

The Business

Chief Editor

Irfan Athar Qazi

E-mail: editorthebusiness@yahoo.com

thebusinesslhr@gmail.com

Tijarat House, 14-Davis Road, Lahore  
0423-6312280, 6312480, 6312429, 6312462  
Cell # 0321-4598258

1270-B, Peoples Colony No I, Off: Chenone  
Road, Faisalabad, Ph: 041-8555582

ISLAMABAD / RAWALPINDI  
N-125 Circular Road, Ph: 051-5551654,  
5532761, Cell # 0300-8567331  
KARACHI  
3rd Floor Kehkashan Mall 172-I Block II PECHS  
Opp Rehmania Masjid Main Tariq Road  
Ph: 021-34524550, Cell # 0300-8251534

## A day of reckoning

This time too, March 23 was celebrated with the renewed pledge to steer Pakistan out of the political, economic and social crises. The day retraces the thought and circumstances for adopting a short but comprehensive resolution in 1940, which later became a part of the Muslim League Constitution in 1941 and formed the basis of the demand for Pakistan in 1946. While the document amply showed Muslim League's disillusionment with the Government of India Act 1935, it also laid down broad contours of the place of "Muslims in India" at that time. The adoption of the Lahore Resolution bears relevance to the present day situation Pakistan is in, which demands the same commitment and sincerity of purpose by our political leaders to put Pakistan on the road to peace and prosperity. The resolution talks about "independent States" in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign". The resolution also demands "effective and mandatory safeguards" in the constitution for minorities "for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights". The idea behind these demands was to strengthen the foundations of the "independent States" and the institutions in future.

Now that we look back and compares the spirit of unconditional commitment to the cause of constitutionalism and what happened later, it does not turn out to be a promise fulfilled. To begin with, the treatment that the Centre meted out to the federating units speaks volumes of our disdain for the rights of the federating units enshrined in our Constitutions. Political instability at regular intervals made matters worse, thereby putting an end to the political process that might have otherwise resulted in granting provinces some autonomy. The Balochistan situation that gave sleepless nights to the armed forces in the recent past is another manifestation of the usurpation of rights of the smaller provinces.

It should be remembered that the father of the nation Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted to realise a progressive and democratic Pakistan, giving equal rights to the minorities. But the past should not dampen our spirits to create a niche for ourselves. There is certainly light at the end of the tunnel as the major political parties have come together to chart out a path for Pakistan to become a nation as envisioned by our fore fathers. Great responsibility lies on the shoulders of the present government to avoid a repeat of the past mistakes that not only cost us one half of the country in the shape of Bangladesh but also hurled our future in the realm of uncertainty. March 23 gives us an opportunity to refresh our memories of the aim that the Quaid had set for us.

## The spirit of Pakistan Movement is an all enduring panacea — I

PROF. DR. MUHAMMAD IQBAL CHAWLA (R)

The creation of Pakistan can be characterized truly as a 'revolution' when it emerged as an independent nation-state in 1947 because Muslims fought simultaneously against both the Hindu nationalists and the British establishment to achieve an independent state of their own. The Indian subcontinent, most of which had been under Muslim rule for centuries, was colonized and created as one geographical entity by the British. The Lahore Resolution in March 1940 ushered in a new era in the history of Indo-Pakistan because the Muslims of India decided to achieve a separate homeland based on the Two-Nation Theory. The Hindu-Muslim separatism in India had intensified particularly during the British rule in India. The Hindu-Muslim differences and communalism assumed a final shape when Jinnah and the Muslim League, following the historical precedence given by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the late nineteenth century and the very clear idea of a separate Muslim state put forth by Allama Iqbal in 1930 decided that only two separate and independent political and geographical entities can peacefully accommodate these two nations. The Muslim nation was to comprise Muslim-majority areas in the Northwest and Northeast of British India. The Northwest comprised Punjab, Sindh, NWFP (now KP), and Balochistan, and the Northeast consisted of Assam and Bengal. The Lahore Resolution of March 1940 was the result of the independent evolution of Muslim political thought. It was neither dictated by the British nor encouraged by Lord Linlithgow as some Congress party

historians have alleged but was a natural result of the Muslims' aspirations, interests, and ideas shaped by the evolving political situation in India. Jinnah, like Allama Iqbal, after exploring all other avenues of Muslim survival and security in India, had concluded that the only way the Muslims could save themselves from the stranglehold of a Hindu-majority government and secure their future life in line with their ideals, "religious, spiritual, economic, social and political", was to have their own independent homeland, territory, and state. Jinnah's rationale of the Two-Nation Theory was almost on the same lines, tone, and style as had been expounded by Allama Iqbal. But he elaborated it in a manner clearer to the Muslims at large to explain the contradictions which had existed between the Hindus and the Muslims for a long time. He believed that the Muslims of India had survived for centuries with a separate identity and deserved to be considered as a separate nation, for their separate identity fulfilled every sense of the meaning of the word 'nation' prevalent in the political dictionary.

The Muslims of India had been 'roaming in a political wilderness' but the Lahore Resolution of March 1940 gave them a sense of identity and purpose. As both the British and the Congress stood for the geographical and political unity of India for a variety of reasons, the resolution failed to make either of them happy. Instead of trying to understand the genuine complaints voiced by the Muslims, the Congress, as a result of the Lahore Resolution — later renamed as the Pakistan Resolution — became even more hostile towards them and adopted a strategy aimed at dividing their ranks. They encouraged all those groups, leaders,

and associations whom they thought would oppose the League, Jinnah, and the Lahore Resolution, by providing them with economic, political, and other assistance. Increased Congress opposition to the League, Jinnah and the Lahore Resolution had the reverse effect of its intended goal by increasing their popularity amongst the Muslim masses. Just like the Hindus, the British Government was also opposed to the Lahore Resolution but being the governing power it could not afford to ignore the growing influence of Jinnah, the League and the 'Pakistan Movement' among the Muslims of India whose valuable military and other services were badly needed for World War II.

Jinnah elaborated his philosophy of a separate Muslim state through his various speeches and statements. His vision was to make it a modern, democratic and welfare Islamic state where equal rights to citizens irrespective of religion, caste, creed, and gender will be ensured. The workers of the Pakistan Movement though had a thin size of landed aristocracy or traders but mainly consisted of underprivileged classes like peasants, laborers, women, students, lawyers and many other kinds of professionals looking for a better opportunity. They reposed full confidence in Jinnah's vision of Pakistan and believed in his capabilities to turn the strategic goals into practical shape. They believed the new state will be a panacea for all their ills. Jinnah was possessed of unusual charisma and by relying on his outstanding leadership traits, he enlisted the support of main stakeholders and interest groups. He was able to organize his hard-working group from every nook and corner of India, especially of Liaquat Ali Khan, Zafar Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar

(NWFP), Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad (UP), Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, A. K. Fazlul Haq (Bengal), Sir Abdullah Haroon (Sindh), Qazi Isa (Balochistan) and others. He also mobilized various groups particularly youngsters and students, both male and female, of educational institutions such as Aligarh Muslim University in the UP, Islamia College Railway Road, Lahore, Dacca University, Islamia College, Peshawar et al. The last phase of the Muslim separatist movement, popularly called the Pakistan Movement (1940-1947) was undoubtedly dominated in large part by Jinnah and a few of his trusted top lieutenants and millions of workers in the field lacking hugely in financial resources as compared to the Congress. By discarding the common practice in India of civil disobedience or agitational politics to dictate or blackmail the colonial administration, Jinnah adopted only the constitutional and peaceful means to achieve his goal of Pakistan. As an authoritative representative of the Muslims of India, he engaged in talks, exchange of letters, one-on-one meetings, and attended conferences to fight for the case for Pakistan. On one hand, his case for Pakistan was won through secret balloting of general elections of 1945-46, and on the other Jinnah exhibited his matchless qualities as a negotiator and achieved Pakistan by dismantling the artificial creation of British India in the sub-continent.

The writer is former Dean of Arts and Humanities and Chairman, Department of History and Pakistan Studies at Punjab University. (Courtesy monthly Hilal)

To be continued

# Iqbal-Jinnah's view of Hindu communism — I

DR MUHAMMAD MUJEEB AFZAL

The rise of Hindu nationalists in India has rudely brought into focus the two socio-political realities of the post-independent Indian subcontinent; first is that the religion and its based ethos remained the essential elements of the individuals and their group identities overriding their primordial factors like caste-class, language and region. And, second is that the overwhelming numerical majority of the Hindu community and their increasingly un-accommodative attitude in the subcontinent has remained a serious challenge for the autonomous survival and flourishing of the other communities, especially the Indian Muslims, inside as well as outside India, — the South Asian state-system. This article is an attempt to re-visit the pre-partition era in order to understand the logic of Sir Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's views about the self, the Indian-Muslim, and the other, the majority Hindu community. Their definition of the self is essential to understand the behavior of the Muslim nationalism in India, the emergence of Pakistan, and will also help explain the later attitude of the Hindu majority towards the Muslims in post-partition India, both under the All India National Congress and now the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The introduction of Islam in the subcontinent had brought a fundamental change in the socio-cultural fabric of its society. Unlike the other non-Hindu religions of the past, Islam refused to merge into the old traditions of the Brahmanical religion. Its followers, both outsiders and local converts, captured the political power and governed the subcontinent for over a thousand years. During this period of hegemony, the socio-religious Persian-Arabic tra-

ditions of the elite interacted with local traditions and created a distinct Indian-Muslim civilization, Islam-Urdu. This Islam-Urdu civilization created its elite-middle class, especially the middle town gentry that made significant contributions in every aspect of its life, art, literature, music, and architecture of the subcontinent. The Hindu upper-caste gentry did participate in this Islam-Urdu venture but their role was treated as ancillary. The British colonization of India came largely at the expense of this Muslim gentry; in addition to it, the Hindu gentry joined the British-Indian Raj and continued to serve and benefit from the personage of the new state. The Muslim gentry suspected the role of Hindus in their defeats in battles of Plassey under Siraj-ud-Dawla and Seringapatam under Tipu Sultan; after these defeats the Raj in retaliation completely wiped out the Muslim gentry in Bengal. Later, almost the same roles were repeated in the 1857 War of Independence. The Muslim suspicions about the intentions of the Hindus were further increased with the projected ideologies and activities of the Hindu revivalist movements like Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj. They were perceived as instruments of the Hindu gentry to unify their community on the cult of Shivaji against the Muslims in India. The numerically strong Hindu gentry was perceived determined to exploit the anti-Muslim sentiments of the British in order to occupy the positions of power and economy in the Raj and fulfill their long-held dream of the revival of Hindu Raj in India. In the light of their experience, the Muslim gentry considered the possibility of any Hindu-dominated political order a serious threat to the survival of the Indian-Muslim community and its Islam-Urdu civilization in India. Moreover, the Raj introduced the institutions of elections for the local bodies and competitive

exams for the bureaucratic jobs; these developments further increased the fears of marginalization of the Muslim gentry against 80 percent majority share of the Hindu community compared to their own 13.5 percent share. Therefore, in the post-1857 War of Independence era, the entire Muslim gentry and its leadership were determined to survive as a distinct Indian-Muslim community in the subcontinent through balancing the Hindu majority and avoiding any possibility of the establishment of a Hindu Raj.

Sir Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was the first leader who understood the dilemma of the Indian Muslims who were caught in between the power of the Raj and its ideas, and the Hindu majority that was not ready to accept them as an equal community. He interpreted the Western concept of democracy and nationalism in order to make them ideologically and practically relevant to the situation in India. In this regards, he started his intellectual journey from the Western concept of romantic Indian nationalism; his famous poem Sare jand se achha, Hindositan hamara (Better than the entire world, is our Hindustan), reflected his early views. Later, he reconsidered his views and found Western concepts less compatible with the Indian environment that was composed of diverse communal groups. Accordingly, India was an amalgamation of diverse communal units that cut across the regional and linguistic lines. He argued that the democratic system of the Raj had to recognize this reality and reorient itself from its territorial standpoint to the communal units of Indian society. Similarly, he disagreed with the concept of nationalism that he thought were in conflict with the universal and ethical nature of Islam. He was critical of the narrow public focus of the concept of nationalism that had taken religion away from the public to

the private sphere. He argued that the Islamic concept of nationalism freed an individual from his geographical limitation and binds him to a universal social order. This universal Islamic social order combines the ethical, legal, and political ideals of Islam. He further argued that throughout history Islam had played a vital role in the lives of Indian Muslims and had provided them essential emotions for the development of mutual loyalties which now bind these scattered individuals and groups into a well-defined people. That is why the Indian Muslims were the most homogeneous and united people in India fit for any definition of a nation in the modern sense of the word. Iqbal argued that the ethical-political social order of Islam encouraged the Muslim community to find internal harmony across various diversities and, simultaneously, negotiate reciprocal communal harmony and cooperation with other communities.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal considered the communal problem between Hindus and Muslims as an international issue because for him the communal groups were nations in their own rights. He thought that issues between Hindu and Muslim communities could only be settled on a reciprocal basis through giving full respect to the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of each other's communities. That is why he was less enthusiastic for any power-sharing formula based on separate electorates in a unified central legislative, rather he preferred a federal structure in which a community had a right to free development according to its ideals.

The writer is on the faculty of Quaid-i-Azam University (School of Politics and International Relations). (Courtesy monthly Hilal)

To be continued

## Politics of protest, agitation is not new to our history

SAJID ZIA

The politics of protest and agitation is not new to our national history. Yet the PDM is practicing protest politics in a different mode which is barring up many things unknown to the past. The 11-party alliance of the Opposition in the wake of ending the long march on account of internal differences on the question of tendering en bloc resignations, has made the politics much messier and uncertain which earlier, was never seen. Although all mainstream Opposition political parties have joined hands against the government their leadership is wanting in that maturity which the nation saw in the maestro of protest politics, late Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Benazir Bhutto, or the right-wing political leaders of the country. They took to their protests to a height but never crossed the line which jeopardized the national interests which the current PDM is heading for. For the political observers, it is due to the fact that the PDM parties are only interested in saving the skin against their corruption and their slogan of fighting for the rights of the masses, badly lacks the sincerity of purpose. As such they are looking for the escape in agitation and the politics of chaos undercover protecting rights of the masses.

And the internal rifts of the PDM have aggravated the situation which, by no means, is in the interest of the country. It is notable that after PPP President Asif Ali Zardari flatly refused to quit the assemblies and sacrifice the PPP government in Sindh to the advantage of PML-N and JUI-F. Now partners in the alliance are grappling with a two-pronged situation: how to remain united to keep their face before the masses and secondly, how to safeguard their personal interests at the united platform. But their lack of cohesion and trust in each other is dominating this object leading them to disarray and confusion.

After Zardari showed his weight in the last PDM meeting by refusing to resign, the PML-N and JUI-F as a counterblast, have announced to mop up their supporters in Lahore on March 26 when Maryam Nawaz Sharif has been called by the NAB for interrogation into corruption allegations. This call on their part is a blatant exposure of their frustration that only begets anarchy and chaos in the country, if the politicians are getting infected by it. Political observers asked a question what for giving the calling to, as per words of Maulana Fazlur Rehman 'people in lakhs,' in Lahore on March 26 if they believe in rule of law and do not fear facing the cases. The point is not only Maryam Nawaz and her father but Maulana Fazlur is also confronting the corruption charges so that they intend to give a violent turn to the situation in a bid to internationalise their movement playing on the man and material loss.

But such a division in the alliance has surfaced that its result could be

counterproductive. Hamza Shehbaz Sharif, most likely on the instance of his father Shehbaz Sharif, appears to have distanced himself from this protest. He was present in the Jatti Umra with Maulana Fazlur Rehman to dilute the reported impression of cleavage among the Sharifs, yet he did not accompany Maryam and the Maulana when they appeared before the media after the parley.

This melodramatic situation has become even more emotional after Maryam and Bilawal Bhutto traded the allegations of 'selected' following a very close political proximity in the recent past. The PDM alliance was so fragile was unimaginable a few weeks ago. Perhaps it was only Asif Ali Zardari who got the sense on the count and mostly kept himself in the low profile to wait for the right moment to strike which he did. So he is again crossing his fingers. The other partners in the alliance are also in low spirits.

Former President Asif Ali Zardari has a political cool head and temperament and he takes step after thoroughly observing all aspects. This astuteness in him sounds the epitome of experiences he had at various stages in his life which now speaks through his political acumen. So Zardari-led PPP is not going to join the 9-party PDM on March 26 show outside the NAB office. Why? Because politics of agitation in Lahore is most likely to marginalize the PML-N which in the current situation, can weaken the position of Maryam and bring the importance of Shehbaz Sharif to the limelight in the party and outside besides while adding to the weight of Zardari for keeping the image of PDM. Therefore, the political pundits are terming Maulana-Maryam call a big risk to their politics.

In the background, the PTI government is taking a myopic view of the fact that the PDM is deriving strength from its shortcomings and inefficiencies, otherwise, an alliance of parties that have different ideologies, vote-bank, direction, political background and had been rival to each other in the past, and have also no change of hammering out an electoral alliance in future, could have joined hands so easily. The price hike is standing as the biggest hurdle between the PTI and the masses. People may have many things to say against the PTI ministers and others but everyone admits that Prime Minister Imran Khan is an honest and sincere person. On him, they still pin hope for the good. They count his weakness and helplessness against the corrupt in politics, both in the Opposition and his own folds, and the public departments and institution as a major cause of the whole problem. The public can come to his back and repel his political rivals within no time if he would set on a stern, across the board and result-oriented accountability that had been the hallmark of the Khan-led PTI campaign in the last elections. Khan must act fast on accountability if he has to get over the situation.