressure of gunpoint and through sending opponents to Jails. When the One-Unit bill was presented, Hyderabad and Peshawar Assembly Halls were surrounded by the policemen with the guns. Many people were sent to jails without running their cases in court. Hyder Bux was also jailed. All opposition was crushed. Minister of defense, Iskandar Mirza said in Peshawar ***"The decision of Government about the one unit is strict and final. All opposition will be crushed like a steamroller"***.²²

Tariq Ali writes in this way; it was the actual image that with the creation of United West Pakistan, It would be better able to combat the demands of East Bengal. However, the plan ran

¹⁹ Ibid,.98

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Hyder Bux Jatoui, *"One Unit and Democracy,"* in *One Unit and Sindh* , edited by, Aijaz Ahmed Qureishi (Karachi: Peacock Printers,2013),p.447

into a whole series of problems. In the start, the plan divided the Muslim League. The Parliament of the Muslim League opposed the scheme. Then plan came into the constituent Assembly. It proved defeat for bureaucracy as the Assembly endorsed a plan which was totally opposed to One Unit, favoring a reorganization of West Pakistan into six federating units.²³

The One Unit plan was forced through by the central government of Pakistan. It was ordered by provincial assemblies to adopt a resolution in the favor of the plan. Suhrawardy later acknowledge that “terror” had been used to force members of the Sindh Assembly to vote in the favor of scheme.²⁴

The merging of all territorial units, Sindh, Punjab, N.W.F.P, and princely states (Balochistan, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, etc) in the single province, Punjab invariably created Centre provinces tension. These were most acute in the province of Sindh. The opposition in Sindh was led by the Hyder Bux Jatoi. It is a matter of surprise that there was less opposition against the scheme in the N.W.F.P despite the colonial legacy of a well-developed Pakhtun political consciousness.²⁵ Lawrence Ziring considers the spurious argument of one unit makers that by the amalgamation of four West provinces into a single administrative unit will integrate all ethnic groups and would shun provincialism. But this scheme could not be able to cancel out the century’s old, geographical, cultural, and tribal identity.²⁶

Ziring further states that the matter of fact is that there was little debate on the controversial One Unit plan. The reason behind this was, Provincial assemblies of West Pakistan were pressurized to declare their support for the scheme months earlier. Therefore, on September 30, 1955, the vast territory of several provinces and princely states, were merged into the single province of West Pakistan. This argument is different from the splitting of Lord Curzon’s Bengal. Lord Curzon’s step was regarded as progressive for the efficient administration by the mentors of Pakistan.²⁷

²³ Tariq Ali, *Can Pakistan Survive? Death of a State* (London: Penguins,1982)p.48

²⁴ Ibid,p.49

²⁵ Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*(London: Hurst and Company,1998),p.53

²⁶ Ziring , *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century*,p.177

²⁷ Ibid,.178

This was the illicit hypocrisy on the part of leadership in the one case; they took the disintegration of Bengal a very excellent step. It would create an ambience and bring opportunities for the Muslims of West Bengal. The partition of Bengal would save and free Muslims from the clutches of Hindus. They have a monopoly over the all resources of Bengal. On the other hand, the so-called autonomy of provinces is not born by the Muslim League leaders. They wanted to shun the centuries-old civilization in the name of so-called efficient administration and national integration. In reality, they don't have any care for democracy to flourish in Pakistan but they had their interest and for the sack of their petty interests, they tried to eliminate the culture of democracy and sow seeds of authoritarianism which will leave dangerous consequences for the everlasting period in Pakistan.

If the period of one year during the one unit is put into the analysis, it will be proved that the one-unit plan was an impractical step with the perspective to economics, administration, and politics. West Pakistan Assembly passed a resolution to abolish One Unit and restore the previous status of federating units. Through this resolution, Central Assembly was proposed to do so for the sake of the prosperity of Pakistan. The anti- one-unit moment strengthened it and till 1958, all of the important political leaders decided to end the one unit. Martial law was imposed on October 7, 1958, to stop this movement to do so. The constitution of 1956 was abrogated, It was thought that with the imposition of Martial Law one unit will be ended but commandeering- in- Chief announced that the constitution is abrogated but the one unit is still enacted. One of the reasons behind the imposing Martial Law was to suppress the anti- One Unit movement and to continue the single unit scheme.²⁸

At the end of 1954, all the provinces of West were merged into a single unit. With the formation of one unit, all the smaller provinces of West Pakistan lost their own separate identity. Sindh had retained its autonomy with its long struggle against the British government. Finally, Sindh was given its so-called provincial autonomy in 1935. After the formation of Pakistan, 19 years later, Sindh was deprived of its separate identity in free Pakistan. The new chapter of Sindh's soaring wounds started. It is the irony of the politics of feudalism that a

²⁸ Jatoji, "One Unit and Democracy", p.470-471

person who struggled very hard to retain the autonomy of Sindh from Bombay's presidency, Ayoub Khuhro helped Muslim league leaders in making one unit. After the formation of one unit, the flood of migration came and settled in Sindh. Sindhis were deprived of their jobs, their language and culture were tried to be smashed.²⁹

The formation of one unit was behind the all evils of Pakistan. With the imposition of one-unit proposal, first of all, the spirit of democracy was shattered. It founded the new methods of the dominance of Punjab in Pakistan. Democratic culture and federation are in a directly proportional relationship to each other. However, with the imposition of one unit, the century's old history, culture, and their geographical separate identity of Sindh and other smaller provinces were smashed down.

This was totally against the spirit of federalism. Federation is the name of the level of governance in which each level, federal and provincial should be independent in their provisional matters. But in Pakistan, there is no talk about the interferences, on the part of the federal government in the domain of provinces. It is a common and day-to-day matter of involvement of the federal government in the sphere of federating units. It is also legalized through Constitutions whenever the Premier of respective province declines to accept the imposition of federal schemes which are contrary to the interests of a unit. The premier of that province is dismissed and Provincial assemblies are dissolved. Finally, the Governor's rule is imposed. It is, I think correct to say when the federal government brings such a scheme or policy which is contrary to the interest of a large section of society. No way of bargaining or negotiation is applied but the way which is only applied is the coercion and power to implement the policy. But One Unit Plan was not simply against the vested interest of a larger section of society or its desires to interference in the premises of the authority of federating units. But it posed the existential question for federating units. It did not dissolve the assemblies of provinces of West Pakistan. But it abolished the legislative assemblies and provincial government. It abolished the status of provinces. Provinces were eliminated. Federating units became the only commission orate division in free Pakistan. Spirit and

²⁹Azizuddin Ahmed, *Kya Ham Akhtery Reh Sakttein Hain* (Lahore: Maktab-e-Fikr-o-Danish,n.d)

characteristics of federalism have vanished. The step further paved the way for military rule or Martial in Pakistan.

Here in Pakistan is another issue that creates hindrance in the flourishing democratic norm and federalism in Pakistan. In principle, the central government and provincial governments came into existence with the agreement through the Constitution. But here it is not deemed in this way. If one dares to speak about provincial autonomy, he or she is considered to be anti-Pakistan. People are trained to think like this way through various channels especially through the syllabus which is taught in schools and colleges. It is considered to be an act of patriotism, to not talk about provincial autonomy. Some fewer people know that there is no anti-patriotic feeling in a person who talks about provincial autonomy. A real patriotic speak against injustice and stands against those policies which are depriving provinces of their rights and autonomy. It is the same case with the democracy of Pakistan. If one would stand and struggle for civil supremacy. He/she would be considered a traitor. This depicts that there is no critical and progressive environment prevailing in a society that could play a dominant role in creating such a culture. The factor which became a stumbling block in creating this culture to some extends is the curriculum, which is taught at school and college level which does not inculcate among students the norms and values of democracy. I would like to quote in this regard example of the textbook which was taught in the school during the period of one unit. The subject was the History of Pakistan. Chapter number was forty. There were four provinces, princely states, and commission rate divisions in Pakistan before the formation of one unit in West Pakistan. These all were merged into a single unit. The textbook of history sets the ground for legalizing the One Unit in this way. Before the formation of One Unit, Pakistan was suffering from great losses because there were several provinces in West Pakistan. Those provinces were hindrances in creating political stability, economic development, and integration in Pakistan. It is the dark chapter of the history of Pakistan. The provinces used to hatch conspiracies against one another in a way that it is shameful to write in detail about them in this chapter. Ayub Khan presented an idea of merging all the territorial units into a single one. In this way 1958 October

and Peaceful Revolution emerged to curb corruption and conspiracies of politicians with one another.³⁰

One can conclude that with teaching such material to the students, no progressive, creative and critical minds will be produced in society. There will be a rise in conservative minds and ideas, which are the actual hindrances to the prosperity and progress of Pakistan. GM Syed understands the establishment of the One-Unit Plan as immoral and anti-democratic due to several reasons. The first point, he thinks is that it was the violation of the Indian Independence Act 1947, by merging all the provinces into a single unit. Second, it is the violation of all universally accepted democratic norms, West Pakistan was in a minority and enjoys parity in comparison with East Pakistan which was in the clear majority. Third, The People who were put in the West Pakistan Assembly were handpicked by the deputy commissioners and had to be always willing thus to do the Government's bidding. Fourth, there was a two-thirds of majority in the National Assembly and a resolution passed by the Assemblies of West and East Pakistan was required to end the One Unit system. The Police and the Army were used against the opponents of a single unit. The media too was used for brainwashing the people.³¹

There are also some other objections that GM Syed poses and on those bases, he considers One Unit wrong. First, the separate national identity of Sindh was abolished, by doing so; the right of self-determination of Sindh was violated. Second, the One-Unit plan was against the spirit of the Lahore resolution of 1940, which envisages the independent and sovereign federating units. Third, it is against the resolution which Sindh Assembly passed in 1943. The resolution gives autonomous status to the province. Fourth, the plan would stop the pace of development economically in Sindh. Fifth, the intellectuals of Sindh, Balochistan, and N.W.F.P are afraid of the Punjabi- Muhajir dominance and this imperialism would conspire to distort and then destroy their distinct entities.³²

One Unit Scheme and its impact on Sindh

³⁰ Jatoi, "One Unit and Democracy", p.472

³¹ Syed, *The Case of Sindh*, p.66

³² Ibid., 67

One unit removed our ancient and beloved Sindh from the map of the world. The work which Greek, Persian, and English conquerors fail to do was done by our son of soil rulers. They ended the geographically, linguistically, culturally, and historically separate identity of Sindh. Sindh was divided into many divisions and districts. Reading the name of Sindh was called sin. Sindhis were dictated to call it a former Sindh.³³

It is the basic right of every nation that they should be educated in their mother tongue. This is the internationally accepted principle that education should be provided in the first language of people. The Sindhi language enjoyed the status of official language in the British period. The language had its script and it had a variety of literature. The Sindh language enjoyed the status that revenue records were maintained and voter's lists were published in this language. In newly independent Pakistan, the status of Sindh was merely reduced to the regional language. It was decided that Sindhi shall not be compulsory but only an optional subject in school.³⁴

In Pakistan, Urdu was officially promoted and the Sindh language was systematically discouraged. It was vanished from the Karachi Municipal Corporation and the University of Karachi. Signs boards and road signs which were written in the Sindhi language were removed and re-written in the Urdu language. However, the Voter lists were published in Urdu. The efforts to such extend were carried to vanish the Sindh language and identity that postmen were not to banned to deliver the courier which carries the address in the Sindhi language.³⁵

In the West, Pakistan Government decided against UNESCO's and other international organization internationally accepted principle that till the Matric class students should be given education in their mother tongues, but it provided education even seven years old Sindhi students in the Urdu language.³⁶ The atmosphere was created against the Sindhi language that a famous and veteran educationalist of Sindh, Allama I, I Qazi was replaced as a vice-chancellor with non-Sindhi and Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Shah was a very able person, Director of Education in Hyderabad was transferred to Quetta. The consequence of the replacement of both Sindhi

³³ Jatoi, "One Unit and Democracy", p.473

³⁴ Fazul Suleiman Kazi, *Sobai Khudmukhtiari aen Markazi Syasat* (Hyderabad: Kavita Publication, 2017), p.203

³⁵ Ibid, p.204

³⁶ Jatoi, "Democracy and One Unit", p.473

educationalists was that there was no representation of Sindhi in the Conference of Education commission.³⁷

It was expected that after the formation of Pakistan, there will be some sort of improvement in the standard of life of Sindhi peasants. Despite decreasing the problems, more new ones are generated. Land Alienation Bill was passed in the Sindh Assembly before the establishment of Pakistan. According to this act, the land of indebted peasants cannot be snatched out from peasants in compensation for a loan. After the creation of Pakistan, Muhajir dominated bureaucracy, and the government's strong lobby did not allow Governor to assent on the bill so, in this way, peasants land was grabbed and allotted to the Muhajirs.³⁸ Freedom meant nothing for the poor. It was only the replacement of white to Indians. The Kotri Barrage's land was reserved for the military. The total number of acres of land was one lac acres. More than twenty-five twenty-five thousand out of them has been allotted to military personnel.³⁹ During the period of 1955- 1958, non- Sindhis got 153620 acres, while the Sindhis got 123,586 acres. The land was allotted to both civilian and military officials. After the imposition of Martial law 1958, From October 1958 to 1963, it is calculated that 75 allotters out of 100 were non- Sindhis. Non-Sindhis got 213679, and Sindhis got 54,789 acres. This happened because; the government of the military compare to civilians was not accountable to the parliament. Dictatorship made bureaucracy free-hand do anything. They plundered the land with both hands. It is calculated that only in the 1963 year, the Sukkur barrage land, non- Sindhis got 367,000 acres while Sindhi got 178,000 acres of land.⁴⁰ The fate of Guddu Barrage land was no different. These were some stories of injustice with the Sindhi people.

It can be analyzed that, the policies of the federal government after the creation of Pakistan were designed in a way that Sindhi people extremely suffered. The story did not end the effects of those policies shortly but they left everlasting impacts. If Karachi had not been separated from Sindh and influx of Muhajirs, at massive level was not settled, today the fate of Sindh had

³⁷ Ibid,.474

³⁸ Ahmed, *Kya Ham Akathe Reh Sakte Hain*, p.83

³⁹ Ibid,.84

⁴⁰ Ibid,.78-79

been very different. The middle class of Sindh got opportunities to develop itself against the status of feudal but this did not let happen. During the One-unit period, if the lands of three barrages, Sukkur, Kotri, and Guddu were justly allotted among the landless peasants, they would be developed and did not remain destitute of feudal any more. But bureaucrats and military dictators only thought about their interests and Sindh was pushed behind centuries through cruel policies of feudal government.

According to the report of 1980, the number of employees in the central government is 1, 5000. The quota for Sindh is 2%. The urban areas such as Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkar had 80% and rural areas constitute only 12%. Practically there are thirty thousand employees of Sindh. The rural population of Sindh had been given only four thousand. These are government statistics. After the creation of Pakistan, Punjabi and Muhajir occupied the higher posts of Sindh.⁴¹

Sindhis were underrepresented in Pakistan Government Services and the military. As of 1981 census, Sindhis were 11.7 percent of Pakistan population, but their representation in the senior ranks of civil services was a mere 3.6 percent in 1974, rising after reforms in the quota system to 6.8 percent in 1983.⁴² Nine years of General Zia-ul-Haq's period remained very much harsh to Sindh people in various fields, particularly, the difficult condition in employment. Sindhis were treated as third-class citizens in Pakistan. For what they struggled to find the job opportunities which were created in the period were given to the alien people in Sindh. All levels of employments higher, middle and even lower types of employments were provided to non- Sindhis. The unemployment in the Sindh at that time was and it is today, the condition is as worst that no example could be found in history as such of these conditions of service employment.

Conclusion

⁴¹ Ibid,p.101

⁴² Stephen Cohen, *Idea of Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Book,2005),p212-213

It was one of the declared objectives of one unit that there will be uniformity in all schemes and programs in West Pakistan. There will be uniformity of laws, revenue system, and judicial court. But after the creation of one unit, this principle was set aside and violated as far as the interests of Sindhi people were concerned. The salaries of teachers in Sindh were less in comparison with the teachers in Punjab. Despite the persistent protests, the salaries of teachers of Sindh were never made equal with the primary teachers of Punjab. As far as the land tax was concerned, there were different rates of land tax for Punjab and Sindh. The land tax in Sindh on cotton and wheat was Rs. 35/- and Rs 25/- respectively whereas in Punjab, it was Rs. 18/- and Rs.15/- on the cotton and wheat. Despite the fact, the lands in Punjab were more fertile than the lands in Sindh. Sindhi officers were not appointed in Sindh and were transferred to out of Sindh, on the other places and non-Sindhis were employed in the Sindh.⁴³

The freedom of the press was gaged in Sindh. The Sindh Press was controlled from Lahore, was extremely restricted. The magazines like Mazhab- e- Insanyat, Gul Phul, Gulistan, Rooh Rihan, Mazloom, Goth Sudhar, Mazloom, Aina, Sindh Muslim, Rizwan, Al- Haider, Hamrahi, Faryad Masood, Fateh- Islam and Musalman and many others, were 30 in total number were withdrawn. Even a 'Marvi of Hyderabad' was a monthly magazine of ladies was refused a declaration.⁴⁴

The electoral rolls were published in Urdu while 80% of people of Sindh were haris (peasants) and their names were typical could not be correctly written and pronounced in Urdu. The electoral rolls before the formation of a single unit and in the British period were published in the Sindhi language. The protests out strikes were taken out for publishing the electoral rolls in Sindhi. After the long struggle Election Commission printed the electoral rolls in Sindhi as well as Urdu in Sukkur and Khairpur division.⁴⁵ In this way, the One-Unit scheme wreaked havoc on the federal principle and the provincial existence of Sindh.

⁴³ Ahmed, *Kya Ham Akhtery Reh Saktein Hain*, p.107

⁴⁴ Tahir, *Political Dynamics of Sindh*, p.421

⁴⁵ Ibid.,422