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PAKISTAN'S ONLY INDEPENDENT ENGLISH
JOURNAL OF STANDARD AND SCHOLARSHIP

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LOVE AND LIFE

The secret of being in love is to tell every thing.

— Voltaire

She would diet on any kind of food she could lay her hands on.

— Oscar Wilde

Fashion is nothing but induced epidemic.

—G.B. Shaw

Women's styles may change, but the designs remain the same.

— Oscar Wilde

Fashion is a form of ugliness, so intolerable that we have to change it every six months.

— Oscar Wilde

Woman buy clothes with the admitted and fine desire to dress, but the secret and unadmitted desire to un-dress.

— Lin Yutang

She had a lot of fat which did not fit.

— Talleyrand

Love is blind — friendship tries not to notice it.

— Bismarck

A woman's guess is much more accurate than man's certainty.

— Kipling

A lady is a woman in whose presence a man is a gentleman.

— Bracken

The way to love any thing is to realise that it may be lost.

— Chesterton

JAM AND HIS POLITICS
Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah
(Speech by Mr. Ahmed Ali Khan "Editor Dawn"
on the launching of the Book.)

There was a time when a book on Pakistan's politics was a rarity. Anyone who wished to read something about the deeds or misdeeds of the country's leaders had to turn to foreign publications. Mercifully that is no longer the case. The volume and variety of political literature on Pakistan available to us has been increasing at an accelerating pace. What we had of such literature in the sixties and the seventies was incomparably more modest than what we have today. This means rising investment in the enrichment of our political culture. But then one might ask why this has not paid off in terms of a maturer conduct on the part of the political profession and why we continue to flounder from crisis to crisis. Perhaps the simple answer is that this kind of investment needs a fairly long gestation period.

Obviously all books falling under the category of political literature do not educate the readers. Many are simply PR jobs written for self serving motives. Others can be classified as party literature which invariably offers a simplistic view of things. Yet others are the outpourings of this or that political personage attempting to vindicate retrospectively his policies when in power. Also a number of books are the so-called quickies by journalists which seek to put together what they have heard from different quarters. They read well but in the absence of authenticated sources of information one cannot be too certain how much of what they contain is reliable.

The book which it is my privilege to present to you today falls in none of these categories. Nor can the author be accused of any narrow, selfish interest. Professor Ghulam Mustafa Shah has written, this book basically because he has the writer's compelling instinct to share with his readers his thoughts and insights. And when this instinct is combined with a scholar's spirit of enquiry and an urge to analyse and understand the phenomena that surround him, it produces writings that educate the reader.

Shah Sahib is a product of Sindh Madressah, Aligarh and Oxford. Above all he is a son of Sindh's soil whose great traditions he cherishes and for whose future he is so rightly concerned. For 33 years he has been an educationist, for 21 years an editor and for 21

months a minister. He combines his experience in all three capacities when he writes.

The book, *Jam: The man and his politics*, is about a man who was perhaps the most controversial politician in Pakistan's politics in his time. His enemies would have liked to write about him to tear him to pieces. His friends would probably consider it prudent not to pick up their pen now when public memories are still fresh. Only a person like Shah Sahib could have the courage to write a book on Jam Sadiq Ali, who he describes as "a peculiar and extraordinary phenomenon in the political history of Pakistan." Jam was a friend of Shah Sahib. But that does not prompt the writer to abandon his outspokenness, bluntness and honesty, for which he is well-known, when he writes about this leader who was no less outspoken and blunt. In that respect the two were kindred spirits.

It certainly requires courage and honesty for an author, writing about a person he knows well and for whom he displays a soft corner to call him a man lacking in statesmanship, intellect, moral principles and values. And when Shah Sahib uses these and many more negative adjectives about Jam Sadiq Ali he is not simply being rhetorical. He provides an insight into the enigmatic politics of Sindh and Pakistan. The book is interspersed with with profound observations, such as this:

"When ruffians and rascals become rulers and claim representation of the masses, societies must crumble and disintegrate."

"There is also the observation: Sindh did not look upon him (Jam Sadiq Ali) as a friend and a well wisher or one who had any commitment to Sindh and its future."

"He continues: Jam is dead. He lived his days of Chief Ministership from moment to moment and from day to day. He maintained an artificial, painful, uneasy and precarious calm, but had left an agitated, divided and chaotic Sindh, perhaps Pakistan."

So all I would like to say to Shah Sahib is thank you for your full-blooded comments, though it is obvious that assessment of the role of individuals and groups often varies from writer to writer. Thank you for displaying the intellectual vitality that you do at your age. That is the need of the day. We shall certainly be looking forward to your forthcoming books on Bhutto and Zia.

HISTORY OF SINDH AT A GLANCE (FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO 1993)

Sayid Ghulam Mustafa Shah

Sindh takes its name from Sindhu (the name of River Indus) Historically it comprised of the whole Indus Valley from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea, Modern Sindh, geographically, is bounded by Baluchistan, Khirthar and Halar mountains on the West, Sibi and Bughti areas on the North, Bahawalpur and Rajasthan on the North-east and East and the Arabian Sea on the South. The entire land-mass can be divided into three parts. The Central part which has a rich alluvial soil and through this passes the river Indus. On the left are the sandy and desert areas of Sindh, and on the right the mountains extending along the entire border to the Arabian Sea.

Along river Indus is spread the splendour of Sindh. River Indus has ruled and regulated Sindh socially, culturally, economically and politically. It has decided the fate of Sindh in war and in peace.

In history Sindh has had more to do on its own or with countries on its west than with India (Hind). Hind and Sindh were separate territories. Sindh had greater contact with Arabia, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan than with India.

The Indian hold on Sindh began from the days of Delhi Sultanate but always remained casual, precarious and uncertain. Greek historians debated whether river Indus was the dividing line between Hind and Sindh. The Persian and the Arab travellers and historian and geographers always emphasised that Indus valley formed the buffer zone between India and western countries. Moenjo-Daro civilization is a non-Aryan civilization and so different from other civilizations in India.

Sindh is a archaeological oasis. In the history of Sindh there appears to be vacuum between 2500 to 2000 BC; and it is only after that that we come to the more reliable and more dependable portion of Sindh history> History of Sindh begins from 520 to 515 BC when Darius I sent his forces and annexed Sindh to the Persian Empire. Two centuries later Sindh was visited by Alexander the Great whose

marches, sojourns and bivouacs through the valley have been recorded by Greek historians. Schwan is said to have been founded by Alexander the Great, and his return march to Greece took him to Khuzdar and Kharan in Baluchistan.

Sindh remained under Grecco-Mangolian influence for sometime as is evidenced from the finds of Moen-jo-Daro. For sometime the rulers of Sindh lived under the suzerainty of Mauryan dynasty> Greek rule was re-established by Bactrian Greek Conquest in 195 BC.

The Greeks were followed by Scythians who were Turks by race. Later about 100 BC Budhist influence worked and prevailed as is found from material discovered in Moen-jo-Daro. Scythians had their centre of activity at Bambhore, and they advanced along the coast of the Arabian Sea. The scythians and Kushans were of Turkish descent and tis brought Sindh under the influence of Turkish culture. One of the great emperors of Kushan dynasty, Kanishka became the protector of Budhism which had spread in Sindh from 100 BC to 100 AC. One of Kanishka's successors ruled Sindh and his coins have been found at Moen-jo-Daro.

Turkish influence increased under the Perthian kings and evidence of their rule is found in Seis-tan, Kandhar and Sindh. At this stage Brahmanism had established its foot-hold in Sindh among the ruling classes, but the masses of people continued to following Budhism. Turkish influence got some ascendancy under the Huns and thus Budhism received a set back. The Huns dominated Persia & Sindh. Under Naosherwan, Sindh was annexed to the Persian empire. The rise of Sassanid, empire in the third century brought Sindh under the away of Persia. Hun influence increased after the death of emperor Feroz and he over-powered Persia. They defeated Gupta power in 495.

In the sixth century Sindh became independent of Persia. Persian influence waned after the death of Khusrow Pervez. With the weakening of Persia, Chuch the ruler of Sindh emphasised independence and tried to invade the Makran province of Persia. This brought him in contact with the Arab forces in Makran.

A period of hostility between Arabs and Chuch began and this got worsened during the reign of Dahar the son of Chuch. Arabs tried

to follow the policy of peace and co-existence but Dahar made it impossible, and Hujjaj Bin Yusuf the Umayyad Governor of Iraq was forced to send Arab forces under Muhammad bin Qasim to chastise Dahar. A policy of restraint was followed by pious Caliphate and Umayyads, and only when peaceful efforts failed, Sindh had to be conquered and made part of the Umayyad rule in 712.

For about 400 years from now on Sindh remained an integral part of Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties. The Provincial governors were appointed by the Arab Central Governments, and history has recorded some 37 names of these governors. By the end of the 9th century the Saffavids administered Sindh for Baghdad. After the weakening of the Central Arab Authority< local Arab dynastic rule continued for nearly 130 years which included the Fatamid influence from Egypt, Sultan Mahmood and his son Masood came next. The Sumras of Sindh came under Fatamid influence, but they subsequently revolted and established their independent rule in Sindh.

Arab rule brought Sindh within the orbit of Muslim civilization. Sindhi as a language developed further and Naskh script was introduced. Sindhi scholars began to play their part in various Arab and Muslim empires. The evidence of Mansura, the Capital of Arabs in Sindh, testifies to the greatness of Arab administration.

Sumras (1060-1350) were the native sons of Sindh and they fraternized with the Arabs. They accepted Islam and grew strong and established independent rule in Sindh> Names of 21 Sumra rulers are recorded in history. They ruled Sindh for about 300 years. The great Sindhi romantic stories of Doda Sumra and Alauddin inform us of the invasion by Allauddin and the resistance put up by the Sumras. Tharri, Muhammad Tur and Rupah were centres of their activities. This is considered to be the most romantic period in Sindh history which gave birth to patriotic literature and folk songs. In this period lived Qalandar Lal Shahbaz at Sehwan.

The Sumras were followed by Summas (1350-1520) who had accepted Islam in the 8th Century. They called themselves Jams. They made Thatta their Capital. The Tomb of Jam Nizamuddin the 17th ruler at Makli is a great architectural beauty. It was during this period that Sindh came in direct contact with Delhi and Persian

became the official language in place of Arabic. This period marks the beginning of Sufistic thought and teachings in Sindh.

Shah Beg Arghun sent his armies and conquered Sibi a Province of Jam Nizamuddin. The Kandhar forces were defeated by a Commander of Jam Nizamuddin (Derya Khan) and Muhammad Beg the brother of Shah Beg was killed. Under the impact of Baber's invasion Shah Beg left Kandhar and marched on Sindh. Jam Nizamuddin was succeeded at this time by Jam Feroz who being a very weak ruler, surrendered; thus Arghun power was established in Sindh. The Arghun dynasty (1520-1555) ended after the death of Mirza Shah Hassan (Son of Mirza Shah Beg). It was at this time that Humayun came to Sindh and Akbar was born in Umarkote.

At this time lived Shah Abdul Karim of Bhurai the Poet Saint of Sindh. He was grand father of Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai. At this time also lived Makhdoom Nooh of Hala. He was the first man to translate the Holy Quran into Persian in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

On the death of Mirza Shah Hassan, Sindh was divided into two parts. The Kingdom of Thatta under Mirza Isa Turkhan and Kingdom of Bakhar of Sultan Mahmood Khan. The Turkish rulers (1555-1592) never pulled together well and this facilitated the Portuguese incursions in Sindh. The Portuguese sacked Thatta in 1557, burning the city and massacring its population. This invasion increased further hostility among the sons of Mirza Isa in which Mirza Baqi won and he ruled with high handedness and terror. Peace returned to Sindh in the rein of Mirza Jani Beg. During his time Mughal Armies marched against Sindh and Mirza Jani Beg surrendered to Khan-e-Khanan.

Sindh was thus conquered for Emperor Akbar but it was still administered as a Jagir by Mirza Jani Beg and his son Mirza Ghazi Beg. After his death, Sindh passed under the direct control of Mughal Emperor. Nearly 40 governors appointed during the Mughal period (1592-1773) who served in Sindh.

Sindh saw a new real change by the 2nd half of the 16th century when Kalhoras established their authority in territories of Dadu and Larkana. The Mughal rule was confined to Thatta and its surrounding area. Kalhoras conquered Thatta, soon after they had

consolidated their authority in the north.

During this period (1700-1780) the Kalhoras designed their administrative system on the lines of Mughals, and took great interest in architecture and built a number of mosques and monuments at Rohri, Sukkur, Thatta and Sehwan. Kalhoras claimed their lineage from Hazrat Abbas and produced some famous men. By the end of the 17th Century Kalhora rule was firmly established and had received Mughal Imperial recognition during the reign of Farrukh Sayair. Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhora was able to carry Kalhora administration to Thatta and his son Ghulam Shah was one of the most illustrious rulers of that dynasty. He founded Hyderabad. This is when Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai lived and gave us his poetry. This is the period in which Makhdoom Mohammed Hashi Thattavi gave lessons in the Holy Quran, Hadis and Fiqah. After his death the Kalhora power weakened and under the leadership of Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur the Baloch tribes revolted against the Kalhoras and defeated Mian Abdul Nabi in the battle of Halani.

The Talpurs of Sindh soon after conquered Karachi, Khairpur and Umerkot. They ruled Sindh for about 60 years (1782-1843) and on account of their tribal dissensions and rivalries and weaknesses they made it possible for the British to come in. In the year 1843 Sindh was conquered by Sir Charles Napier and the Mirs of Sindh were defeated in the battles of Miani, Dabo and Kunri. The British began their attack on Sindh from their establishments in Bombay and Gujrat and that is why Sindh was annexed to the Bombay presidency.

The Muslims of Sindh in the beginning of the 20th Century started their struggle for separation of Sindh from the Bombay presidency and this demand gained concrete shape in the Round Table Conference of 1931-32 when it became a real issue. Moulana Muhammad Ali Johar demanded it and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah included the Separation of Sindh in his famous 14 points. The leaders of Sindh who played their part for the separation of Sindh at the Round Table Conference were H.R.H. The Agha Khan, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto.

It is worth nothing that Sindh resisted British domination from the very day it was conquered. Sindh was also a headache for the British Imperial Authority. Sindh gave asylum and passage to Syed

Ahmed Brelvi and Shah Ismail in their crusade against Sikhs and they passed through Sindh and went to the Frontier Province. The Sikhs never dared to enter Sindh inspite of their power and might in the Punjab. Sindh had to face Martial Law more than a dozen times from the year of its conquest 1843 to 1942. The revolt of the Hours was a phenomenon that the British had always to contend with. There are a number of great men in the history of Sindh who played their part in refusing to accept British Authority in Sindh. They were men like Daryakhan Jakharani, Dil Murad Khoso and Sayyid Inayat Shah and late Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi and Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi.

Sindh was a small territory in area and in population but in history it has played its part in Educational, Literary, Administrative, Political and International spheres out of all proportions to its size. Sindhi scholars, Sufis and administrators have left their mark in history from North Africa to India right from the 9th Century to the present day.

The British knew the restiveness and recalcitrance and the spirit of revolt of the Muslims of Sindh. They could never count on the absolute loyalty and unquestioned allegiance of the Muslims of Sindh to their rule. They tried to exclude them from all their civil and military affairs. They counted for this on the Sindhi Hindus for civil administration and on the Punjab for their police and army needs. The Muslims of Sindh could never accept seduction and collaboration of convenience with the British.

As a result of the Round Table Conferences and promulgation of the Government of India Act 1935, Provincial Assembly Elections were held and Sindh became an autonomous province of India from 1936.

The Muslims of Sindh soon organized Muslim League in Sindh under the guidance of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. There took place famous Muslim League conference in Karachi in 1938 which became a fore-runner for the Muslim League conference at Lahore in 1940 where the Pakistan Resolution was passed. Sindh Assembly was the first Provincial Legislature in India to pass a resolution supporting the idea of Pakistan and this resolution was moved by Mr. G.M. Sayed in the Sindh Provincial Assembly as the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League. At the time of

independence Sindh was the only province of Pakistan which became part of the country geographically as it was. Bengal was divided, the province of the Punjab was divided. The Frontier was under the administrative control of Congress Government and offering resistance to joining Pakistan, and there was Afghanistan working against Pakistan. Baluchistan remained an uncommitted territory for some time. Kashmir became a disputed territory. Sindh was the only Province which joined Pakistan intact and whole-heartedly.

Sindh continued to be a separate province of Pakistan till the year 1955 when by administrative orders. It was merged into One Unit of West Pakistan. It created any amount of ill-will and bad blood resulting in many tragedies. The artificial scheme of One Unit had to be abandoned and it was undone, and all the old Provinces of Pakistan were re-established in 1970.

1970 alas! saw for the first time in Pakistan since August 1947, real democratic elections on the principles of adult franchise which resulted, unfortunately, unexpectedly and strategically into vivisection of Pakistan into Mini Pakistan and Bangladesh after a foolish and horrendous civil war. Sindh was more exposed to army cheating, deprivations and pugnacity. Circumstances had so conspired that Bhutto, a Sindhi, had to be placed in power to help the army. The Punjab bureaucracy and the Punjab society to cover their ill intentions, blunders, sins and crimes.

Provincial autonomy began functioning from 1971 till Bhutto's deposition by the declaration of Martial Law by General Zia in 1977. There after the misfortunes of Sindh accumulated and accelerated and threatened its existence, and it was subjected to loot by the Punjab society, the Punjab army and Punjab bureaucracy without any fear and hindrance. The United States diplomacy and Pakistan army planted Mohajir Qaumi Movement in the body politics in Sindh to prolonged its agony which resulted in dreadful population polarisation, urban-rural tensions and the planting and burgeoning of dacoits and administrative and political chaos in Sindh. Sindh's Chief Ministers were pusillanimous and handpicked men by the army and Punjab bureaucracy and it went through years of pain, tears, blood and plunder. Sindh had short and uneasy respite from 1988 to 1990 and then it reverted into the rapacious hands of Islami Jamhoori

Ittehad Party in 1991.

Islami Jamhoori Ittehad Party was a group of cheats and a hodge podge of warring political elements and strangest fellows in one bed, that ever collected in Pakistan's political history. It collapse in April 1993 after stewing in its own soup and thus a government of uneducated, undereducated confused, muddle-headed, arrogant, over-ambitious nincompoops came to an end. But what the future held in store in any body's guess. There appear horrendous prospects in Pakistan, from political settlement may be to peace from full merger to disintegration and chaos. In Sindh it may be a new phenomenon of harmonious birth and growth — Sindh loving and Sindhi speaking population or the dangerous omens of civil war; and what-not? and what next?

Today in July 1993 the country continues to be governed under uncertain conditions and Sindh sands in danger of every kind, internal and external. July 1993 may turnout to be a momentous time for Pakistan in general and for Sindh in particular. What 14th of August, 1993 fore bodes is a secret of nature and a matter of stars.

Generals have so mishandled Pakistan that even after fifty years the nascent state had not been allowed to come of age.

Intoxicated and mad Pakistan army has to be dreaded and suspected but not to be provoked in its lunacy.

Rarely has a country endured such ignominious rulers which misfortunes have assigned to Pakistan.

LYRIC POETRY OVER THE CENTURIES

By Dr. H.T. Sorley

The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved by concord of sweet sounds
Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils :
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus,
Let no such man be trusted.

Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice.

Lyric or melic poetry is poetry that has the quality of song. No one knows the origin of music and singing and the first attempts that the genius of man made in joining words and musical notes together to express himself in various moods. What is certain is that what is called lyric poetry has gone far to dissociate itself from the mere physical performance of any musical instrument other than the human voice so that today it is possible and indeed it is usual to have poetry that we call lyric poetry which has never been sung at all. Is it then to be dismissed from the hall of the lyre? Not so. All that has happened is that in these later days the essential qualities of song are recognised in words that can be set easily to music or which can by the mere sound of the words themselves repeated aloud, as all poetry should be, if its full effect is sought for, recall the very virtues that are recognised as belonging essentially to the realm of the musician, the minstrel and the dispenser of sweet melody. Lyric poetry in fact must have a tune, as distinct from mere rhythm or beat of time, or if, in these degenerate days, the tune is not primarily set to a musical mode, something that the listening ear can associate not too distantly with song.

But what do songs concern themselves with? The subjects of songs are doubtless numerous. But the range of lyric interest is not wide. As this collection of verse will show lyric poets have been interested throughout the centuries in only a small number of things. Only a few matters are considered fit for the singing and the playing muse. But as lyric poetry is poetry as well as being lyrical, it has the same general purpose as poetry, which is the expression of the

deepest feelings of the human heart in the search for beauty and the mystery of things. It is perhaps primarily a search for beauty. Even in an elegy the grief is subordinated to the quest of beauty, and the poet remains firm in the conviction that, through beauty, it is possible to express all that he wishes to express of joy, or grief, or reverence, or despair, or love or the charming ebullitions of life, or the inexplicability of the unknown and the finality of death. Lyric poetry in fact takes for its province what in another connection Somerset Maugham has beautifully described as "all that the world has to offer of beauty, love and ease, friendship and art and the pleasant gifts of nature."

The lyric poetry of Europe for the past five hundred years at least has been divorced, with some exceptions which it is not necessary to specify here, from the actual musical accompaniment. Much of the poetry of the East retains the union of word, voice and instrument. This accounts for the different appraisal of poetry in the East today from the appraisal in the West, where it is often now little else than the execution of fireworks, and at times strangely undisciplined fireworks, in language. Such can claim kinship with the lyric muse or the melic strain only because without much difficulty the words can be set to music, jerky and inconsequent music perhaps, but none the less music. We do not expect to find a poet like Shelley setting himself to write a lyric gem to some tune of a violin or a guitar ringing in his ear. But we do find that the words can be fitted easily enough to a melody that will sing itself on violin or guitar. But in the early days, and in the earliest days of which we have record of such things, it is plain that the poet was not only a "maker" but also a minstrel, and that he "made" his songs and his songs were poetry. Today in Pakistan, to cite one instance of the difference between East and West, poetical gatherings called *mushairas* are common forms of public entertainment. The composers of the verse, "makers" in the old Scots sense of the term, actually sing their compositions to their audience, just as the poets of ancient Greece and the troubadours of medieval France used to do. But all this hardly affects the argument that the quality of melic and lyric poetry remains unchanged, whether the poet is or is not today a minstrel in his own right or a skilled performer on a musical instrument or with his own singing voice.

What I have done in this short work is to translate into English verse which sings itself to my ear, however it may sound in the ears

of others, some typical lyric poetry of a long space of recorded history. The poems selected are of course a personal choice and indicate merely the kind of verbal music that has appealed to me. They do not pretend to be representative of more than what they actually are. The chapters at the head of the sections indicate what the limitations of the choice are. But the method I have chosen has the merit of allowing one single mind to play upon representative lyric and melic poetry of about twenty-seven centuries of singing and poetry. The earliest of the poets whom I have translated is Tyrtæus, who, according to Suidas, flourished in the 37th Olympiad, which puts him about the middle of the seventh century B.C. The latest poet is Iqbal, the esteemed poet of modern Pakistan, who died in 1938 and within the memory of most people who may think it worthwhile to read this book. The wandering muse in a space that is approaching three millennia therefore of human achievement goes far afield. On her eclectic journey she takes in ancient Greece and ancient Rome. She leaves the great centre of classical culture and the inheritance of the peoples who talk Aryan languages to sample the wares of the Semitic genius in the flowering of the Muslim culture of Spain, where the language of poetry was Arabic, the noblest language of them all. She then passes on the way the achievements of medieval Latin, the foundation of the modern European poetry, and then advancing three centuries into the future, pays court to the great Sufi poet of Sindh of the eighteenth century before saluting nineteenth century France in the romanticism of Hugo. She ends her journey in the Indian sub-continent with Iqbal, a man of our own day, who combines after so many centuries the fusion of Aryan and Semitic feeling. It is a strange and exhilarating journey that Musa Pervagans performs. It seems to me that many lessons can be learnt from her travels. The learning of lessons is not, however, the purpose of this work. Its purpose is not, how, the purpose of this work. Its purpose is to spread some of the delight that the understanding of the lyrical genius of this weirdly-assorted company has given myself. In wishing to spread this delight I claim to be wildly selfish, because doing so remains for me a selfish pleasure.

SINDH AND THE LITTLE ICE AGE - SOME FACTS

M.H. Panhwar

A recent scientific investigation has shown that the global temperatures started dropping from 1430 A.D. These were felt in the Central Asia around 1480 A.D., first, but the situation started worsening there after 1500 A.D., leading to migration of Central Asian tribes, to the Sub-continent from 1530-1660 A.D. The process as applied to Sindh can be explained as under.

If temperatures in the plains of the sub-continent drop by 0.5C and Himalayas by 1.0C, the effect as compared to the normal year for example say 1930 A.D., shall be:

- * Snow which normally melts in Himalayas by about 1st April, will melt about 15-30 days late, i.e., melting by 15th April to 1st May.
- * Melting of snow which reaches its peak by about 15th June now, will be delayed upto end June, because in normal years monsoon clouds reduce temperature and snow melt but low temperatures will retard monsoon in Himalayas by about another 15 days.
- * The inundation season will be delayed by about 15 days and peak snow-melt flood (not monsoon) will reach Sindh by about end July.
- * The level of water in the Indus will be lower than the normal by several feet.
- * The monsoon will be late by 15 days and would occur from 15th July to 15th August, rather than July.
- * The monsoon rains will bring flood water in the Indus and peak will reach Sindh from 1st August to 1st September.
- * September will be cooler than now.
- * Winter will start at least 15 days early i.e., from 15th October rather than 1st November.
- * Winter will continue up to 15th March, rather than 1st March as now.
- * The implication of this 0.5 C temperature drop, on inundation irrigated crops like rice and others will be as under:

- ** Canals will start flowing 15 days late and reliable supplies of water for rice transplantation will be available from 15th July, rather than 1st July, as was happening in pre-Barrage period.
- ** Level of water in the river will start falling from September 1st and the canals will not flow at all after September 15th.
- ** Rice if transplanted on July 15th will grow but cannot mature due to lack of water in September and start of early winter in October.
- ** Only poor quality rice like Rathio Gango, Kangni, and etc., which take 60 days to mature can be raised and not the quality rice like Sugdasi.
- ** Inferior varieties of rice have low yield of 50-60% of quality rice, and therefore total production will decrease.
- ** In order to mature rice earlier they will be broadcast rather than transplant. This will further reduce yields to 2/3rd.
- ** The rice production will therefore only 40-50% of normal.
- ** Sorghum and millet, short season crops, will grow and mature. They will replace rice, but their yield per acre are much as less than rice and production cannot support the population of Sindh.
- ** The long winter will help wheat and other winter crops but acreage under these crops will be limited due to non-availability of water in winter. Riverside areas will grow wheat and oil seeds but area will be limited.
- ** People will resort to pastoralism and put more animals in desert areas of Thar and Kohistan and extra pressure of animals on scanty resources will create desertification and reduce capability of Thar and Kohistan to support extra animals.
- ** In general there will be food shortage and famines, which will increase death rate, till population balances

the food availability. Little Ice Age appeared in Sindh around its conquest, by Arghoons in 1525 A.D. The temperatures kept decreasing and so the agricultural production. Local rebellions started and they could not be crushed until end of Arghoon-Tarkhan rule of Sindh in 1591 A.D. They further continued under the Mughals.

- ** By about 1578 Sindh had worst famines lasting for some 7 years. Mirza Baqi the Arghoon ruler hoarded grains, which he won at any cost, including assassination by his own men.
- ** The Little Ice Age also had hit the Indian Sub-continent and even Fateh-pur Sikri the new Mughal capital, had to be abandoned in 1575 A.D., as river water could no longer be led to it.
- * Amidst these troubles, Akbar conquered and annexed Sindh, but due to Little Ice Age, food production was less than the need of population and Sindh tribes continued rebellion.
- * The Little Ice Age reached its worst by 1665 A.D., when government revenues reduced to some 20% of what it was 65 years earlier.
- * In Sindh Little Ice Age receded by about 1700 A.D.
- * In the northern Punjab it continued for another 50 years leading to Sikh rebellions.
- * Rebellions spread to the whole India and it brought the end of Mughal Empire in early part of 18th century,
- * Little Ice Age continued up to 1850 in Europe. The rise of Mughal Empire and its decline is associated with Little Ice Age in the Sub-continent i.e., 1525 to about 1700 or 1725 A.D.

AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN SINDH — A HISTORICAL OUTLINE

By M.S. Kamdar

“Sind is a difficult country for the historian”
Sorley, H.T. (1940)

The study of the history of marketing of farm produce, may serve a useful purpose, because the knowledge about a system and its problems, that were confronted by past generations, will help prevent the present people, from believing that our current problems, are the only difficult ones that need solutions. Moreover, the study of past development also helps the policy makers to emphasize that changes are continually underway.

The literature on agricultural marketing, may be classified into two broad general categories. (i) Literature, representing basically Marxist thought, in which the wider problems of mode of production, the structure of agriculture and the agrarian relations of production, are discussed and comprehended. It is held among others by Patnaik,¹ and Bhaduri² that profiteering and capital accumulation, by agricultural merchants, depends on the transfer of surplus appropriated from peasantry. The focus of attention in this method of analysis, is the surplus Approach to value and distribution, providing explanations of their determinants. Generally, this school of thought, has held the urban capitalism, and the accumulation of capital in the industrial sector, involves the inordinate development of peasantry, through transfer of surplus appropriated. The role of the particular character of merchant's capital is analysed, and the market for “credit”, and its relations of exchange, form the main subject of discussion. (ii) On the other extreme, is the school of neoclassical, with a straightforward approach to the labour theory of value, assuming free and competitive markets, in which individuals maximize welfare function, subject to constraint. Markets with this school are assumed to be free. In a pre-capitalist society, according to Marxist authors, markets are assumed to be interlocked.

As we proceed, we shall examine the market relations of

production, and exchange in Sindh Province of Pakistan prior to 1974.

Agrarian Relations of Production and Exchange Prior to the British

Tracing the history of agrarian relations of production, the sources of our enquiry, from the prehistorical period, until such time as British conquest of Sindh, shall mainly depend, upon the findings of archaeologists, and the travellers who visited Sindh, during 17th and 18th century. We may consider the agricultural economy of Sindh, in the light of the behaviour of the Indus river, the trace of which, can be secured, from the location of prehistoric sites, such as Mohenjodaro. Agriculture, was the main occupation of the people in those days. This is indicated by an evidence of a Kharif crop, cotton, the cultivation of which, deduced from relics of cotton cloth found at Mohenjo-daro³. A large granary was also discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, upon which, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, has thrown light on the economy of Sindh.⁴ He concluded:-

(i) Tax on land was recovered in the form of a share of the produce; (ii) Wages of the government servants were paid in kind. Such type of government administration, was common in Sindh Province in the days of Talpurs, and continued to some extent, through the first decade of the British rule. Lambrick⁵, is of the view, that state granary was important for keeping a large reserve stock of food, for the distribution at the time of shortage of food grain, which could be caused, due to crop failure.

We may infer from the above discussions, that the existence of a advanced civilization at Mohenjo-daro, clearly indicates appropriation of agricultural surplus, by a class of superiours, living i big cities and towns. So far relations of production are concerned, we find two evidences. One in the writing of Sturvc⁶, who says, that relations were almost slave owning. Kosambi⁷, however, states that land, was owned and administered, by the religious head of the temple, whose influence over peasantry, was sufficient enough to extract any amount of surplus,. The medium of exchange in a moneyless era, was the food-grains. The presence of food granary,

indicates that the government was aware of any possible shortage of food, due to changing course of the Indus, and the lack of rainfall. The population, unable to produce sufficient food for their own consumption, may receive grain in barter for other commodities. In any case, the agriculture may have remained the main occupation of the people at that time.

In 710-11 A.D. Sindh was conquered by the Arabs. Majmudar⁸, has sketched the picture of the Indus during Arab period. So far as agriculture is concerned, Elliot, quoting an Arab author, Ibn-Haukal, wrote of Monsura, which was an old capital of Arab government, "It is like an island.... the climate is hot and the date grows here.... The place also yields a fruit called ambaj (mango), resembling the peach in appearance and flavour. It is plentiful and cheap. Prices are low, and there is an abundance of food". "Elliot, referring to another Arab traveller, Al-Idrisi, wrote," Trade flourishes. The bazars are filled with people, and well stocked with goods.... Fish is plentiful, meat is cheap and native fruits abound"⁹ The land settlement system, was such, that it was held collectively by the village community, and village headman was responsible to pay the revenue to the state. The Arabs allowed the natives to carry on with the work of cultivation, and they assessed taxes on lands, on the basis of (i) watered from public canals, and (ii) watered privately by artificial means. The main source of revenue was land tax, and the rate at which the revenue was collected being two-fifths of the produce of wheat and barley, if the fields were irrigated by public canals, and one-fourth if unirrigated. Of fruits such as dates, grapes and other garden produce one-third was taken. The revenue was payable either in cash or kind".

The land revenue was collected by the intermediaries, called Arbab. An additional amount, (i.e; apart from revenue) called jaziya, was also extracted from non Muslim population of Sindh. According to an estimate of Sorley, the annual demand of revenue by Arab rulers, was 270,000 pounds.¹² It is not unreasonable to infer, from the above information, that the population in general, was self-sufficient in terms of food availability, and exchange must have depended on the barter system.

In the year 5192, Sindh became a part of the Moghal empire

in the days Akbar, and remained under the control of various Moghal kings till 1757. No improvements was made in the days of Moghals, towards system of agriculture. However agriculture in those days was plentiful. To quote Ain-i-Akbari., "Fruits are plentiful, and camels are numerous and good breed. The means of locomotion is by boats, of which there are many kinds, large and small, to the number of 40,000... Shali rice is abundant and of good quality... milk curds of excellent quality are made and kept for months". These descriptions show that Sindh was the land of cultivators, self contented and happy, with the land and its produce. During this period a feudal mode of production was in existence. The local chiefs, who were responsible for maintaining irrigation system and revenue collection, acted as intermediary between Dehli King and the peasantry. These local chiefs were awarded the titles of Jagirdar, (head of a administrative unit), and Faugdar, (head or commander of the army). Sindh was assigned to these officials as Jagirs, (revenue free estates), who needed financial resources to run the administration. These officials in turn, appointed other officials, to carry on state functions, such as revenue collection and estimation of crops. Thus, another class of intermediary was created, between peasantry and state officials. An element most important in the intermediary classes, was that of Zamindar, also called Wadero.

Apart from these classes of intermediary, who appropriated the surplus from peasantry, there were others also, who enjoyed the privilege of directly collecting revenue from the peasants. They included, (a) Scholars (b) Judicial people, such as Qaazi (i.e. Judge) (c) people with religious caste, such as Syeds (d) Original Moghals. These functionaries made excessive demands on peasant's produce, and fully exercised control over land. The excesses committed, and extortions made, by these classes over poor Sindhi peasantry, has been documented by Namkeem "

The hold and control over the means of production, and therefore, the lives of the poor, the direct producers, increased considerably during the period of the native rulers of Sindh i.e., Kalhoros and Talpurs. Jagirdari rights merged with Zamindari. Therefore, a clear distinction between the two is difficult to make. However, agriculture appears to have made progress during this

period, particularly during the Kalhora days, because attention was paid to the irrigation works, and new canals were dug. The administrative system during this period, consisted of divisions. The revenue was collected in kind. So far as agricultural assessment is concerned, a third share of the crops was taken from the husbandmen. Postans wrote, that during Kalhora and Talpur days, the royal share of the produce was two fifths, one third, and one fifth according to the character of the land cultivated.¹⁴ The land was classified on the basis of three different criteria: (i) land near river easily irrigatable, (ii) land at a distance from river, (iii) waste land. The land revenue system, during Kalhora-Talpur days, was more elastic than the Moghal period, and took account of differences of the fertility of the land. The major portion of the revenue was realized in kind. Money assessment also existed. The calculations of cash rents was based on Jireb, a local unit of about 100 feet square. Opium and Indigo both, were valuable crops, and paid 20 and 80 rupces per bigha.¹⁴

So far as important crops are concerned, there was difference in the agricultural produce between upper and lower Sindh. Bajri and Jowari were the main early crops, and wheat and barley being the principal late crops, the former were common in the upper Sindh, and the latter in the lower Sindh. Rice was grown more extensively in the low southern parts. The other crops were, cotton, indigo, sugarcane and tobacco. The Chandroka and the Lar, were the main rice producing areas. The prices of farm commodities were cheap, and man could feed himself adequately, at a very low cost. The wage rates in those days, were from Rs.3 to 5 a month. The low price of commodities during Kalhora-Talpur period, may be a sign that Sindh was underpopulated for its productive capacity. Throughout this period, no famine of any serious consequences, has been reported in Sindh's history.

References in the writings of the travellers, who visited Sindh during Kalhora-Talpur period, show that the share of the government, in the revenue received in kind, was stored in the public granaries until disposed of. These public granaries, were made of mud, which could accommodate large quantities of food. The revenue collectors, were empowered to dispose of such food grains, in any manner they liked. Usually, the revenue in kind, was sold on the open market,

through auction or contract. The time of the sale, and the mode of realizing the proceeds, was also decided by the revenue collector. The major problem of Moghal period, the conflict between the demands of the central government on revenue, and the demand of the local government, disappeared in Kalora-Talpur days. Sindh was in the field of food grain, near to a kind of natural and self contained economy.¹⁷ The main source of internal transportation in the province was camel. The duties on camel-load of English manufactured piece goods, from the time of loading in Sindh till they reached the north end of the country by land, amounted 58 rupees, and this did not include charges for hire of camels, payment of escort and other incidental expenses. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to say that in the absence of an efficient handling and transportation system, a proper system of the distribution of farm commodities can not be imagined. Camels, in the shape of caravans, were the source of transfer of the commodities, from one market town to another. Commission was levied monthly on all brokers, for permission to transact business for caravans and travelling traders. A tax was levied on grain, fruit, and other food items, offered for sale in the bazars. In fact, it was the rule and practice, to exact hasil (i.e. revenue) from every trader.

In the matter of agricultural finance, the records of the government of Bombay, show that the main source of finance, was the private capitalist, from where farmers derived the means of tilling their soil.¹⁸ Farmers remained indebted to the money-lenders and paid highly. The real burden on the peasant, was the arbitrariness of the government, with its constant exorbitant demands of revenue. The poor farmer in India, was at the mercy of the moneylenders, who also in Sindh, advanced finances against a share of the crop, and asking the repayment of loan partly in grain, at prices which suited him, but bore heavily against the farmer.

An examination of the system of buying and selling, the various commodities in Sindh, shows that the Indus was the chief means of communication, between Sindh and other parts of India. The waterway system of the river, Sindh's easy connection with Multan and Lahore, two flourishing towns in the period, the cotton industry, and its vast emporium at Thatta, with port at Laribunder,

made Sindh a profitable centre of trade with the outside world. Within the country, there was no wheeled traffic. No bullock-carts were used, except in the environs of the various emporia. Camels were the main source of transportation within Sindh.

Fairs in Sindh at Saints tombs, were very well organized, where buying and selling took place. The system of marketing and fairs in 17th and 18th centuries in Sindh, resembled the mediaeval system of buying and selling, which prevailed in England, upto the time of the rise of trading towns, and the growth of the merchant guilds. The difficulties which the traders had to face, were those common to India of the time, such as dangers from pirates and robbers, poor road communication etc. There were in the 17th and 18th centuries, trading system of Sindh, middlemen, like brokers, and commission agents, who actually used to handle the goods, and charge commission on buying and selling. They used to earn good margin of profit. But in the pre-British days, the system of communication was so poor, except for the Indus, that it was neither possible for Sindh to have a sound distribution network, nor there existed a market directed society. The kind of economic system in Sindh province, which historically preceded the market economy, was based entirely on tradition. The people made their economic choices, based largely on tradition. A society based on tradition, is one, whose economic decisions, are made by following patterns established by poor generations. Its technology and skill is passed on from father to son. Economic relationship, are closely inter-twined with social relationship, and are subsidiary to them. In Sindh a traditional society existed which exists still. As such, a feudal mode of production existed, in which the arrangements of right and obligations, were dominated by economic status and activity. Therefore, there were no internal large market for the production of farm produce. Production was mainly for home consumption, and for meeting the demands of the rulers, for the payment of land revenue. The local exchange of agricultural commodities, and services was, largely but not entirely, based on barter transactions.

As such, the definition of agricultural marketing, as social phenomenon, in which social groups act and react with each other, and perform various functions, seems to be more applicable in pre-British Sindh. The relationship between the rulers, whose major

demand used to be the extraction of any surplus of food grain, as the payment of revenue, and the rules having no option but to submit to such demands, fall within the category of social relationship, which apart from creating purely economic issues, also involved social issues, based on social stratification. Karl Polanyi's⁹ paradigm discusses at length, such aspects of trade-distinguishing two types of trade. The one being of the kind conducted on the basis of economic calculations, of which the medium is either exchange of commodity for commodity, or commodity for money, and the other, of the type which is an expression of social will, and independent of any market mechanism — the marketless trading. This is Polanyi's concept of Babylonian economy - where the royal house controlled its military forces, its bureaucracy, and its empire, by direct levies imposed upon producers and upon produced.

In the Province of Sindh, which remained under the control of successive conquerors, before British took over, agricultural marketing, as a social phenomenon, seems to have been the order of the day. Emperors who ruled Sindh directly, or through nominated headman, demanded tribute and extracted the surplus of food, because their military and political strength rested on agricultural wealth. The acquisition of goods and services, by the king or ruler, under an order, and its distribution according to the custom, suggests an institutional marketing system. Such social marketing, remained a common feature in the history of Sindh, for quite a long time and which later declined slowly, with the gradual development of communication and transportation, giving rise to a type of marketing based on economic calculations.

Relations of Production and Exchange during the British Period.

With the conquest of Sindh by the British, there was gradual development of peace, and a period of population growth, which encouraged the growth of local marketing of the farm produce. The markets began to develop, trade routes improved, because of the improvements in the system of roads, transportation such as railways, communication etc. which created mobility and flow of the agricultural commodities, and thus, a foundation was laid, for a

market economy in the Province of Sindh. However, it appears that the statistical record of internal buying and selling in India, during this period, has not been properly maintained, because of the British dogma of "Laissez-faire." Authorities left internal trade, largely uncontrolled, being happy and content, with the removal of internal checks on the free circulation of good. The Provincial Gazetteer of Sindh 1928 says, "Statistics of the trade of the district (Sukkur) do not exist. The railway returns are not compiled, with reference to the revenue division of the country, and traffic by road and river is not registered at all, except in a limited degree in Municipal towns."²In the available information, such variables as marketed surplus, transportation cost, per capita consumption of staple food etc., are almost non-existent.

Settlement and Revenue System

Prior to the British, the village lease system was prevailing, in which the revenue was settled on the village or community living there, and the headman was responsible for its collection and payment. Sir Charles Napier, the conquer of Sindh, however preferred the Deccan model of Ryotwari system, not because of the merit of the system itself, but due to distrust in big landowners. This way, Napier could establish a direct link between government and small landowners.³ Thus, a traditional and centuries old system was undermined. However, in 1847, Pringle the Commissioner of Sindh, ordered a return to village-leases system again, replacing the kind assessment with a cash demand.⁴ Experiments continued with the system of settlement and land revenue, with successive British officials such as Barle Frere in 1852, Major J.T. Francis in 1863, and finally Colonel Haig in 1881, as superintendent of the Sindh Revenue Survey, introduced the system of 'irrigational settlement,' in which villages were grouped together, on the basis of the quality of water. Farmers were allowed to change their methods of cultivation, according to their circumstances and hence revenue assessment. Thus Deccan model was greatly modified in Sindh. It was only one aspect of field assessment common in Sindh model with that of Deccan to call it *ryotwari system*. Later, this system, remained a subject of controversy with British officials, the opinion being

divided, on the question of small peasants and large holders. Some believed, that *ryotwari* system injured the interest of great Muslim landlords, *Waderos*, whose estate started disintegrating, because they were forced to give up their uncultivable, or waste lands in the 1860 and 1870s, and that they were highly indebted to banias. True, that few big estates did disintegrate, but on the whole, the new revenue system, did not affect the conditions of big landowners, because *waderos* virtually ruled Sindhi countryside, a plain fact which hitherto has not been challenged. The new system, established the bourgeois property rights, but not bourgeois relations of production. For the poor *haris* (i.e. share croppers), and tenants, no legislation was passed, which would regulate the relations of production, between landlord and his *haris*.

Class Structure and Class Relations

The class structure in agriculture, and its interaction in production, describes control over elements, in which man interacts in the process. They describe relations among the different people, through the whole gamut of other accoutrements, necessary to production. Therefore, structural relations, describe control over, both the means and objects of labour. Productivity, is thus characterised, by structural interrelations, or social relations of production, between production and exchange, which are subject to many determinants than the technical distribution of the resources. The extent to which one class is able to appropriate supply from another class, having possession of resources, will depend on how complete and exclusive the possession is. If the relationship involving access to productive resources, is compounded by other relationships, such as landlord tenant relationship, then the subjugation of the subordinate class can be extended.

To analyse the underlying class relations in agriculture, we may present a thesis on the basis of only three classes having clear-cut contradictions with each other. They are: (a) class of big landlord (b) class of sharecroppers or *haris*, with either no land, or having small parcels of land and (c) class of financiers, i.e., moneylenders or Banias. In rural Sindh, these three classes exercised power. Within

the class of landlords, there were jagirdars, who had higher status than landlords or Zamindars, and who were granted a share of land revenue by the government. Zamindars, having lands within a Jagir, paid revenue to the Jagirdars instead of to the government. Therefore, Jagirdars' earnings came from agricultural, although they had less direct connection with land. Since very big landlords, (i.e. Jagirdars), and big landlords (i.e. Zamindars), are different segments of a single continuum, and there is no criterion for differentiating them, it would be, therefore, of no analytical usefulness, to set them apart into separate classes. We may, therefore, place Jagirdars and Zamindars into one class, and name them as landlords. The other class having contradictions with the landlord class, was that of peasants or Haris, having, either, very little or no land of their own, and who worked landlords' estates, and therefore, they constituted (which still constitutes), a class of tenants or sharecroppers at will. The other group, which can be identified as a class within the above setting, - is that of agricultural traders i.e. Bania, who mostly financed production. They want money to Zamindars as well as to Haris. A recursive type social relationship existed among these three classes in the production process, with Haris being in the middle, were squeezed by both, landlords and Banias.

In the process of production, Zamindars, Haris and Banias, depended on the produce, (i.e., output) of the estates. Haris were dependent for the reproduction of their labour on Zamindars, who provided land for cultivation, and on Banias, who provided initial finances at the time of sowing, because most Haris lacked initial capital. Zamindars in turn, were tied to Banias, because they did not take interest in the promotion of their estates and its produce. This is, in our way of thinking, due to the fact, that agriculture is a very tough profession. Working in the open fields from dawn to dusk, requires immense physical strength. Secondly, Wadero's by their habits, were interested in a life style in which they could maintain two, or possibly more wives, wear a sword, and attend Darbars. Thus a model of 'debt bandage' emerges, in which two of the three actors are indebted to Banias, while Haris are indebted to both Zamindars as well as Banias.

The exact mechanism in which the model operated, has been ably documented by David Cheesman.²³ We may draw here, a sketch

of it in the following way.

Haris indebttness

The work of a hari, apart from cultivating Zamindar's land, included many a thing such as working as labour for road construction, canal construction, canal clearance, etc. Haris worked for wages, which mainly used to be the share in the produce. Normally a word from the Zamindar, was enough for a hari to submit to him completely, without question. Thus, the position of a hari, was not more than a personal servant. If a hari refused to obey his Zamindar, it was highly likely, that he would be beaten by his master, and his share in the Batai (i.e., division of output after harvest), would be reduced further. Later, danai system (i.e., cash rent), was introduced in Sindh. But neither Batai, nor Danai system, could improve the conditions of haris, who needed loan for seed, and to feed him and his family. Haris could not avoid borrowings. Zamindars, often provided haris a loan to meet ongoing expenses. This being insufficient, haris had to borrow from baniess as well. The repayment of loan, used to be in kind, at the time of bati. Both Zamindar and Bania, falsified the debt account, and deducted to such an extent, that it was enough to swallow up Haris' share of the grain. However, a part of the share used to be returned to haris, as subsistence whose value was added to the already growing debt. Thus, haris remained always in debt to Zamindars and Banias. The fate of small independent cultivators, was not different than that of haris. But haris, and other small growers, did not count much, and therefore, their indebttness, did not cause any Complication for the British Raj.

Zamindars and Indebttness

Among the various causes fo rural indebttness in British India, the one, and perhaps the most important, was the British confemnt of property rights on land, backed by a legal system, in which owners of land could mortgage their landed property, and obtain loan. The creditors, had right to seize debtor's land, in satisfaction of the repayment of loan. Thus land itself, became a commodity. This proved disadvantageous for many big Zamindars, who obtained

loans from Banias. Secondly, and equally important cause of rural indebtedness, was to be found, in the social and traditional structure of Sindhi Society itself. As indicated above, Zamindars were not keen in the cultivation of their lands. Although their prestige, was directly measured, in terms of the amount of land held by them, rather than the efficiency with which it was managed. They preferred to pass on the management of their estates to Banias, who virtually organized everything on the farm. Banias, while taking the advantage of simple and unbusinessman like habits, of the Muslim Sindhi Zamindar, left no stone unturned to swallow him up. He manipulated accounts, by exaggerating cultivation expenses, concealing profits, and also, providing enough money to Zamindars to maintain his prestige. The process continued, during which, many a big estate of Muslim Zamindars, were mortgaged to Hindu Banias. According to a survey report in 1896, it was revealed, that in Sindh Province, the transfer of landownership, amounted to 4 per cent in favour of Hindu money lender Banias, in one decade ²⁴. However, with the passage of time, many holdings of waderos were mortgaged, and subsequently sold to Banias. As such, the Banias, who financed the agriculture of Sindh, were the main beneficiaries of any agrarian development in Sindh. The economic and social foundation of Sindhi Muslim Zamindars, who ruled the countryside, and assisted the British Raj to govern Sindh, was at stake.

The British officials, being divided on the question of the disintegration of waderos estates, took no concrete steps to protect Zamindars, except the passing of the Sindh Encumbered Estates Act, which provided little protection to Zamindars, and ignored the masses of poor peasantry. In the meanwhile, the political hesitation for the creation of a separate homeland, for Muslims in India, gained momentum in Sindh. The partition of India into two separate independent sovereign states in 1947, caused debts of all types, and for all classes of growers in Sindh, to be wiped out automatically, as Hindu Banias migrated to India.

To what extent the creation of Pakistan has been fruitful to the masses of agrarian labourers, sharecroppers, tenants, and others, is a question, the answer of which, requires further research, which is not the purpose of this paper.

THE HAKRA OR SARSWATI CONTROVERSY VARIOUS VERSIONS OF SCIENTISTS HISTORIANS AND FOLK- LORISTS — III

M.H. Panhwar

The collection of some two score volumes of Sindhi folk-lore by Dr. N.A. Baloch since mid-fifties for Sindhi Adabi Board, opened a way for a new pursuit into mediaeval poetry, thought, customs, beliefs and way of life in the ancient Sindh. Full of legendary stories, many people have accepted folk-lore, for a sober history. They in vain have been searching fictitious monuments, settlements and tracks of legendary romantic figures and trying to fit these into history by distorting the later. Below are a few versions of the folk-lorists and present writers comments.

- i) The great folk-lorist, Dr. Baloch many a times has been tempted to prove the impossible. Basing on Tarikh-i-Tahiri's legendary tyrant king of Alore, Dilu Rari's story, that this mena in 1962 A.D., wanted the merchant Saiful Maluk to have later's beautiful mistress Badiuj-Jamal, to spend a night into his chambers, Saiful-Maluk asked for a grace period of seventy two hours. During the dark of the night, having engaged a fleet of paid labourers, he successfully diverted the river Indus, from the Alore gorge to a new bed and sailed way, depriving the city of Alore of water for ever and causing it to fall in ruins. Dr. Baloch probably having been influenced by Raverty (10 above), like him, believes, that the river Indus was previously passing through the Alore gap, to the Eastern Nara bed and Saiful-Maluk successfully diverted it during the dark of one night. The Kotri Barrage was built dry land and the river Indus was diverted through it. No less than 30 bulldozers of 150 horse power worked for nearly two years to perform the job. One horse power is equivalent to the power of 8 men working for 8 hours. One horse power working throughout a day and a night means work done by 24 men in one shift. In terms of man-days 30 bulldozers working for 2 years are equivalent to 30 crore men working for 8 hours of

one night, provided that this labour can be obtained, their work-co-ordinated, passage for movement provided and tools for excavation and haulage made available. Like Raverty believing Saiful-Maluk to be genuine, Dr. Baloch has concluded that the Indus has in the past, flowed into two groups of channels, the Eastern system or Hakra through the edge of the desert and the Western system through the central Sind. He has even produced such a map, which is based on Henry Cousens, (13 above), with a few modifications. There are other versions of Saiful-Maluk and Badi-uj-Jamal in Kashmir and the Punjab and one such version is also in Persian, but none of these versions mention Dalu Rai of Sindh, or changing course of the river Indus. Many ruins in Sindh are attributed to Dalu Rai. One mound of some name in the Punjab has been explored by the Archaeological Department of Pakistan. Dalu Rai and Saiful-Maluk both are legendary and so is this story. There is however a bund not across Hakra or Nara, but, across a spill channel of the Indus leading to Nara at Bihra 5 miles east of Alore, built by Ghulam Shah Kalora in seventeenth century for spreading the water of the river Indus in to adjoining lands. Folk-loreists somehow believe that this is bund of Alore built by Saiful-Maluk and Raverty too believed so.

- ii) Of other folk-lore writers Ursani believed that a part of Western Thar bordering the old bed of the Dhoro Puran was called Muhranno because it was adjoining Mehran or the Indus, or Hakra or Wahindo and this river irrigated the Muhranno area of Thar (Mehran never passed along this route). He also believed that one time, Hakra a branch of the Indus starting in the Punjab passed east of Umarkot through Thar to the Rann of Cutch near the Nagar Parker Taluka and Pari Nagar was a port on the mouth of Hakra, in the first century A.D.

Raichand Harijan in Tarikhi Registan has maintained the same versions verbatim, as of Ursani's. The former was encouraged to write on Registan by the latter and the draft copy of the book was also shown to Mr. Ursani. Raichand's

book came out earlier than Ursani's, by about a year. It is not certain who influenced whom, on these folk-lore versions, which are totally incorrect. The vol. II of Harijan's Registan has also repeated same versions.

- iii) In 1975 Dr. Abdul Majid Memon, Sindhi combined some of the Western writings with folk-lore, to come to conclusions, which are only partly correct. Those mentioned beloved are considered incorrect as concluded by the present writer in para 35 above. Further comments are given in the brackets.
- a) During Ramayana period, elephants were supplied to Ajudhia, from forests on the Hakra banks.
(Ramayana is a fiction, written around 400-200 B.C., when the Hakra was too dry to support thick forests for elephants to live in).
 - b) Hakra tribe living in Sindh and Baluchistan were boatmen, who sailed their boats on the Hakra river.
(The Hakra tribe could not be boatmen on a dry stream. The name Hakra for the dry bed of this river is less than 1,000 years old. Its original name known to Aryans was Sarswati, as mentioned in Vedas, Puranas and Mahabharata, all written between 1000 B.. to 200 B.C. Its name when Indus culture cities flourished on it, is not known. Thus there is no link between this tribe and name of the river).
 - c) The Kot-Dijji Culture which is different from the Indus Culture of Mohenjo Daro, established itself at Kot-Dijji on the Hakra river.
(Kot-Dijji was situated on the Indus and not on Hakra. Kot-Dijji Culture is categorised as the Early Indus Culture. All sites on the Sarswati are either the Early or the Mature Indus Culture and do not represent a different culture).
 - d) The town of Sarsa was an important rice market, situated on the Ghaggar a tributary of Hakra.
(There is yet no evidence of rice cultivation on the Indus its tributaries including the Sarswati or Hakra, during the Indus Culture times, when the Sarswati was active).

- e) When Arayans came to the Sub-continent, the Hakra alongwith its tributaries was a mighty and perennial river. The Sarswati was another river between the Jamuna and the Sutlej and had confluence with the Hakra.
(When Aryans came to the Sub-continent, around 1000 B.C., the Hakra had already dwindled. The Sarswati was the Aryan's name for the stream now called the Hakra).
- f) The Drishadvati also called Chautang, which got its waters from the Jamuna, had confluence with Ghaggar near Shor.
(The Drishadvati was an independent stream and was not fed by Jamuna, but had its independent source from Siwaliks).
- g) The Sutlej was a tributary of Hakra and confluence was at Valhar near the Bahawalpur border.
(The Sutlej was never a tributary of the Sarswati at least during Holocene past 10,000 years).
- h) Marwat was a fort on the Hakra. It belonged to Umar Soomro, who kidnapped an interned Marvi in the fort. (Capital of Umar Soomro was Muhammad Tur and neither Umarkot nor Marwat. Marvi is legendary figure rather than historical. In Umar Soomro's times Hakra was dry).
- i) A canal from the Hakra took off near Dribh Dhethari, a river port and on its way towards Jaisalmir, it bifurcated into two branches and one of them was called Ludano. Numal's Kak (magic place) was located on Ludano, which dried up during the Soomra times, turning Kak into ruins.
(Contours of area show that land towards Jaissalmir, is at the higher level and canal can only flow from Jaisalmir towards Dribh Dhethari. Ludana is only an ancient course of Sarswati belonging to pre-Holocene or the Early Holocene period. Mumal and her Kak are legendary).

- j) The Hakra passed through Alore gap and due to drying up to the Hakra, Alore got deserted and turned into ruins. During the Soomra period, there was a short supply of water in the Hakra and the ruler of Alore, raised an embankment across it for diverting water to his lands and orchards.

(It was a branch of the Indus and not the Hakra, that flowed through the Alore gap. Diverting of water of the Hakra on up-stream side, by a power-full land owner was firmly believed by people until the British conquest of Sind, when British engineers on checking found no truth in this story).

- k) Below Alore, Hakra had many branches which finally discharged in to the Indus. Kot Dijji, Halakandi or Halla, Brahmanabad, Mansura, Pattala or Nerunkot or Hyderabad were situated on those branches of the Hakra.

(Level of the Hakra was too low for its waters to discharge into the Indus. All above towns existed on the Indus or its branches. Patala may have been near or at the site of Brahmanabad i.e., Mansura and not near Hyderabad).

- l) Dhoro branch or Eastern Nara, took off from the Indus, near Alore and, was flowing through bed of Hakra during the Soomra Dynasties' rule.

(It was spill waters of the Indus, rather than a branch of Indus, which fed Hakra but only during the inundation season only. No branch of the Indus passed through the Alore gap, to feed the Hakra).

- m) There are a number of ruins on Hakra namely:-

Daseranjo Daro, Bhoori-jo-Daro, Hamiro-jo-Bhito, Hasan Bagh-jo-Bhito, Patan-jo-Bhito, Tubhian-jo-Daro, Rani-jo-Bhito, Mumual-jo-Bhito, Sonpari-ji-Bhito, Amrano, Rahundian-ji-Bhito, Gharho Biro, Lehoor-jo-Bhito, Lailan-ji-Mari, Kinji-ji-Mari or Bhito, Kauru-ji-Mari, Noor Ali Shan-ji-Bhito, Sami-jo-Dhir, Pachat-jo-Bhito, Nihatoo Bhito and Khanpur-ja-

Dara all in Thar, belonging to the Soomra period, as the names show.

(These ruins belong to the Indus Culture period i.e., 2500 B.C.-1650 B.C. or earlier and not to Soomra period. The folk-lore names of Hamir, Rano, Mumal, Sonpari, Amrano, Lailan, Kinjh and Kauro, can not put them to 12th or 13th centuries, nor can folk-lore stories prove that Hakra was flowing in 12-13th centuries. We should however be grateful to the author for listing 21 sites on Hakra, which can be explored by archaeologists).

iv) An other folk-lorist Maamoor Yousifani has been very active in interpreting of folk-poetry and co-relating it with history and historical-geography. According to him:-

a) The Wahind or Waheenday-jo-Darya, an eastern branch of the Hakra, passed through the Punjab. Bahawalpur and Jaisalmer and entered Sindh in Tharparkar district. Pari Nagar was a seaport at its mouth on the Koree Creek at the place, where it entered the sea.

(Pari Nagar is 120 miles east of Koree Creek. The port on the Koree Creek mouth is Lakhpat).

b) The Wahind had two tributaries, the Sarswati and the Drishadvati, which dried up 3,000 year ago, but Wahind kept flowing, and when it dried up, is not known.

(If its sources dried up, where from did its water come?).

c) Mehran used to flow through Thar. Its route was from Vijnot, Nara Taluka and eastern part of Khipro Taluka to Chore, where it entered the Hakra.

(Contours of area such, that Vinjrot is at a lower level than the desert area of Khipro and Nara Talukas, and therefore no river can take this direction).

d) A branch of Hakra south of Umarkot made an easternly turn to ward Chachro and from there to Pari Nagar.

(Contours can not allow this to happen as Umarkot and Hakra are at a lower level than Chachro or its eastern parts).

- e) A branch of Mehran on briferccetion near Naokot, passed near Diplo and etc.
(Contours can not permit this to happen).
- f) Another branch of Mehran called Mcenni Nadai, passed through Mithi and on it flourished towns of Kerti and Karli Nagar.
(This flow would be against contours).
- g) Raini was a third river of Thar desert which was flowing west of Hakra and after traversing desert parts of Khairpur and Sanghar districts, entered the Thar desert near Shadipali. From thence it entered Samaro Taluka and joined Hakra near Naokot. Important archaeological sites on this course are Darshan-jo-Bhiro, Bhor-jo-Shahar, Gharho Bhiro, Laila-jo-Bhiro and Patan or Lihore.
(Yousafi's interpretation of river courses knows no limitations of hydrology or contours. Rivers flow from valleys to ills and jump from one ill to another without touching the valleys in between. Rivers siphons across each other without difficulty and rivers fly across a hundred miles of the Rann of Cutch to the sea. Geography has no meaning in his interpretations).

The above are only four examples out of hundreds of versions of folk-lorists, repeated in various forms. The scientific truth in them as is concluded in paragraph 35 (i to xlv) above.

The map attached shows various courses and their probable ages based on remote sensing technology.

- v). The others categorised as historian but holding similar views on genuinity of Saiful-Maluk are: Maulai Shedai, Bhirumal< Shamasuddin and Arshad. Essentially they have taken folk-lore as sober history.
- vi) Folk-lorists have adhered to poem of Momai Fakirs and also to predictions of Girohrhi to Hakra, as was done by Burton

and Haig. Dr. Daudpota, an authority on Girohri considers these poems as forgery of early twentieth century and has even traced out the forger.

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34. Refer map appended to this article.
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**E.M. FORSTER'S A PASSAGE TO INDIA
A REVALUATION
Dr. MUHAMMAD ALIM MEMON**

E.M. Forster is a major novelist of the twentieth century but his reputation as a modernist is neither a matter of widespread agreement among the critics nor he enjoys sureness and artistic stature of James Joyce and D.H. Lawrence as a creative writer embodying all the modern tendencies and approach to life and literature in his work. Some critics take him at his words 'I belong to the fag end of Victorianism' and serious literal sense of his words is used to deny him the position among the platitude of the modern novelists.

"The point perhaps is that Forster is not, in the conventional sense, a modernist, but rather a central figure of the transition into modernism."¹ it is argued that his earlier novels record an expression of Edwardian optimism. The landscape is shown to have exercised a healing effect in these novels and his *Howard's End* concludes with a solution of human problem of finding meaning in life. Thus sombre complex vision of life is seen lacking in him. His last novel *A Passage to India* has been praised widely but with certain reservations and revulsion. In literary opinions of the various critics, there is either a sense of under-estimation or over-estimation of this great modern novel of E.M. Forster. Arnold Kettle finds the novel lacking positive centre as he takes it to be based on personal relationship which, to him, peters out. Thus the novel is seen to be short of literary worth as it does not convey any sense of glory in life-art transcendence. "The atmosphere of *A Passage to India* is of a profound scepticism, tempered by a vague confidence which achieves no artistic expression commensurate with its importance in the overall tone of Forster's narrative."² Thus the novel has been made conspicuous for nihilism and pessimism.

Despite growth of considerable corpus of criticism, during recent years, around E.M. Forster's work particularly his last novel *A Passage to India*, there still exists a diversity of opinion on the literary worth and value of his masterpiece. To some critics like

Wilfred Stone, *A Passage to India* is 'an affirmative and optimistic novel as "this is fraught with a promise or a hope of unity; and doublings characterise the things that divide, triplings remind us that there is a wholeness beyond these divisions."³ As opposed to this, Gillian Beer considers the novel as a challenge "to the beleaguered humanism of its characters."⁴ Barbara Rosecrance opines: "*A Passage to India* moves between polarities of exclusion and inclusion, separation and unity, discord and harmony, negation and affirmation, the emptiness of the caves and the fullness of a universe animated by divine presence, the reductive vision and the inclusive vision."⁵

According to the above critical opinion of Barbara Rosecrance, the novel enacts gap between the irreconcilable contraries. This interpretation also denies the novel the worth and value it has as a piece of literature. The literary worth of a book lies not in suggesting the contraries and the gap between them but in pointing out the possibilities of reconciliation and resolution, however dim these possibilities may be.

Forster's *A Passage to India* is not a pessimistic novel but a poetic and philosophic book carrying hope of unity and the wholeness to mankind. It poses only certain problems and difficulties in its proper appreciation as it has presented life in full complexity, characteristic of modernity, and has tried to give full exposure to the dangers attendant upon the Herculean task of achieving unitary vision of life amid so many decisive forces working to threaten the attainment of a wholeness.

E.M. Forster like D.H. Lawrence thinks that analytical philosophy has painfully dichotomized man's existence between its polar opposites, body and soul, passion and intellect, humanity and culture and law and soul, passion and intellect, humanity and culture and law and love. He has presented this heart-rending division on larger scale by dramatizing separation of man from man by linguistic, racial and religious forces of clash and conflict to underline the need for unity and the wholeness implied in his slogan, only 'connect.'

In his last novel *A Passage to India*, Forster has brought East and West face to face to give us a diagnostic insight into the forces that divide mankind and also to suggest how to proceed with the attempts at making contact as human beings with a penetration into the hazards

that such initiatives have to encounter.

If the novel abounds in negatives and suggestion of contraries, the overall impression of the book lies in its sense of affirmation and resolution of the polar opposites.

Mrs. Moore and Adela Quested come to city of Chandrapore from England. Adela wants to see her fiancé, Ronny Heaslop, a city magistrate, at work before confirming her informal engagement. Mrs. Moore is to help her. Adela Quested is a rationalist and Mrs. Moore is a Christian humanist. So they are able to enlarge their intellectual and social feeling. This sense of enlarged feeling arouses Adela Quested to see 'Real India'. The author introduces themes of Personal Relationship and universal love through contacts and activities of these English ladies with Aziz, a native of India but a doctor in bureaucratic service of Imperial England. Aziz meets Mrs. Moore in a mosque and this encounter initiates them into personal relationship. Aziz is, then, introduced to Adela Quested and Fielding, Principal of a local College. Fielding is also a rationalist. The Anglo-Indian officials are represented by Turton, Ronny Heaslop, Mc Brydes etc. These British officials have been conditioned by the nature of the duties they have identified themselves with. They have lost all the traces of grace and pleasantness in their conduct and attitude to the natives. This is what Ronny Heaslop tells her mother, Mrs. Moore.

"We're not out here for the purpose of behaving pleasantly!
..... We're out here to do justice and keep the peace."6

Thus we have the characters stratified into two groups the ruling British officials and the ruled Hindu Muslims. The Britisher, Fielding, Mrs. Moore and Adela Quested are not conditioned by facts of history and are liberal humanists. They have with them Aziz, Professor Godbole, the natives of India. These people resist to be imprisoned into any racial or religious group. They try to connect themselves as human beings transcending all the false barriers of race, colour, religion and language. The Anglo-Indian officials, narrowed and constricted in their feeling as humans, resent contacts of the two ladies-mrs. Moore and Adela-with Aziz. The ruled group of native Indians whose attitude to the Britishers is largely of response

and resistance to the conditioned behaviour of the British officials, are shown as victims and are delineated with sympathy. Through the conduct of British officials, the novel exposes blindness and stupidities of imperial rule.

Amid the atmosphere of mutual hatred and suspicion, we have three interlocking personal relations-Aziz and Fielding, Mrs. Moore and Aziz, Ronny Heaslop and Adela Quested. Mrs. Moore also introduces theme of universal love through her all-embracing love which includes even wasp.

"Going to hang up her cloak, she found that the tip of th peg was occupied by a small wasp..... perhaps he mistook the peg for a branch.... Bats, rats, birds, insects will as soon as nest inside a house as out; it is to them a normal growth of the eternal jungle... There he clung, asleep while jackals 'n the plain bayed their desires and mingled with the percussion of drums.

'Pretty dear' said Mrs. Moore to the Wasp. He did not wake, but her voice floated out, to swell the night's uneasiness."⁶

The Indian scene has impact of three cultures-Islam, Christianity and Hinduism; not in their real enlarged sense but as muddled by the avowers of these religions. This muddled sense of religion is clearly made explicit by Ronny Heaslop's attitude to his religion in the words: "Ronny approved of religion as long as it endorsed the national Anthem, but he objected when it attempted to influence his life. Then he would say in respectful yet decided tones, 'I don't think it does to talk about these things, every fellow has to work his own religion.'"⁷

As opposed to this Aziz's behaviour is also muddled by the treatment and snub he receives from his superior Britishers and, in no way, he acts as a true Muslim who should oppose the tyrant and oppressor on larger grounds than the personal ones. This is further substantiated by the heroic figures who weigh upmost at his heart-Indian rulers-rather than the Ideal heroic rulers of Islam. This is perhaps because ideal behaviour of such rulers is beyond Forster's knowledge or he has done so in conformity with his conception of the situation. Aziz's description as a Muslim has a point to make in this case.

"Though orthodox, he did not know. God's unity 'was

indubitable and undubitably announced, but on all other points he wavered like the average Christian; his belief in the life to come would pale to a hope, vanish, reappear, all in a single sentence or a dozen heart-beats.”⁸

The muddled scene of India riven with religious and racial conflicts provides E.M. Forster the best soil to present enactment of this story of spiritual quest with full suggestion of his sense of muddle and mystery as the West which finds meaning and coherence in life would have failed to perceive such associations of mystic experience. Amid this scene of confused mental state (muddle) Forster develops his themes of personal relationship and universal love. Forster’s vision and philosophy of life is to be judged from the fate of the people carrying out these two themes—personal relations and universal love.

The novel has a structural as well as a symbolical plot. Hope for the wholeness of life, a unitary vision as opposed to fragmentary one, universe as opposed to multiverse, is clearly suggested by the both plots—structural as well as symbolical plot. The novel begins not with introduction of characters as is the normal pattern of Forster’s other novels but with description of Chandropore. This clearly indicates the importance of spirit of the; once — not as a climatic factor but as mental correlative of muddle and confusion of mind arising out of interaction of various cultures and forces of history—later on incarnated in the larger symbol of the spirit of India. Then we have description of the different perspectives presented by the city—reflecting different attitudes of the governing officials and the governed to what is one and unchanged Reality of life. This is followed by the description of the overarching sky and the distance behind the stars.

“The stars hang like lamps from the immense vault. The distance between the vault and them is as nothing to the distance behind them.”⁹

All this suggests the visionary element of the novel—the thrust to penetrate beyond the muddle and contingent world to the reaches of mystery, Infinite and unseen—the spiritual curiosity. This visionary element recurs in Mrs. Moore’s encounter of universal love—all inclusive—with wasp. This speaks of the transcendental power of art, characteristic of modernism, to impose order and coherence on

fragmented life. Hope for transcending the fragmentary life and unitary vision are suggested not only by symbolical plot but by the structural one too.

Shamming the attitude of universal love of Mrs. Moore, Bridge party is arranged to bridge over the gap between the British officials and the natives but the same confirms the irreparable gulf between the two communities instead of uniting them together. We have the author's comment in the words:

"Perhaps it is futile for men to initiate their own unity, they do but widen the gulfs between them by the attempt."¹⁰

This must not be taken as E.M. Forster's judgement on life but his criticism of 'the education vision' which has failed to embrace all humanity. Again we have Mr. Sorley, an advanced European and a missionary who includes all mammals to be embraced by mercy of God but excludes wasps and bacteria.

"He (Mr. Sorley) admitted that the mercy of God, being infinite, may well embrace all mammals. And the wasps?.... And oranges, cactuses, crystals, and mud? and the bacteria inside Mr. Sorley? No, no. this is going too far. We must exclude someone from our gathering, or we shall be left with nothing."¹¹

Here we have discussion whether life is a condition of exclusion or inclusion. But the discussion of life or love as all inclusive or exclusive and Forster's comment on 'The Bridge Party' may not be taken as foreshadowing the conclusion of the novel but the author's critical comment on the hesitant initiatives and scruples in line with the imagined situation and muddled mental states that have only partially cleared away the muddle and the ultimate Reality-mystery-remaining unfathomed.

Fielding's tea party is a replica of 'Bridge Party' but the former is a success, to a great extent, as its idea springs from the pure and developed heart-Fielding, an embodiment of good will plus culture and intelligence, is its organizer-whereas the latter is the product of undeveloped heart and muddled feelings. Unfortunately its humanistic healing effect is marred by Ronny's insolent behaviour. Despite all the disabling factors, the personal relationship between Fielding and Aziz goes on developing and that between Ronny Heaslop and Adela Quested receives tremendous setback and

is virtually undone. While driving in Nawab Bahadar's car, Ronny Heaslop and Adela Quested come closer together and their animal instinct arouses them to settle their engagement which is announced and confirmed officially. But this relationship, devoid of temperamental and mental compatibilities, remains at the surface level, each remaining unsatisfied and disturbed. What Adela experiences in caves is largely the result of this suppression and petering out of their relationship is a logical conclusion to which human inadequacy contributes potentially bringing disaster to within and without. Mrs. Moore's humanistic creed is acted upon by her experiences of India, her feeling for her children in England and unliberal and 'adaptive' attitude of her son Heaslop and other British officials. All this sets conflict within her and makes her pulled in opposing directions. The conflict in her is aggravated by her growing age.

The personal relation between Aziz and Fielding culminates in former's exchange of confidences with the latter showing his wife's photograph to Fielding-the first English to be reposed with such confidence. This transports Aziz to the ecstatic delight and the region of eternal joy:

"But they were friends, brothers.... They trusted one another, affection had triumphed once in way. He dropped off sleep amid the happier memories of the last two hours..... He passed into a region where these joys had no enemies but bloomed harmoniously in an eternal garden.... or rose into domes whereunder were inscribed, black and white, the ninety nine attributes of God."12

Here is, again the recurrence of visionary element. But this phase of elevated feeling is a temporary one and their relationship is to be put to test before becoming a source of eternal joy. Marabar caves provide such a laboratory test.

Mrs. Moore's growing experience of India, undeveloped and unimagined hearts of those around her and her nostalgia for the children away from her and her old age, combine together to shatter and disturb her mind. This becomes quite clear from what comes to her mind while she is on her way to the caves. This champion of universal brotherhood and personal relationship, an ideal friendship-a head-fountain of joy and beauty in a culture-ridden world begins to

doubt its very validity. "She felt increasingly (vision or nightmare?) that though people are important the relations between them are not, and that in particular too much fuss has been made over marriage; centuries of carnal embracement, yet man is no nearer to understanding man."¹³ The nihilistic vision of Mrs. Moore reaches its nullity in the caves where she develops indifference to human values.

"The echo in a Marabar cave is devoid of distinction. Whatever is said, the same monotonous noise replies, and quivers up and down the walls until it is absorbed into the roof. Hope, Politeness, the blowing of a nose, the squeak of a boot, all produce 'boum'... 'Pathos, piety, courage-they exist, but are identical and so is filth. Everything exists, nothing has value.' if one had spoken vileness in that place, or quoted lofty poetry, the comment would have been the same"- 'ou-boum'¹⁴.

These words are often quoted by critics to support their pessimistic view that Mrs. Moore-embodiment of the theme of universal love-is defeated demonstrating absurdity of finding meaning in life. Again some critics allay the gravity of these words by interpreting the words. "everything exists, nothing has value" in the light of Einstein theory of relativity. To them, it means, nothing has absolute value and all intellectual, moral and religious systems are relativistic. but to me these words suggest that nothing will be fruitful if we fail to communicate and understand each other. The forces of mistrust, hypocrisy and suspicion will reduce all forms of beauty and efforts for search of meaning in life to nothing. All these have badly acted upon Mrs. Moore and have contributed to her reductive vision. It is this lack of sense of community and communication that Adela feels "In space things touch, in time things part."¹⁵

Aziz's arrest further shatters Mrs. Moore's vision of the wholeness and makes her cry out despairingly to denounce her faith in marriage and love.

"The human race would have become a single person centuries ago if marriage was any use. And all this rubbish about love, love in a church, love in a cave, as if there is the least difference, and I held up from my business over such trifles."¹⁶

Does it mean defeat of Mrs. Moore's humanistic creed and

victory of evil forces? Some critics read it as indicative of irretrievable moral nihilism' of Mrs. Moore and this is what precipitates from the following critical view:

"As for Mrs. Moore...., she encounters another force still, the moral nihilism that comes when the boundary walls are down. Her disaster dominates the novel, for it places even moral and mystical virtue within the sphere of contingency; it, too, is subject to spiritual anarchy."17

The close study of the novel reveals triumph of Mrs. Moore and gives substantial support to deny her defeat on the level of structural as well as symbolical plot. Mrs. Moore's nihilism is a momentary feeling induced by the conditions-human and non-human around her like that of Hamlet who feels (momentarily). "There is divinity that shapes our ends."

As the words of hamlet represent neither Shakespeare's outlook of life nor define character of his hero (Hamlet) but are expressive of the feelings that weigh uppermost at his heart at that moment, so Mrs. Moore's despairing mood is not a definitive conclusion about her or her creator-Forster. We see her revising her vision towards the end when she is leaving India. While travelling through central India, on there return journey to England, she finds that there are many places like Asirgah which she had neither seen or heard and body mentioning them. She feels that neither India was identical with marabar caves nor was the echo a final thing about India. It strikes her mind, "I have not seen the right places."18

"So you thought an echo was India; you took the marabar caves as final? they laughed. 'What have we in common with them, or they with Asirgah?'"19

The hope surged high in her and she had the courage 'to disentangle the hundred India.' This is how she dies in a state of high spirits suggesting hope and not despair for mankind. The author makes her character still more heroic and emblematic by stressing the constructive aspect of her influence which she exercises over the muddled minds in her absence. It is Mrs. Moore's influence through which Adela Quested is able to clear her vision and withdraw her charge against Aziz. It is Mrs. Moore whose memory brings balance and quietitude to Aziz enabling him to renounce the compensation

money. She is given continuation in India through the presence of her more humane and noble son and daughter by second marriage Ralph and Stella. This perpetuation is the reward that author gives her for her heroic endeavour. Thus she becomes presence in absence and her humanly form is transfigured and transformed into goddess-Esmoor, a Hindu goddess-during the trial scene. She can be paid homage in the following Keatsian words:

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard Are sweeter;

So far the question of Mrs. Moore's not staying to witness innocence of Aziz is concerned, it must be noted that she was not with Aziz and Adela Quested when they entered the second cave. Thus she had no physical evidence to support Aziz's claim; so far her moral support is concerned, it would have helped little as the feelings ran very high. This is what is made clear by Hamidullah's words towards the end of the novel: "If God himself descended from heaven into their club and said you (Aziz) were innocent, they would disbelieve him."²⁰

Thus theme of universal love embodied by Mrs. Moore is sustained and upheld by her final vision of India and revival of vigour and vitality in her during her last moments of life and the influence she exercises over Aziz and Adela Quested in her absence during moments of crisis in their life. She becomes a presence, a living and enlivening force in her absence. She becomes the goddess that works and wins though not seen and felt physically. The complexities and divisive forces of life, no doubt, disturb her but she surmounts and vanquishes them all and snatches away victory from the circumstances. Thus Aziz-Moore's relationship does not peter out in form of the later's death but becomes perpetual source of illumination and inspiration for the action in right direction. Reappearance of Mrs. Moore's son-show author's intention to perpetuate and transform her character into archetypal mother. This is how visionary and structural elements-sequential chain of events-are used to suggest hope for mankind. Thus there is a clear sense of 'transcendence of art'-modernism-showing art as an orderly product.

The same hope of salvation of mankind is borne out by its theme of personal relationship. Some critics consider that Aziz-Fielding relation, the main burden of the novel's meaning, ends in

separation which seems to be supported by the concluding paragraph of the novel.

“Why can’t we be friends now? said the other— Its what i want. It’s you want.’ But the horses didn’t want it; the earth didn’t want it, sending up rocks through which the riders must pass single file; the temples, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House, they didn’t want it, they said in their hundred voices, ‘No, not yet’, and the sky said, No, not there.”²¹

This passage, even in its bare bone sense, does not imply total negation. “The final recapitulatory paragraph recalls all the forces in India that make perfect comradeship between an Englishman and an Indian difficult but not impossible (not yet and not there)”²² To me the passage has more affirmative sense that is normally taken to be even by some perceptive critics. The negation truncated by ‘Not, not yet’ and ‘No, not there’ does not imply political freedom of India as the novel is not about India or its political situation; the novel is about human nature and the forces that separate man from man and also gives a concentrated insight into how to achieve the wholeness of life or unity of mankind. These truncating words suggest pause in the reconciliatory efforts till man has learnt to reassess his nature and has refused to be conditioned by the negatives within and without him. Without this reassessment of human nature, neither political freedom nor any ideal friendship will bring any utopia as the confidence, trust and communication in place of suspicion, mistrust and hypocrisy, are its basic essentials. The recent racial conflicts in Hyderabad and Karachi speaks of such inability of reassessment of our nature. The political freedom is there but our nature stands reassessed and unaccommodated and unmodulated. So we have the tragic cleavage between us inspite of our common heritage, common struggle for freedom and the attainment of this gift-political freedom from foreign domination.

My viewpoint is that the novel needs careful reading. It is not to be judged by the isolated pieces scattered within the text. The book is to be judged as a whole. No character or any comment of the author in the novel should be taken to be representative of Forster’s final judgement on the situation or life. E.M. Forster is the only twentieth century novelist who has used his personal voice in form of comments

on the characters and situations in the tradition of Victorians. This he has done either to present ironic contrast between two modes of thinking to deflate seriousness of either or to expose interior of the characters involved in the situation. To substantiate my viewpoint I, once again quote Shakespeare. How would we read into Shakespeare's words given below:

“Our wills and fates do so contrary run
That our devices still are overthrown;
Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own.”²³

These words must be read in the light of my comment incorporated herein at an earlier stage. So they represent neither Shakespeare nor define nature of tragedy spelt out by Shakespeare in his drama Hamlet nor they have anything substantial to suggest Hamlet's character. Such is the case with Forster's personal voice.

The overall impression of *A Passage to India*, is of hope and glory, though of limited nature, due to awareness of the author of the complexities of modern experience and the dangers with which one's attempts at fulfillment are fraught with. All the misunderstanding between Aziz and Fielding are removed before the conclusion of the novel. Their relationship is retained, though a bit strained by forces of mistrust and misgivings and the contraries are resolved through a vision towards the end of the novel where “earth and sky lean toward one another, about to clash in ecstasy.”²⁴

Forster stands for the personal relationship—a symbol of love and beauty in a barren world—which is to survive after being acted upon and brought to test by the disintegrating and decisive forces. It may lose the intensity of affection and enthusiasm of the initial phase but is to survive at any cost. This is explicitly substantiated by his following letter which begins by recalling his experience as a student of King's.

“King's stands for personal relationships, and these still seem to me the most real things on the surface of the earth, but I have acquired a feeling that people must go away from each other (spiritually) every now and then, and improve themselves if the relationship is to develop or even endure. *A Passage to India*

describes such a going away-preparatory to the next advance, which I am not capable of describing. it seems to me that individuals progress alternately by loneliness and intimacy, and that legend of the multiplied Krisma.... serves as a symbol of a state where the two might be combined. The King's view over-simplified people: That i think was its defect. We are more difficult than it used to be, and also more glorious."25

It is in the sense elaborated above that personal relationship between Aziz and Fielding is re-established and retained to give the novel positive accents of interpretation though not facile optimism which is warranted neither by facts of modern experience nor is in conformity with modernistic trends of art. Adela Quested and Ronny Heaslop are separated because their relationship is based only on biological force and has no other human authenticity behind it. Fielding and Roanny appear to be dwarfs when they try to be friends because both are rationalists and their rationalistic approach is made reductive by such description to demonstrate incompatibility of reason to sort out and see personal issues with 'absolute clarity' as assumed by rationalists. Life and personal relations cannot be cleared away or explained but is to be taken as an Unchallengeable Reality. The distance between Aziz and Fielding is increased (going away from each other spiritually as hinted in the author's above letter) but they remain friends and reunited towards the end (their advance to the next stage). Fielding and his wife, Stella, do not understand each other as there is little communication between them but they are united in nuptial ties-the failure to understand arises out of the fact that Fielding is a rationalist believing everything to be explicable whereas Stella is susceptible to mystic vision.

Thus the novel does not envision complete fusion of two individuals or races but demonstrates a search for unity with sense of separation between them like the two overlapping nuclei which do not completely fuse into each other due to nucleus-nucleus repulsion but even then are held together by strong binding forces of attraction. This is the sense of unity or wholeness dramatized by the novel. Complete fusion or unity with all sense of racial or religious discrimination totally discarded or suppressed is neither desirable nor an attainable goal as the forces of consciousness are too strong and it

is dangerous to neglect them-Adela' suffering is largely the result of her neglect of promptings of her heart and personality. Such a forced unity would, on the contrary, breed hatred and distrust instead of oneness. Thus the novel is about unity within separation and separation within unity.

Forster's *A Passage to India* is a modern, poetic universal and philosophic novel. Though its title is taken from Whitman's poem 'Passage to India' its theme is of Whimarseque circumnavigation of soul, but its accents and inspiring spirit are opposite to those of the poem. Walt Whitman's poem 'Passage to India', was inspired by the opening of Suez Canal in 1869 linking Europe to Africa and Asia by the shortest route. The poet considering the event as 'culmination of world communication' begins his poem as a hymn to the nineteenth century technology in the words given below:

Passage to India!

Lo, Soul, sees thou not God's purpose from the first?

The earth to be spanned, connected by network

The races, neighbours, to marry and be given in marriage,

The oceans to be crossed, the distant brought near

The lands to be welded together.

The poem ends by asserting the need to undertake 'lonely perilous striving' to achieve 'the spiritual triumph'.

The true theme of *A Passage to India* has its origin in Whitman's poem and T.S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land', 'a poem of horror'. "The true theme of the novel is that of the poems: it is spiritual quest".²⁶ This is what connects Forster with modernists.

It must be accepted that none of its characters except Mrs. Moore is "consciously a spiritual speaker". "The mysteries which the novelist explores come upon them unsought, unwanted and unexplained, and are to them merely muddles".²⁷ But it must be admitted that through all their muddled vision; the sense of spiritual curiosity transcending the efforts of all the characters to identify themselves with their conditioned sense of meaning in their life, is seen dormant in them. The author's emphasis is on their advance to

the next stage in clearing away their spiritual muddledom - the search for true meaning in life.

The novel is modern in real sense of the term. Its modernity is also suggested by sense of cleavage between public and private world and supremacy of the latter over the former. To be modern in its concept, its main theme of personal relation - private world of joy and beauty - is maintained and celebrated in more positive accents with all misunderstandings removed between Aziz and Fielding though the theme of reconciliation between East and West is more exposed to doubt and uncertainty within the existing frame of the things. On the contrary, India's separation is made to appear more imminent and inevitable. The novel's famous ending with some sense of separation between Aziz and Fielding - unless man has not learnt to reassess his nature and replace his suspicions and hypocrisy by trust and confidence and honesty and sincerity with due proportion of goodwill plus culture, passions and intelligence in their conduct - is a conceptual compulsion rather than the logical conclusion of the novel as modernity necessitates tragic ending to suggest disappointment, disillusionment, loss and despair as the distinguishing feature of modern plight of man - the necessary corollary of human endeavour to find meaning in life. Besides it is individual's inadequacies as opposed to forces of cosmos, which are made the main motive of the action and movement of the plot to its catastrophic summing up. Aziz's egoistic projection of self-elevation in arranging the excursion to such a far off place and Adela's identification of personal disorder with public malady, are examples of how individuals contribute towards their suffering by suppressing their individual identities.

The novel is poetic and modern in the sense of its symbolical associations and interpretation. Its symbols cannot be wholly paraphrased; inspite of inexplicable core of suggestive associations embodied in them, they have sufficient penetrable layer which lends itself to easy interpretation to give us concentrated insight of the author into life.

The Indian scene and the tripartite division of the novel into mosque, caves and temple, all are symbolical.

The concrete situation of India stands for a universe, a

confusion of physical and metaphysical forces which humans have to contend with. This universe is informed with all the muddle and mystery, E.M. Forster wishes to convey. By writing about India, Forster moved away from the limits of English society and Western Philosophy which tries to find 'form and spirit' - coherence and clarity - in everything it contemplates, leaving no room for mystery and inexplicable in human conduct and the vast universal forces. This enabled him to project his vision of muddle and reality.

The mosque symbolises affirmation to man's efforts for finding meaning in life, his spiritual quest. Its message is 'No God but God' signifying sense of unity over all barriers that divide humanity. Its concern is human relation and the quest of the divine through ideal friendship - personal relation. The dome, hinted in the first chapter, becomes an integral part of the mosque. The dome is symbol of 'secret understanding of heart.' Aziz is a Muslim and Mrs. Moore, a Christian and Western. Their efforts at connecting as human beings represent Islamic and Western aspiration for order and coherence. The initiation into personal relation is followed by a series of initiation to harmony - Bridge Party and Tea Party. They fail due to ignorant and undisclosed prejudices. Then there is divine invitation to harmony through Godbole's 'come, come, come.' In this section, there is asserted a need for kindness and spontaneous affection to throw a bridge across the gulf that separates the people.

Caves are an important symbol. They have been interpreted differently by different critics. It is in this section that negative vision of Mrs. Moore comes to the forefront and dominates it. Some critics judge the book in the light of utterances of Mrs. Moore, negating all the positive values - personal relation, Christian humanistic creed and the values embodied in marriage and life - and giving a gloomier picture of life. This is what is conveyed by the following critical opinion:

"In *A Passage to India* the final nullity of romanticism is exposed in the cave, where the worlds within and without echo together the sound of boom; this is the extreme beyond Coleridgean dejection, for the visionary hope is lost in the face of an unspeaking and utterly alien nature, a nature only self-reflecting. These will to vision and the liberal thrust to right reason, the the desire to connect

both with infinitely and mankind, are placed against unyielding forces in nature and history”²⁸

Walter Allen takes the things to further negative extreme by considering event in the caves as representative of perverseness in the very nature of things. Thus caves stand for negative forces in nature. John Drew takes them to stand for void in the universe showing neutrality of the forces of cosmos and their unresponsiveness to man's purpose.

Again Wilfred Stone suggests that they represent unconscious forces in nature - the repressed elements in the individual's life and those prehistoric and pre-human forces in distant history which defy language and the distinctions on which Anglo-Indian built their empire. It is the survival and reawakening of these accumulated forces that make Mrs. Moore hear a dehumanizing echo indifferent to all values. In this sense, the event in caves is breaking of unconscious on conscious. Thus the caves are images of certain kinds of human experience.

Correlating the caves with its themes of personal relationship, John Beer takes them to stand for the places where human capabilities are tested to their utmost, the human relations are put under strain; where the outlook of man may suffer a change.

Wide difference over symbolical significance of caves shows their importance as a symbol. It includes all that has been hinted above and something more than that. As hinted earlier, it is peculiarity of Forster's symbols that they can not be paraphrased wholly. The various interpretation of the caves are overtones of basic facts about life with something mysterious and inexplicated epitomized by them to lead to the succeeding generations to interpret them according to their pre-occupations and their dominating notions and concept about man and his envioning universe. This speaks of poetic depth of Forster as a novelist.

Whatever may be critics' response to the caves, they do not let loose the evil i.e., the evil does not emanate from the caves. They are just a reflecting surface with neutrality of their own. The caves represent nature - nature within man, the infinite world of nature outside man and all those forces within and without man which he has to contend with to find meaning in life. The hills containing them are

shown as 'fists and fingers' as they are part of indifferent nature apart from its benevolence. The visual effects in the caves are as beautiful as those from the echoes are disturbing.

All this can be substantiated by their effect on Mrs. Moore and Adela Quested. Mrs. Moore hears an echo that replies with negativeness to whatever is uttered in the caves. This leads her to utter words of disillusionment in personal relation, religion and life. The text reveals that she has been disillusioned by experiences of India and her son's attitude before entry in the caves which widen the chasm in her personality cracked already. Similarly Adela Quested is already wearied by the gap between what she expects her fiancée to be and what she finds her to be in his daily dealing with the Indians. On the other hand, she is attracted towards Aziz and finds his reply to her question, "as baffling." One man has disillusioned and the other man - Aziz - attracts but baffles her. She has repressed her fears and desires. It is the ego of her repressed fears and desires that takes the form of the person of her desire as attacking her and it is this misunderstanding and non-recognition of unconscious that ignites the whole community. In this way caves are a reflection glass. The following textual quotation supports the view:

"They are dark caves..... There is little to see.....until the visitor strikes a match. Immediately another flame rises in the depth of the rock and moves towards the surface like an imprisoned spirit: the walls of the circular chamber have been most marvellously polished. The two flames approach and strive to unite but cannot, because one of them breathes air, the other stone."²⁹

The negative of this passage conveyed by 'two flames approach and strive to unite but cannot', is counterbalanced by positive sense of the flowing passage given a few lines later:

"The radiance increases, the flames touch one another, kiss, expire."³⁰ Here is hope for unitary vision and the wholeness of life though affirmative value seems to be darkened by the word 'expire.' In this dualistic approach to life, as suggested by the above passage, Forster is a modernist.

"And Forster's view is, like that of most modernism, dualistic art may reach beyond the world of men and things - the world of story but it can never leave that world behind, and must seek meaning and

connections in it.”³¹

The structural plot has also positive sense to assert. This is why Mrs. Moore revises her negative vision before her departure and Adela is able to clear her vision under Mrs. Moore's influence - both facts indicated earlier.

The temple stands for muted affirmation. The religious festival celebrating the birth of God seems to highlight paradox and inconsistency : muddle or mystery through the following words of Godbole:

“God is not born yet - that will occur at midnight - but he has also been centuries ago, nor can He ever be born, because He is the lord of the universe who transcends human process.”³²

The last scene of religious ceremony enables Forster to end his novel in tone of joy and all-inclusive love with subdued tone of the complexities of life. Though the dominant note is of delight peace and harmony, the possibility of discord and anarchy is not totally ruled out. The clashing of the boats during merry-making is suggestive of this fact.

It must be noted that Forster does not stand in favour of Hinduism as opposed to Islam and Christianity.

“Hinduism, so solid from a distance, is riven into sects and clans.”³²

This view is also supported by John Colmer:

“The tone becomes apocalyptic, but after the chant ‘Tukaram, Tukaram’, celebrating the mystic union of the soul with God, the prose shades off into an ironic account of the tawdry religious ceremonies. For the first time in the novel, religious mysticism and comic spirit fully interpenetrate. The ironic comedy.....permits the novelist to with-hold assent from the Hindu mysticism against which D.H. Lawrence warned him in a letter of 2 July, 1915.”³⁴

Forster's choice of religious ceremony of Hinduism was necessitated by his wish to end the novel in the tone and accents which should affirm life inspite of its complexities and dangers.

God was invoked by Godbole through his invitation in a song “Come, come, come.....but he refuses to come” in the first chapter. Inspite of its positive sense in the words ‘multiply yourself and let one go to each’ it is made more positive and affirmative by another

invitation at the end and Godbole's vision of all-inclusive love:

"It was his duty, as it was his desire, to place himself in the position of the God and to love her and to place himself in her position and to play to the God 'come, come, come'. This was all he could do."³⁵

'This was all his could do' suggests nobility and essentiality of human striving to finding meaning in life.

Unlike Spenser and Bunyan living in an age of moral assurance, he does not envision evil and good as separate and distinct. He approximates modernism by seeing evil and good as 'inextricably mixed.' This is what is conveyed by Godbole's words:

"Good and evil are different as their names imply. But in my own humble opinion, they are both of them aspects of my lord. He is present in the one, and absent in the other, and the differences between presence and absence is great.....yet absence implies presence, absence is not non-existence."³⁶

E.M. Forster is also modern in projecting his vision for the wholeness in less accentuated accents which shows how he has been acted by modern experience and the forces of history which condition both artist's vision of life as well as reader's sense of appreciation. This is really the boundary line drawn by Stephen Spender between contemporaries and moderns:

"The 'Voltairean I' of Shaw, Wells, and the others act upon events. The 'Modern' 'I' of Rimband, Joyce, Proust, Eliot's Prufrock is acted upon by them."³⁷

A Passage to India is not a serious novel but it has a serious theme. Like every work of creative art, it has many layers of meaning. But it has artistic unity too. Its dominant theme is personal relationship which is surrounded with such disintegrating forces on such a vast scale and deeper level that novel takes on a greater significance and comes to deal with human relations against a vast background of positive and negative visions. It really deals with man's relation to man and to the universe and the ultimate Reality. "Great as the problem of India is, Forster's book is not about India alone; it is about all human life."³⁸ Forster has put enormous magnanimity of its theme in the following words:

"The book is not really about politics.....It's about something

wider than politics, about the search of human race for a more lasting home, about the universe as embodied in the Indian earth and the horror lurking in the Marabar Caves and the release symbolized by the birth of Krishma." (HD. p.110).

To sum up, *A Passage to India* is a universal and philosophic novel with modernity of form and content. Its structural plot and visionary element suggest vast physical and metaphysical forces which man has to fight to attain unity and wholeness of vision, which, though not achieved, is envisioned and defined clearly with a message of hope and glory. The task of stating the theme has significance in the following words of *Der Blaue Reiter* (1914).

"A fulfillment will be attained, sometime, in a new world, in another existence (dasein). On earth, we are only able to state the theme."

A country can easily succumb to the surly advance of decrepitude.

— Churchill

Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet; and those who make such an appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost.

— Lincoln

The way some people drive, you would think they were late for their accident, and were trying to catchup with death.

LATTERS TO THE EDITOR—PASSAGES

A — JOURNALISM, GOVERNMENT AND TERRORISM

I wonder whether our Presidents, Prime Ministers, Politicians, bureaucrats, etc. etc., read The Readers Digest. If they did, they would be much wiser.

In the November 1992 edition The Readers Digest quotes Milan Kundera from L'Immortalite' "The Power of the journalist is not based on his right to ask a question, but on his right to demand an answer."

I also hope our judiciary specially superior judiciary reads this letter.

Once again the newsmen were bashed up the Punjab Police. This time four journalists covering the forcible eviction of Kurd refugees were beaten black & blue. Of course in due time the minister will apologise and promise action against the renegades. And 15 or 20 days later they will be promoted. *Let not the Journalist ever forget that this is Punjabi Raj and this is only the beginning. The long dark night is yet to come.*

I have a suggestion to these newspaper owners whose job is to protect their employees. In the recent APNS function the Prime Minister has given Rs.2.5 million for APNS House (public money being thrown around). They should utilise this money not only in organising a Commando force to protect the journalist but to beat the hell out of Punjabi police commandos. Force should only be met by force - this is the only language the Punjabi establishment understands.

From year to year I have been watching APNS Awards given to outstanding journalists. They are well deserved and the readers of newspapers too appreciate the commendable and difficult task of the panel of judges.

However, what disappoints me is that the veteran, intrepid journalist of Lahore Ahmed Bashir has been left out year after year. His various articles such as Idhar Hum, Uddar Tum and others are outstanding pieces of journalism.

Is it because he is secular and raises the voice of the poor of

Pakistan that he is treated as a pariah. His articles are honest, pragmatic and illuminating. I certainly enjoy all his articles even at times when I disagree.

Unfortunately we are victims of our prejudices. Mr. Ahmed even if APNS does not give you any award you have my vote always. Please do not be disheartened, the people who matter, that is your readers love you, appreciate you and enjoy your writing. So God Bless you and write on.

The ghost of Gen Zia's fascism has arisen. First the attack on 4 senior newspaper journalists in Islamabad, then the invasion of ex-Minister Aitezaz Ahsan's home. Where will it stop? Will the people of Pakistan always live in servitude.

Now a new kind of terrorism has been initiated. Recently I went to the Indian Embassy for my visa. When I came out I was pounced upon by two fierce looking intelligence chaps who cross questioned me or I should say interrogated me in a rude and rough manner, refusing even to let me sit in my car until I gave them my name and address. They refused to be identified or give me their names.

Under what law this action is taken? Probably the emergency which means we have to kiss both freedom and democracy goodbye. I even wonder whether the caretaker (undertaker) government knows what the real power behind them are doing. *The present government should know that the citizens of Pakistan are more loyal than the intelligence agencies.*

An English daily from Lahore has printed a photograph of US Consul General Richard C. Faulk with newly included Ministers and Advisors of the Sindh Cabinet. One wonders why the US is so close to known terrorists specially of the MQM types.

Today it is easy for terrorists to get an American visa but difficult for genuine visitors. Ever since MQM was formed the US Ambassadors and Consul Generals use to visit Azizabad at the drop of the hat. In 1989-90 several MQM terrorists fled to US obviously having visas in advance. Even now some of the most wanted MQM criminals have been seen in many US cities.

One wonders which one is a terrorist the state of Pakistan or USA.

I must congratulate Maulana Kausar Niazi for ordering an inquiry to ascertain the names of those journalists and news agencies who have made lakhs of rupees under the Nawaz Sharif government. The Maulana should take a step further and inquire about this loot from the time of dictator Zia-ul-Haq. The Friday Times has given in one of their issue the full details of bribes and gratification given by Nawaz Sharif.

Maulana Saheb should also extend this inquiry to two advertising agencies - one the largest in Pakistan and the other Rawalpindi based who skimmed off millions of rupees during Nawaz Sharif regime. He should also investigate PID who were responsible for corrupting the two advertising agencies and in the process corrupting the media. All those officials of the PID should be removed immediately.

Maulana Sahib let us see some accountability.

If the news given out by Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi, ex-Minister for Religious Affairs about the arrest of former Federal Minister Sardar Assef Ahmed Ali is true then we are one step nearer to be declared a terrorist state by the U.S. If that happens can the people of Pakistan blame the US government.

Sardar Assef was about the only pragmatic and honest Minister in Nawaz Sharif's cabinet. To be arrested for speaking the truth and for differing with the Prime Minister is nothing short of terrorism.

The new government should realise that it is only because of semi-literate fundamentalists like Maulana Niazi that Pakistan has become a pariah in the comity of nations and is on the threshold of being branded as a terrorist state. If anybody is to be tried for treason it should be Maulana Niazi who is responsible for the death of so many Christian minority citizens and the sectarian killings that have been going on in the Punjab. Terrorism is the end result of bigotry and fanaticism. If you get rid of them, you will wipe out terrorism from the face of Pakistan.

The new government should hold this minister accountable in court of law.

B — THE WEST AND PAKISTAN

People of Pakistan should do some hard thinking after reading the interview of Ms. Judith Kipper, an American expert on the Middle East Affairs to an English newspaper from Lahore - the citadel of Islam, Pakistan and patriotism.

Ms. Kipper stated "When Benazir Bhutto visited the US as Prime Minister, it was not any intelligence agency, but President Bush himself told her about the State of affairs of Pakistan nuclear programme." She further said "President Bush had all the details and he showed her relevant blue prints, facts and figures - in fact all the details about Pakistan's nuclear programme. And she (Ms. Bhutto) was shocked."

The point arises that who is the mole or moles in our nuclear facilities. It is armed to the teeth, guarded night and day and yet the American intelligence penetrated our nuclear curtain. I hope the government does not find a Sindhi scapegoat because it is completely run by the Punjabi establishment.

The Prime Minister and his cronies have been blaming Ms. Bhutto, it is time the Prime Minister comes clean and tells the nation who are the gaddars.

This is not all, Ms. Kipper also made revelation that "Pakistani Military intelligence sources told us (the US) that the Iraqi armed forces would not be able to withstand the Allied Forces on the ground. We did not believe them as he had a different view of them. But later it proved that Pakistani intelligence sources were right."

What does this mean? That we betrayed our own Muslim brothers. Where is the Ummah? Will any Muslim country trust us in the future. It is time the nation is told the truth as to who are the real enemies and who are our real friends.

Western powers paint themselves as paragons of democracy, free speech human rights etc., etc. Yet their record is horrendous. Three western countries Britain, Germany and USA are the main

suppliers of torture weapons and all other equipment used by the third world countries in enslaving their people and destroying freedom and democracy.

Recently in a protest meeting in Islamabad the police used a new weapon supplied by Germany in which a police lathi was equipped with a 240 volt shock giving tip. In the long march thousands of tear gas canister were supplied by an American company Smith & Wesson Chemicals of Rock Creek, Ohio.

In the eighties during the black years of usurper dictator Gen Zia-ul-Haq Germany supplied torture weapons to the tune of over two million dollars. These were the weapons which helped the usurper subdue all dissidents and held 110 million people in chains.

With the new administration in the US I appeal to President elect Clinton to put an embargo on all such enslaving equipment specially to the third world countries. I appeal also to Britain and Germany to stop this export immediately if they believe in freedom and democracy.

In the second world war when the Japanese sank the battleship Prince of Wales in Singapore harbour, her Captain was asked why he did not go down with his ship in true naval tradition. His answer was classic. He said "He who fights and runs away lives to fight another day."

So our Pir of Azizabad, Altaf Bhai has also "ran away to fight another day." Or so he thinks as age (38 years) is in his favour. I hope he does not make that fatal mistake, because the Army never forgets. It has a memory of an elephant.

It is a pity that Altaf Hussain who lived by the sword does not have the courage to return to Pakistan and face the charges against him. If he is innocent he has nothing to fear. If guilty he should have had the courage to face even the gallows that is if he was a patriot and had the interest of the Mohajir at heart. We pray to Allah that he does not return. People of Pakistan do not want a Pir turned into a shaheed.

Eleven cases have been registered against Altaf Hussain, the Pir of Azizabad before the Special Courts for the Suppression of Terrorist Activities. That Altaf Hussain was responsible for all sorts

of crime from kidnapping to dacoity from bank hold ups to extortion, no body disagrees. But the main question is that is he alone guilty. Was it not to have positive results and to destroy the PPP and the Bhuttos that our rulers, were hand in gloves with Altaf Hussain.

If Altaf Hussain is to be punished then should not all these gentlemen including the dead one who were responsible for creating this Frankenstein are punished. It is a shame to our country. Are these sacred cows not accountable to any one. I hope all these political upstarts learn a lesson that once their usefulness has ended they are discarded by the establishment like a used condom.

C — SLEEPING MUSLIMS AND ARABS

Iraq and its intrepid people are being bullied once again by the western powers specially the US and their pithoos the regressive and monarchical Arab states. Is it not ridiculous that in their own country Iraqi planes cannot fly or their missiles cannot be moved about or their army cannot hold exercise. This is not any thing but gross Zulm.

The pity of all this is that there is not a squeak from the IJI government who claims to be the defenders of Islam and the keepers of the faith. Where is the great Ummah?

Is the soul of Islamic countries and OIC so dead? Muslim all over the world should wake up and protest against this injustice towards an Islamic state. They should not forget that tomorrow it will be you and then there will be no one to speak up for you too.

UAE newspapers and the Arabs are shedding crocodile tears for the 415 deported Palestinians - as if they had any feelings for them. Hypocrisy is a part of Arab psyche. May I ask this same newspapers and Arabs what about the thousands of Pakistanis being deported from the UAE. Are they not Muslims? Are they not your brothers. What is the difference between these fascist Israelis and the Arabs.

In a way this servile government of Pakistan deserves what it is getting - a kick on its posterior. We allow our kids to be smuggled for Arab thrills, to be killed in camel races. We let them destroy our wild life - it is they who will be responsible for the extinction of the houbara bustards. We allow them to break all the laws of our land and

let them get away with it.

We have had enough of the Arabs. If the government is so impotent then it will be for the citizens to be pro-active and take direct action against these marauders.

D — BRAVO — JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI

In Pakistan the art of impossible can also be made possible. The appeal of Qazi Hussain Ahmed Ameer, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan to the citizens of Pakistan to form a FRONT (third force) is an appeal of the wolf who has come in lamb's clothings.

Let us look at the credentials of the Jamaat. Prepartition they fought tooth and nail against the Quaid-e-Azam and his Pakistan. The Quaid was termed Kafir-e-Azam and Pakistan was Napakistan to them. After the creation of Pakistan their sectarian ideology was responsible for the killing of Muslims by Muslims. Later in the anti-Qadiani riots they were responsible for burning a part of Lahore and massacring thousands of Qadianis. In the 1970 under the garb of ideology of Pakistan our Eastern part (now Bangladesh) became their killing field. Thousands of Bengali Muslims - intellectuals, professionals, liberals were massacred by the roving bands of Jamaat.

In 1977, they were responsible for supporting a usurper and a dictator Zia-ul-Haq fully knowing that he had violated the constitution and was therefore a traitor. To gain back dear power (B-team) they sat in a traitor's cabinet. Under Zia they were responsible for the destruction of all political, judicial and democratic institutions.

The Jamaat has never been able to elect more than two or three representatives in the national assembly in the last 46 years. They have been booted out in every elections. They have been receiving millions of rupees from autocrat Arab states. From where did they get the money to build Mansoorah?

The Jamaat very well knows that the freedom loving democratic people will never trust them and will never elect them. This is another ploy to get power by the back door.

People of Pakistan beware of these obscurantist political

plunderers. Do not be misguided by their religious sermons. After all even the devil can quote the scriptures.

E — U.S.A. PIOUS OR SINNER

The American Ambassador Mr. John Monjo speaking with all the hind sight at his command told the members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce that he deplored the expenditure of 80% on Defence and debt servicing conveniently forgetting that it was his own country that gave the addiction of defence aid to Pakistan simply to keep America's defence industry going. Mr. Monjo also forgets that his country had made Pakistan the corner stone of American defence in South Asia.

After three decades of American influence in Pakistan he now finds a mote in our eyes. Mr. Monjo must realise that bonded and child labour was the outcome of the American governments support to dictatorial and antipeople governments in Pakistan. While the government that did something for labour class and the poor was made a "horrible example. One wonders why the Americans did not see the horrors of child and bonded labour for all these years.

Mr. Monjo has no right to complain about Pakistanis holding USA for all that goes wrong in Pakistan. The present condition in Pakistan is directly connected with the US policy in Afghanistan when Pakistan through a usurper and a dictator was used to kill Muslims in Afghanistan as they wanted the Russians to blood and pay for the US defeat in Vietnam. Mr. Ambassador today's drug and Klashnikov culture is the direct outcome of the US intervention in Afghanistan. The people of Pakistan and the Afghans are paying a terrible price for the American policies in South Asia with their blood. If there is anarchy in Afghanistan, the Americans are directly responsible for it. The US government has played a direct role in drug trade in both these unfortunate countries. The US were directly responsible for "drugs for guns" trade and the irony of faith is that the American people are paying a heavy price for their government's crime as almost 30% of the drugs go to the USA.

Lastly Mr. Ambassador it does and behave you to talk of democracy. If any single country has destroyed democratic

institutions in Pakistan, it is the US. They forget that they supported with all their might, the anti-people dictatorial regimes in Pakistan - that of Ayub Khan and Zia-ul-Haq for a total period of 21 years without any thought for the people of Pakistan who had to go through the years of darkness filled with terror and tyranny of the dictators like Zia-ul-Haq. The people of Pakistan are beholden to God Almighty for sparing them with the crash of 17 August 1988.

Mr. Ambassador if you really feel so bad about the conditions in Pakistan then the least you can do to expiate the sins of America is to write of the dubious loans you gave us specially the military loans that have today made this country the basket case of Asia.

Adversity introduces a man to himself.

— Shakespeare

There is no education without adversity.

— Disraeli

He died at thirty and was buried at sixty.

— Butler

Every thing I know I learnt after thirty.

— Clemenaceau

Youth is blunder, manhood a struggle, old age a regret.

— Disraeli

Do not be anything - be something.