CHAPTER IV

THE ELECTIONS OF 1937 AND SIND

The elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, held in 1937, brought a significant change in the struggle of India's freedom. The results of the elections encouraged the Congress to pursue the policy of contacting the masses, especially the Muslims to bring them into the main stream of nationalism without the help of the Muslim League. The Muslim League saw in the Congress move a threat to its own existence. The lesson of the elections for Muslim League were clear and unmistakable and the Muslim League did not fail to learn it. It was clear that the Muslim League could make headway only in the Muslim majority provinces provided it made itself as effective as the Congress. Not unnaturally, the leaders of the League clutched at this off-change, but very soon they realised that their ambition could not be fulfilled without detaching the Muslim majority provinces from the rest of India. Later it gave birth to the Pakistan movement.

The main provisions of the Act of 1935 were the introduction of 'Provincial Autonomy' under which in the provinces elected responsible Government were to be formed with some safeguards and the establishment of an All India federation. The All India Federation could not come into being owing partly to popular opposition (including that of the Princes) and partly to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. The rest of the Act came into force on July 3, 1936, when the electoral provisions
began to operate completely in 1937 when elections for the provincial assemblies were held.

The Act of 1935 received a frigid reception in India. It was condemned by almost all political groups and parties in India. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League both condemned the Act but both agreed to seek the coming elections. The Faizpur session of the Congress in December, 1936 approved the decision of the party to seek the elections 'not to-co-operate in any way with the Act, but to combat it and seek the end of it'. The decision on 'acceptance of office' was postponed till after the elections. The League while denouncing the 'safeguards' as making responsible government 'nugatory' recommended that, "having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country, the provincial scheme of the constitution be utilised for what it is worth".

Sind's position was peculiar in 1935. It was yet to born as a separate province. The people living there were conservative. Nationalism had not deep roots. The Indian National Congress could not make headway in the province. It had lost its Hindu following due to pro-separation stand. Sind with its backwardness suffered for more severely from the worst disease of communal dissention. Muslims were in majority. The separation of Sind from Bombay was considered a concession to communalism. The Muslim majority was suppressed by the economic strength of the Hindu minority who occupied most of the business of the province. Thus

2. Ibid., pp.299-300
religious schism of Sind, as in other Muslim majority provinces was deepened by a conflict of material interest.3

Besides all this, there were unmistakable signs of activity on the part of members of various political parties and groups. The Hindus had reconciled themselves to the inevitable fact of separation of Sind from Bombay. They thought it would be useless to cry over split milk. They started organising them in a consolidated Hindu party known to be as "The Hindus Association of Sind". They thought about the organisation of Parliamentary Board on the pattern of the Congress. They made a plan to convene a meeting of all Sind-Hindu Conference at Karachi or elsewhere. The Muslims also started planning how to win the elections. They like Hindus also thought of calling All Sind Muslims Conference. Some idealists started trying for creating unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and to work together as they were working in the Karachi corporation on rotation.4

In the month of August, 1935, organisation of various political parties and groups started. The first political party which came into existence at Karachi was 'Sind progress party'. It was the creation of the Hindu politicians of Karachi who feared that elections could bring communalism which would harm the established set-up. To keep their position safe in politics and society they promised to work for the preservation of peace and cordial relations among the various communities. It was based upon the idealism of nationalism. The main aim of the party was all round development of the province. Durgadas B. advani was made the Coupland, R., Indian Politics, 1936-42(Oxford,1944), p. 65. 4. The Tribune, July 27, 1935.
president. Though this party was known as 'Progress Party' yet it failed to progress from the initial stages.  

The Muslims of Sind formed 'the Sind Azad conference' to protect the interests of the community and to give united front to the Hindus in the coming elections. The Working Committee of the Conference met at Karachi on August 13 under the presidency of Chulam Hussain Hidyatullah at Karachi to discuss the political development and to chalk out the programme for near future. Sheikh Abdul Majid and M.A. Khuhro also participated.

Similarly All Sind Hindu Conference which had nothing with the Congress as the Sind Azad Conference had nothing with the Muslim League, was called at Sukkur under the presidency of the Mahant of Sadhbella in November, 1935. All Sind Hindu Conference was formed with its headquarter at Karachi. All Sabhas, associations, mandalis and all other organisations of Hindus in Sind contributing Rs.50 as an entry fee and Rs. 12 as an annual fee could become the members of the Conference. The aims and objects of the Conference were - to organise, develop, consolidate and express public opinion of all Hindus residing in Sind for the promotion of the widest welfare of the people of Sind in general and Hindus in particular; to develop, foster and promote inter-communal unity in Sind, to bring unity among the various organisations to represent the public grievances and to decide the policy regarding elections. The Parliamentary Board of nine members was formed to look after the coming elections on the pattern of the Indian National Congress.

5. Ibid., August 7, 1935.
6. Ibid., August 17, 1935.
8. B.T.1901; Muslim leader of Sind; Minister, 1940-46; Deputy Chief Minister 1946-47 and Chief Minister of Sind, 1947-48.
Sind became an independent province on April 1, 1936. The leaders of various political parties thought of celebrating the occasion by forgetting their all differences. They gave a slogan of "Sind for Sindhis". The new sense of regionalism made them to ignore both the Congress and the Muslim League. They put forward only one goal of Sind's progress and to make her stand with her sister states. With the efforts of Durgadas B. Advani a political club was opened at Karachi. Leaders like Hidayatullah, Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Haji Abdulla agreed to participate. All stressed on communal harmony and rural uplift. They said there should be no question of communalism in the matters like medical relief, education and agriculture. A Managing Committee was forward consisting of 9 persons to be elected by the members of the club. The objectives of the club were: to provide a common place for meeting of persons belonging to different shades of opinion in Sind; to have discussion on political and other subjects of public interest; to have a library and reading room; to provide social and physical amenities for its members and to increase social intercourse between them and to make such measures as might be commonly agreed upon, for the political and economic advancement of the province.8

Meanwhile, the leaders of Congress and the Muslim parties negotiated about the possibility of United party, pledged to raise Sind on a par with other province of India. Haji Abdulla Haroon said that Hindu-Muslim United Parties on economic lines did not constitute danger to the solidarity of the Muslims.9

8. The Tribune, May 7, 1936.
Such efforts as mentioned above, to bring unity among various communities in the interest of the newly born state, were never to be successful. Communalism had already polluted the politics in Sind. The leaders were immature and over enthusiastic. All India parties like the Congress and the Muslim League failed to attract the masses. The leaders there did not want to lose their identity and leadership by joining the Congress or the Muslim League. Thus the politics in Sind was communal, regional and selfish.

Efforts to unite and form the parties continued. Haji Abdulla Haroon started efforts to form 'Sind Unionist Party' on the lines of a similar party in Punjab with the object of emlorating the condition of Hindus and Muslims in general, and of labour and peasants in particular. In beginning his efforts could not get such success due to the local jealousies among the Muslim leaders. But later his dream was successful and the founded the Sind Unionist Party.

The 'Sind Unionist Party' or in Sindhi "The Sind Ittehad Party' promised to work for the attainment of Dominion status, provincial autonomy, to secure honourable status of overseas Indians and to uplift the economy of Sind and also to uplift the Muslims of Sind. The Party considered the Reforms Act, 1935 to be the most unsatisfactory, but since it was the law of land, made after prolonged enquiries and struggle, the party was determined to get the best possible result out of it. The party owed its inspiration to the Aga Khan and posed to be non-communal.

10. Ibid
Hindus were included in the Party. Various sections were given adequate representation. Abdulla Haroon got presidentship while Shah Nawaz and Hidyatulla were made deputy leaders. On the whole party was a union of different Muslim groups having nothing in common except ambitiousness.  

The Party with many leaders in it can never work. The same happened with the unionist party in Sind. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla and his followers broke away from the party in its very first meeting. A new party named 'Sind Mulsim Plitical Party' emerged under the leadership of Hidayatullah after split. Haji Abdullah Haroon also resigned after some time leaving Shah Nawaz to look after the party.

Another Muslim Party was also formed namely 'Sind Azad Party'. It was started by the Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee. It was led by Sheikh Abdul Majid. The aim of the Party was to uplift the lot of Muslims of Sind. The programme of the party was similar to that of Mulsim League. The party had established 40 branches in Sind. The Unionist Party and the Sind Muslim Plitical Party were becoming popular. So Sheikh Abdul Majid invited Jinnah to visit Sind.

The Indian National Congress could not claim to be a national party in Sind as it had not roots among the masses and was not organised on the national basis. It had not clear policy in regard to elections. Jairamdas Daulatram along with other leaders remained busy throughout 1935 in mass contacting and

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13. Ibid.
15. Ibid., File No. 18/6/36(II).
constructive programme. They collected Quetta earthquake relief fund also. The Congress Jubilee celebrations were also observed in the important towns of the province. The political activities of the year 1935 and 1936 made the Congress leaders also to think about the coming elections. The leaders of Congress in Sind were in favour of contesting elections. R.K. Sidhwa expressed his views that Congress was confident to win the coming elections. The election campaign, he said would break the lull prevailing in the province. It should not be presumed that the Congress did not participate in the last elections so its success now was doubtful. He further said that elections should be fought jointly, not individually. A common fund should be raised and every contestant should be allocated equal money for his election campaign.16

Swami Govindanand, the leftist, expressed his views that the Congress must contest the elections and accept the office. He hoped the matter would be settled soon. He hoped that Nehru would bring unity by offering the office of General Secretary of Congress to Subhash Chandra Bose and adequate representations to his supporters in the working committee.17

The two groups of the Congress, one led by Jairamdas and Choithram and the second by Govindanand, were opposing each other. Govindanand submitted a long tale of woes to Pandit Nehru, complaining against the alleged high handedness and autocratic manners of Jairamdas and Choithram owing to the 'blinding effects of the intoxication of power' and appealed to him to intervene and 16. The Tribune, July 31, 1935.
17. Ibid., February 16, 1936.
The Congress Socialist party, having leftist leaning, was formed in 1934. It held its first All India Conference at Patna on 7th May, 1934 under the presidency of Acharya Narendra Dev. The important leaders of the party were Swami Sahajanand, N.G. Ranga, Ram Monohar Lohia, Sohan Singh Josh, Indu Lal Yagnik, Jay Parkash Naryan, Mohan Lal Gautam, Kamal Sarkar, Sudhin Parmanik, Ahmed Din, M.N. Roy, S.A. Dange and M.R. Masani. The socialist group, was active in Sind. They organised a local conference on June 28, 1936 at Karachi which had large number of migrated labourers, under the Presidentship of N.A. Bachar a local Congress labour leader. The Conference criticised the capitalistic group of Congress and pleaded to get swaraj through labourers and peasants. Another Sind Congress Socialists Conference was held on July 18, at Karachi. The Conference was presided by M.R. Masani, General secretary of All India Congress Socialist Party. In his address he said that the socialists stood for broadcasting the social basis of national struggle. The main motive of his party was to bring the labourers and peasants in the fold of Congress and not to drift them from it. He cleared that there was not any motive that the socialists were to be organised in a separate party. The socialists would work under the great circle of the Indian National Congress.

Jawaharlal Nehru who attended the Socialists' Conference said, "Congress and socialism are interrelated. While the objective of the congress is the achievement of the country's freedom, ...\)

20. Ibid., File No 18/7/36(II).
socialism throws scientific light on the problem which the Congress is seeking to solve. The socialistic remedy to the country's ills cannot be obtained in a day or two. Therefore, the socialists should win over antagonists inside the Congress by love.\(^2\)

The socialists' propaganda endangered the Congress prospects in the coming elections. The local Congress leaders were perturbed at Nehru's persistent advocacy of socialism. Dr. Choithram discouraged the moves of M.R. Masani and said that socialist Party was worth nothing as it did not contribute in any constructive work except propaganda.\(^2\)

The socialists in their conference passed a resolution that if war broke India would not help England. Instead, it would be considered as an opportunity to get independence. The second controversial resolution pleaded Congress to give representation to the labourers, which could not be carried out as it was thought that it could bring the differences with the main body. The resolution later was put with the legal cell of the party.\(^3\)

The fifth session of the All-India States people Conference was opened at Karachi on July 18, 1936. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya presided. Delegates from Central India, Punjab, Gujrat and South Indian States attended the Conference. Prominent among them were Raja Bahadur Govind Lal, Mani Shanker Trivedi and D.B. Gokhle. A large number of Congress men and socialists were also present. Jawaharlal who spoke in his personal capacity declared that India was one and indivisible. Differences inside the Congress on the question of Indian States, wherever they existed only showed

\(^{22}\) Home Political, File No 18/7/36(1).
\(^{23}\) Ibid.
that Congress was a living organisation, reflecting a variety of opinion held in the country.\textsuperscript{24}

Nehru's visit to Sind brought some momentum in the political activities. He visited Sind from 18th July to 27th July, 1936. The official words revealed that he had a very busy schedule. He visited every district, addressed 125 meetings at 25 places.\textsuperscript{25} His meetings were attended by large number of the people. He addressed a meeting of about 2000 people in Azad Maidan at Hyderabad. On 18th he addressed a meeting of D.J. College students and advised them to take part in the national movement. He said, "Students should take keen interest in national and international affairs".\textsuperscript{26}

Nehru left Karachi on 20th to tour other places in Sind. He visited Junjshai and Kotri on 20th, Dadu and Larkana on 21st, Mohanjodaro and Shikarpur on 22nd, Jacobabad on 23rd, Sukkur on 24th, Rohri and Kandiana on 25th, Naushero, Nawabshah and Mirpur Khas on 26th and at last on 27th he visited Hyderabad. He left Hyderabad for Multan by 'Lahore Mail' on 27th.\textsuperscript{27}

Nehru's visit was marked with some touching scenes. Seven peasants of Thar Parkar District undertook an arduous journey of 48 miles on foot from Chhor station to Karachi to have 'darshans' of Jawharlal. After having 'darshans' at Karachi they offered Rs. 5/4 to Nehru which was their meagre savings as a donation towards the Kamla Nehru Memorial Fund. Nehru expressed great delight at their devotion to him and Kamla's memory. Again, Nehru
\textsuperscript{24} The Tribune, July 19, 1936.
\textsuperscript{25} Home Political, file No. 18/7/36 (II).
\textsuperscript{26} Selected Works of Jawharlal Nehru, \textit{op.cit.}, p.328.
\textsuperscript{27} The Tribune, June 24, 1936.
was offered an address of welcome and a purse of Rs.251 by the Grocers Association for the same purpose. An old bania pushed his way through crowd at the premises of the "Balkan Ji Bari" (Children gathering) muttering 'darshan', 'darshan' and when he caught a glimpse of his beloved Nehru, raised his hands in reverential obeisance. Here it would be appropriate to mention that M.K. Punniah, editor of the Sind Observer was dismissed by the directors of the paper who was alleged to give publicity to the visit of Nehru. The editor wrote a letter of Jairamdas about his dismissal. A copy of that letter approached Nehru. Nehru suggested Punniah to give publicity of the high handedness of the directors of Board who violated the independence of the Press. He himself issued a statement on the lot of Indian journalist about the dismissal of Punniah he wrote, "This seems to me a monstrous interference with an editor's discretion and an insult to the public."

The Karachi Municipal Corporation adjourned on 21st July, 1936 for five minutes as a protest against the dismissal of Punniah; the Sind Journalists Association passed a resolution congratulating Punniah for upholding the honour of the profession, and at a public meeting of the citizens of Karachi on 21st July, 1936 the conduct of the Board of Directors was condemned and a boycott of the Sind Observer advocated. All this shows that people took keen interest in the independence of Press.

28. The Tribune, June 24, 1936
29. Home Political, File No. 18/7/36(II).
32. Ibid.
Nehru was extremely disappointed with the Congress work in Sind, much of which he characterized as paper work only. The two principal Congress leaders, Jairamdas and Choithram were criticised by him and he urged to tackle the problem earnestly. Labour organisation in Sind and their leader Nariandas A. Bachar, also came in for their share of criticism. He said if such a negative approach continued it would not be possible for Congress to get even 5% of the seats in the Sind Legislative Assembly; and he doubted the ability of Sind to furnish any useful contribution to the new civil disobedience movement unless a radical re-organisation and intensive and sincere work by Sind leaders was undertaken. The criticism of Nehru perturbed Jairamdas. He was so disgusted that he expressed his intentions of retiring from All India and provincial politics.34

Sind was allotted 60 seats for the Legislative Assembly which were divided thus: 34 Muslims, 18 non-Muslims, 2 Women (each Hindu and Muslim), 1 labour, 1 Indian Commerce, 1 European Commerce, 2 Landholders and 1 European.35 The census of 1931 showed Sind's total population as 3,887,070 of which 2,830,800 Muslims and 1,056,270 were non-Muslims. The division of seats among the Muslims and non-Muslims established that a Muslim member of Legislative Assembly was to be elected after 85,782 voters whereas the non-Muslim member was to represent 59,682 people.36

Meanwhile, the Government started preparing new electors.

33. Home Political, File No.18/8/36(I).
34. Ibid., File No 18/8/36 (II).
35. The Tribune, August 21, 1936.
36. Ibid., August 27, 1936.
rolls. The voters who were already enlisted on the basis of their qualifications were not to apply, the new voters who considered themselves eligible were to apply on the prescribed forms.

The last date for applying was fixed July 10, 1936 which was later extended to August 8. After publishing the lists, time was given for objections. All the political parties involved them in the enrolling process. Jairamdas and Sidhwa, the Congress leaders, made endless efforts to enroll the new voters through Congress.

After the departure of Nehru, the Sind Provincial Congress Parliamentary Board was formed with 15 members. Dr. Choithram, President of the Provincial Congress Committee was the ex-officio member of the Parliamentary Board, and the President of the Provincial Board. The Sind Provincial Parliamentary Committee invited from intending candidates desirous of contesting the coming elections on the Congress tickets to send their applications with a remittance of Rs.50 to the committee on or before 31st August, 1936. It was decided that the tickets would be distributed on the merit. Only the tried and tested Congressmen who participated in the freedom struggle actively were to be considered as the Congress candidates. Two great leaders of Sind Congress, Jairamdas and Choithram declared that they would not contest but do their utmost for the success of the Congress candidate.

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37. Ibid., May 19, 1936
38. Ibid., July 22, 1936
39. Ibid., August 21, 1936.
40. Ibid., August 21, 1936
41. Home Political, File No. 18/8/36(II)
42. The Tribune, August 21, 1936.
43. Ibid., August 22, 1936.
A candidate for the Congress ticket from Karachi did not deposit candidature fee of Rs.50 with his application. His application was rejected. He approached Gandhi and the Central Parliamentary Board against the decision of Sind Parliamentary Board. He pleaded that due to his poverty he was unable to deposit the required fee. The Central Parliamentary Board upheld the decision of the Sind Parliamentary Board and asked the candidate to pay the required amount of Rs.50 as it was necessary for discipline.44

The decision of the Congress to contest for 20 seats; 18 non-Muslim and one each for general women and Indian commerce, could not be fulfilled. The Congress sought elections only in ten constituencies. It was due to refusal of Muslims to seek election on the Congress ticket. The Congress list of candidates which was made public after a long discussion consisted the names of Dr. Popat Lal from Karachi North, R.K. Sidhwa from Karachi South, Dr. Gordhan Vazirani from Karachi district, Tahiram Basurmal from Hyderabad City. Nowandram from Nawabshah North, Virumal from Shikarpur City, Hasram Pamnani from Rohri, Ram Motwani from Larkana, Swami Krishnanand from Thar Parkar and Sethi Issardas Varandmal from Indian Commerce.45

The distribution of the Congress tickets brought resentment in the left wing of the Congress in Sind led by Swami Govindanand. Even Swami was denied ticket. The group of Jairamdas-Choiolram carried the day. Swami was disqualified by the Central Parliamentary Board Political, File No 18/9/36 (I). The Tribune, November 5, 1936. B.1882; Congress leader of Sind; d. 1957.
Board for contesting election on Congress ticket due to his anti-party activities. The decision was endorsed by the Sind Congress Committee. He resigned from the Karachi Congress Committee.  

The decision against Govindanand was resented by a few members of the Provincial Congress Committee and many others. Some members of the provincial committee resigned under protest but later they withdrew the resignations. A letter was written by Tarachand Ruchiram Wadhwany, which was endorsed by many leaders, to Sardar Patel saying "your action of setting aside his selection and disqualifying him from being put up as Congress candidate is resented by the whole Sind. Both Congressmen and layman condemn your action as a piece of gross injustice and high handedness", they added, "It is felt here that you have acted as a tool of Jairamdas party who have all these years prosecuted this great patriot of Sind". 

The people of Karachi, Hyderabad and upper Sind by Public meetings condemned the decision of Swami Govindanand's disqualification. The whole press took the issue. The rival congress committees sprang up in Karachi and in Hyderabad. Swami was invited to contest from Hyderabad, the home town of Jairamdas and from South Nawabshah. The support for Swami was due to his patriotism, his local base and his fight for the labourers and peasants. Jairamdas group had manipulated in Central Board of the Congress for Swami's

46. Ibid., October 10, 1936
47. Home Political, File No. 18/9/36 (II).
49. Ibid
disqualification as a Congress candidate having differences with him. Resentment against undemocratic, gross injustice and high-handedness was natural.

Swami Govindanand revolted against the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board. He formed a new party named 'People Congress Party'. The aims of the party were: to uplift peasants and labourers and to reduce the unemployment. He carried the propaganda saying that his was the 'Suchi Congress Committee'. He asked the Congressmen to join him. He appealed the voters of South Karachi not to vote to the official candidate of Congress. He made allegations accusing Sardar Patel, the Congress observer for Sind, the Central Committee and the Congress itself of 'treachery' stating that "no decent man can remain in such an organisation even for a second". Swami could have created a great trouble for the Congress in Sind had he not collapsed at Hyderabad while announcing the programme of his new party. The condition of Swami remained critical and he regained consciousness after one month.

The Congress in its election campaign, claimed that it was the only All India party fighting for people and independence. The local Congress committee prepared election manifesto keeping in view the local needs. It claimed to stand inter alia, for eradication of evils locally known as rasai, lopo, bagar; for the amelioration of unemployment and for a substantial reduction of the present land assessment rates. It favoured elections for all the boards. It supported also the Rights of Men forwarded by the Karachi Congress.

51. AICC Papers, File No. P-18/1936.
52. The Tribune, December 29, 1936.
53. Home Political, File No 18/10/36 (I)
54. The Tribune, January 8, 1937.
The Congress election campaign was not strong in Sind. After Nehru, no important leader of national status visited Sind inspite of repeated requests from the provincial Congress Committee, Satyapal visited Karachi and Thatta in December canvassing in favour of the Congress candidates. The Congress did not make any clear policy regarding election in Sind considering it weak and backward province.

Party infighting made the Congress position weak. At Shikarpur Diwan Bahadur Murlidhar, a dissident was opposing the official Congress candidate, Virumal. He filed many defamation cases against Virumal which authorised police to search his press office and the house. The nomination of R.K. Sidhwa was also opposed. He wrote to High Command to take action against dissidents. Tikomdas who was opposing Sidhwa was a relative of Jairamdas. It was alleged that Jairamdas group wanted the defeat of Sidhwa. Parasram Tahilramani the Secretary of the Sind Parliamentary Board openly stated that he did not mind if Sidhwa lost. He said that after elections and win of Tikomdas, he would be brought into the Congress fold. A complaint was made to High Command regarding the attitude of Jairamdas-Choithram group alleging that, "Power is apt to be exploited but they have taken it to extremity." Sidhwa wrote to Jairamdas that he would expose him if he did not support him. After that Jairamdas convsed for Sidhwa unheartedly.

Another cause of Congress's weakness in Sind was lack of discipline among the Congess leaders. Parasram Tahilramani, the Secretary of the Sind Parliamentary Board attended a party where

55. Home Political, file No 18/12/36(11).
56. The Tribune, December 10, 1936
58. Letter, February 8, 1936, G.D. Mirchandani to Jawharlal Nehru, AICC Papers, File No F.18/1936
59. Ibid
the Sind Governor was a special guest inspite of the instructions of the High Command not to attend any Government function. Tahilram Bassarmal, one of the Congress nominees from Hyderabad used liquor during the election campaigns when prohibition had been adopted by the Congress. Ali Mohammed, a member of Sind Parliamentary committee sought election on another party's ticket when this was complained the party declared that he was seeking election as an independent.

On the persuasion of the Karachi District Congress Committee, Jawaharlal Nehru sent a message to the voters of Sind to cast their votes in favour of the Congress candidates. The message said, "I trust the people of Sind will stand by the Congress and vote for the Congress candidates," It added further, "I noted with the great regret that some old Congress men are defying the provincial Congress Parliamentary Board. They announced their intentions for opposing the Congress nominees. Anybody who does that helps the enemies of the Congress."

Besides all the above mentioned weaknesses in the organisation of the Provincial Congress party, its election campaign under Jairamdas and Choithram was most organised and attractive. Electioneering campaign committees were formed which did their work through hand bills and public meetings.

The Sind Hindu Sabha was making headway in the Hindu constituencies. The leaders of the Sabha proclaimed themselves as the organizers.
Saviours of the Hindu interests. They said that the Congress failed to protect Hindu point of view on the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency. The Sind Hindu conference was held at Sukkur on the 31st December, 1936, and 1st January, 1937, under the presidency of Bhai Paramanand. He stressed on the Hindus to vote for Sabha candidates. He said that the Congress was not a political party but a culture or a movement. Advocating the need of unity, he said, "United you stand, divided you fall, be loyal to the Hindu cause. Your loyalty and love for your nation alone can keep you United. Make your self interest subordinate to the common good of your people. That is the only road to national life and property." During its election campaigns the Sabha tried to clear that the Congress was an All India Organization and it did not suit the individual requirements of the Sind Hindus, and it was, therefore, necessary to elect those Hindu candidates to the Sind Assembly who would work for the welfare of Hindus.

The Muslim politics in Sind was not progressive and united. Abdulla Haroon's efforts had failed to unite the Muslims under one party protecting the interests of the Sindhi Muslims keeping a secular outlook. He left the presidency of Unionist Party, when it was divided, on the pretext of business engagement. Besides Sind Unionist Party there were two more Muslim parties known as Sind Muslim political party and Sind Azad Party. After Abdulla Haroon Shah Nuaz Khan Bhutto was the leader of the Unionist Party, while Sind Muslim political party and Sind Azad Party were led

64. Home Political, File No 18/12/36(1).
65. Ibid., File No. 18/11/36(II).
respectively by Sir Chulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Sheikh Abdul Majid. The Muslim parties also raised the same issue important locally in their election campaigns.

The Sind United Party and the Sind Muslim Political Party were the parties of rich and landlord Muslims. The Sind Azad Party belonged to the middle class Muslims. Sheikh Abdul Majid, the leader of the Sind Azad Party established links with Jinnah and asked him to visit Sind to preside over a Muslim conference. Jinnah could not come to Sind and the proposed Muslim Conference could not take place. The Sind Azad Party was based on religion like the All India Muslim League. Though it had not direct links with the Muslims League at that time yet it could be said a shadow of the League in Sind.

On the whole, electioneering in Sind was not enthusiastic. It lacked national outlook. The voters were being attracted by personal approach of the contesters not by the parties. The voters were committed to their respective religions. The Congress had not national outlook in Sind, it was alleged to be the Hindu body. It was evident judging after the public interest that the Muslims were to vote for Muslim parties and the Hindu votes were to be divided between the Congress and the Sind Hindu Sabha. While the Congress activities of the other provinces were in the news, in Sind it was not. The Congress failed to make itself felt in the province. The main reason of Congress failure was the non-participation of the Muslims in Congress who made the majority in Sind.

66. The Tribune, November 22, 1936
67. Home Political, File No 18/12/36 (II).
68. The Tribune, November 22, 1936.
The Sind Assembly elections for the general and Mohammedan constituencies were held on the 1st February, 1937 and the election for the labour constituency and landholders were held on 8th February, 1937. Keen interest was evinced in the elections throughout the province both in the cities and the villages. Voting was not according to expectations. Many people did not turn up to the election booths. Even in Karachi only 44.5% votes were polled. An encourageable feature of the voting was that the women also participated. Police arrangement was sufficient and the elections passed off smoothly. 69

The counting of votes started on February 15 and the results brought some surprises. Many leaders of various parties were defeated. The notable were Shah Nawaz Bhutto, one of His Excellency's advisors, Haji Abdullah Haroon, a notable Muslim leader, Tikamdas Wadhunai, ex-mayor of Karachi Swami Krishanand, a prominent Congress leader and Dewan Bahadur Murlidhar of Shikarpur. 70

These leaders were defeated by the persons who posed to be supporters of their respective religions. For example Shah Nawaz Bhutto was defeated by Sheikh Abdul Majid, who campaigned with the Kuran on his hand as proof that he was a better Muslim.

The strength of various parties in the Assembly of 60 was as follows: Sind United Party 21, Congress 8, Sind Hindu Sabha 10, Muslim Azad Party 3, Sind Muslim Political Party 3, European 3 and Independents 12. Thus no political party could get absolute majority. 71

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69. Home Political, File No 18/12/37 (I).
70. Home Political, File No 18/12/37 (II).
71. Ibid
The results of the elections in Sind were not encouraging keeping in view the national interest. It failed to bring Sind into the main national stream. The people could not be brought out from conservativeness and narrow outlook. The gulf created by the separation of Sind between the Muslims and the Hindus could not be fulfilled. Though Muslim League was not there in Sind yet the Muslims of Sind preferred to vote for the Muslim candidates. Thus, religion played an important role in the elections which was never considered a good sign in the democratic process. Mullahs and Sabhas influenced the voters in the name of religion. False propaganda was made to win over the voters. The Mullahs made propaganda that the seven crores of schedule castes living in India would adopt Islam with their leader Dr. Ambedkar after seeing the result in favor of the Muslim parties. The converts were held in high esteem. Sheikh Abdul Majid a Hindu convert won the election with thumping majority.