Questions

1. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for Mohajirs?
2. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for members, or former members, of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM)?
3. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for members, or former members of the MQM in terms of possible harm from the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP)?
4. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for members, or former members of the MQM in terms of possible harm from members and supporters of the breakaway MQM (Haqiqi) faction?
5. Anything else you feel might be relevant.

RESPONSE

1. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for Mohajirs?

The most current statements on the situation of Mohajirs in Pakistan found in the sources are for the period 2003 to 2005. The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada sought information on Mohajirs from the Human Rights Commission in Pakistan in September 2003. The Commission stated that discrimination against Mohajirs was “very limited” and that:

In some cases, Mohajirs may be a subject of (semi-racist) jokes—but these are at the level of jokes about Irish people or Poles etc., in a western context. Mohajirs in fact hold many top jobs in the country, and other groups frequently complain [that] they are discriminated against by the Mohajirs. The only case where discrimination is a factor is if the Mohajirs belong to the political party, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), one faction of which is facing some government-led intimidation, mainly in Karachi.

… Mohajirs can live in most cities safely…[suffer] occasional social discrimination [which is] far more limited than the kind of discrimination Black Americans face in cities in the US, for instance (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003, PAK41873.E – Pakistan: Treatment of Mohajirs (Urdu-speaking Muslims who fled to Pakistan from India following the
Two sources also indicate that long standing tensions between the urban Mohajirs and rural Sindhis in the city of Karachi appear relatively stable. In an interview for the *Dawn* newspaper in June 2003 and quoted in the The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada research, the chief of the Sindh National Front, Mumtaz Bhutto, stated that

We [Bhutto and Altaf Hussain, chief of the MQM] discussed that we should bring the rural [predominantly Sindhi] and urban [predominantly Mohajir] population closer. He [Hussain] wanted that, and I entirely agree with him that we should do that and adopt ways and means of assimilation, and things are happening on that front, though not very visibly. But the *bitterness and the hatred of the past is no longer there and we have gone back to the pre-MQM days when rapid assimilation was taking place*. And then the MQM came and adopted a policy which brought about the conflict. But now they have changed and even publicly apologize for the harm that has been cause. So things are improving rapidly (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003, *PAK41873.E* – *Pakistan: Treatment of Mohajirs (Urdu-speaking Muslims who fled to Pakistan from India following the 1947 partition of the sub-continent) by the general population, particularly in Lahore and Islamabad; whether there is an internal flight alternative for Mohajirs in Pakistan, aside from Karachi (1998-August 2003)*, 2 September [http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=435982](http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=435982) – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 1).

Analysis from 2004 by the Indian author B. Raman available on the South Asia Analysis Group website also indicated a lessening of past hostilities between Mohajirs and Sindhis:

The current visit of Altaf Hussain, the London-based charismatic Mohajir leader of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), to New Delhi to attend a conference organised by a national daily is very significant. The newspaper could not have invited him without a discreet nod from the [Indian] Government.

In the past, even [Indian] Congress (I) Governments had hesitated to allow him to visit India due to two reasons. First, the confrontation between the Mohajirs, the migrants to Sindh from India, and the Sindhis, the sons of the soil, who looked upon the Mohajirs as interlopers. India has had very close relations with the Sindhis. Second, the fear that if Altaf Hussain was allowed to visit India, the Punjabi officers of the Pakistan Army might take it out on the Mohajirs, many of whom have relatives in India.

The confrontation between the Sindhis and the Mohajirs has since subsided and Gen.Pervez Musharraf, himself a Mohajir whose family migrated to Pakistan when he was young, is dependent on the support of the MQM for continuing to have his political surrogates in power in Islamabad and to retain the post of COAS. These developments have removed the past inhibitions, which came in the way of a visit by Altaf Hussain (Raman, B. 2004, ‘Greater Indian visibility in its neighbourhood’, South Asia Analysis Group website, 8 November [http://www.saag.org/papers12/paper1159.html](http://www.saag.org/papers12/paper1159.html) – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 2).

Most recently and in contrast to the above views on Mohajir-Sindhi relations, the International Crisis Group has pointed to the possibility of renewed Mohajir and Sindhi violence in Karachi and Hyderabad arising from a heightening of rivalry between MQM and
Sindhi opposition parties following redistribution of electoral boundaries in the province of Sindh in early 2005. In its *Update Briefing* of November 2005, the ICG stated:

On 4 April 2005, the four Hyderabad tehsils – Matiari, Tando, Mohammad Khan, Tando Allayar and Hyderabad – were declared separate districts. Flanked by the intended beneficiaries of this redistributing [which included MQM representatives], Sindh chief Minister Arbab Ghulam Rahim defended the decision in a hurriedly called press conference by claiming “it was administratively difficult to mange the affairs of (Hyderabad district since it had a population of three million."

…The PPP and Sindhi regional parties believed the district’s redrawing was also calculated to partition the province’s Mohajir and Sindhi population along ethnic lines. “Hyderabad was divided to create ethnic fiefdoms for the MQM and other pro-government politicians”, said Qazi Asad Abid, a former PPP national parliamentarian and owner of the Sindhi language *Ibrat* publication group. These fears were not baseless. In the Mohajir-dominated urban centres of Karachi and Hyderabad, which witnessed violent ethnic conflict in the 1990s, local rivalries between the MQM and Sindhi opposition parties have heightened, and the province could again become engulfed in bloody Sindhi-Mohajir violence (International Crisis Group 2005, ‘Update Briefing – Pakistan’s Local Polls: Shoring up military rule’, International Crisis Group website, 22 November http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/b043_pakistan_s_local_polls_shoring_up_military_rule.pdf – Accessed 14 November 2005 – Attachment 3).

Finally, one report from September 2005 was found pointing to the role that Mohajir ethnicity (and the MQM) can play in the prosecution of the case of the rape of a Mohajir woman by Sindhi men in Karachi:

**Hurdles to justice**

Apart from the alleged crime, what is common to these women are the problems they have had to confront in their quest for justice.

In the case of one woman from Karachi, the police refused to register a case of rape for over a month – during which time she says she was repeatedly threatened by her rapists.

Mukhtar Mai’s courage has inspired many rape victims to go public
By the time she managed to have the case registered, it was too late to conduct a medical examination on her.

In most rape cases in Pakistan, the crime is established almost entirely on the basis of medical examination of the complainant.

Eventually, a case was registered but all the accused were awarded bail despite the fact that the woman identified her rapists before the judge. She **eventually had to play what is known in Karachi as the “ethnic card”**.

She is a Mohajir – a name given to Urdu-speaking migrants from India at the time of partition – while her rapists were native Sindhis.

She went to the headquarters of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) – an influential Mohajir-dominated party – with her case.

It was only after intervention from the MQM’s home minister in Sindh that the police launched a fresh hunt for the accused, three of whom had disappeared by then.

2. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for members, or former members, of the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM)?

The main MQM party is now referred to as the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). The main breakaway faction, referred to in question 4 below, is referred to as the Mahojir Quami Movement (Haqiqi) or MQM (Haqiqi). The MQM (Haqiqi) was formed in 1992 and led by Afaq Ahmed and Aamir Khan. Since the October 2002 national elections, the Muttahida Quami Movement has been in coalition with the leading “pro-Musharraf” Pakistan Muslim League – Quaid (PML-Q) both in the central government and in the province of Sindh (International Crisis Group 2005, Authoritarianism and Political party reform in Pakistan, Asia Report no. 102, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website, p.12 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/102_authoritarianism_and_political_party_reform_in_pakistan.pdf – Accessed 15 November 2006 – Attachment 5; Election Commission of Pakistan 2002, ‘Statistical Data’, Election Commission of Pakistan website http://www.ecp.gov.pk/content/docs/STATS.pdf – Accessed 16 November 2006 – Attachment 6)

Reports of violence against Muttahida Quami Movement members, and claims by the MQM that they are targeted by the police, exist especially for the period to 2002. The US Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for Pakistan for the year 2002 reported the following:

The Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), an urban Sindh-based political party that in the past used violence to further its aims claimed that the police specifically targeted its adherents for extrajudicial killings. On April 29, one member of MQM was killed in Karachi when an unknown person fired on President Musharraf’s motorcade and police returned fire.

…There were high-profile killings during the year. On April 27, unknown gunmen killed two MQM leaders, Mustapha Kamal Rizvi and Nishat Malik in Karachi.

…In the intra-Mohajir violence in Karachi, victims sometimes first were held and tortured by opposing groups (or, as the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) – Altaf alleges, by security forces). Bodies of these victims, often mutilated, generally were dumped in the street soon after the victims were abducted; however, the incidence of such crimes decreased greatly during the year.

…Hundreds of MQM activists have been arrested since November and remained in custody at year’s end; some of these activists were being held without charge. According to MQM officials, police have arrested more than 700 MQM officials during the past 3 years. In April a Hyderabad MQM organizer was charged with inciting people to violence during a strike and on April 19, the Government arrested MQM Senator Aftab Shaikh.

… In previous years, the MQM had been harassed in its regular political activities, especially by the Sindh police (US Department of State 2003, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2002 – Pakistan, 31 March – Attachment 7).
Similar accounts for the period between August 2000 and November 2001 detailing dozens of attacks against MQM members and leaders committed by the police and paramilitary rangers are collated in 2003 research conducted by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, whose main focus is the actions of the Paramilitary Rangers. It summarises reports of “extra-judicial murders”, “crackdowns”, “detainment”, and “arrests” of MQM members by police and paramilitary rangers. The research also refers to a newspaper report of August 2003 on “bad blood” that exists between the MQM and the Paramilitary Rangers even while the MQM requested the Rangers presence in Karachi (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003, PAK42084.E – Pakistan: Whether there are penalties for desertion from the Paramilitary Rangers; whether such penalties are enforced; treatment of deserters; reasons for desertion; whether the Rangers spy on political parties as part of their official duties (2000 – October 2003), 30 October – Attachment 8).


The current political position of the MQM does now appear to favour former and current MQM members. On 13 November 2006, the PPP opposition leader stated in the Sindh Assembly that:

> a number of criminal cases against the MQM leaders had been withdrawn during the last four years as Gen Pervez Musharraf was backing the party. He said 1,500 people, involved in criminal cases including rape, have been released on parole (‘Khuhro says MQM threatened opposition, blames Musharraf’ 2006, The News International website, 13 November http://72.14.253.104/search?q=cache:SVk6KzPWshYJ:www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp%3Fid%3D31148+khuhro+says+mqm&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1 – Accessed 15 November 2006 – Attachment 11).

3. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for members, or former members of the MQM, in terms of possible harm from the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP)?

Following the general elections in October 2002, the MQM has been aligned with the ruling Pakistan Muslim League (PML –Q) party favoured by General Pervez Musharraf. The PPP has since then remained one of the main opposition parties at the national level and in the provincial assembly in Sindh (International Crisis Group 2005, Authoritarianism and Political party reform in Pakistan, Asia Report no. 102, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website, p.12 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/102_authoritarianism_and_political_party_reform_in_pakistan.pdf – Accessed 15 November 2006 – Attachment 5).

July 2003 research undertaken by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada included an examination of the question of “PPP political violence against members of the MQM”. The Board’s response is limited to an outline of accusations by the MQM that the PPP harmed its members in the period prior to 2001 (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003,

Two reports were found reporting clashes between MQM supporters and PPP members in Sindh in 2006. The first refers to allegations of attacks by PPP members on Sindhis voting for the MQM candidate in a village in Hyderabad:

**HYDERABAD: PPP accused of attacking MQM voters**

HYDERABAD, May 2: Muttahida Qaumi Movement zonal in-charge Siraj Rajput and MPA Naeem Ishtiaq on Tuesday said that their supporters were attacked by PPP workers in Adal Noonari village in the Husri police area.

Speaking at a press conference at the press club, Mr Rajput said that PPP leaders had decided to create disturbances in areas where Sindhis were expected to vote for the MQM.

He said the PPP had brought its workers from other districts.

He said that PPP Sindh president Qaim Ali Shah led a group of PPP workers to Adal Noonari village where Sindhis were attacked by PPP workers for voting MQM.

He said that a woman who had earlier received burn injuries was also beaten up and some had been hospitalised.

He said that the PPP workers went to polling station-165 workshop where polling staff was manhandled and voters who were voting for MQM were beaten up and threatened of dire consequences.

He said that PPP activists also took away a ballot box at another polling station. He said that the MQM had shown restrain by not reacting to hostile attitude of the PPP workers (‘PPP accused of attacking MQM voters’ 2006, Dawn website, 3 May http://www.dawn.com/2006/05/03/local7.htm – Accessed 15 November 2006 – Attachment 13).

The second report refers to a small clash between MQM and PPP supporters in the Lyari area in Karachi in June 2006:

Police and paramilitary Rangers were deployed in many parts of Lyari Town to maintain law and order.

On Friday night, participants of a procession of MQM supporters indulged in an altercation with PPP supporters at Aath Chowk, where a PPP corner meeting was in progress. The altercation led to a fist fight after which, according to some residents, the MQM supporters escaped from the scene leaving behind their vehicles bearing government number plates. The matter was reported to the police (‘Lyari tense after PPP-MQM clash’ 2006, Dawn website, 4 June http://66.201.122.226/2006/06/04/local1.htm – Accessed 15 November 2006 – Attachment 14).
4. What is the situation in Pakistan at present for members, or former members of the MQM, in terms of possible harm from members and supporters of the breakaway MQM (Haqiqi) faction?
5. Anything else you feel might be relevant.

Information on the results of the national elections held in October 2002 available on the Election Commission of Pakistan website indicates that the Mohajir Quami Movement (Haqiqi) holds a greatly inferior electoral position in comparison to the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) in both the National Assembly and the provincial assembly in Sindh (Election Commission of Pakistan 2002, ‘Statistical Data’, Election Commission of Pakistan website http://www.ecp.gov.pk/content/docs/STATS.pdf – Accessed 16 November 2006 – Attachment 6). Immediately following these national elections, the exiled leader of the Muttahida Quami Movement is reported in a news article as attempting a rapprochement with the MQM (Haqiqi) faction:

The Muttahida Quami Movement’s leader, Altaf Husain, said on Sunday there were reports that the government was trying to eliminate “no-go” areas, but cautioned the party activists to remain vigilant that such effort was not sabotaged by disruptive elements and the objective might not be achieved for several years.

Speaking to the Khidmat-i-Khalq Foundation’s (KKF) annual gathering for distribution of essential items among the needy and the poor, Mr Husain advised his supporters to avoid clash, and emphasized that violence would not solve the problems and misery of the affected people.

The KKF chief, Shaikh Liaquat Husain, said items worth more than Rs17.5 million were distributed among the needy from all walks of life and from various ethnic groups and provinces.

Mr Husain declared amnesty for those people who had joined the Haqiqis under duress and visited their offices just to make their attendance. He advised his supporters to ensure that despite differences no one belonging to the rival faction should be victimized. He said ideological difference did not mean that one should attack homes of the rivals.

Mr Husain said when General Pervez Musharraf had promised to eliminate the “no-go” areas the MQM had welcomed the gesture and its senior leaders and activists visited those areas. But to utter their surprise Haqiqi activists indulged in alleged terrorist activities. In order to avoid clash the Muttahida pulled out of those areas because it had desired that law-enforcement agencies would do their work and the Muttahida would be allowed to do its job in those areas.

He said the Muttahida did not believe in the politics of confrontation, and advised his supporters to be vigilant against agent provocateurs and report the matter to their respective offices, if they spot any such elements (‘Muttahida announces amnesty for Haqiqi men’ 2002, Dawn website, 2 December http://www.dawn.com/2002/12/02/local15.htm – Accessed 16 November 2006 – Attachment 15).

On 3 December 2002, on announcing that the MQM would align itself with the PML-Q, the deputy convenor of the MQM coordination committee, Dr Farooq Sattar, again spoke on the relations between the MQM and the MQM (Haqiqi) in Karachi. In so doing, he also refers to the hoped for re-settlement of families in Haqiqi dominated “no go” areas “free from fear of Haqiqi activists”:
…Though support to the government was “unconditional,” yet the MQM at the same time demanded of the prime minister to ensure that the Muttahida get chief ministership in Sindh and redress the “injustices” meted out to the party by the previous governments.

…The MQM deputy convener said that on Nov 27 the party had decided to sit on the opposition benches to express solidarity with thousands of the affected families who could not be resettled in their homes in the Haqiqi-dominated areas, despite Gen Musharraf’s directives.

He said that no fresh assurances were received and the MQM was banking on Gen Musharraf’s statement with regard to the resettlement of affected families.

However, he said that now it was encouraging for the MQM that the government was making effort to eliminate the no-go areas and to enable resettlement of the affected families, free from fear of Haqiqi activists (Ur-Rahman, S. 2002, ‘Muttahida again supports Jamali: No conditions attached’, Dawn website, 4 December http://www.dawn.com/2002/12/04/top2.htm – Accessed 16 November – Attachment 16).

Altercations between MQM and MQM (Haqiqi) supporters are reported during a by-election held in the NA-255 district of Karachi in May 2003. The report also refers to a “sidelining” of the Haqiqi faction and that its militant members had either joined the main Muttahida party or gone underground “owing to the threat posed by the law-enforcement agencies”:

An uneasy calm resides in parts of Malir and Shah Faisal Colony following raids in Landhi and alleged election related manoeuvring in NA-255.

Gunshots are frequently heard in the twin localities. And wall chalking carried out by rival groups indicates that both the Mohajir Qaumi Movement and Muttahida Qaumi Movement want to make their presence felt in Malir as well as Shah Faisal Colony.

The situation has turned particularly tense since the announcement of the by-election schedule by the election commission for NA-255 Landhi, area elders say.

The two localities have remained a stronghold of Mohajir Qaumi Movement and activists of the Afaq-led party are still present in them although they have been sidelined considerably. However, political analysts say a majority of the activists have changed their style of operation due to the raids against them.

Although many have changed loyalties, with a visible majority having switched over to the ruling Muttahida Qaumi Movement, the hard-core militant cadre has either gone underground or has changed places owing to the threat posed by the law-enforcement agencies. Those nominated in murder cases are being chased by the police in parts of Landhi, Malir and Shah Faisal Colony.

On Thursday a central Haqiqi leader — Asif Sheharyar, who took an active part in election work for his brother-in-law Sharif Khan — was arrested from the Khokhrapar area.

The Muttahida Qaumi Movement has announced an amnesty for its workers who had changed loyalties and joined the Haqiqis at the time of the operation cleanup back in 1992. The amnesty does not include those who were involved in murders.

Though flags and banners of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement have been unfurled after 12 long years and corner meetings have been addressed by the Muttahida leaders, the rival groups have reportedly exchanged threats over the playing of Altaf Hussain’s cassettes and also over the pitching of shamianas.
…At some places, posters of the Muttahida Qaum i Movement have been disfigured by the rival group, especially in the volatile Khokhrapar area, where slogans of “Jeay Mohajir Jeay Pakistan” have been written after erasing slogans saying “Jeay Altaf”.

In the formerly “no-go areas” — the NA-256 and 257 constituencies, comprising, Saudabad, Khokhrapar, Liaquat Market, Jinnah Square, Model Colony, Faisal Colony, Sadat Colony, Al-Falah and Green Town — the Muttahida Qaumi Movement has started opening its party offices. The people are in a fix as those seen earlier with the Haqquis are now working for the ruling Muttahida Qaumi Movement while some people don’t want themselves to be exposed before the emergence of a clear picture.

…The area’s people fear an outbreak of fresh violence in the backdrop of elections and have demanded effective precautionary steps in Malir and Shah Faisal Colony because anti-social elements might try to disturb peace.

Moreover, they fear that in case of a change in the political scenario, there might be lawlessness once again. A large number of people were targeted and killed after the launching of operation clean-up against the MQM in 1992, they recall (‘Uneasy calm in Malir, Faisal Colony’ 2003, Dawn website, 24 May http://www.dawn.com/2003/05/24/local13.htm – Accessed 16 November 2006 – Attachment 17).


Reports in 2003 and 2005 point to the intimidation of the MQM (Haqiqi) faction by the ruling Muttahhida authorities. In its 2003 research on the treatment of Mohajirs, the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada also refers to the MQM. It quotes the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan who believed that the:

only case where discrimination is a factor is if the Mohajirs belong to the political party, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), one faction of which is facing some government-led intimidation, mainly in Karachi (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003, PAK41873.E – Pakistan: Treatment of Mohajirs (Urdu-speaking Muslims who fled to Pakistan from India following the 1947 partition of the sub-continent) by the general population, particularly in Lahore and Islamabad; whether there is an internal flight alternative for Mohajirs in Pakistan, aside from Karachi (1998-August 2003), 2 September http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/?action=record.viewrec&gorec=435982 – Accessed 14 November 2006 – Attachment 1).

In its Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2004 on Pakistan, the US State
Department describes relations between the MQM and the MQM (Haqiqi) in the following terms:

There were reports of violence between political factions in the country. **For example, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement – Haqiqi (MQM-H), an urban Sindh-based political party that in the past used violence to further its aims, claimed that its rival the Muttahida Qaumi Movement – Altaf (MQM), now a member of the national and provincial governing coalition, used security forces to carry out extrajudicial killings of its members; however, no direct connections between security forces and the killings were made.** By year’s end, the MQM political leadership had denounced violence and broken ties with its former militant wing, a group that resembled an armed gang carrying out retaliation against rival gangs, including the MQM-H’s armed wing. A total of three policemen were suspended for 3 months and were demoted in rank as a result of their involvement with the 2003 killing of Noshad Ansar, the nephew of a regional MQM official (US Department of State 2005, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2004 – Pakistan*, 28 February – Attachment 22).

**List of Sources Consulted**

**Internet Sources:**
- Government Information & Reports
- Non-Government Organisations
- International News & Politics
- Region Specific Links
- Search Engines
- Databases:
  - FACTIVA (news database)
  - BACIS (DIMA Country Information database)
  - REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
  - ISYS (RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)
  - RRT Library Catalogue

**List of Attachments**


8. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2003, PAK42084.E – Pakistan: Whether there are penalties for desertion from the Paramilitary Rangers; whether such penalties are enforced; treatment of deserters; reasons for desertion; whether the Rangers spy on political parties as part of their official duties (2000 – October 2003), 30 October (REFINFO)


15. ‘Muttahida announces amnesty for Haqiqi men’ 2002, *Dawn* website, 2 December  


17. ‘Uneasy calm in Malir, Faisal Colony’ 2003, *Dawn* website, 24 May  


19. ; ‘Hearing of trial put off”, 2004, *Dawn* website, 6 November,  

