

The Business

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The forgotten land: A tale left incomplete

UMER ARSHAD

With a landmass more than twice the size of Karachi, in the strategic Saurashtran Kathiawar peninsula, between the Gulf of Kutch and Khambhat, at a distance of mere 400 kilometers from the city of Karachi, lies the fertile and culturally rich state of Junagadh. Due to famous chronicles of its preeminence from the times of Ashoka and Mauryan empires, Junagadh had always been the crown jewel of the kings and conquerors heading towards this part of the sub-continent. This land of Asiatic lions has seen periodic changes in its reign during the last two millenniums, owing to its geostrategic value and the economic activity it generates. Port Junagadh and Porbandar being the economic centers since centuries, have also served as a gateway to western India for most of the Portuguese colonial expeditions during the 17th century.

However, the state of Junagadh was in fact never a separate entity until 1654, but under a dominion of various rulers and emperors, ruling it through governors and royal appointees. Signs of its integration were first seen under the Babi dynasty of Afghan-Pashtun origin who came to India with Shah Jehan from Khorasan and were providential enough to defeat the Marathas before formally establishing the state of Junagadh in the heart of Kathiawar in 1730. Though the real independence was short-lived and was soon taken over when it came under British suzerainty in 1807, but since then, Junagadh state retained its identity as a princely state under the British crown until the partition of India. It was ruled by Muslim princes known by the title of 'Khanji' and authorized a 13-gun salute, a scale signifying importance, size and population of a royal state under the British.

The problem with this princely state, similar to Hyderabad and Kashmir, occurred during partition, when the rulers were given a choice to either select

India or Pakistan for a merger. The British being seasoned administrators and bureaucrats, with patented mastery over swaying half of the world, left a loophole in the guidelines issued for the accession of princely states. Although princes were given the right to choose, they were expected to take into consideration the geography as well as the wishes of their subjects. A vague, subjective decree issued by the Viceroy's office sowed the seed for future conflicts between the two nascent states. Junagadh, unlike Hyderabad, was located on the periphery of western India with a long coastline, making it comparatively easier to merge with Pakistan. Bordered by the Arabian Sea on three sides and India to its north, accession to Pakistan was not a difficult proposition to make, but the British and deceitful Indians had other plans of subversion.

Junagadh, being a welfare state and fifth largest in terms of revenue collection pre-1947, had too many vultures waiting for its debacle as the eve of independence approached. An opportunity was being sought, that unfortunately was accorded, when Nawab of Junagadh, Mahabat Khanji-III, signed the instrument of accession in Pakistan's favor on September 15, 1947 and left for Karachi to meet Quaid-i-Azam. Pakistan's Constituent Assembly accepted the accession a day later. In the meanwhile, Delhi could not accept the fact of having a Muslim state jutting inside its territory, especially, a state as prosperous and significant as Junagadh. All this led to the annexation of Junagadh by Indian forces on November 9, 1947, barely two months after its merger with Pakistan, making it the first Pakistani territory to be usurped as a manifestation of Indian hegemonic designs.

With Pakistan already stretched to the limit in dealing with refugee crisis, Kashmir issue and the delay in transfer of assets as per the agreed share, it could not afford a military conflict in Junagadh. Pakistan having the legal

right to claim the state of Junagadh approached the United Nations (UN) on January 6, 1948 in its 226th session, under the title, 'Jammu and Kashmir Question'. The issue of Junagadh alongside Kashmir was discussed in numerous sessions from January 6, 1948 till December 31, 1951, but all in vain. The UN Security Council (UNSC) resolution number 39 concerning Kashmir and Junagadh remains in a state of limbo till date. The state of Junagadh still poses a question mark for the world and supranational bodies including UN, European Union (EU), Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Arab Union and others about the right to self-determination and freedom, that is a major point of concern for all, especially the developed nations. How can India consider Kashmir a part of itself, when only the ruler of that time decided to accede with India whilst the population wanted otherwise? And how can India amalgamate the state of Junagadh, when the Nawab wanted to join Pakistan and the people wanted to side with their Nawab? The populace was in agreement with the decision of their Nawab, not because of the religious aspect, but due to the effective administration of Junagadh – a state with its own railways, free education, free health facilities and immense prospects for business and employment.

In the strategic context, apart from adding more than 300 kilometers of coastline in tandem with the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), Junagadh would have provided Pakistan with two well established and functioning ports along with a thriving fishing industry, which would contribute to the national exchequer.

Moreover, the issue at Sir Creek and Rann of Kutch would subside as India would have found its forces being enveloped by Pakistan from both sides – Junagadh peninsula and Sindh. Apart from providing depth to Karachi and southern Sindh, Junagadh's strategic location would have provided Pakistan an ideal jump-off point to balance any In-

dian aggression in the north. In case of imminent hostilities, complete Indian western coastline and naval activities would have been under vigilance and any nefarious design could be dealt with sufficient warning time at hand.

Although the Government of Pakistan did make diplomatic efforts for the liberation of Junagadh initially, soon after the fall of Dhaka and the pandemonium that followed, coupled with political precariousness in the country, Junagadh was lost in the labyrinth of time. Pakistan's map and postages depicting Junagadh and its vassal states of Manavadar in 1960s soon evanesced from the nation's collective memory, until recently when Pakistan issued its new political map. The case of lost kingdom also came back to life when the present Nawab of Junagadh, Muhammad Jahangir Khanji, reiterated his resolve to fight for Junagadh by highlighting the issue of its liberation from Indian occupation at all international forums. At this important time, when India under the fascist ideology of Hindutva is at the verge of implosion, Pakistan must make efforts to highlight the issue of Junagadh through diplomatic means.

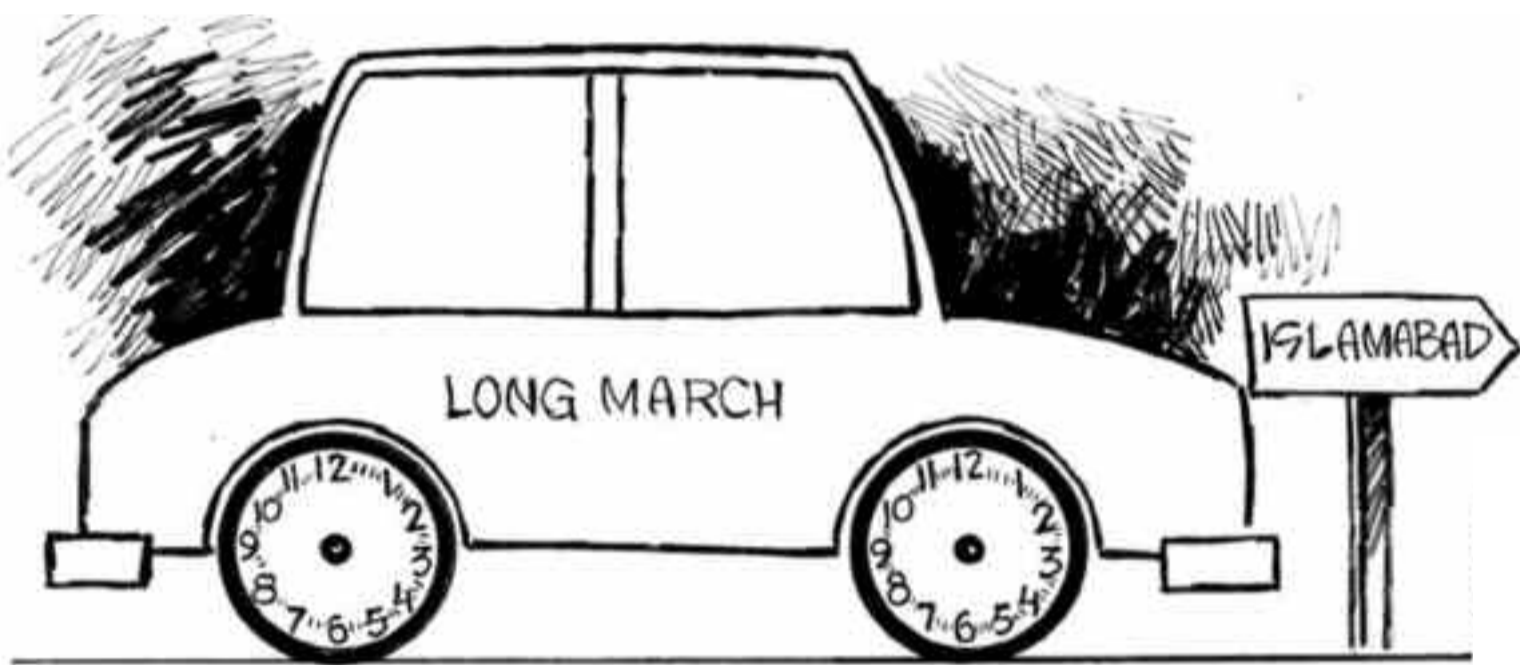
With Ladakh standoff, Nepal-India dispute, Kashmir struggle, North-eastern resistance, Khalistan Movement, Maoist and Naxalites, Indian Union is caught in its own cobweb.

An urgent requirement in this case is granting the special status of a federal territory to Junagadh along with its representation in the Senate.

Observance of Junagadh Day on November 9, especially by all Pakistani embassies and diplomatic missions around the world, is another way to create awareness about this issue. Ergo, Pakistan must refile the case of Junagadh in UNSC, thereby letting the world know that not only Kashmir, but other territorial disputes of Junagadh, Siachen and Sir Creek between Pakistan and India require contemplation.

Agri sector package

Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif has announced a 600 billion-rupee relief package for the agriculture sector, writing-off mark-up loans acquired by the small farmers that would cost the exchequer 10.6 billion rupees. Small farmers were not defined; however, this measure is unlikely to benefit the subsistence level farmers as they are forced to borrow from loan sharks, given that the banking sector does not extend loans to them due to lack of collateral; additionally, 5 billion rupees has been earmarked for payment of mark-up on loans to landless farmers though, again, it is unclear what the haris (peasants) would use as collateral; 50 billion rupees has been earmarked as loans to youth seeking employment in rural areas, which would cost the government 6.40 billion rupees as mark-up. This presupposes that our youth would proactively seek employment in rural areas while demographics suggest that there is a steady outflow of youth from rural to urban areas in search of jobs; besides, the government's assumption that all those who seek loans will make a success of their investment is a policy that has persistently failed in the past. There will be no cost of these measures, so opined Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, as 400 billion rupees is not a revenue item but loans to be provided by banks while the remaining amount of 200 billion rupees is already budgeted and funded no doubt by his predecessor Dr Miftah Ismail. While the measures announced do not total 600 billion rupees yet the logic employed by Dar is reminiscent of agriculture policy announcements by previous governments whose implementation did not come close to their objectives either in terms of actual outlay or in terms of the associated benefits. Such large relief packages especially during an ongoing International Monetary Fund (IMF) programme tend to suffer from even more implementation bottlenecks than are the norm in this country and one would not hesitate to state that the 600 billion-rupee package is a non-starter – not only because government pledged support will be contingent on IMF approval, which is unlikely, given the appalling state of the economy today but also because commercial banks are unlikely to extend loans to those most in need due to lack of requisite collateral. Coming up with the same policies that have strengthened the elite capture in this country and not paid dividends in terms of tackling poverty is hardly likely to win political points with a much better informed public than five years ago when the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) in power. Additionally the report mentions that vast bulk of the fresh produce passes through traditional marketing systems onto consumers – a system of aarthis (middlemen) that needs urgent remedial measures.



India's freaking fantasy of annexation

SYED QAMAR AFZAL RIZVI

India's Kashmir policy, a glaring reflection on human rights atrocities, illegal occupation and annexation must be drawing a global attention.

Currently, Indian Defence Minister Rajnath Singh, in a statement, has fancied to have Gilgit-Baltistan as part of India to complete the mission the Modi government unilaterally began, annexing occupied Kashmir in August 2019. The said statement is a failed fig leaf attempt to hide India's illegal annexation of Kashmir. The Hindutva-orchestrated mindset of Rajnath Singh clearly unveils that the Modi Government has no regard for the global rule of law. Responding to the Indian minister's remarks, the Pakistan Foreign Office, in a statement, said that the minister, in his remarks, "distorted the well-established historical facts about the Jammu & Kashmir dispute".

This article exclusively argues that India's annexation of the occupied Kashmir holds no legal and moral validity. Day by day, Indian aggression in Kashmir is systematically increasing. India's illegal annexation (5 August 2019) is in brazen violation of international law. Unjustifiably, the Indian Parliament passed the Jammu & Kashmir Reorganization Bill which abolished the erstwhile State of Jammu & Kashmir and divided the region into two 'Union territories' of Ladakh and Jammu & Kashmir. Once again, constitutional safeguards were sidestepped. Whereas, Article 3 of the Indian Constitution requires bills changing the name or area of any State to be referred to the Legislature of that State for its view thereon. By ignoring this process, the Modi government clearly violated India's Constitution. Moreover, while revoking Articles 370 and 35-A, India has intrinsically abandoned the notion of Jammu & Kashmir as a special territory deserving autonomy.

In 1952, India entered into an agreement, known as the Delhi Agreement with the J&K state wherein it reaffirmed "that sovereignty in all matters other than those specified in the Instrument of Accession continues to reside in the State." The Agreement also recognizes the State's authority to define the rights and privileges for its permanent residents. Arguably, "the State of India is an Occupying Power in Jammu

& Kashmir and through its actions of August 5, 2019, has attempted to unlawfully annex this territory without any recourse to the will of the people of Jammu & Kashmir. Based on an analysis of the applicable law, this memorandum sets out in broad strokes, the main legal implications of India's occupation and unlawful annexation". Needless to say, the Hindutva agenda per se has dominated the public space in India, thereby taking an insidious and all-encompassing policy form— vindicated by the Modi Government's move on 5 August 2019 — which transformed India's only Muslim-majority state into a non-autonomous status.

By all means, the Indian revocation of Article 370 accompanied by its unjust annexation of the Vale has been an excruciating experience for the Kashmiri people, fighting for independence or more autonomy within the Indian Union. Factually, Kashmir's accession to India — still remains the most controversial and contentious issue of the history of the subcontinent. While India's first premier, Jawaharlal Nehru, had committed to Kashmir's future being decided by the wishes of its people, India has never held the plebiscite mandated by the United Nations' Security Council (UNSC) in 1948. True, Kashmir remains an unfinished agenda of partition of the subcontinent.

The truth proclaims that legally, the revocation of Articles 370 and 35-A does not alter the very basis of the sovereign and independent status of the J&K protected under the autonomy cover— systematically endorsed by the Accession Instrument, the Delhi Agreement, and the Indian State Constitution. Needless to say, internationally, the 1948 UN Security Council Resolutions and the 1972 Simla Agreement respectively recognize the territorial dispute between India and Pakistan as an international dispute that cannot be unilaterally resolved, but must be settled through a fair and impartial plebiscite or through some other bilateral agreement. By annexing the Occupied Kashmiri land into the Indian Union Territory, which has no international recognition, India has implanted a devilish Hindutva agenda by hijacking the liberal forces of India's domestic law, as well as that of international law. According to the Foreign Policy Journal, "the Indian government deployed a slew of suppressive measures to deter

Kashmiris from expressing their will publicly. It deployed masses of troops, intimidated tens of journalists and carried out large-scale arrests of Kashmiri politicians, secessionists and anyone with enough clout to mobilize popular discontent into a sustained agitation.

While mainstream politicians were subsequently released, thousands of Kashmiris are still believed to be languishing in prisons inside Kashmir and across the country'. In March 2022, the UN Human Rights Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief in a report — accused the Modi government of tacitly allowing incitement to violence against Muslims — that documents state-driven and tolerated hatred, discrimination and violence against minorities in India. Today, the world is condemning any annexation move, which is evidenced by the fact that currently the Australian Government has reversed its previous stance on Jerusalem. Canberra holds that its embassy will remain in Tel Aviv. It is time to establish an independent inquiry commission on the Indian occupation of Kashmir—in parallel to the UN's recently formed Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Palestinian Occupied Territories (POT), including East Jerusalem — in order to honour the writ of international law. Notably, recent statements by the UN Secretary-General and "numerous member states have clearly indicated that any attempt at unilateral annexation of a State's territory by another State is a violation of international law and is null and void". Merely by changing its domestic law, no State can alter the status of a disputed territory under international law. In this backdrop, India's Reorganization Act 2019, endorsing a unilateral annexation of Occupied Indian Kashmir is absolutely a gross violation of international law as well as the UN's Charter. The Modi Government has to be accountable before the international community for its acts of malfeasance in the India-occupied Kashmir (IoK). Therefore, the ongoing apartheid-backed coercive Indian policies in occupied Kashmir as well as India's Defence Minister's recent remarks must draw the attention of the international community towards India's hegemonic and expansionist designs, marring the inevitable notion of a peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute between the two nuclear powers of the region.

Opportunity costs

DAVID SCHULTZ

With all the worry about what will happen to Twitter and whether it was worth it for Musk to buy it there is another question simply being ignored in the main stream press—Why should anyone be allowed to be worth what Musk is and why should he be able to drop \$44 billion to buy anything, let alone Twitter?

Capitalism is amazing. It has produced unprecedented wealth in the world. It is the story of the wealth of nations, of the occasional person who rises from nothing to become rich. It has brought forth technological innovations never seen before. It has transformed peoples' lives in countless ways.

Yet it has also given us the serious gaps in inequality both with the US and across what used to be called the North and South or First and Third Worlds. It has given us pollution, global warming, colonialism, and reinforced and transformed racism and sexism. For free marketers it is all about freedom and creative destruction, for its critics it has done little, especially in recent times, to address poverty, disease, and the quality of life for billions of people across the planet.

Musk is a living embodiment of Ayn Rand's John Gault. To many he is a hero because of Tesla and the coming electric car. Or he is a hero because of SpaceX and the race to Mars. Or simply he is a hero because he shows the power of capitalism to produce wealth for its own sake. Yet we have to remember that he is worth so much because he exploited so many workers. He is not the self-made person many assume—he was

born rich and used his privileges to enrich himself. Now he is super rich and can use his power not with great social responsibility, but in a way that caters to his whims and desires.

Musk is more powerful than a nation state. His musings about how to settle the Russian war against Ukraine to the former's advantage is more than simply idle thoughts. Rumors that Star Link—the satellite service Musk owns—were manipulated and blacked out the Ukrainian army at one point show the power he could exert over matters of war and peace and national sovereignty.

But let's put the \$44 million in perspective. How large is that amount? If Musk were a state, his \$44 million would make him the 86th largest GDP in the world. His purchase of Twitter would be slightly larger than the \$41 billion GDP of Serbia, yet just shy of the \$47 billion of Lithuania. His expenditure to buy Twitter is larger than the total GDP of the 31 poorest nations in the world.

This \$44 billion is almost three times as large as the total amount of military aid the US has given to Ukraine since Russia invaded. It represents about half the equivalent of total global aid to Ukraine since the war started. But what if we are not talking about military aid? World Program USA estimates that it would take \$40 billion to end world hunger and feed the most hungry for a year. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates it would take \$50 million to reach 70% vaccination level for the entire planet.

Excerpted: 'What I Could do With \$44 Billion (and It Would not be Buying Twitter)'.