

GLOSSARY

<i>afrinama</i>	award or certificate of appreciation
<i>Amil</i>	Hindu sub-caste prominent in government administration
<i>anjuman</i>	association or organisation
<i>azad</i>	free
<i>bania</i>	Hindu moneylender
<i>batai</i>	division of produce between cultivator and landlord
<i>Bhaibund</i>	Hindu merchant sub-caste
<i>Bohra</i>	Muslim merchant caste
<i>bund</i>	embankment
<i>crore</i>	10,000,000
<i>darbar</i>	ceremonial court held by the Government to honour prominent elites
<i>dargah</i>	sufi shrine and place of pilgrimage
<i>fatwa</i>	ruling of a religious law issued by a Muslim authority
<i>haj</i>	pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>haji</i>	a person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>hari</i>	a person who engages in shared tenancy but does not possess any tenancy rights
<i>jagir</i>	a land grant awarded by the state for meritorious service or loyalty
<i>jagidar</i>	a person who holds a <i>jagir</i>
<i>jamiat</i>	association or organisation
<i>Jazirat al-Arab</i>	Arab lands of West Asia
<i>khilafat</i>	the office of the Caliph, the titular head of Islam
<i>kharif</i>	autumn harvest
<i>khatedar</i>	landholder
<i>Ittihad-i-Millat</i>	a Muslim political organisation of Sukkur
<i>izzat</i>	honour, prestige
<i>lakh</i>	100,000
<i>madrasa</i>	Muslim higher school or college
<i>masjid</i>	mosque
<i>maulana</i>	title of respect given to a learned Muslim
<i>maulvi</i>	one learned in Muslim law
<i>Memon</i>	a Muslim merchant caste

<i>millat</i>	religious community
<i>mir</i>	Muslim ruler
<i>mofussil</i>	country's de
<i>Muhajir</i>	a person who migrates from an infidel country to a Muslim state
<i>mukhi</i>	title given to a leader of an Hindu <i>panchayat</i>
<i>mukhtiarkar</i>	revenue official
<i>mullah</i>	Muslim theologian
<i>murid</i>	disciple of a <i>pir</i> or <i>sufi</i>
<i>Om Mandli</i>	an unorthodox Hindu organisation for women
<i>panchayat</i>	council (traditionally a village or caste council)
<i>pir</i>	spiritual guide, <i>sufi</i> or descendant of a <i>sufi</i>
<i>Quaid-i-Azam</i>	title given by Muslims to Mohammed Ali Jinnah, meaning 'Father of the Nation'
<i>Quaid-i-Millat</i>	title given to Liaquat Ali Khan, meaning 'Father of the People'
<i>rabi</i>	spring harvest
<i>raj</i>	government
<i>sabha</i>	association or organisation
<i>sadhu</i>	Hindu ascetic
<i>satyagraha</i>	non-violent form of political agitation
<i>satyagrahi</i>	one who practises <i>satyagraha</i>
<i>sayyid</i>	descendant of the prophet Mohammed
<i>sheikh</i>	title adopted by converts to Islam
<i>shuddhi</i>	re-conversion of those who had left Hinduism for other faiths
<i>siasat</i>	Sindhi word for politics (derivative of the word vengeance)
<i>sirdar</i>	tribal chieftain
<i>sufi</i>	Muslim mystic
<i>swaraj</i>	self-rule
<i>taluka</i>	administrative sub-division of a district
<i>ulema</i>	Muslim clerics (plural of <i>alim</i>)
<i>urs</i>	annual celebration of the death of a Muslim saint
<i>wadero</i>	large landowner
<i>zamindar</i>	landholder paying revenue direct to the government

ASSESSMENT OF SOURCES

The research for this thesis is largely based upon sources consisting of material contemporary to the historical events being interpreted. The thesis has drawn upon the accessible and available primary sources: the correspondence and reports of British officials, Indian newspapers and journals, and correspondence between Indian politicians (such as Jinnah and provincial Muslim leaders).

Specific sources used

The explanations of Sind's background history for the early period addressed in the thesis are based upon two main sets of sources. Firstly, the relevant original sources are the decadal censuses of British India relating to the Bombay Presidency. Analyses of the censuses' data illustrate that the introduction of colonial government in 1843 produced rapid changes to the political economy and demographic distributions in Sind, and such changes suggest that the potential for political re-orientations and mobilisations were heightened. Secondly, the data contained in the annual *Reports on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, Government Central Press) and the material compiled and presented by Hamida Khuhro (*Documents on Separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency*; and *The Making of Modern Sind: British Policy and Social Change in the Nineteenth-Century*) reveal some of the effects of the changes occurring within Sindhi society. Furthermore, the selected reports contained in the bi-annual *Indian Annual Register* provide details of public meetings, conferences, and political confrontations, all of which portrayed the evolving dynamics of Sindhi politics in the formative 1920s.

The subsequent explanation of the relationship between state structures and the processes of communalising religious identity is similarly based upon a

variety of sources. Firstly, the framework for analysing the development of communalism has been built on the ideas contained in the works of Sandria Freitag's *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas in the Emergence of Communalism in North India*; and 'Sacred Symbols as Mobilising Ideology: The North Indian Search for a 'Hindu' Community'. Freitag's works are concerned with events in the former United Provinces in late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, and emphasise the importance of political action in the public arena. Drawing on Freitag, this thesis adapts her approach and applies it to the politics of the evolving state arena (the Sind Legislative Assembly), and to an exploration of the inter-actions between the state and public arenas during the crucial period of the introduction of provincial autonomy.

The primary source materials which relate to the framework of communalised politics are those dealing with the conduct of the 1937 general elections: *Report of the Government of Bombay on the Delimitation of Constituencies in the Presidency of Bombay and in Sind*; the *Return Showing the Results of Elections in India 1937, Prepared by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. November 1937* (Command Paper 5589); and the raw electoral data provided in P. Reeves, B.D. Graham, & J.H. Goodman, *Elections in Uttar Pradesh, 1920-1951*; and K.C. Yadav, *Elections in the Panjab, 1920-1947*. There is much that analyses of electoral data can reveal about the political temperament of India in 1937. This thesis uses a comparative approach to reveal important differences between the minority and majority religious communities in several regions. These differences demonstrate the nature of the impact of democracy in the later colonial period, and consequentially how the state structures influenced the formation of political identity and the processes of communalism in Sind.

The correspondence between the British Governor of Sind and the Viceroy, the fortnightly reports of the Chief Secretary of the Sind Government to the Secretary of the Government of India (contained in the *Political Department Miscellaneous (Governors' Reports for the Muslim-Majority Provinces and the U.P)* and the *Bombay Chronicle* and *Dawn* newspapers, are the main primary sources used for the period of provincial autonomy (1937-1947). Firstly, the Governors' correspondence provide regular reports on events involving the leading players in Sind's politics. The Governors were well placed to observe the actions of many of the political elites. However, their roles were not primarily those of observers but those of participants in shaping Sind's politics. Their reports reflect their perceptions that Hindu and Muslim politicians represented significantly different political interest groupings, and indeed differing peoples. By the time of Sind's third Governor, Sir Francis Mudie, the reports reveal a strong pro-Muslim bias. Mudie's refusal to allow the establishment of any ministries which had a link with the Congress organisation contributed to the centralising of Muslim politics into Jinnah's hands, thereby assisting with the undermining of effective Muslim opposition to the League's ideology in Sind. Thus, the value of the correspondence of British officials emerges not just from the depth of the details of events they report. The historian can also use them to ascertain how British perceptions of Hindus and Muslims contributed to the course of Sindhi politics.

The second set of source material for 1937-1947 comes from the *Bombay Chronicle* and *Dawn* newspapers. The *Bombay Chronicle* was sympathetic to the cause of Indian nationalism and gave a pro-Congress flavour to its reporting of events. Due to the former administrative and trading connections between Sind and Bombay, events in Sind were relevant to the Bombay readership and formed an important component of the newspaper's content until about 1950, by which time most of the Bombay population's connections with political events in Sind had dissolved. Importantly, the newspaper's pro-Congress perspective did not prevent

it from reporting events which were unfavourable to the Sind Congress, and its articles are an invaluable resource in assisting the historian to identify what patterns were emerging in explaining the shaping of the context of Sind's Muslim politics. The *Bombay Chronicle* is also important for the prominence it gives to the actions of Muslims who were opposed to the Muslim League (e.g. Maulana Azad and Allah Bakhsh Soomro).

Dawn newspaper took a significantly different position to that of the *Bombay Chronicle* on Muslim politics and the role of organisations such as Congress. The newspaper had been founded by Jinnah in 1941 to stir the political consciousnesses of Indian Muslims by warning that Hindus and the Congress Party could not be trusted to respect their rights. The newspaper was an important arm of the League's propaganda machinery and its reporting of provincial Muslim politics was undertaken in a manner designed to illustrate the support provincial Muslims gave to the League across India. Although clearly antagonistic to non-League Muslims, *Dawn* is a crucial source not only for the details of its reporting of events in Sind, but also in unravelling the complexities of the relations between the All-India Muslim League and the Sindhi Muslim political elites.

Despite the differing standpoints of the *Bombay Chronicle* and *Dawn* newspapers, their articles consistently report on the predominant role which provincialism performed in determining the course of Sind's politics. There are supplementing primary sources which further add to the strength of the hypothesis underpinning this thesis. The deliberations and resolutions reported in the Sind Legislative Assembly Debates, and the records of the All-India Muslim League in S.S. Pirzada's *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947* provide insights into the Sindhi Muslims' definition of Pakistan.

For the late colonial period, the twelve volumes of the *Constitutional Relations Between Britain and India: The Transfer of Power 1942-7* are, of course, central to any historical research dealing with the final years of British colonial rule in India. These volumes, and those edited by Z.H. Zaidi (*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah Papers*), provide the historian with unique information pertaining to the endgame negotiations for the future of the sub-continent. While the *Jinnah Papers* do not reveal much of Jinnah's thinking, since his mind is not easily accessible, they do shed light on provincial aspirations. The *Jinnah Papers* are a particularly important compilation of documents revealing the Sindhis' involvement in events surrounding key points in Indian history such as the All-India Muslim League Legislators' Convention (April 1946) and the announcement of 20 February 1947 by Prime Minister Attlee. Both sets of volumes, combined with the above mentioned primary sources, provide evidence for discovering how the Sindhis' failed in their aspirations for the creation of a sovereign state.

The legacy of that failure forms the basis of the final chapter explaining Sind's history in the initial years of the Pakistan state. An important added source for the chapter are the reports from the UK High Commissioner in Karachi to the Commonwealth Records Office, London. The reports are written from an observer's viewpoint, and not only describe the main political events, but contextualise the importance that such events had for the stability of both Sind and the Pakistan state.

There are a number of secondary sources which have been used in constructing the thesis. Sind. Important secondary sources for the late 1930s are those of Allen Jones', namely: 'Mr. Jinnah's Leadership and the Evolution of the Pakistan Idea: The Case of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference, 1938; and *Muslim Politics and the Growth of the Muslim League in Sind, 1935-1941*. Jones partly based his studies on sources located in Karachi (e.g. interviews with

Sindhis who were leading figures in the Sind Provincial Muslim League), and while his conclusions are not shared by the author of this thesis, the evidence he presents has been useful. The writings of Jones, Gilmartin, Ansari, Freitag, and Jalal, have all served as key reference points from which the main interpretations in this thesis have been developed. However, the thesis departs from their central arguments in several critical areas.

There are two sources which have not been consulted: G.M. Syed's *Struggle for a New Sind* (Karachi, Observer Press, 1949) and Z.H. Zaidi's recent article 'Patterns in Sindhi Politics, 1936-1940', *Contemporary South Asia* (volume unknown). They have eluded discovery. Nonetheless it is clear that the historical literature has not seriously attempted to measure the extent to which Sindhi ethnicity impacted on the province's politics or the Pakistan movement. Nor has Sind's contribution to Indian politics in the period 1920-1951 been presented. This thesis proposes to fill both these gaps.

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