

## The Role of Ethnicity in Sindh (A Case Study of MQM)

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### Abstract

MQM has become in the midst of ethnic unrest in urban Indus Pakistan, especially in Karachi because MQM is almost the biggest political party in the urban area of the Indus (Sindh) and it has startled all the past power regimes of that area. The urbane area of Indus (Sindh) including Karachi, Hyderabad, Nawab Shah, and Sukur is covered under the umbrella of MQM and the party sweeps in the local elections as well at provincial and national level it achieve a large number of seats. In the rural area of Indus (Sindh) other political parties that represent themselves with the Sindhi logo are more popular than MQM because the people of rural areas comprehend MQM as the representative party of muhajirs as well the ancient religious, political and cultural heritage of Sindhis is the cause of relationship with the Sindhi representative parties. The party has been allied of almost all the governed national political parties of the country after its emergence and claims it self the fifth major populated group of the country after Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis. The party finds important ministries not only at the national but also at the provincial governments as well as wins local elections with majority and form the local body of government. The difference of number and power game of MQM before the 1980s and after its emergence is clear as the party has achieved an important role in the local and national politics.

**Keywords:** Indus, MQM, Sindhi, ethnicity, national political Party, Provincial Government

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## Introduction

MQM is an important political party in Pakistan that was emerged in the mid of 1980s. Pakistan has four provinces in which four major identities live as Punjabis in Punjab, Sindhis in Sindh, Blochis in Balochistan and Pathans in Khaibar Pakhton Khawa (KPK). MQM claims the fifth major identity at national level. The majority of its members is Urdu speaking and at the time of its emergence the basic membership of the party was also Urdu speaking and



the party had also the claim of rights of muhajirs who were Urdu speaking and inhabitants of Sindh. Before its emergence in the 1980s the muhajir population of the urbane Sindh had its safeguards with regard to their political, social, and economical rights parallel to the majority population of the province Sindh which was Sindhi speaking. During different political eras of General Ayub, Yahya, Zulfikar Ali Bhuto, and General Zia, the Urdu speaking population of Sindh had to face many hindrances of identity and it had serious safeguards about identity. At the end of the era of General Zia the Urdu speaking population of Sindh Urban areas emerged into a new political party in the name of MQM and began to move for the rights of muhajir Urdu speaking population. The party participated into different national, provincial and local elections and won memorable political importance at three the levels. Different political governments also launched military and police operations against MQM that startled the existence of the party seriously and it had to back at defensive position. All that was due to that MQM has gulf between other political parties of Pakistan and they blame MQM is security risk at national level and it runs with the help foreign funding. The militant wing of MQM is also not valued positively by other political parties. The case of the Mohajirs is very revealing of the malleability of political identity according to the interests one pursues. To begin with, they identified themselves with the new State of Pakistan which was largely their creation. But the more they felt threatened, the more they projected themselves as an oppressed minority with a distinct identity. They really started to raise their voice under Zia. While he had proclaimed once on TV that the Mohajirs deserved special favours because of their sacrifices for Pakistan, and while the

Mohajirs approved of his policy of Islamisation since, for them, Pakistan's identity was rooted in the37:4, 162 Christophe Jaffrelot nation theory", Zia gradually alienated the Mohajirs. They protested first against the introduction of new quotas in the administration: 10 percent of the posts in the public service were reserved for the retired military personnel, who benefited also from additional commercial and industrial licenses. The army being dominated by the Punjabis, that was an indirect bonus to the dominant community. Parallel to that, the Mohajirs were affected by long term sociological tendencies. On the one hand the Green Revolution, of which Punjab was the first beneficiary, since the end of the seventies, reinforced the domination of this province and permitted its natives to invest in the industry, including in Karachi. On the other hand, the migrants poured in this city and benefited from its dynamism: in 1984, the city accounted for 3.3 million of Mohajirs but one million Punjabis, 1.1 million Balochis, 700,000 Pakhtuns - a good number of refugees from Afghanistan - and a few hundred thousand Sindhis. The Mohajir Qaumi Mahaz (Mohajir national movement) was born in this context in 1984. One may object that theories of nationalism cannot be tested on it since the MQM was only representing an ethnic group but its very name shows that it looks at itself as representing a " qaum ", that is a nation. Its cadre and even its chief, Altaf Hussain, came from the middle class and above all recruited its members amongst the students frustrated in their aspirations of social mobility. The MQM demanded that only persons settled since au minimum twenty years in the Sindh should be considered as a resident and enjoy the right to vote; that the foreigners could not acquire properties in the Sindh; that the Mohajirs should be recognised as the fifth "nationality" of Pakistan; finally, that Karachi, the first city of the country, should be named a province (Karachi suba), which would be in fact a Mohajir province. [Rehman (1994).] Altaf Hussain occasionally claimed that he wanted to partition Sindh the same way as Bangladesh was carved out if Islamabad continued to ignore his demands.<sup>11</sup> Yet, his strategies of contesting elections and allying the MQM with other, national parties suggest that he is still interested in exerted power in the institutional framework of Pakistan than anything else. It seems that this stand is more or less in tune with the aspirations of his own basis. An opinion poll of 1996 indicated that 46.7 percent of the people of Karachi were favourably inclined towards the creation of new

regions in Pakistan (53.3 percent of the interviewed were opposed to such a move).<sup>12</sup> The MQM programme was spelled out in 1987 and permitted the party to win. In the same year, the municipal elections at Karachi and Hyderabad (the second city of Sindh). The party then made inroads in the region during the general elections of 1988, when the PPP came first but without having, all the same, an absolute majority. Benazir Bhutto then concluded with the MQM - whose presence in terms of seats was sufficient to constitute an absolute majority - an accord



which took Ethnic Movements in Pakistan 37:4, 163 into account the essentials of the charters of the Mohajir party. But she abstained later from fulfilling her commitments: she refused the entry of Biharis of Bangladesh, who wished for a long time to migrate to Pakistan (a demand supported by the Mohajirs, for whom it would be a good way to increase their ranks);

she did not name Mohajirs to any of the important posts in the administration and finally, she surrounded herself with personalities known for their Sindhi chauvinism. In 1989, the MQM organised big demonstrations which often turned into ethnic violence, particularly because of the recruitment of a number of musclemen by the movement. It broke away with the PPP and these troubles comforted the president Gulam Ishaq Khan in his views that Benazir Bhutto was not able to handle the situation. At least, that was the argument he used to dismiss her. While the 1990 elections were approaching, the MQM allied itself this time with the Islami Jamoori Ittchad (IJI) of Nawz Sharif, the Chief Minister of Punjab. This party won an absolute majority but, once in power, it did not show itself better disposed than the PPP as regards the Mohajirs. In June 1992, the army was deployed in Karachi with the mission of "cleaning" the city of its anti-social elements: that was the "Operation Clean Up". Its mandate, firstly fixed at six months, was finally extended to two years. The MQM was the main target of the military. The elected representatives of the MQM resigned from the National Assembly and that of Sindh, where they constituted an important element in the coalition in power. The leaders of the MQM went into hiding or ran away to foreign countries (Altaf Hussain had already established himself in London). The Operation Clean Up only radicalised the population in favour of the MQM and the military implicitly admitted this before leaving in November 1994. The MQM had boycotted the general elections of 1993, which had brought Benazir Bhutto back to power, but participated in the

elections in the province of Sindh, which also resulted in a victory for the PPP but with only 56 seats out of 100, against 27 to the MQM (A), the faction of MQM headed by Altaf Hussain. The MQM, indeed, had split up in 1992, with the formation of a MQM (Haqiqi) which pretended to represent the "real" MQM. This group appeared in fact to have been tempted by the offers of the army a little after the Operation Clean Up, and it counted in its ranks a number of militants that Altaf Hussain alienated by an autocratic style of functioning. It was composed of militants all as violent as those of the MQM whence the vendettas and other bloody confrontations - but may be more linked to the local Mafia. The army had apparently not hesitated to favour the most criminal elements. The politics of the authorities was largely summarised by this tactic of divide and rule and repressive measures. The violence assumed its height in the mid- 1990s (1500 dead in 1995) and then the MQM abstained from contesting the elections of 1997. This election enabled the PPP to remain the most important party of Sindh with 36 seats out of 100 but did not permit it to lead a majority coalition. The PML (N) and the Haq Parast Group - the political front organ of the MQM - won respectively 15 and 28 seats. This success drove Nawaz Sharif and Altaf Hussain to ally themselves for forming a coalition with a sufficient majority thanks to the support of the small parties and independents. The heads of MQM renamed their movement Mutahidda Qaumi Movement (United National Movement) in a manner to attract groups and lobbies other than those of the Mohajirs. However, the entry of the MQM in the government did not result in the return of peace in Karachi. The violence came mainly from vendettas between the MQM and the Haqiqi fractions, which fought for controlling the drug and arms traffics. The unleashing of violence is all the more difficult to contain as the two MQM often turn out to benefit from police complicity. In September 1998, the MQM broke away with the PML (N) for returning to the opposition and since then repression continues unabated. This rather detailed narrative was necessary to show to what extent the Mohajir issue offers a relevant illustration of our main thesis: far from sticking to their original pro-State identity, the Mohajir have developed separatist tendencies as soon as they started losing ground in the administration as well as in socio-economic terms. They may not be involved in a pauperisation process as they feel, but they may well have reached a plateau and they are under the impression of a decline because of this very stagnation. The State apparatus reacted harshly to their demands, so much so the MQM radicalised its position, following a scenario which had been already tried in a much more repressive manner in the early 1970s in East Pakistan. To sum up, the ethnic movements we have

examined so far, in East Pakistan, in rural Sindh and among the Mohajirs through the MQM substantiate the Gellner- Brass thesis from two points of view. First, these movement always crystallised in reaction to some marginalisation - relative and subjective in the case of the Mohajirs - by an exploitative and centralised State. Second, they got mobilised to support socio-economic and political claims more than anything else. They rely on materialistic, power-oriented agendas in which cultures are instrumentalised. Culture and history provide a stock of myths and symbols, but they do not shape the identity of their proponents which turns out to be very malleable, at least, the feeling of identification with the nation considerably varies according to the proximity of the community vis-a-vis the State.

On the other hand MQM continuously had been neglected foreign funding to run the party and claims its existence only for the achievements of the rights of muhajir population in the urban Sindh. In the contemporary era the leadership of MQM is based at Britain in the name of security needs and the current prospective of the party has changed a great formation. The Party now claims its struggle at the national level instead of the provincial or urban areas of Sindh. It established its bases in other cities of other provinces especially the biggest populated province of Punjab and now MQM is called Mutihida Quami Movement instead of Muhajir Quami Movement. The party raises its voice against the feudal system of rural Sindh and Punjab and for the rights of depressed population of all the backward areas of the country. All that shows that MQM is trying to inject in the national level politics instead of locality. However, the party is still included the ethnic group that struggles for ethnicity and identity by its opponents. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century MQM involved in three different political regimes, i.e. Musharaf, Zardari and Nawaz political eras have a particular political phenomenon in which MQM is also conscious for its identity that is to be dealt in this paper. Before the emergence of MQM the Sindh rural and urban areas were the political hub of religious, and landlord, regimes. The emergence of MQM granted a new dimension to political activities especially in the urban regions of the province. It is said that MQM belongs to ethnical group and this party is very important not only in the politics of Sindh especially the cities of Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukur, and Nawab Shah, but also in the politics of Pakistan since last thirty years. It is also said that the party is associated with the killings and violence throughout all the history of the party in the city of Karachi. The leader of MQM is now based in London and controls the party activities as he is the founder of MQM and



is also the central leader of the party. Among the political circles there is the great debate about his social background. It is referred by many non-muhajirs that activities of MQM are based on terrorism and all is protected by hypocritical British government.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly the party that protects the rights of the Urdu speaking Muslim migrants (muhajirs). It is clear that MQM has changed the traditional politics of the Sindh urban areas in the city governments and MQM takes a great part to organize the local governments as the biggest political party of the urban areas. However, party emphasis also on the provincial government of Sindh as well on the federal government. Throughout all the political history of MQM the party has been to face the hindrances towards its future development in the name of safeguards to peace and security by its opposite political forces. Blames of peace breaching in the city areas, riots, even torture, murder, and compensation, have been charged to its leaders. Police, army, and other militias have been used to launch operations by all the major parties ruling in the reign of political history of MQM. However, MQM raised its power and there is no election in its political history that MQM has lost its importance and the party wins almost majority at urban level. The party always succeeds to achieve major governing power with parallel to its allied political parties and be successful to reveal its existence in all the governments of democracy or dictatorship of stake holders. Even the opponent political parties of MQM have been forced to achieve its alliance to form their government in the provincial and central houses. From that of its emergence to the recent era the party runs through its revolutionary period and process of development. Some extra ordinary events shook its roots of existence as the operations, and murder of its central and local leaders but the party carried on the speed of evolution towards its politics of identity and rights.

In the urban areas of the Sindh MQM is well organized and consisted upon weaved political system than that of the other parties and its leadership is also in communication to one another. The well organization, systematic approach to political activities, and clarity on common interests has granted the party a huge street power that is used to overcome the entire opposition of the aims of the party. Before the existence of MQM there were no mentionable party to raise the voice for muhajir interests and rights. The people of Karachi were completely alienated from the political process in the country and have no access to the corridors of power at any level. Many of their elected leaders were in prison and the political party they voted for had been actively persecuted by the powers that be.<sup>2</sup>

General Zia returned martial law (1977-1988) and in his reign local elections held in 1979, 1983 and 1987 under the Local Government Ordinance of 1979 and 1980. While in 1985 in his reign national and provincial elections were held for the first time on a non party basis. In Pakistan it is a political tradition that in the reigns of dictators local elections had been more liked to conduct than the national and provincial elections. That was the era when muhajir representative party considered its existence through democratic elections. As MQM had become the most popular party in the urbane areas it gained a reasonable political share in the local, provincial and national houses and throughout all the political history of MQM the party had been an important hegemone in the politics of Pakistan. As ideology, it is no doubt effective to claim that a nation has existed since time immemorial.<sup>3</sup> Muhajir speaking majority could not merge into the central nation as Pakistan at the very start of the political history had to face problems of ethnicity and different groups raised the slogans of Pashtoon, Balochi, Bengali etc. for their particulaar interests. It is proper to cote the ethnicity in Pakistan for particular interests, however it is clear that when Khan Abdul Wali Khan who was the son of Abdul Ghafar Khan raised the slogan of identity of 50 years at that time while on the other hand his identity as a Muslim was 1400 years and as a Pashtoon as 5000 years.<sup>4</sup>

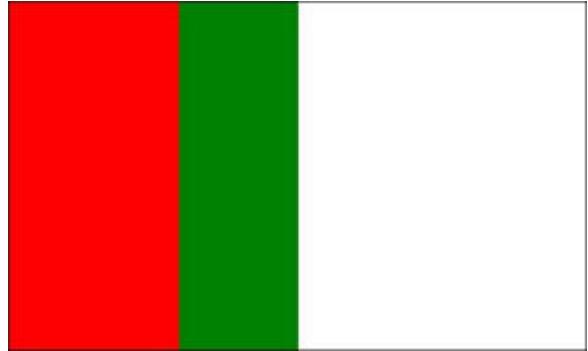
A large number of Hindu Sindhis flight from Sindh on the time of partition and a large number of migrants came from India in the urban Sindh. It is also a fact that Liaquat Ali Khan, the first prime minister of Pakistan was also an Urdu speaking migrant.<sup>5</sup> The flow of the migrants filled more than half of the population of the urban Sindh. In the first decade of the age of the country the ethnic sensitivity was not so serious; however its roots began to bloom. The era of General Ayub Khan who is renowned due establishing industry and the colonies for migrants in Karachi is likely to be considered to start the gulf between different ethnic groups. A large number of populations from the other provinces of the country became inhabitant of Karach for economic reasons and Karachi became the hub of ethnicity as it is renowned the hub of economy of Pakistan. The case of MQM is also not free from the problems of ethnicity in Karachi which is the base camp of MQM. MQM is often known to act as a political party which is involved in power politics. The blame of power politics is not new against the party. From the existence of the party it was known that in the urban areas of Sindh MQM is acting as a resisting party to safe muhajir rights. The opposition of the party insisted to claim that to maintain muhajir interest



party is involved in terror based activities. The murder of opposition workers, target killings<sup>6</sup>, torture cells, and kidnappings are associated with the party in the sense of opposition. Dead bodies wrapped in cloth bags have often been found in Karachi. Altaf Hussain the founder of the party is recently accused of money laundering and murder of Imran Farooq. Altaf Hussain has been determined to maintain complete control of the organization, and many blame his "remote control" politics from London. It is also known that the party forces the voters to achieve majority of the representation in the parliament at gun point and it is also involved in the cast bogus voting. The opposition parties of MQM have so serious blames against it. And the political situation of the party has become more critical than that of the past situation ever in the political history of the party. The governments of different types like as Peoples Party under the leadership of Benazir Bhuto, and the Muslim League (Nawaz) under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif launched police and military operations against the party to clean up the militant abilities of the party. General Naseer Ullah Babar is known in the operational history against MQM during the era of Benazir government, who successfully launched operation clean up and achieved number of successions. Recently, Nawaz government has also launched an operation in Karachi in the name of the check of terrorists under the supervision of Karachi police chief. The MQM has number of safeguard against this operation and blame to the government that it is acting bias against MQM especially, and the other acting parties of Sindh has not been monitored like as Peoples Party, Awami National Party, Jamat-e- Islami, and Muslim League.

Altaf Hussain the founder and the head of the party is now inhabitant of Britain in the name of security reasons. The British police is investigating against him the crimes of murder and money laundering. Meanwhile Imran Khan the head of Tehreek-e Insaf a political party has also aimed to help the British Police against the leader of MQM as the Nawaz government of Pakistan has launched the operation in Karachi. MQM and its leadership is in a critical situation in the contemporary era. The opposition of the party is standing against it blaming to eradicate the power activities of the party. Karachi is a populous city and the biggest urban area of Pakistan which is known as the economic hub of the country where a large number of peoples come from far provinces due to economic reasons. In the contemporary era the city population is near about more than twenty millions. According to the population of the city there are number of political parties as mentioned earlier in the former pages of the reading. The parties try to achieve their

individual aims and the city becomes a ground of battle often among them where other terror groups and law offending individuals try to achieve their individual aims on gun point. There is an example of Edhi. In 1966 he was criticized by members of a religious party and by local rich people for marrying a nurse who was much younger than him. They tried to pressure him into closing his dispensary. His wife, Bilquise, who now oversees the trust's projects relating to children and women, remembers how stressful things were at the time. "He was threatened. He was offender enormous stress. He could not sleep for nights. He would drive almost all night, just around town. He was very depressed," she says. Her husband laughs when he recalls the predictions people made at the time. "They said I would wind up my projects on the day I marry this young girl," he says. In 1998 he faced another crisis. After the murder of Mohammad Saeed, a well known Hakeem (traditional healer) in Karachi, which was then engulfed by waves of violence, Edhi was reportedly next on the "hit list." He contemplated seeking asylum in the United Kingdom but decided against it. Today he is highly critical.<sup>7</sup> In the sphere of contradiction among political parties due to achieving particular political and economical interests the MQM has also to face the hindrances of its existence. The main reason is that MQM has a lions share in the representation of the assemblies. It can be said that the blame of power politics against the party if it has some fact in itself it is totally for the existence and for the facing of opposition parties that MQM has to maintain its militant forces. The migrants of Karachi are still struggling for identity in the host area. The other ethnical groups belonging to particular regions as Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans and Balochs but the migrants came from an outer regions of the country. The migrants of Karachi fought and are still fighting for their identity as they are a different group from the inhabitants of the host communities. Migrants are locating a political space for their selves.<sup>8</sup> A large number of countries in the contemporary world has to face the ethnic revolutions from the inhabitants of their countries who try to became a separate community for identity and after all raise the slogan of separation from the mother land. To achieve their aims they use weapons and pressurize the stake holders of country. The emergence of MQM was to identify the migrants and to achieve their rights as mentioned earlier on the former pages. The movement also participated in the



social, educational, political, and economical benefits of the migrants in the urbane areas of the Sindh. The movement has also been very serious blames of national security risk and terrorist attacks that resulted the weakness for its existence. The emergence only in the urbane areas spread into the rural regions also and later on the activities that were only for the migrants now converted for the inhabitants of the entire Sindh and after all for the all citizens of Pakistan. The new MQM was not now in narrow boundaries. The modern political perspective of the movement broadened a new political perspective of the movement.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century the party changed its social and political culture though the process started earlier before the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. All it is to maintain its existence but here the hypothesis proves that the party though has changed and also is still being changing its political and social norms but the party is insisting still on the maintenance of identity. Many of statements of the party leaders are on the record that proves the party broadness in political and social changes. The ancient view of the party now is being changing. There are also other perspectives except the scheme of the party of existence. The party change its name in 1997, from Muhajir Qaumi Movement to Mitehida Quami Movement to appeal to a broader circle of the inhabitants of Pakistan<sup>9</sup>. The concern was to lead the people along with the migrants of the Sindh. Now the approach was to all types of ethnicities of the country in all the regions. In 2000 the party shared a platform at London with different political parties of Pakistan leading by Baloch, Pashton and Sindhi leaders who formed their parties for the oppressed nations of Pakistan. The aim was to help those parties to achieve their political and social rights. Because the party concerned itself an oppressed group of migrants by the governing class of Pakistan. It proves that the party's struggle for uniting the other leaders was for identification. The party broadened its aim and formed an aim to appeal and unite the oppressed nations of Pakistan but the struggle is also for identification. MQM is now proposing a new Pakistan on behalf of the Resolution of Pakistan 1940, and a new agreement should be signed by all the inhabitants of Pakistan to fulfill the basic rights and equality of the small nations in Pakistan along with the oppressed class which is ruling over the country since 1947. Altaf Hussain the founder and the head of the party believe that the partition of the sub-Continent on behalf of the religion was a blunder of the history and that the violation of that rule of religion has been neglected for many times in the history, for instance, in 1950s when the borders of Pakistan were closed for the

Muslims, and when Pakistan was split in 1971.<sup>10</sup> In the era of the emergence of the party the political activities were different than that of the contemporary actions. The difference is not in the main objectives but the main objectives of the party are the same as in the earlier times, however the strategy to achieve the aims has been changed certainly. All that shows that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century the party is also trying to form its identity in the country. Its alliances with the nationalists of the representations of the small nations of Pakistan do not indicate to change its aims. But it is a new way to maintain its aims and to get identification. As the evolution period of the party forwards the changing in political and social behavior of the party also transforms from local to national phenomena. The change of the name of the party can also be measured a positive response in this respect. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the party was blamed for number of illegal activities, even the separation of urban areas of the Sindh in the name of an independent and sovereign state Jinnah Pur was also expected from the party. Activities of violence, the game of illegal weapons, and 'bhuta' (collection of funding by force) were associated with the party. On that behalf the party had to face force operations and the party including its workers and leaders of all levels had been to face hardships in different regimes. The party leaders have also been raising continuously the demands for identity. A statement by the 'Rabta Committee' of the party raised in which the demand of prohibition of another political and religious party Jamat-e-Islami was made. It is the reaction of the statements made by other political parties which continuously demand for the prohibition of MQM. Altaf Hussain the head of the party also demanded the rights of equality and basic rights on the day of splition of Bengal December 16.<sup>11</sup> He revealed the objectives of independency, between the lines, on a particular day as remembrance to achieve liberty in the absence of inequality and basic rights. One can easily proves that MQM is standing still on the demands of identity even still in the 21<sup>st</sup> century also, though it has broadened its area of political and social activities from the local urban area of the Sindh to the far areas of urban and rural Pakistan. The party focused its activities on the other areas of the country to set up a range of approach to other small nations and it raised the slogans against landlords as they have also been a serious challenge for stability of the country since its emergence in 1947. The party considered easy to make an alliance with the oppressed nations by raising a clear and loud signal against the common issue of land reformations especially in the rural areas of the Sindh and also in the southern areas of the Punjab in which Saraikee speaking inhabitants are also moving a raise against the oppression of the northern Punjab ruling class on whom the Bengalis also

blamed for inequality and intensity. A setup of party activities has also in working in the big cities of Punjab and also in the towns and small cities where party membership is offered and all types of activities that are in the urban Sindh are also in these areas too, like as press conferences, wall chalking, corner meetings, and fund collection on behalf of which the election candidates are also being prepared in these areas. MQM was initially a local based party supported by the local inhabitants of Karachi and it had to face no serious challenges for its existence and progress as it hold over the main areas of urban Sindh and it resulted the major political and social power of the Sindh urban areas. But the broadness of the party activities in other areas of Pakistan became serious hindrances for it as there also been working some other political parties also. The broaden activities of the party also broaden the challenges of the party and it began to seriously condemned by its opponents. This serious issue raised so serious that many big and small political parties began to oppose MQM on a large scale and supported its prohibition in the country as well as disturbed its leadership existed in London. It is widely known that the MQM's support base is almost exclusively amongst Indian Muslims who moved to Pakistan as refugees (muhajirs) with the partition of India in 1947.<sup>12</sup> But now the party is being broadened its areas of activities from its local to other far regions of urban and rural Pakistan. All it is to achieve the basic demands of the party in a new strategy by force of moral pressure of the citizens of Pakistan which belong to oppressed communities. The party is working for rights on one side and it has also facing the inner destructed activities by its own membership. This process of reformation is not a new but it began almost 25 years ago in the name of two different groups in party, MQM Haqeeqi, and MQM Haq Parast.<sup>13</sup> The ultimate result of the inner grouping in the party is the murder of Imran Farooq also.

## Conclusion

The party considers the activities in MQM for the formation of more grouping the struggle of breach to abolish the movement activities for rights and equality. How much actions of forces and the activities of the opposition parties are, the party has to transform the strategy but the entire struggle is still in the 21<sup>st</sup> century basically for identity. It is concluded that what objectives of the origin of MQM were in the nineteenth century, now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century the party is still playing the politics of identity. How much hindrances were to face by the party for its existence however the party also changed its name and strategic policy and began to participate

in the broadband politics but the major issue has been remained to maintain the rights and equality of the migrants with compare to the other citizens of Pakistan especially the inhabitants of Sindh for identity. The party starts interesting in the politics of other regions and the support of the other oppressed communities as Saraiklee, and Hazara but the origin aim of the party is still associated that the party is interesting in its identity. In the contemporary times it has to face of challenges of various kinds for its existence as its founder and the head that is in London has to face the intense trial by the London police for serious crimes of murder and money laundering. The opposition of the party at state level has also been increased and the powerful parties including Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN), Awami National Party (ANP), Jamat-e-Islami, Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), and Pakistan Tehreek-a-Insaf (PTI) are the supporters of anti MQM activities for instance PTI, PMLN, PPP partially for the London investigation, PMLN, ANP, Jamat-e-Islami for police operation in Karachi, PPP for reformation of constituency for local elections in the Sindh. Moreover, the internal conflicts are being also serious and threat rising for the party such as the murder of MQM's former leaders and the intrigues against party leadership. The entire fixes against the party are a serious issue and the challenge for existence and in the meanwhile the party is at defensive position the most in its history. The struggle for identity has being eclipsed due to the struggle of existence.

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