

1989-1999 SPECIAL 10TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE 1989-1999 SPECIAL 10TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE 1989-1999

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*Special*

1989 - 1999

**10th**

Anniversary Issue

Jinnah Rafi Foundation



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1989-1999 SPECIAL 10TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE 1989-1999 SPECIAL 10TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE 1989-1999

# 10<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY



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Imtiaz Rafi Butt



It gives me great pleasure to state that the Jinnah-Rafi Foundation has completed ten years of its existence. It was established in 1989 in memory of the Quaid-e-Azam and my father, Muhammad Rafi Butt. Its main objectives were to spread the thoughts of the Quaid, acquaint the younger generation with the philosophy of the Pakistan Movement, inculcate patriotism and national pride and encourage scholarly research on subjects relating to Pakistan's political, social and economic interests.

The Foundation opened its operations with a research project on Rafi Butt's life and achievements. After five years of intensive work, the Foundation produced its first book "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" (Jinnah-Rafi Correspondence) in 1994. It comprised letters exchanged between the Quaid and Rafi Butt during the forties a period when the Pakistan Movement was gathering momentum and was soon to result in the establishment of the sovereign Muslim state of Pakistan.

By a strange quirk of history these letters and other documents bearing on the life of my father, Rafi Butt, lay in oblivion. They were discovered forty years after his death and after six years of long and painstaking research. The letters turned out to be of much historical value and brought into sharp relief, for the first time, the economic dimensions of the Pakistan Movement.

The letters also revealed Rafi Butt's profound respect for the Quaid-e-Azam and his unflinching faith in the Quaid's mission. Many individuals found in the Quaid an unflinching source of inspiration and encouragement. They rallied to his

call with tremendous fervour, carried his message to the four corners of the subcontinent and mobilised the Muslim masses in favour of the demand for a separate state. These individuals were the real crusaders - the real soldiers in the vanguard of the freedom struggle. My father was one of them. He acknowledged the Quaid as his sole leader and stood at his beck and call.

The Jinnah-Rafi Correspondence also revealed that Rafi had an ardent desire to do something solid and enduring for the industrial development of Pakistan. But his ambitions were not destined to be fulfilled. He died in an air crash in 1948 at the age of 39.

"My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" was warmly welcomed by journalists and intellectuals. It was also praised by western scholars writing on South Asia like Peter Hardy and Robert Mulligan. The correspondence contained in "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" along with comments by eminent persons is being reproduced for the benefit of those who are still unaware of the elemental spirit that animated the lieutenants of the Quaid-e-Azam and paved the way for the creation of Pakistan. "It

The army that the Quaid led to victory was made of such soldiers. They did not have guns but their hearts were ablaze with the leaping fire of freedom."

A second book, "At Quaid's Service" (A Journey Towards Discovery) is also ready and will be launched by the Foundation in the near future. As Professor Akbar S. Ahmed renowned anthropologist and Cambridge scholar and producer of Jinnah, a feature film on the Quaid-e-Azam observes in his FOREWORD to the book: "It is a historical account which sets the life of Rafi Butt in the context of larger Muslim history in the subcontinent. It is also a dramatic personal story. A story of double discovery. It is a son discovering his father and it is a father discovering his own identity through the leader that he found and acknowledged."

In spite of its research and publishing responsibilities, the Foundation did not lose sight of its other objectives. It utilised every national occasion to highlight the thoughts, words and deeds of the Quaid-e-Azam. It invited leading authorities on the Pakistan Movement to enlighten the people and the younger generation in particular on why the Muslims of South Asia demanded Pakistan, what were the ideals that inspired them, why were the Hindus and British opposed to the Pakistan idea and how the Quaid fought his way and won a separate homeland for the Muslims. The speakers on the occasion also shed light on the causes of our moral and political decline during the last fifty years.

As the son of Rafi Butt and custodian of his legacy, I firmly believe that it is only by reverting to the guidelines laid down by the father of the state that we can make Pakistan the land of his dreams. To me the discovery of my father was a revelation. It led to self-discovery; the discovery of my identity and roots. Through Rafi Butt I 'rediscovered' the Quaid, the



Pakistan Movement and, in the final analysis, Pakistan. The well being of Pakistan, therefore, is the central article of my political faith.

As spokesman of the Jinnah-Rafi Foundation, I have frequently found occasion to voice my opinion through the courtesy of the press on a wide variety of subjects, national and international. The subjects are as diverse as Nuclear Pakistan and Two-Nation Theory but they have one thing in common. They have the interest of the country at heart and aim at creating a strong prosperous and progressive Pakistan. A cross-section of these articles is included in the pages that follow to give the worthy reader a clearer idea of the thinking and objectives of the Jinnah-Rafi Foundation.





Jinnah Rafi Correspondence

# Jinnah Rafi Correspondence

"My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" (Jinnah Rafi Correspondence) was the first major publication of the Jinnah-Rafi Foundation. It comprised letters exchanged between the Quaid-e-Azam and Muhammad Rafi Butt.

The book was launched on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1994 by the then Prime Minister Mohtarma Benezir Bhutto at an impressive ceremony held in Alhamra, Lahore. These letters turned out to be of much historical significance. They brought into sharp relief, for the first time, the economic dimensions of the Pakistan Movement. They also dispelled the notion that there was a general lack of interest concerning the economic imperatives of the new state of Pakistan and revealed that the father of the nation was already seized of the matter.

By a strange quirk of history these letters lay hidden in the mists of time. They were discovered forty years after Rafi Butt's death and after six years of long and painstaking research by his son Imtiaz Rafi Butt.

"My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" also reveals Rafi Butt's profound admiration for the Quaid-e-Azam and the Quaid's affection for him. Rafi Butt came into contact with the Quaid-e-Azam in the thirties. The Quaid's charismatic personality, unrivalled integrity and tenacity of purpose made an everlasting impact on his mind. Rafi Butt placed his services and resources at the disposal of the Quaid-e-Azam and the Pakistan Movement. He remained a faithful lieutenant of the Quaid till the very end. The Quaid died in September 1948. Rafi Butt followed him two months later. He was only 39 at the time. In the words of Khalid Hasan, the renowned columnist, "It was because of young men like Rafi Butt that Pakistan came into being. The army that the Quaid led to victory was made up of such soldiers. They did not have guns but their hearts were ablaze with the leaping fire of freedom".

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35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.  
January 22, '44

**My Dear Quaid-e-Azam,**

I have been constantly in touch with the proceedings of Muslim League Session through the medium of papers. It was my bad luck that due to my unexpected and sudden engagements I could not attend the session personally.

I noted with interest the resolutions passed on 26/12/43 and admire your enthusiastic efforts to elevate the Muslims on a level beyond criticism. Your programme for the economic, social uplift and state industrialisation of our community in the Pakistan zones in particular, deserves special approbation.

Punjab Province can be usefully made industrial and commercial minded, as we Punjabees luckily possess a great capacity for hard and laborious work in addition to ready-for-any-venture spirit. In the midst of this war, it is the right time when you can awaken Punjabi Muslims from their slumber and develop the industry in par with foreign nations.

With my little experience in the industrial and business lines, I shall consider myself privileged if I could be of any assistance to the Muslims (of Punjab in particular) in this connection, under your kind guidance. I enclose another cheque of Rs 500/- as my humble contribution for this cause.

I hope you will spare some time for me when you are in Lahore next.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

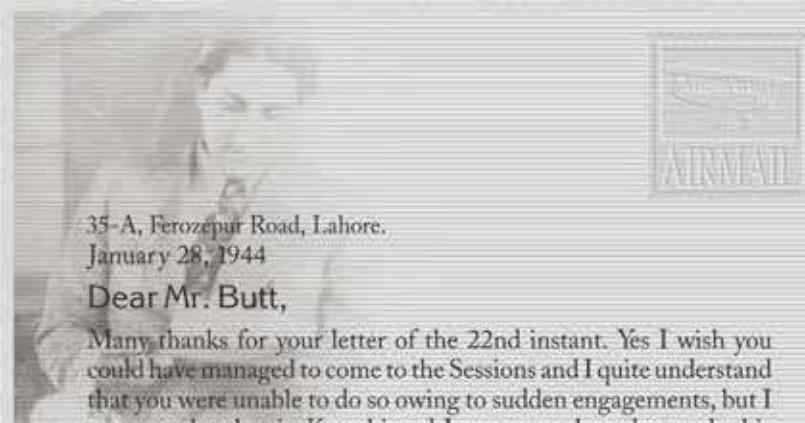


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Jinnah Rafi Correspondence



35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.  
January 28, 1944

Dear Mr. Butt,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd instant. Yes I wish you could have managed to come to the Sessions and I quite understand that you were unable to do so owing to sudden engagements, but I met your brother in Karachi and I was very pleased to make his acquaintance.

I have received the cheque for Rs. 500/- enclosed with your letter as your second contribution for the League Fund and I thank you for it.

As regards the "Planning Committee," I am glad that you approve of the League Resolution and I shall certainly bear in mind your kind offer to help us in this connection. May I request you also to give me some information as to who are the others, who can be of help to us in this undertaking. It is very important and I am glad that you realise it. Please do let me know. I want the help of real practical businessmen, technicians and scientists.

Yes, when I am in Lahore next, I shall be very glad to see you and have a talk with you.

With best wishes,

Yours Sincerely

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Jinnah Rafi Correspondence



35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.  
February 17, 1944

My Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I am very grateful to you for your kind letter of the 28th. January 1944 and am sorry for the delay in replying to it.

I shall be glad to submit for the consideration of the planning committee of the League a detailed memorandum setting out the lines on which industrial development can benefit our community and shall also offer all help and assistance on the basis of my experience as an industrialist, and chairman of the Central Exchange Bank Ltd. (the only Muslim Bank in Northern India).

It is most painful to find, that we are very far behind in the industrial and commercial field; and here in the Punjab we have only a few who can do something in this direction, the outstanding personality being that of Sir Maratab Ali of Lahore. I give below the names of a few other gentlemen that in my opinion can prove very useful in this scheme.

1. Sheikh Sadik Hassan of Amritsar (Textiles).
2. Mian Naseer Ahmed of Lyallpur (Ginning & Flour Mills).
3. Khawaja Mohd Siddique of Bhera (Hide, Skin & Leather Industry).
4. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan of A. H. Khan & Sons Engineers & Manufacturers (Metal-craft).

It is also deplorable that we have produced very few scientists so far. I would however, like to bring to your notice the name of (5) K.B. Mian Afzal Hussain, who recently vacated the office of Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University. He is a well-known scientist and was Principal of the Punjab College of Agriculture before taking Vice-Chancellorship. He is now away to Cairo to attend the Middle East Agriculture Conference on behalf of the Govt. of India. I may also mention (6) Dr. Nazir Ahmed, Director of the Cotton Technological Laboratory, Matunga (Bombay). Dr. Ahmed belongs to Lahore and was head of the Science Department of the Lahore Islamia College before going to Bombay. I suggest that scientific talent may be explored in Aligarh and other centres of Muslim Education and in addition to practical businessmen the Planning Committee should enlist the services of some eminent economists.

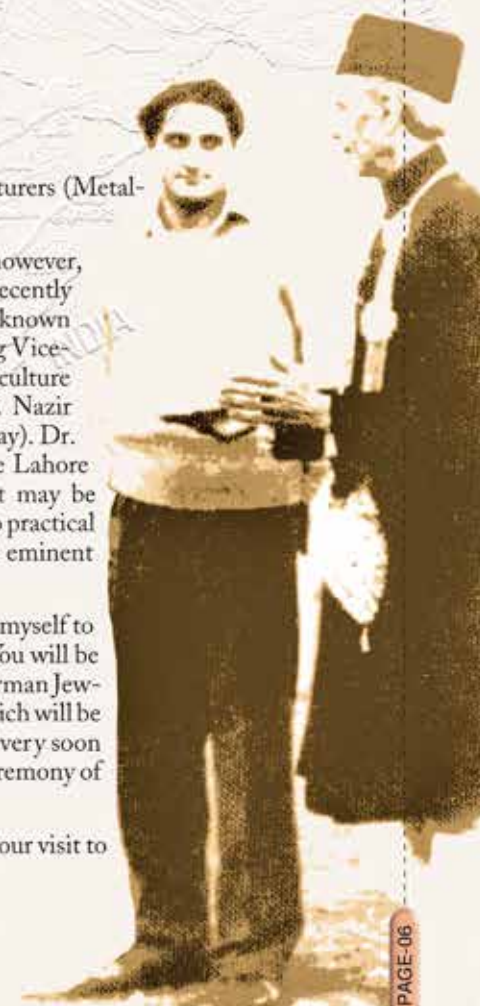
In surveying the commercial and scientific talent I have purposely confined myself to the Punjab, as I do not wish to transgress the rights of the other provinces. You will be interested to know that quite recently I have employed a foreign expert- A German Jew- in connection with my new enterprise of establishing a big enamel factory, which will be the first Muslim concern of its kind in India. The factory will be completed very soon and I shall feel honoured if you could see your way to perform the opening ceremony of this factory on your next visit to Lahore.

I cannot conclude this letter without requesting you to dine with me during your visit to Lahore. I trust you will be able to spare some time for me.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely

(M. Rafi Butt).







CHINA

March 9, 1944

My Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I was delighted to read in a recent issue of the Dawn that the question of sending a Muslim League delegation to foreign countries to counteract anti-Muslim propaganda is under your close examination. There can be no manner of doubt that the proposed delegation of Indian Industrialists Hindu sympathisers and supporters of the Congress will utilise the opportunity provided by the tour to impress the Congress view point on the British and American public and run down the Muslim League. I, therefore, write these few words to pledge my whole-hearted and active support to any measure you may consider necessary to take to counteract such propaganda.

I am glad to hear that you are paying a visit to Lahore in the middle of this month. In my last letter I requested you to keep one evening free for me when you come to Lahore. I shall feel greatly honoured if you will accede to my request.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,



CHINA

M. Rafi Butt, Esq.,  
35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.  
March 13, 1944

Dear Mr. Butt,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th of March 1944. I shall be very glad indeed to keep one evening free when I get to Lahore. I hope to reach Lahore on the morning of the 18th and we will then fix up a date.

As regards the other matter referred to in your letter, I thank you very much for your whole-hearted and active support if we decide upon any move to counteract the false propaganda which is carried on against us and I shall certainly avail myself of your help.

Yours sincerely,





35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.  
April 11, 1944

### My Dear Quaid-e-Azam

Since my last meeting with you I have been reflecting as to what further contribution I can make to the success of the proposed English Daily. (1) As I have said before, my services are at your disposal for the advancement of the noble cause of the Muslim Nation so dear to your heart. I shall be glad to look after the commercial side of the paper and do all I can to ensure its success by placing it on a sound commercial footing. My experience and connections in the business world can be freely drawn upon for the purpose of securing advertisements, organising agencies for sale, and settling matters connected with the technical equipment necessary to bring out a first class daily.

I hope you were able to find three more contributors to raise the guarantee fund to Rs. one lakh.

I am very glad to observe that your fortnight's stay in Lahore has had a very encouraging effect on the Musalmans of the Punjab and I hope that the League with its growing strength has already captured the imagination of the Muslim masses in other provinces as well.

It is my firm conviction that if Muslim businessmen and industrialists are properly mobilised and stand firm behind the League, the Muslim nation's future will be ensured; but this cannot be achieved unless we have true well wishers of the Muslim Nation at the helm of affairs in the administrative sphere.

You will be interested to hear that Sir Chhotu Ram in the course of a speech at Layallpure session (of the Jat Mahasabha) frankly recognised that so long as religion forms the basis of distribution of Political rights in the constitution of India, it was the inherent right of every religious community to organize itself for the protection of its political rights; and those who did not do so would stand to lose. Every Jat he said, would have complete freedom to join the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akal Dal, the Liberal Federation or the Indian Christian Association; and work in his individual capacity for the achievement of Pakistan, Akhand Hindustan, Azad Punjab, United Punjab and Purna Swaraj; but the Jat Mahasabha platform could not be utilised either to support or oppose any of these political ideals.

I personally consider that this is the direct result of your visit to Lahore that even Sir Chhotu Ram has started advising the Muslim Jats to join the League for the protection of their political rights and that if the Muslim Jats did not do so, they would be losers.

I am glad you are shortly coming to Lahore again.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,



Jinnah Rafi Correspondence



M. Rafi Butt, Esq.,  
35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.  
July 12, 1944

### Dear Mr. Butt,

Many thanks for your letter of July 5th. I have not given up the scheme for an English daily to be established in Lahore; and I will talk to you further on the matter when I am in Lahore. I have noted that your brother associates contribution with you to the newspaper scheme. I wonder whether you have made any progress with regard to the securing of premises and some of the machines which we were informed were available in Lahore.

The cheque that I received from Naseer Ahmed Sheikh was not met because there was some alteration in the date, and I had to return that cheque to him, requesting him to send me a fresh cheque or to initial the irregularity in the date. I have sent him two reminders, but I am sorry to say that I have not yet heard from him. I wonder whether he received my letter enclosing his cheque, which was not met by his Bank. Please make enquiries and let me know.

I hope to be in Lahore on July 28th, and shall then be very glad to have the opportunity of meeting you and further discussing, amongst other subjects, the scheme for an English daily.

Yours sincerely,





Murree Hill  
October 2, 1945

My Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I have just returned after six months tour of the United States and Canada where I studied industrial development, in particular as to how the United States has been able to build up its present position as the industrial leader of the world. I spent a good deal of time in critically examining the methods and the means adopted by American industrialists in accomplishing their present achievements. I observed a great similarity between the natural resources of the United States and India and do not see why our own great country cannot be developed economically on the same lines as America.

You will be glad to learn that I have established many valuable connections with the captains of industry in the United States and with their assistance I expect to set up in the near future a network of factories in India. I shall be able to explain in detail when I see you personally in the near future.

After a couple of day's stay in Lahore I have come to Murree on a week's holiday before plunging into serious business. During my absence from India I have been keenly watching the political developments in our country particularly the events connected with the Simla Conference which have culminated in the present election. I regret to record my impression that the Congress case receives wide publicity in the United States whereas few know the League viewpoint. I did my best to explain the League case to each and every industrialist I met both in the United States and Canada but I have come back with the firm conviction that it is imperative to set up some sort of publicity organisation in New York to counteract the propaganda of the Congress. You will be interested to know that in pursuance of my own business plan I am contemplating to open an office in the United States very shortly.



I may mention here that before proceeding to the United States I insured my life in the sum of £2000 for the duration of my absence from India and in the event of death had nominated you to receive the money due from the insurance company and utilise it for the advancement of Muslim interests. But it may amuse you to know that the policy is now dead as I have returned alive. I enclose herewith the policy for your perusal.

As for the present elections it is my fervent prayer that the Almighty may crown your efforts with success and I hope that the League will sweep the polls. Whatever help I can render in this direction will, you may be sure, be readily forthcoming. I am not a very wealthy man but whatever I possess is at the disposal of the nation. As I have only recently returned to India I have not had enough time to study the conditions in connection with the elections. Since the time is very short I have informed the Nawab of Mamdot from here of my intention to contest the provincial elections but I am completely in your hands and will be guided by your advice.

I hope the climate of Quetta is having a very favourable effect on your health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely







## Acknowledgements

of world leaders on "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam"



10 Downing Street,  
London SW 1A 2AA

24 February 1995

Dear Mr. Butt,

I have been asked to thank you for your letter of 28 January to the Prime Minister and your very kind thought in sending him the book and brochure "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" published by your Foundation.

The Prime Minister sends his best wishes for the successful launch of your father's biography next month.

*Yours sincerely,  
Michael Price*

Yours sincerely,  
M. A. Price  
Press Office

Jinnah Rafi Correspondence

## Acknowledgements

of world leaders on "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam"



Margaret, The Lady Thatcher, O.M., P.C., F.R.S.  
House of Lords,  
London SW1A 0PW

8 February 1995

Dear Mr. Rafi Butt,

Lady Thatcher has asked me to write on her behalf to thank you for your letter and for the information you have kindly supplied regarding your illustrious father and his extensive achievements during his lifetime. Lady Thatcher was also very interested to read your view of world history and was grateful for your kind comments....

*Yours sincerely*

*Vivienne Kray*

Vivienne Kray  
PA/THE Rt. Hon The Baroness Thatcher OM FRS

Jinnah Rafi Correspondence





"My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" (Jinnah Rafi Correspondence) evoked laudatory comments from world leaders and eminent persons within the country. While President Ronald Reagan wished Imtiaz Rafi Butt, M. Rafi Butt's son and Chairman, Jinnah Rafi Foundation, "every success in your endeavours", Lady Margaret Thatcher referred to his "illustrious father and his extensive achievements during his life time."

Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan (N.I. & Bar, H.I.), Chairman, Dr. A.Q. Khan Research Laboratories, described the book as "a historical document of great importance". General Jehangir Karamat, former Chief of the Army Staff, praised the "dedication with which you are pursuing a noble cause".

The book also received warm appreciation from well-known western scholars on South Asia like Theodore P. Wright, Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York; Dr Peter Hardy, York University, England and Dr Robert Mulligan, a distinguished American scholar noted for research on the Quaid-e-Azam.

Notable observations on

"... A fine record of your father's devotion to a man to whom we all owe so much."

Admiral (Retd) Saeed M. Khan  
NI (M) S. Bt.  
Former Chief of Naval Staff

"I have great pleasure in congratulating you and your research team on producing an important work which sheds some new light on the Pakistan Movement. I found the book interesting and informative. I have had one copy placed in JS HQ library. I was very pleased to learn that the Prime Minister has consented to be the chief guest at the book launching ceremony on 13th July. This gesture truly gives recognition to the value of the book.

Gen. (Retd.) Shamin Alam Khan  
Former Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee

"Thank you for the brochure, I found it most interesting. The dedication with which you are pursuing a most noble cause is truly inspiring. May Allah bless all your endeavours."

General Jehangir Karamat  
Former Chief of the Army Staff

"I received the copy of Razi's edited volume " My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" the Jinnah-Rafi Correspondence. It should add to the background knowledge of Scholars who work on Jinnah and early Pakistan."

Dr. Theodore P. Wright (Jr.) Professor of Political Science,  
at the Nelson A. Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy,  
State University of New York, Albany, New York



## “My Dear Quaid-e-Azam”

Notable observations on

“Anything that throws light on the background of plans, hopes and aspirations for economic betterment and development during the League's years of struggle for a ‘Pakistan’ is worth having.”

Dr. Peter Hardy, Professor of History, York University, England; formerly Professor of History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Author of “The Muslims in British India & Historians of Medieval India.”

The book is certainly a historical document of great importance as it reveals a part of our history which was still lying undiscovered. I am impressed by the work done by your illustrious father in his capacity as Chairman of the Muslim League Sub-committee for Mining and Metallurgy in 1944.

It is my wish that you should continue to work with the same dedication so as to unearth more truths about the history of our nation and the great men who were instruments in building it.

Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan,  
Hilal-i-Imtiaz,  
Project Director

I really enjoyed reading the copies of the letters to and from your father and the Quaid. I'm sure the kind of support your father gave Mr. Jinnah, both financial and moral, helped a great deal to keep the Quaid going, when certainly at times he had many reasons to be discouraged. It was interesting to note, in one of your father's letters, he observed that the media in the USA always seemed to favour the view of the Congress and the coverage of the League's position was inadequate. Nothing has changed. The position of India in the USA media is invariably favourable and the position of Pakistan scanty and inaccurate. In any reports on what is happening in the Kashmir, the position of Pakistan is always wanting.”

Dr. Robert Mulligan,  
A distinguished American scholar noted for research on the Quaid-e-Azam.

## “The Media on Quaid-e-Azam”

# The Media on

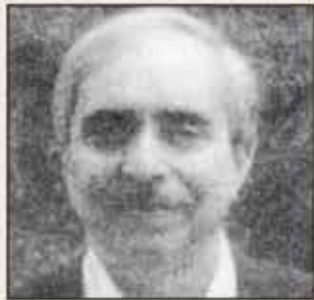
## “My Dear Quaid-e-Azam”

“My Dear Quaid-e-Azam” (Jinnah Rafi Correspondence) published in 1994, was warmly welcomed by political scientists and economists. It received favourable reviews from intellectuals / columnists of such repute as Khalid Hasan, Safdar Mir (Zeno), Khaled Ahmad and Dr. Safdar Mahmood. “The Quaid believed”, writes Khalid Hasan, “that without economic emancipation there could be no political emancipation. That must have been why of thousands of young men ... he had picked our Rafi Butt who had proved that the Quaid was right ...” If to Khaled Ahmed it was the father who saved his son's soul from being contaminated, to Imtiaz Sipra, it was the son who saved his father through painstaking historical research. Perhaps both are correct. The father saved a son and a son saved the father but in different ways.

“Rafi Butt”, says Zeno, “was one of the outstanding personalities in this emerging industrial class which become an earnest protagonist of the Pakistan ideal of the Muslim League of the Quaid-e-Azam...” To Safdar Mahmood, “My Dear Quaid-e-Azam” portrays Rafi Butt's “unlimited love for Pakistan and his lofty spirit of sacrifice for the nation”.



## PRIVATE VIEW



Khalid Hasan

In reconstructing the life of a father he never knew, Imtiaz Rafi Butt has placed us in his debt. When his young life was cut short at the age of thirty-eight in 1948 in one of those tragic and unexplained crashes that marked early-aviation in the new state of Pakistan, Imtiaz was only a few months old. Forty-six years later, he has not only done his filial duty but given the rest of us something of value that we can feel good about at a time when this land, once a symbol of hope and glory, is stalked by the monster of greed and self-aggrandisement.

Rafi Butt was a debonair figure in the Lahore of thirties and forties. He was rich. He was handsome. He was driven. And he knew that he had a rendezvous with destiny. At an age when most people are trying to find their feet and deciding what they ought to make of themselves, Rafi Butt had built himself a business which testified to his imagination and tremendous sense of purpose. That alone can explain how he could succeed in a hostile environment. At the time it was simply assumed that the Muslims were temporarily

## Remembering Rafi Butt

unsuited to and incapable of making a career in industry and commerce. But Rafi Butt had proved that this bit of folk wisdom which had come to acquire the dimension of a widely held belief was false. He had proved that if they applied themselves, the Muslims could do as well if not better than those belonging to other religion who said that the only talent the Muslims had lay in artisanship or perhaps wrestling.

And this aspect of Rafi Butt's character, more than any other, must have caught the Quaid-e-Azam's fancy because he believed that Muslims had fallen behind because they had no head for trade and commerce and no respect for money. The Quaid believed and there is no question that he was right—that the Muslims had allowed themselves to become a subservient community because they had opted out of material progress. The Quaid believed also that without economic emancipation there could be no political emancipation. That must have been why of the thousands of young men who wrote to him and offered him their services, indeed their very lives, he had picked out Rafi Butt who had proved that the Quaid was right. The Muslims could succeed in commerce, but only if they applied themselves.

His son, Imtiaz Rafi "Cuckoo" Butt grew up without a father and in an environment quite unlike the one in which his father had and would have had him lived. As so often happens, his patrimony was not to be his to

claim. The business was taken away by others in the family and so was much else that Rafi Butt had left. But "Cuckoo" Butt's genes were his father's. Like him he struggled against heavy and almost insurmountable odds and rebuilt the fortune that would have been his, had every one played fair by Rafi Butt's young widow and her orphaned son. Neither did Imtiaz forget whose son he was. He wanted to discover for himself a father he had not known and as he went along, he found the many remarkable things Rafi Butt had done in a very few years time. He also found that in his father he had a man so devoted to Quaid-e-Azam and the idea of an independent home for the Muslims of India that when he went to United States, the beneficiary in the Insurance policy that he took out was not his wife but Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. That takes some doing.

"Cuckoo" Butt set up a foundation in his father's memory and though some people took advantage of his devotion to his father, his believing nature and generosity in order to touch him for gifts of money and other favours, the work of the foundation went ahead. A great deal of the credit for searching out and putting together the papers that make up the just published book "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" Jinnah-Rafi Correspondence was done by Sadia Bokhari, a young woman of exemplary ability and devotion. All the letters that Rafi wrote to Quaid and those that he received in reply, plus other papers such as entries from the Quaid's engagement diary, not to forget a number of photographs, have been brought together. It is a

vignette but it is something of value because it humanises for us one of the most remarkable movements in contemporary history; the movement led by the wonderful man for the emancipation of the Muslims of undivided India. It was because of young men like Rafi Butt that Pakistan came into being. The army that the Quaid led to victory was made up of such soldiers. They did not have guns but their hearts were ablaze with the leaping fire of freedom.

Our times are out of joint - People wonder where we are headed and whether there is any point in going on when there is no respect for truth, or principle or even much faith in the viability of this country, when the common feeling for those who rule is not adulation but contempt bordering on hatred. When faith is assailed by doubt and hope overtaken by despair, I think it is important at just such a point in our history to remember men like Rafi Butt and move on. This country does not deserve the rulers it has but there is no doubt that the state of Pakistan will outlive and outlast them.

In the interim, let me say thank you "Cuckoo" Butt for reminding us what we were once capable of. ■

## The loveable innocence of an entrepreneur

Khaled Ahmed reviews the book Imtiaz Rafi Butt has finally got together with professional help to demonstrate how an industrialist can have a heart of gold.

People who know Imtiaz Rafi Butt only as a real estate tycoon in Lahore have missed a sizeable part of his personality. Others who know him as methodical systems man know that he spent a lifetime looking for a father he lost when he was only 2 months. Imtiaz's success in business could have done to him what it usually does to men but for his obsession with his father. It seems that even from beyond this life, good man Rafi Butt has saved his son's soul from being contaminated.

Rafi Butt was indeed in the classical entrepreneurial mould. In pre-partition days when business was supposed to be accursed bailiwick of the Hindu, Rafi was taking trips to the United States and getting Americans interested in setting up a 'network of industries in India' for the benefit of the Muslim masses. He was fascinated by this thin, precise figure in the midst of a general Muslim confusion about what they should do. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.



Imtiaz Rafi Butt—saved by his father

Rafi started writing to Jinnah. Reading these letters in the book competently put together by Syed Razi Wasti, it becomes obvious that the young man is dreaming because Jinnah was the sort of practical man you could safely hang your dreams on. And when a businessman dreams, he mixes the pursuit of profit with meaningful achievement.

For instance, he tells the Quaid he had ensured himself for £2000 and had made the Quaid the beneficiary of the policy because he wanted the money spent in the Muslim cause.

A busy Quaid responded to Rafi, which led to Rafi writing more

and more about what he could do for Jinnah in the sector, which was not a stronghold of the Muslims. One is forced to meditate on the possible reasons for Rafi's fascination and trust. Jinnah was the only man in India and in the Muslim League who gave evidence of any clarity about the collective Muslim objective. Even those he led didn't understand him and frequently got so drunk on airy fairy thing like Khilafat that he had to 'retire' away from them. Rafi, a businessman, was obviously attracted to Jinnah's clarity and pragmatism. But Rafi died suddenly in a plane crash and his surgical manufacture industry was grabbed by his brothers.

Imtiaz Rafi, after clawing his way back to the success his father deserved, was bothered by the mystery of the dead man, and decided to understand it. What we have is a brief episode in the Pakistan Movement, a cameo about how a young man pursuing practical things in life was lured into dreaming by Jinnah. It is also Imtiaz's personal response to the father

he never saw but suspected of being a good human being. It has been a personal journey of comprehension of an innocence that Rafi's dependent brothers thought was sheer naiveté. ■



## Cultural Notes

## The Pakistan movement and Muslim industrialists

"Zeno" - Safdar Mir



The most powerful impetus for the Pakistan movement came from the middle-class elements in the West Pakistan regions as a whole. In the minority provinces also it was a similar picture. In Bombay, Sindh, Madras and Bengal a very powerful section of the mercantile, the professional and industrialist elements among the Muslims, formed the backbone of the Pakistan movement. What is not recognised is the fact that even in the Punjab there was a small but vital section of the middle-class among Muslims who were the real motivating force behind the movement of the Muslim League and the political struggle of Pakistan.

The Muslim middle-class in the Punjab was composed of many disparate elements. The northern-most Punjab was inhabited largely by very poor, small-scale peasants. Large numbers of them went into the army and the police service. The city belt from the Rawalpindi district through Jhelum, Gujranwala, Lahore, Amritsar, Batala and Ludhiana was inhabited by Muslim artisans (large numbers among them Kashmiris) who were continuing to ply their traditional trades like woollen, cotton and silken cloth-making, iron-mongering, metal-working

carpet-weaving, etc. Along with craftsmanship they were entering into the hazardous sphere of shop-keeping, wholesale dealing and contract work. Some sections of this population entered government service, and professionalism of various kinds i.e. medical, legal and engineering lines.

One important element in this middle-class was the newly emerging industrialist class. Rafi Butt, a manufacturer of surgical instruments (Ghulam Nabi and Sons Surgical Works), and the founder of the Central Exchange Bank, the first Muslim Bank in Northern India, was one of the outstanding personalities in this emerging industrial class which became an earnest protagonist of the Pakistan ideal of the Muslim League of Quaid-e-Azam.

With the publication of the Jinnah-Rafi correspondence under the title of My Dear Quaid-e-Azam (published by Jinnah-Rafi Foundation, Lahore, edited by Dr. Razi Wasti) we come across some concrete evidence of the urban middle-class cum industrial cum financial entrepreneurial dimension of the Muslim League movement of Pakistan, at least as far as Punjab region is concerned.

The correspondence is not very extensive. Most of the letters are from Mr. Rafi Butt to the Quaid-e-Azam. Only a few are from the Quaid to Mr. Butt and they are generally, in terms of acknowledgements and brief communications. But the basic

importance of the letters is in terms of their politico-economic content.

In his letter to the Quaid-e-Azam of February 17, 1944, Mr. Rafi Butt has given some details of the ideas on the subject in his mind, and the ambitions he had in regard to a collective effort by the Muslims to develop them as a commercial and industrial community.

One important subject matter concerns the All India Muslim League Planning Committee, of which the Quaid had made Rafi Butt a member. According to a footnote by Dr. Razi Wasti in the book we learn something about the Planning Committee.

In another letter, Mr. Rafi Butt discusses the planning for bringing out an English daily from Lahore to support the Muslim League's ideological and political position. He himself contributed 25 percent of the capital for launching the daily which later came into being as The Pakistan Times.

"You will be interested to hear that Sir Chhottu Ram in the Lyallpur session (of the Jat Mahasaba) frankly recognised that as long as religion forms the basis of distribution of political rights in the constitution of India, it is the inherent right of religious community to organise itself for the protection of its political rights; and those who do not do so would stand to lose. Every Jat, he said, would have complete freedom to join the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasaba, the Akali

Dal, the Liberal Federation or the Indian Christian Association and work in his individual capacity for the achievement of Pakistan. Akhand Hindustan, Azad Punjab, United Punjab and Purna Swaraj; but the Jat Mahasaba platform could not be utilised to support or oppose any of these political ideas."

In the ultimate analysis the political struggle in the Punjab became divided clearly in terms of Hindu and Muslim national groups, with the Sikhs siding with the Hindus. The Muslims had cast their lot clearly with the Muslim League and Pakistan by now as it was proved in the election of 1945.

The letters of Mr. Rafi Butt are an indication of the manner in which the urban middle-class as well as the rest of the middle-class had made up its mind. The commercial and the industrial class was a very small part of this urban middle-class but it played a fundamental role in the movement for an independent national state of the Muslims. ■

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Tuesday

July 5, 1994

Muharram 27, 1415H.

INTERNATIONAL

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Imtiaz Rafi Butt:  
the son rears the father!

MY DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM, a publication of Jinnah Rafi Foundation. Primarily it is an illustration of hitherto unpublished correspondence between Imtiaz's father, Rafi Butt and Quaid-e-Azam. Yet it is much more than the story of one man. It has a personal significance for the SON, who wanted to know more about a father he never knew, and never got to see. The fruits of discovery, as printed, are a rich historical record and include 18 letters (14 from Rafi Butt and 4 replies by the Quaid-e-Azam) between April 1943 to February 12, 1946; and the letters convey both concern and lack of pretence. The goal, ostensibly, was to give readers an understanding they have never had of a person-reputed to be a Quaid-e-Azam follower.

One has to bear with and commend Imtiaz Rafi Butt's desolation and isolation, and then only would one be able to comprehend the significance of this effort, a sort of a mission to know about a father who died when the son was barely two months old. And nobody could

become what Imtiaz Rafi Butt is now without the odd verve and self control, certainly a 'genetic' gift. A new energy was supplemented with tidy and sophisticated means to achieve the end, being part of the father he never had. Training was carefully gained. But as he grew the world grew wider, forcing details to be precisely crafted. And that had to be, for very early in life Imtiaz Rafi

is heart warming and in quite a hypnotic way, brings to life a father the son never saw. It is nonetheless, a revelation, like opening a window on another world. It took painstaking work; throws new light into a forgotten past and reveals a son as bold and innovative person as his father. Problems were encountered and solved.

What Imtiaz Rafi Butt seems to be doing is adding a host of new 'shapes' and 'rhythms' to the pattern of recording echoes of the past without obliterating the old ones. At the same time he has introduced a stimulating new dimension of 'selectivity' to the once totally passive activity of remembrance through anniversaries and 'barsies'. His is an innovation, which followed, can help sons and daughters and even parents, pick and store letters and communications, for recall and remembrance. Such an effort by Imtiaz Rafi Butt is commendable, and memorable too. One can (in a broader unrelated context) equate it with 'time shifting', that VCR syndrome wherein one records a

show for later viewing.

But here the similarity ends: that viewing is a conscious predetermined act. This reviewing of the past and its continuity into the future through the medium of print is more than that. It is an attempt, an assiduous effort, to recreate a 'life' an unread one, which enables one to leaf through a past of historical significance. And that Imtiaz Rafi Butt has achieved.

The book "MY DEAR QUAID-E-AZAM" (Jinnah - Rafi Correspondence) is edited by Syed Razi Wasti, an established author and historian, and is publication no.1 of Jinnah Rafi Foundation. Set up in 1989, to commemorate Rafi Butt, a young follower of Quaid, whose son, Imtiaz, is its chairman. ■



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## "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam"

Dr. Safdar Mehmood



place all his resources at the disposal of the Quaid to materialise this idea reveals his devotion to the national cause, practical approach as well as his faith in the destiny of the Muslims of the sub-continent. ➡

It was an illuminating experience to read correspondence exchanged between Quaid-e-Azam and late Rafi Butt, a young industrialist of Lahore, recently published under the title "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" because it throws light on an important aspect of the Pakistan Movement. It is a befitting title for this volume because every line of Rafi's letters breathes his love and gratitude for the great leader glorified as Quaid-e-Azam. This love and gratitude indirectly reflects his passion for the nation and dream of Pakistan as Rafi earnestly believed that in the given situation no one else was more capable of leading the Indian Muslims to freedom than the Quaid. Nor was any other leader, in his opinion, more dedicated and faithful to the nation. Thus, these letters written mostly between 1944-46, reflect Rafi's thoughts and his concern for the nation and therefore, leave a lasting impression on the reader's mind.

In his letters, when Rafi Butt addresses the Quaid as "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" one feels the genuine endearment which these words of the author express. The sincerity of his words is evident from an incident during Rafi's visit to America in 1945. In the insurance policy that he bought before proceeding on the journey, he nominated the Quaid as its beneficiary in case of any loss to the insured. He was covered for two thousand dollars and he had specified this sum for the Muslim cause, for their service and welfare. Obviously, neither the Quaid stood in need of it nor Rafi meant to gift it to him because its

use was clearly defined in the insurance policy. Rafi knew it for certain that none else could use it more properly in the interest of the Muslims.

In his letters we find Rafi going again and again to the Quaid with suggestions and ideas about the problems faced by the Muslims. He is greatly upset when he sees the Muslim League lagging behind the Congress in any field. He constantly persuades the Quaid to start a newspaper from the Punjab for an effective publicity of Muslim League's policies among the Muslim masses. His offer to

During his stay in New York he was shocked to observe that while the Congress point of view was being projected in America in a very effective and systematic manner, Americans knew nothing about the Muslim League and its demand for Pakistan. In anxiety, he writes about it to the Quaid to stress the importance of Muslim League's propaganda in America and offers to make every possible effort in the matter. His letter in this regard shows that during his stay in America, he publicised the Muslim League and Pakistan in the influential circles, especially among the industrialists with whom he was in touch there.

Although he had gone to America to study its industrial progress, but in spite of his preoccupation, he was all the time thinking of ways and means necessary for the progress of the Muslims. Rafi's visit to America was motivated by national interest as he thought that like America, which had emerged as the greatest industrial nation in the World during the forties through its own resources, the people of the sub-continent could also take to industrialisation by making

use of the American experience.

He wanted to set up a network of industries in the Punjab because he visualised that being Muslim majority area, it was sure to become a part of Pakistan. Thus, his vision of Pakistan was of an industrial power like America. His stay in America was not long but he made a deep study of the progress of its industrial growth to benefit from it in his future plans.

Nature has its own ways and they are beyond human comprehension. Quaid-e-Azam died on 11th September 1948; soon after, Rafi also died on 26th November 1948, in an air crash. At the time of his death Rafi was only 38. Had he lived longer he would have made significant contribution towards industrialising Pakistan because God had endowed him with many qualities.

"My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" is an important link in the chain of freedom movement. It is an important chapter of our national history because it refutes the false propaganda that the leadership of the Muslim League did no planning for the state of Pakistan before its

emergence. A general impression exists that the then leaders of the Muslim League did not have time for the spadework. The correspondence between Rafi Butt and the Quaid provides an irrefutable proof of the fact that the Muslim League had formed various committees as early as in 1944-45 for the coming test. These committees had on their panels Muslim scientists, educationists and industrialists who gave their proposals for the development and progress of different fields of Pakistan. Rafi Butt had the honour of being a member of the planning committee.

In the background stated above "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam" is a valuable document. This volume not only portrays Rafi's great respect and gratitude for Quaid-e-Azam, his unlimited love for Pakistan and his lofty spirit of sacrifice for the nation but also refutes the false propaganda against Pakistan Movement leadership. This book has been edited by Dr. Syed Razi Wasti, a renowned historian and scholar of international fame, and has been published by Jinnah Rafi Foundation which Imtiaz Rafi Butt has founded for publishing

research works on Pakistan and Quaid-e-Azam.

In founding this foundation he has given abundant proof of his hereditary sense of gratitude for the Quaid and his dedication to the service of Pakistan. And this is the sentiment that has impelled me to write these lines. After all, how many industrialists have earmarked funds for research on Pakistan and its Founder? ■







## Quest for New Horizons

Asadullah Ghalib

"Quest for New Horizons" is a book in which Asadullah Ghalib documents the sequence of events that led to the discovery of M. Rafi Butt.

Asadullah Ghalib was perhaps the first person to undertake research on M. Rafi Butt. This task was assigned to him by Mr. Arif Nizami, Editor, "The Nation" whose curiosity was so aroused by a solitary photograph of the Quaid with Rafi Butt in Imtiaz Rafi's office that he felt there was more to it than met the eye. Ghalib turned to the reference files of the "Nawa-i-Waqt" and was amazed at what he found. He found that M. Rafi Butt was a multidimensional man and an extraordinary figure of his time.

In "Quest for New Horizons" Asadullah Ghalib also describes the effect, which this revelation had on Rafi Butt's son, Imtiaz Rafi Butt.

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## Quest for New Horizons

### EXCERPTS FROM

The name of Rafi Butt will always head the list of those who had the privilege and good fortune of enjoying the close proximity of the Quaid-e-Azam. He had already reached the pinnacle of success in United India as a Muslim industrialist of the Punjab. It was a time when the Hindus held sway in all walks of life and it was not easy for a Muslim to make headway in these fields. But failure was a word unknown to Rafi Butt. When, as a youth, he began to share business responsibilities with his father, Ghulam Nabi Butt, no one could have imagined that he would one day carve a name for himself in business and also have the privilege of playing host to the Quaid-e-Azam, the most revered and admired leader of the Muslims. Unfortunately, we have been lax in preserving the history of our ancestors.

Few amongst us know that the Quaid, who was so discriminating in the choice of friends, came personally to Ferozpur Road (now Garden Town) to visit "Ghulam Nabi & Sons" and that his meeting with Rafi Butt, marked the beginning of a close relationship.

An All-India Trade Directory was published in 1942. Arranged alphabetically, it contained names and bio-data of prominent persons ranging from Maharajas and Nawabs to industrialists, bankers and politicians. This directory was dedicated to Rafi Butt with these words:

To

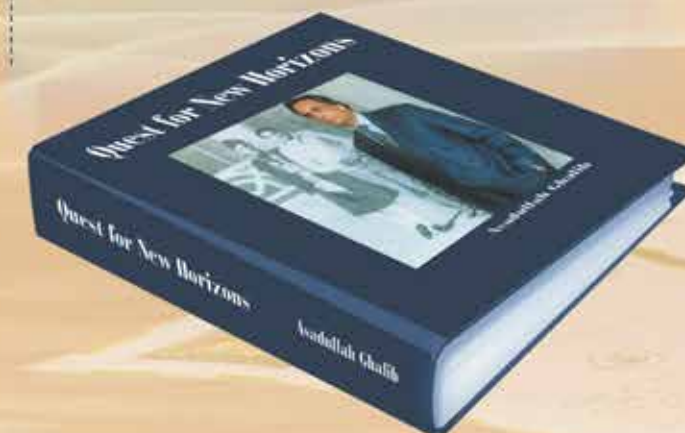
MOHAMMED RAFI BUTT, ESQ.

"The Youngest Industrialist and Business magnate in the province who by dint of his liberal outlook to-day not only possesses huge Factories and offices but commands respect and esteem."

Facing the dedication was a full-page photograph of Rafi Butt and printed within was a comprehensive bio-data of Rafi Butt that read as follows:

"Mohammed Rafi Butt, Proprietor, Messers Ghulam Nabi & Sons. Son of Mian Ghulam Nabi Butt, born 1910. At the tender age of 15, he succeeded his father's business on his death, in 1925. The heavy responsibilities of the family fell to his lot which he managed very wisely. He devoted his whole attention to the concern first till in 1931, he was able to put the whole show on modern lines. He put his brothers, Messers, Mohammed Haneef Butt and Mohammed Taqi Butt, in the line and gave them practical sound training. The former is incharge of the Bombay office situated on Sir Phiroze-Shah Mehta Road and the latter is at present at the Head office. For advance studies in Steel Industry and Surgical Instrument Production, he went to England in 1937 and underwent training at Canning's Chrome Factories at Birmingham under the direction of Sir

Canning Lord Mayor and owner of various groups of industries. Also visited various steel and surgical factories in Europe. On his return developed the old works in Mayo Road, by introducing modern systems of manufacturing surgical instruments and Hospital Appliances. Later built a huge factory at a cost of several lakh of rupees on Ferozpur Road, Lahore, which is considered as one of the largest, well equipped and most up-to-date factories in the line in India. He has keenly studied the subject of Capital, Labour and Brain. The factory claims to have highly-paid and well organized labor. Since the outbreak of the war, he has acquired contracts of Surgical Instruments and Hospital Appliances, supply to Military and thus played a conspicuous part in the war efforts. Is non-official member of the Medical Advisory Board, Government of India; has often advised the Government of India on matters concerning surgical and other Appliances in the theater of war; Chairman, the Central Exchange Bank Ltd., Lahore. Advisory Member on the publication of "All India Trade Directory and Who's Who." He is a keen horseman, Hobby; Tennis and Reading. Office Address; Ghulam Nabi and Sons, near Garden Town, Ferozpur Road, Lahore. Residence; 35-A, Ferozpur Road, Lahore. Phone: 4058 : Residence 3837, Telegrams, Surgical Works."



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## Quest for New Horizons

EXCERPTS FROM



Mian Mohammed Shafi (Meem Sheen)  
(Eminent Journalist)

"Rafi Butt was in the vanguard of the Punjab Muslim League which was struggling against the Unionist Party for a firm foothold in the province. He was a pioneer of the Muslim League in the Punjab. He enjoyed the trust of the Quaid and had access to him. He was a friend of Nawab Iftikhar Mamdot, Mumtaz Daultana, Shaukat Hayat and others. Rafi Butt belonged to a family of industrialists. He had a factory and a business concern named 'Ghulam Nabi & Sons' on Ferozepur Road, Lahore, which manufactured surgical instruments and imported / exported hospital goods. Late Rafi Butt was a classmate and friend of Malik Tajuddin and it was at the latter's place that I often met him. Malik Tajuddin was the Zonal Manager of A.P.I whose Zonal office was then located in the flats behind Fazal Din Drug Store. The 'Quaid-e-Azam' came to Lahore in 1936 to reorganize the Muslim League. There was a Unionist Ministry here in those days. Sir Fazal Hussain was the predominant figure and Sikandar Hayat had been elected the President of the Unionist Party. Some radical influential young men were with the League. Rafi Butt was among them. He had a genial disposition and an attractive personality. His meeting with the journalists used to be most enjoyable. He was also very hospitable. Among the Muslim families of the Punjab, he was the first to set up industry and manufacture goods. Other well-known Muslim families were generally confined to the business of import and export. Rafi Butt was a very talented and enterprising person.

Quaid-e-Azam was a far-sighted man and always in search of such persons. He wanted to build the free state of Pakistan with their help. Had Rafi Butt not died in the air accident so early in life, he would have played a pre-eminent role in the modernization of Pakistan. He was a kind and benevolent person and was given to helping welfare organizations incognito. Rafi Butt also helped Malik Tajuddin when after the creation of Pakistan the latter decided to set up an office of the A.P.P. Today we see the very image of the deceased in his son, Imtiaz Rafi Butt. Like his father, Imtiaz is also a fine administrator and a large-hearted versatile person. I am certain that he will reach the heights achieved by his father".



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A Publication of Jinnah Rafi Foundation

## "At Quaid's Service"

A Journey Towards Discovery

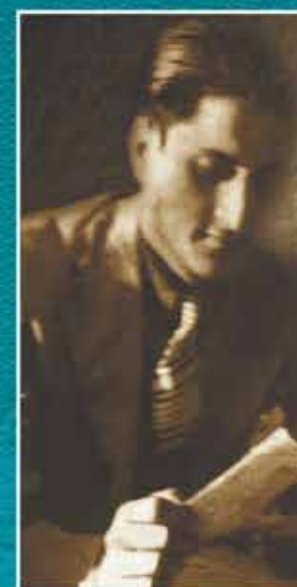
"At Quaid's Service" - (A Journey Towards Discovery) is the second major publication of the Jinnah Rafi Foundation. It is complete in all respects and will be launched in the near future.

"At Quaid's Service" is a biography of M. Rafi Butt with special reference to his role in the Pakistan Movement. It assesses his contribution to the cause of Muslim freedom and reveals his stature as a leader in the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement.

Besides excerpts from the biography, this anniversary issue also includes 1. A FOREWORD to the book by Akbar S. Ahmed, renowned anthropologist and Cambridge scholar and producer of the feature film on the Quaid-e-Azam and 2. An EPILOGUE by Imtiaz Rafi Butt, son of M. Rafi Butt and a well-known figure in his own right. A businessman and writer, he is also the Honorary Consul for Malaysia in Lahore.

*"It is a story of a double discovery. It is a son discovering a father and it is a father discovering his own identity through the leader he had found and acknowledged." - from the Foreword by Akbar S. Ahmed.*

*"To me, as a son, the discovery of my father has led to self-discovery; to the discovery of my identity and my roots. Through Rafi Butt, I have 'rediscovered' the Quaid, the Pakistan Movement and, in the final analysis, Pakistan," - from the Epilogue by Imtiaz Rafi Butt.*



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# "At Quaid's Service"

## A Journey Towards Discovery



Muhammad Rafi Butt's tragic death in a plane crash on November 26, 1948 deprived the infant state of Pakistan of the services of an extraordinary individual. An outstanding banker-cum-industrialist and a staunch supporter of the Pakistan Movement, Rafi Butt was an associate of the Quaid-e-Azam and strove hard to make the Quaid's dream come true.

"At Quaid's Service" (A Journey Towards Discovery) tells the story of this remarkable life in a vivid insightful narrative. Written by Syed Razi Wasti, renowned historian and distinguished Professor, Columbia University, New York, the volume traces the meteoric rise and achievements of this enterprising young man who was born in 1909, assumed the reins of his father's business at 16, became a business tycoon at 24, founded the first Muslim bank in Northern India, the Central Exchange Bank at 27, met the Quaid-e-Azam at 31, was appointed Member of the prestigious Planning Committee by the Quaid at 34 and died at 39 in an air accident.

Rafi Butt, Syed Razi Wasti writes, had unflinching faith in the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam and developed a close rapport with him. He placed his money talent and resources at the disposal of the Quaid for the cause of Muslim uplift. Rafi was a thinker brimming with ideas on how to strengthen the economic and industrial base of the fledgeling state of Pakistan. He corresponded with the Quaid and offered a wide spectrum of suggestions. Among them, the urgent need to start an English newspaper from Lahore, establish a chemical fertilizer plant, counter negative Indian propaganda and expand Pakistan's economic interests through collaboration with American industrial magnates. The Quaid was attracted to Rafi Butt and warmly responded to his proposals. He visited his factory "Ghulam Nabi and Sons Surgical Works" at Ferozepur Road, Lahore in 1942.

A PREVIEW OF

The Quaid trusted Rafi, appreciated his pragmatic approach and perhaps, detected a spark of genius in him. He picked him out from a host of names and appointed him Member of the All India Muslim League Planning Committee and Chairman of the subcommittee on Mining and Metallurgy.

Also presented here are reminiscences of this interesting human being, devoted 'soldier' of the Quaid and pioneer of industrial development by his colleagues, friends and associates who knew him as a charming conversationalist and a gentleman of refined tastes, generous nature and cosmopolitan outlook.

"At Quaid's Service" also includes in the Epilogue the dramatic personal story of his son, Imtiaz Rafi, who discovered his father through historical research at the mature age of 40 - a unique phenomenon - and the profound impact that this revelation had on him. As Professor Akbar S. Ahmed states so succinctly in his foreword: "It is a story of a double discovery. It is a son discovering a father and it is a father discovering his own identity through the leader that he had found and acknowledged". Syed Razi Wasti in his engagingly written account captures vividly the many dimensions of this very gifted man. Had Rafi Butt lived longer - he died barely two months after the demise of his beloved Quaid - he would have, undoubtedly, left his mark on Pakistan's economic and industrial landscape. ■

# "At Quaid's Service"

FOREWORD

Akbar S. Ahmed  
Cambridge.

Thomas Mann had said, "a man's dying is more the survivor's affair than his own." Rafi Butt's death at a young age shortly after the creation of Pakistan was to influence the life of his young son, Imtiaz. When he became a man he embarked on a journey to discover his father. The discovery for a dead father who he had not known; the discovery of his own identity, the discovery of his own sense of self.

Professor Razi Wasti's book is what one has come to expect of this eminent Pakistani scholar. It is a historical account, which set the life of Rafi Butt in the context of larger Muslim history in the subcontinent. We are given a historical introduction, which sets the argument. We are then taken through the life of Rafi Butt. New information and new material add to the interest of the story.

The short book had several merits to commend itself to the reader. Firstly, it throws light on Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It shows him in correspondence with a young unknown man from the Punjab devoted to the Muslim cause. It shows how Mr. Jinnah was able to generate enthusiasm amongst the younger generation. Secondly, it is an interesting comment on the politics of Pakistan. Whereas the established landlords and people in power tended to be ambivalent about Mr. Jinnah's idea of Pakistan it was the less privileged and younger Muslims who were enthusiastic about it. It therefore reflects a light on the politics of the Muslim movement that would lead to the creation of Pakistan.

The book is also a reflection on the politics of Pakistan today. It is an established fact that those who are poorer, who have less privileges and less authority have far more intense feeling for the nation than the elite who are accused of being sunk in corruption, nepotism and serving their own immediate interests.

We have Mr. Jinnah writing to Imtiaz's father complaining that some distinguished industrialists

have committed funds, which they have not paid up. Such financial shenanigans mark Muslim behaviour even today. Mr. Jinnah had not only to fight the full power of the Indian National Congress and the machinations of Lord Mountbatten and his staff but also the indifference and dishonesty of Muslims themselves. This apathy had to be balanced by the raw enthusiasm of people like Imtiaz's father if the Pakistan movement had to succeed. The vision of Pakistan was thus seen by the young and those who could foresee the destiny of their people. In this the Butts, father and son, line up with the Quaid. As an act of devotion Imtiaz founded the Jinnah Rafi Foundation based in Lahore. With this one act he joined the memory of his father to Mr. Jinnah and paid tribute to both.

Finally, it is a dramatic personal story. A story of a double discovery. It is a son discovering a father and it is a father discovering his own identity through the leader that he had found and acknowledged. Imtiaz, as a young boy, did not know his father. A father who mysteriously disappeared. A mother devoted to the family and determined to ensure that the loss of the father did not in any way make the children vulnerable. She compensated for the loss of the husband by giving the children the best possible education and ensuring that they did not feel the absence of a protecting hand. The mother's courage and character clearly shine through.

But when he was an established man in his own right Imtiaz began to feel the yearning to discover his father. He discovered his father's great commitment to Mr. Jinnah through some letters. Through this affiliation he began to investigate his father's life. The discovery led to Imtiaz's devotion to Mr. Jinnah. In the process Imtiaz learnt a great deal about himself, his society and his own nation. So in a sense the personal tragedy of losing his father so early in life was converted into a personal triumph. ■



## "At Quaid's Service"

Rafi Butt's life story in itself is the ordinary story of many young Muslims living in India who had a vision of their own identity and culture. It is the story of many young Muslims who looked for and found a leader in Mr. Jinnah. What makes it interesting is the revival of the story half a century after his death. That in itself is a story worth telling.

I first heard of and met Imtiaz Rafi Butt in January 1994. I was on my own quest for the Quaid, I was hoping then to put together a package to make a film about Mr. Jinnah and write a book about him. I needed to talk to people who had a similar interest. I was told in Islamabad of Mr. Butt. I rang Imtiaz and prepared to meet him. I did not know what to expect. I was told he was an established industrialist. On asking about him I was also aware of the resentment created by his youth and his attempts to do something positive by establishing his Jinnah Rafi Foundation. It was the way of our society. Jealousy and malice met anyone wishing to do something original. Imtiaz lives in a society of cynics well described by Oscar Wilde: "a cynic is a man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing." It also reflected the Punjab social structure. The established families were always possessive of young blood encroaching on their turf. It is said that why pay money to have your family tree traced: in Pakistan if you are in the public eye your opponents will do it for you.

In Lahore I met Imtiaz. I was expecting an old, overweight businessman in a shalwar-kamiz caught up in the daily turmoil of making money. I found a young, elegant, pleasant and intelligent man in a smart Western suit. Imtiaz is also the Honorary Consul for Malaysia in Lahore. He was fully dedicated to the Jinnah Rafi Foundation.

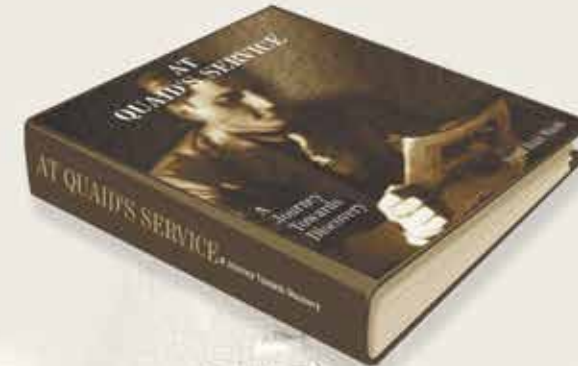
Our friendship continued from that time. I always found him devoted to the cause of Mr. Jinnah. He was always available for consultation, for support and for ideas.

The discouragement that Pakistan society constantly creates did not slow him down. Imtiaz's Jinnah Rafi Foundation is engaged in publications and seminars. I wish them both well. ■



### Excerpts from "At Quaid's Service" A Journey Towards Discovery

"It is in these circumstances that Rafi emerged as a visionary, with breathtakingly liberal and progressive ideas far ahead of his contemporaries, and accomplishing significant tasks with surprising ease and dexterity. Nothing held him back, neither his lack of a formal education in any one particular field, nor the absence of a strong family patronage network, nor the third-class status that he as a Muslim had in a dominantly English-Hindu environment, acutely hostile to his meteoric rise as an enterprising young Muslim industrialist propagating a political manifesto. The ease with which he treaded the uncharted waters of politics, economics, and society for the benefit of the Muslims, amply indicates the strength of his convictions."



"Rafi showed immense affection and respect for the Quaid. From the correspondence between them one can see how devotedly Rafi offered his talent, money and resources to the Quaid in the service of Muslims. As Rafi's letter dated 2 October 1945 demonstrates he admired the Quaid so much that he named him as the sole beneficiary in the life insurance policy he took out when he visited the United States. This is remarkable evidence of Rafi's devotion to the Quaid – usually passengers name their wives or children as beneficiaries. Air travel in those days was not that common and people were apprehensive of it, especially long distance."





## Excerpts from "At Quaid's Service" A Journey Towards Discovery

"In an interview, his former private secretary, Aslam Rathore, states that Rafi, though a highly social person, a party goer and easily approachable, was in the habit of putting his thoughts and ideas on paper at night. He had instructed Mr. Rathore to leave a writing pad by his bedside at night. In the morning he would find copious notes jotted down for him to type. Rafi used to say that what Pakistan needs was a school where common sense and science were taught. People lacked common sense, and knowledge of science was imperative if one was to survive in this world."

"All that was left of the plane and passengers were two battered wings, bits of incinerated fuselage, and some pieces of reinforced cockpit metal. This was the second passenger aircraft to crash in a little over a year since the establishment of Pakistan. Apart from the numbing loss of so many lives, the crash in itself represented a catastrophe for the fledgling nation on another level. The Pak Airways Dakota, a well-trying workhorse, went down only eight miles from Vehari, some 186 miles from Lahore, killing all the passengers and crew on board. The plane took off from Karachi at 8:10 a.m. and was scheduled to land at Lahore at 11:45 a.m. Rafi was one of its passengers. They were so near Lahore and yet so far!"

The national press responded to this tragedy with bold front page headlines. Nawa-e-Waqt stated: "Sad news has been received about the crash of Pak



Airway's plane at Vehari district Multan. It has also been learnt that Pakistan's famous industrialist, Mr. Rafi Butt was travelling in the same plane." The paper also gave a brief account of Rafi's participation in the Muslim League's planning committee and his services towards Pakistan's industrial development."

"Let the Muslims of India prepare themselves to take their proper place in the economic reconstruction of the country, if they do not wake up now, they will miss the bus again. Let them mobilize their economic resources, set up industrial syndicates and a co-ordinating economic council if they want to establish themselves on a solid economic footing in the new era in which the world is now entering."

"I also took advantage of my stay in the United States to study the labor welfare schemes, for the prosperity of industry depends on happy relations between labor and employees. Labor conditions in India are very deplorable and require immediate improvement. If the ship of industrialization is to proceed on an even keel. Legalization in the interest of labor is called for and I hope it will receive the due attention of our legislators."

## "At Quaid's Service"

# EPILOGUE

Imtiaz Rafi Butt

The extraordinary career of my father as an entrepreneur, his distinguished role in the Pakistan Movement, his enviable rapport with the Quaid-e-Azam, his selfless passion for the uplift of the Muslim community, his endearing qualities as a man all these dimensions of Rafi Butt have been recorded in admirable detail in the preceding pages. What remains to be told is the incredible personal story of how a son discovered his father through historical research at a mature age of 40 and the profound impact that this revelation had on him.

"No man is an island, entire of itself: says John Donne. There comes a time in every man's life when he asks himself the fundamental question: WHO AM I? He wants to know who he is. I was no exception. One cannot peep into the deep recesses of one's psyche-the psyche that establishes its relations with one's forebears through invisible psychological and spiritual channels. A painful void and an ever-present sense of anxiety propelled me towards the quest of my identity. It urged me to search for a father whom I had not seen but would, perhaps, find, look up to and admire. This search became an ideal, an aspiration and would not let me rest."

A tragic accident took place on 26 November 1948, Forty-seven years ago an aeroplane went down in flames near Vehari, about 180 miles from Lahore. The ashes of that air crash changed the lives of many families. One such family was the family of Rafi Butt. A young wife, with a three-years old daughter and two-months old son, was anxiously awaiting the return of her beloved husband but within the

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## EPILOGUE

span of few moments she had become a young widow. At that moment she alone realised the enormity of the tragedy. The man she loved and adored was no more and she was left alone to face a world about which she knew little. In fact, her entire world had revolved around her husband and with his death that world collapsed. Given the circumstances, it would have been quite understandable had she resigned herself to her fate and shut herself up within the four walls of her house. But she did not do so. With a display of rare character and courage she took a hold on herself and resolved to pick up the broken pieces and face the new realities of life.

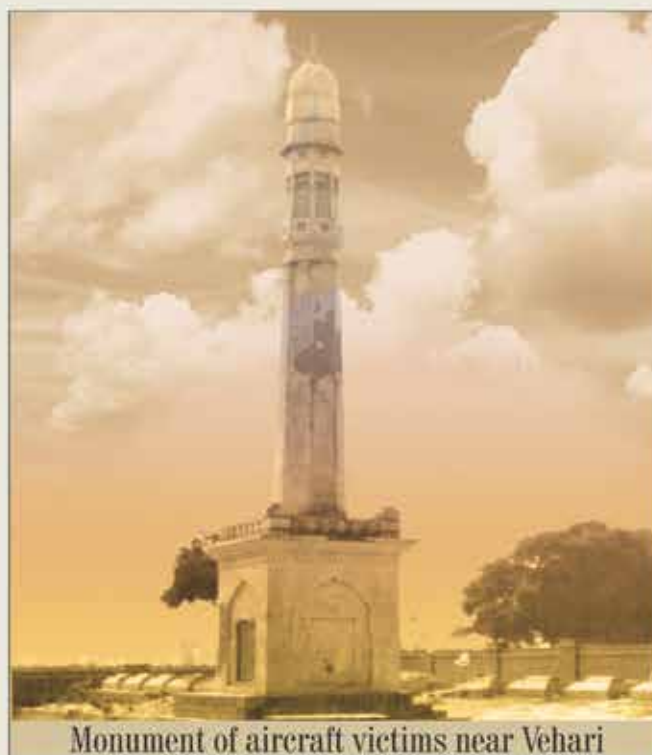
After my father's death my mother's protective instincts towards me became too pronounced. Perhaps, she felt vulnerable and was overcautious about my safety. She would not allow me to stir out of the house alone or go for a swim or travel by plane. I was too precious for her: the focus of all her attention, of her hopes and aspirations. She was very solicitous about my welfare and comfort and ensured that all my day-to-day needs were fulfilled. She did not want me to feel that I was growing up in a fatherless environment. For my part, I was totally unaware of my father's death. In fact, for a long time to come a reference to this subject was always avoided in my presence for fear that it may have an adverse effect on me. I was given the impression that he was away in



Had she so desired, my mother could have chosen an entirely different course of life for herself. She was young and beautiful and could have elected to marry again. There was no dearth of suitors but would any one of them, she perhaps reflected, approximate to her ideal of the man that Rafi was. She consciously rejected this course of action and chose instead to devote her life to the sole purpose of upbringing her son. Perhaps, she saw in me the embodiment of the love she cherished for her husband. Or, perhaps, she sought to bring me up as, she imagined, my father would have, had he been alive.

She had a clear conception of what she wanted me to be. She would remind me time and again of my father's greatness, of the values that were dear to him—hard work, self-reliance, initiative, generosity, friendship, sociability, integrity. She held out Rafi's objectives for me to follow and achieve. This became an obsession with her.

As a result of my mother's over-protective instincts and her solicitude for my safety, I grew up into a tremendously shy, self-conscious, homebound, mother's boy. I lacked confidence and felt uncomfortable among acquaintances and strangers. My mother was alarmed as these undesirable traits threatened to militate against the future that she had visualised for me. She wanted me to be bold, confident, and self-reliant. She knew I was passing through the formative phase of my life and some urgent step had to be taken to purge me of my shortcomings. She resolved to send me to Lawrence College, a boarding school at Ghora Gali. I was thirteen then. It was an extremely hard and painful decision for her to take. What anguish she must have suffered! She loved me more than anything else in the world. Although her



Monument of aircraft victims near Vehari

resolve was completely at odds with her deep-rooted desire yet she stood stoically by her decision.

The change of scene from Lahore to Ghora Gali was a formidable one. It was for the first time that I was bereft of my mother's gracious umbrella. Here, I was on my own, with no choice but to adjust myself to the constraints of a novel environment. My newfound friends and classmates would often ask me questions about my family; the sort of questions which it had never dawned on me to ask my mother. I found it rather unusual that although I was thirteen, I had not met my father even once. I was assailed with doubts and apprehensions. I had a presentiment that my father was dead. My fears were to be confirmed soon after.

I returned to Lahore in 1966. I was eighteen and on the threshold of adulthood. My stay at Lawrence College boarding school had proved rewarding. I was now more confident of myself, and more self-reliant. My mother was happy to witness this change that had come about in me and gave me a fairly free hand to take my own decisions.

In 1967, I joined the Forman Christian College at Lahore and spent three uneventful years there. I left the college midway in my BA as I increasingly felt that syllabic studies were not my cup of tea. I decided to do something else and spent two subsequent years in attempts to set up some business. Much

to my dismay, I realised that I had neither guidance, nor Experience nor capital nor influence to do so. The last two requirements were absolutely indispensable for the success of any business enterprise in our society. My efforts ended in vain.

I resolved to try my fortunes abroad and left in 1974 at the age of 24, for the United States. Once there, I roughed it out for a year (even worked as a waiter) and did not take long to learn the ropes of business. I was eventually able to set up a small concern of oriental carpets and was on my way up.

My mother meanwhile kept on urging me to return home but I was not inclined to do so. I was now beginning to enjoy the first fruits of my toil and trouble. But, ultimately, I gave in to my mother's continual entreaties and returned to Pakistan after an absence of four years.

After my father's death, the business empire that he had carved out with monumental hard work fell victim to a family tug-of-war and did not take long to collapse. My mother had to go through the harrowing experience of litigation to wrest her just rights. Unfortunately, what she ended up with was a far cry from what she should have inherited.

I explored what I could do best with my father's shrunken assets. A flair for business was in my genes. It was a talent that I had, perhaps, inherited from my father. Or, perhaps, I was propelled in this direction as a result of the many references that my mother had made to my father's business acumen during my childhood and youth. I set up a real estate development company, The RAFI GROUP, and embarked upon an ambitious scheme of building a shopping plaza. This enterprise turned out to be a huge success and after that

there was no looking back.

My mother died in 1982. To see her son rise as a businessman was a source of great satisfaction to her. To her I owe an infinite debt of gratitude for without her many sacrifices, endless love and exceptional courage. I could never have attained the place where I stand today.

Now that I was forty and an established businessman, comfortable and at peace with myself, the old questions which I had deliberately pushed into obscurity began to surface again. Was my father an enterprising industrialist? Was he in truth a dedicated disciple of the Quaid? Was he really in the vanguard of the freedom movement? Was he sociable, charming and generous? These questions, in effect, had never ceased to haunt me. If all this was true, then I was indeed an inheritor of an exceptional legacy. The aching void clamored for relief. I began to feel the yearnings to learn more about him. I now had the courage, something that I could not muster up in the years as a teenager. I established the Rafi Foundation and set out on this mission of discovery knowing little where it would all lead to. The key question was where to begin.

I had a solitary photograph, a prized possession, of the Quaid with my father, which hung on the wall of my office in Zaitoon Plaza. One day an acquaintance of mine, Shabbir Zaidi, drew my attention to it and observed that there was more to this historic photograph than what met the eye. He convinced me of its significance and the need to retrieve Rafi Butt from oblivion. Sometime later the same photograph caught the eye of Mr. Arif Nizami, Editor The Nation Lahore. He was quick to point out that this photograph was hitherto unpublished. He asked me about other photographs and material relating to my father but drew a blank. Mr. Arif Nazami then suggested that he would depute the Nawa-e-Waqt assistant editor Asadullah Ghalib to do research on Rafi Butt and see what he could find.

The first big discovery came when Ghalib turned to the reference files of his newspaper in order to look for the news of the plane crash over Vehari in 1948. He did not have to look very hard: splashed across the front page of the 27 November's paper was the banner headline about the air crash in which Rafi had died. A separate news item, also on





the front page, dealt specifically with Rafi's contributions and achievements. It became clear that Rafi must have been a very important personality to deserve this kind of press coverage.

The initial thrust of research confirmed that my father, Rafi Butt, was among the very few Muslim industrialists in the sub-continent and was deeply devoted to the cause of the Muslim community. The newspapers of the era revealed that Rafi was not only a business giant of his time, but was also famous for his generosity towards friends, and his spirited devotion to the Pakistan cause. The facts I had gathered so far about my father had sharpened my keenness all the more. I plunged into this pursuit with greater vigour. But the task, I soon realised, was not an easy one. It required painstaking effort and infinite patience. It was also time-consuming. The Foundation contacted many of Rafi's contemporaries, now in the twilight of their lives, for facts and information.

Late Khalid Shamsul Hasan proved to be extremely useful. His father, Shamsul Hasan, had remained the assistant secretary of the All-India Muslim League and had set up his personal archives. It was from these archives that Khalid Shamsul Hasan was gracious enough to bring the first batch of letters exchanged between the Quaid and Rafi Butt. These were the first writings of my father that I had ever come across. I felt ecstatic!

Bit by bit, pieces of information began falling into place. Rafi Butt started coming to life and I began to get the feel of the FATHER and the MAN he was. Six years of long and hectic research turned up a mine of information. It was a major breakthrough and a crucial milestone in my quest for identity. At long last I discovered the father whose noble achievements had never ceased to haunt me for the better

part of my youth and early manhood.

My mother's views stood confirmed. My father, it emerged, was indeed a multi-dimensional man, a close associate of the Quaid-e-Azam, a staunch supporter of the Pakistan Movement, a thinker brimming with ideas on how to bolster the economic and industrial base of the then emerging state of Pakistan.

This revelation had a tremendous impact on me. It completely transformed my outlook on life and necessitated a reordering of my worldly commitments—an uphill task considering that at the age of forty, one gets settled in a particular groove of life. My paternal inheritance grew upon me. I could not resist the summons and embarked on my new mission: to follow and promote the ideals that were so dear to the Quaid and my father and formed the gist of his life work. The two strains fused into one. Appropriately, the name of the Foundation was changed in 1989 to Jinnah - Rafi Foundation. Its objectives: promotion of research and publication, dissemination of Quaid's ideas and furtherance of peace and harmony in the nation.

The Jinnah Rafi Foundation is working assiduously towards fulfilling its commitments and has now acquired the status of an outstanding and vibrant national institution.

To me, as a son, the discovery of my father has led to self-discovery: to the discovery of my identity and my roots. Through Rafi Butt, I have "rediscovered" the Quaid, the Pakistan Movement and, in the final analysis, Pakistan.

The realization that my father was an extraordinary man and has found his rightful place in the history of the country and stands alongside the other luminaries of the Pakistan Movement has brought deep satisfaction to me. It has kindled a new hope, a new fervour, a new resolve that will not let me rest.

The quest for new horizons continues. We are clear about our goals and hope to forge an enduring partnership with like-minded individuals who will help us to implement the blueprint for national progress bequeathed to us by the Quaid; help us to instill national pride and foster peace and harmony among the people and help us to pass on a happier and stronger Pakistan to succeeding generations. ■



## Articles by Imtiaz Rafi Butt that have appeared in the national press

Imtiaz Rafi Butt has been writing for the press for almost a decade. His articles have appeared in all the major newspapers of the country including, the NATION, the NEWS, the MUSLIM and the DAWN.

His father, M. Rafi Butt, was a close associate of the Quaid-e-Azam and a staunch supporter of the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement. Imtiaz inherited his love for the Quaid-e-Azam and Pakistan from his father. In 1989, he Butt founded the Jinnah-Rafi Foundation and paid tribute to both the master and his disciple.

He was pained to see the nation drifting away from the principles set down by the Quaid-e-Azam. Democracy, social justice, rule of law - all were being undermined. There was little evidence of national unity or patriotism. The younger generation was unaware of the reasons, which brought Pakistan into being.

As the son of a man who was a devoted lieutenant of the Quaid-e-Azam, Imtiaz could not sit idle. He turned to the columns of the newspapers to remind the people of the ideals that were dear to Quaid; remind them of the great sacrifices made by the heroes of the Pakistan Movement and inculcate in the younger generation patriotism and a sense of national pride.

He has written scores of articles on a wide variety of subjects, national and international. The subjects are as diverse as Nuclear Pakistan and the Two-Nation Theory. But they all have one thing in common. They have the interest of the country at heart and aim at creating a strong prosperous and progressive Pakistan.



## THE QUAID - A LIVING FORCE

Today, the country is again in the midst of political and economic turmoil and, more so, a moral crisis. There is talk of corruption in high places and universal clamour for accountability. A caretaker government is in the saddle and striving hard to put the house in order within the short interval at its disposal. A Herculean task, indeed. The Caretaker Prime Minister, in a recent address, found cause to reflect that the nation would not have come to such a crossroad had the rulers not strayed away from the path prescribed by the Quaid. He urged the people to recapture the spirit of the forties and work with a new passion to translate the Quaid's dream into reality. Excellent sentiments, but the question is how much longer will the nation have to wait before the aspirations of the Quaid and the founding fathers are fulfilled.

Soon after the demise of the Quaid, the rulers set aside his precious legacy and embarked on a reckless path that brought the country time and again on the verge of disaster. The tragedy of Pakistan, writes Saad Khairi, "is that while surviving all the problems of Himalayan dimensions it was then hijacked by a gang which neither represented the people nor shared the spirit of the Pakistan Movement. Ghulam Muhammad, Iskandar Mirza, Ayub Khan,

Yahya Khan, Ziaul Haq". They had never fought even a single municipal election and lived in their own world, totally cut off from the common man. They neither understood nor cared for popular sentiments. They had no idea of and had no sympathy with the factors that made the Pakistan demand a mass movement?" "What were the principles dear to the Quaid?" What sort of socio-political framework had be envisaged for the new state of Pakistan? The Quaid was of the view that the social system of Pakistan should be built on civilised values, a democratic culture, time-honoured judicial traditions. He also held the view that Pakistan should be built on a modern industrial and non-feudal agriculture base. He believed in a social system founded on cooperation that would lead to harmony, discipline, self-reliance, freedom from exploitation and enable Pakistan to find its rightful place in the fraternity of nations.

The Quaid was a man of few words, a brilliant constitutional lawyer and a great supporter of civil rights, always outspoken in defence of individual rights and equal justice. "Sir", he insisted on behalf of the editor of the Bombay Chronicle, B. G. Horniman, "I do maintain, and I have drunk deep at the fountain of constitutional law, that the liberty of man is the dearest



thing in the law of any Constitution and it should not be taken away in this fashion." These words were uttered in 1924. Twenty three years later he was to be elected unanimously to preside over the meeting of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly. Addressing the august house on August 11, 1947 he said: "... the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State... One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering is bribery and corruption, which is really a poison. We must put it down with an iron hand. The next thing that strikes me is this... the evil of nepotism and jobbery. "This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly to bear upon me." Earlier in April 1943, the Quaid expressed his views on social justice and economic equality. "Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their

blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam... Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If this is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it, if they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new conditions of life. If they don't, God help them, we shall not help them." The Quaid had a clear idea of the lines on which he wished to build Pakistan. But, sad to say, he died early in 1948, barely a year after the creation of Pakistan. But within those twelve hectic months he did the work of a life time and left behind a comprehensive plan for the future guidance of the nation. Had ten more years been given to him he would have transformed and institutionalised the spirit of the Pakistan Movement and given a proper start to a democratic process. It is a pity that even after a lapse of fifty years, we have not been able to redeem the pledge we made to the Quaid. On the contrary, every successive government has either pushed the Quaid into the background or altered his image to suit its own questionable ends. Every year high-sounding tributes are paid to him but the

## THE QUAID - A LIVING FORCE

spark of sincerity is missing; the true meaning and purpose of this mission is glossed over. The Quaid gave life to democracy in Pakistan; we ushered in a reign of civil oligarchy and military dictatorship. He warned us against the evils of corruption, nepotism and malpractices. He set the basis for economic justice; we succumbed to mercenary motives and created a horrendous gulf between the "haves" and the "have nots". The Quaid was a man of great integrity. Even his enemies could not fault him on this account. When Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, offered to include the Quaid's name on the list of people recommended for knighthood, he declined the offer and replied; "I prefer to be plain Mr. Jinnah, and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jinnah". "Character" to him was of the very essence and defined it thus; "The highest sense of honour, the highest sense of integrity, conviction, incorruptibility and self sacrifice for the good of the nation." Now that Pakistan is on the threshold of its Golden Jubilee year and poised to enter upon a new phase of its political life, it is a golden opportunity to redeem our pledge and make the ideals of the great Quaid the corner-stone of our socio-economic and political edifice.

The Quaid himself was firmly committed to democratic principles. Addressing the Sibbi Darbar in February 1948, he stated, "I have had one underlying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim Democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet (PBUH) of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that our decision in the affairs of the State should be guided by discussion and consultation". Democracy is indispensable for the stability and progress of the country.

The coming year promises a wind of change in our social and political attitude. Elections are in the offing. The process of accountability is gaining momentum. New faces animated with a new zeal and backed by a firm resolution are likely to appear on the political horizon. It is hoped that the new leadership will not display the indifference of its predecessors and ensure that the perceptions of Quaid find the place that they rightly deserve.

Democracy, rule of law, human rights, equality and fraternity this is what the Quaid stood for and achieved for us after tremendous effort and enormous sacrifice.

The Muslim renaissance was a miracle of achievement. The Quaid said, "The whole world is wondering at the unprecedented revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent sovereign dominions in the sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world."

Nirad Chaudhari, a fierce opponent of partition and by no means a friendly critic writes, "Jinnah was the only man who came through with success and honour. He never made a secret of what he wanted, never compromised and yet succeeded in inflicting an unmitigated defeat on both the British government and the Indian National Congress. I salute Jinnah as an honest and honourable enemy and acknowledge his greatness."

During his brief stewardship of the state, Quaid-e-Azam set up some exceedingly sound and

healthy precedents - precedents that could have, in the course of time, developed into strong traditions. It is now up to the people and the leaders of public opinion to seize the initiative and redress the wrongs that have flagrantly persisted for almost half a century. But will the nation rise to the occasion? Will it respond to the call of the hour? Only time will tell. ■

WEEKLY SPECIAL





## A new hope for Pakistan



1940 was the most critical time in the history of the Muslims of South Asia. 1997 is, in many ways, the most critical year in the post independence history of Pakistan. The nation seems to have come full circle after a lapse of 50 years. Once again it is at the crossroads. Once again the people have risen to the occasion, are alive and politically conscious, animated with a new zeal to create their own strength and overcome the challenges that confront them. This year Pakistan Day falls in the wake of a landmark election. Never before in the history of the sub-continent has an electorate conferred such a massive mandate on any political party. The national outcry against political and bureaucratic excess, abuse of power, reckless adventurism, corruption, the desperate demand for total accountability, honest leadership, responsible governance has not been in vain. Out of the trauma of collective frustration pent up for half a century - there has emerged a new hope and a determination to step into the next century with a new poise, cohesion, dignity and stand shoulder to shoulder with the successful nations of the

world. The signs of the times are hopeful. The new leadership has declared its intent. It is determined to grapple with the issues, overcome formidable challenges and turn over a new page.

The elections of February 3, 1997 have cleared the air for the moment and allayed much of the apprehension created by sectarian feuds, lawlessness, inflation and the spectre of economic and fiscal disaster.

Though these are intractable problems and will surely test the mettle of the best who have been elevated to the seat of power, there is a touch of harmony in the air and the promise of a new beginning.

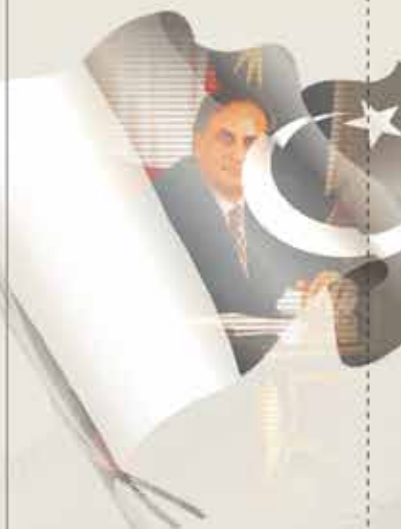
The Golden Jubilee which had almost been buried in a thick mist of despondency will now, perhaps, acquire a fresh meaning and significance and provide the nation with a memorable occasion to renew its pledge and commit itself to the ideals of Muslim nationhood which the heroes of the freedom struggle had enunciated in the crucial years leading to the establishment of Pakistan.

The most salutary by-product of the election process has been the elimination of polarisation which had plagued the politics of the country for almost a decade. It had held the nation to ransom and threatened to destroy its

socio-moral fibre. It would be idle at this point of time to blame or pin responsibility for that sorry state of affairs. Suffice it to say that the worse is hopefully behind us and we now stand on the frontiers of a new awakening. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's phenomenal triumph has been welcomed by friends and foes alike. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto has wished him good luck which he will certainly need. Qazi Hussain Ahmed has undertaken to hold back his agitation and 'dharnas' for six months and allow the new prime minister time enough to determine the course and direction in which he would want the battered country to move. Mian Sahib has promised to restore economic and social health, revamp the police system, raise standard of education, provide health cover to the poor, create new jobs in an expanded economy and reform and redefine services for those in real need. A tall order, indeed! But with a hefty two - third majority in the National Assembly, it should not be difficult to translate ideas and visions into reality.

The nation has full faith in Mian Sahib and sees no reason to doubt his credentials for the task. He has happily struck the right note and decided to tackle the economic issue first. His clarion call to all Pakistanis, at home and abroad to contribute their share to the National Debt Retirement Programme and thus

participate in the great national campaign is laudable and deserves the backing of the whole nation. He has also decided to make a determined effort to resolve the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir and other outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan to bring peace and economic stability and a better quality of life to the billions of peoples inhabiting the region. ➡



The need of hour demands that we shun partisan politics based on petty prejudices and egotistical compulsions, stand behind the prime minister and give him a fair chance to implement his revolutionary programme. Momentum is important in political dynamics; if his crusade gathers momentum, Mian Sahib should be able to turn the tide and put the country back on an even keel.

The Quaid was a great constitutionalist and a man of broad vision. He believed in Islamic principles, a democratic culture, social justice, civic and political rights, civilised values and would have ensured that these ideals found free play in the body politic of the country. But, he lived only a year after the birth of Pakistan, in a year in which his entire attention was devoted to survival and no constitution-making task could be undertaken. His immediate successors were men of lesser merit who had neither his



charisma nor the ability to hold the nation together with the result that the country fell into the hands of reckless adventures of all hues who played havoc with democratic institutions and plunged the homeland in a state of anarchy from which it has not yet recovered. With their myopic outlook and bizarre policies, they trampled without remorse on the political and social ideals of the founding fathers and lost half the patrimony which he had entrusted to their care. And what, it may be asked, have they bequeathed to the nation? A crisis of identity and a bankrupt economy.

The day of the usurper is hopefully over. The Muslim

League which had created Pakistan is back in the saddle with a historic mandate after remaining in limbo for almost half a century. Will the new prime minister have the courage and capability to pick-up the pieces and chart anew the course which the founding father would have liked the country to take? Will he epitomise the national will and transmit to future generations those values, standards and aspirations which had enabled the Quaid to face the combined might of the Congress and the British and win a separate homeland for the Muslims of South Asia? Given the courage of his convictions and sincerity of purpose, there is no reason why Mian Sahib's prime ministerial tenure should

not go down in history as a watershed, a turning point in the destiny of the Muslims of Pakistan. Mian Sahib should be aware of the fact that the electorate has bestowed a signal honour and a great new status on him. He is no longer the chieftain of his PML group alone; he is now the leader of the Pakistani nation and the captain of the ship of state. And, as the captain, he should bear in mind that the winds and the waves are always on the side of the ablest navigator. ■



# The Islamic Summit-

## some reflections



The extraordinary session of the Islamic Summit that concluded in Islamabad recently was successful insofar as Pakistan's principled stand on the Kashmir dispute received the full backing of the member-states and found clear expression in the Islamabad Declaration. It condemned the massive violations of human rights in Kashmir and reaffirmed that any political process of elections could not be a substitute for the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It also affirmed that substantive dialogue was essential to resolve the Kashmir dispute and supported the efforts of the Government of Pakistan to achieve a just and peaceful solution of the dispute and called upon the government of India to respond positively to these gestures.

The Islamabad Declaration pledged to unify its efforts for the defence of all Islamic causes foremost being Al Quds Al Sharif, Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir and for the reversal of aggression and occupation of Arab and Islamic lands. It reiterated its resolve to strengthen co-operation in the economic and commercial fields

by encouraging greater interaction in the private sector; preserve and promote values of Islamic civilisation; project universally the true essence of Islam and to co-operate with the people of other religious faiths to build a better and more peaceful world; strengthen Islamic solidarity in conformity with the objectives of OIC Charter. The objectives of the Conference are to promote unity and brotherhood, increase economic and industrial co-operation, attend to burning issues and evolve a strategy to meet the challenges facing the Muslim World. Since 1969 the Islamic Conference has held many extraordinary and regular sessions and issued declarations from Rabat, Casablanca, Islamabad etc. Yet it has not been successful in settling international disputes involving Muslim states. Despite its vehement protests and veneer of solidarity, it has not been able to make a noticeable impact on the powers that matter. It has, for example, failed to restrain Israelis from usurping the rights of Palestinians, from seizing Arab lands, raising new settlements or converting Arab territory into an inseparable part of the Jewish state. It has failed to force Bharat to give up

repression, grant right of self-determination to the Kashmiris in accordance with UN resolutions or curb its policies of calculated military brutality against the defenceless citizens of the valley. It failed to prevent the genocide, the "ethnic cleansing" of the Bosnian Muslims or focus the attention of the world body on the puzzling code of morality pursued by the West.

If the Islamic countries want their pronouncements to carry weight they must rise above pious declarations and the level of a commonplace pressure-group and evolve a strategy which could have a telling effect on the oppressors and aggressors. But before the Muslims decide in right earnest to do so, they should first close ranks. Power emanates from within and a house divided, can neither understand the imperious logic nor withstand the armed incursions of its opponent specially if the opponents have technology and economic might on their side.

The task before the OIC is, in essence, two-dimensional: (a) internal or domestic and (b) external or foreign. If the OIC commands the respect and

authority of a "supra-national" organisation, it can with sincerity of purpose and commitment to a higher ideal achieve its internal objectives, namely those pertaining to the solidarity of the Ummah and economic-cum-industrial development. The organisation has its standing committees on Economic and Commercial Co-operation, Science and Technology, Information and Culture. It can boost trade and industry by encouraging greater interaction in the private sector.

It can progressively eliminate all obstacles to the development of Intra-Islamic trade, promote greater flow of investments and transfer of technology, plan joint industrial ventures, improve communication and transportation network and work for the collective good of the Ummah. It can, if it deems appropriate, introduce a single currency and a common market, establish a defence organisation on the lines of NATO and set up a separate body to resolve disputes and misunderstanding between member states. All these matters fall within the domestic plans of the OIC and it has the potential of ironing out differences and shaping a cohesive, monolithic Islamic bloc. ■

It is, however, the external dimension of its task that is sensitive, challenging and complex. It requires profound consideration by the best minds and needs to be addressed in a pragmatic and judicious way. In this context, the Islamic Conference, for instance, would have to identify the forces that are bent on keeping Islamic nations divided, ponder over the implications of the "new world order, examine the western media campaign against Islam and the Muslim world which has gained momentum after the collapse of the Soviet Union, determine whether this media campaign is motivated by religious, racial or cultural bias or by political territorial or economic factors; factors, which reflect an insatiable desire to capture new markets and ensure safety of vital economic interests. The OIC will have to study the nature of the one-sided flow of a value-laden western propaganda, which brands Muslims as terrorists and fundamentalists and seeks to deprive them of their legitimate rights and demolish their eminence as the standard-bearers of a great and

time-honoured civilisation.

The cold war has created a "unipolar" or "One superpower" world that is unilaterally dictating a global agenda an agenda which is, more often than not at variance with the hopes and aspirations of the Islamic world. The most effective weapon that it has to backup its policies or provide a rationale for its action is its media autocracy. Most of the news material prepared for all the main mass media emanates from agencies located in highly developed Western countries. As a result not only is the image of the Muslim nations projected often a false and distorted one but is also aimed at frustrating their search for identity and coherence. OIC must seek ways to countering this cultural trend, which serves the interest of the most powerful countries and helps them to secure political-culture domination under the cover of liberal or rational ideas. These are some of the core issues on the external front that the member states will have to wrestle with if they are to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

The OIC is happily aware of the vast and complex forces at work in the world today. Revolutionary changes in the field of communication and finance, demography and environment, education and defence, technology and bio-agriculture have transformed the face of the earth. Islamic society confronts the task of reconciling technical change and economic integration with traditional political structures, national consciousness, social needs and institutional arrangement. It has the potential to accomplish this daunting task and emerge as a powerful influence in the councils of the world.

The concept of leadership is not alien to Islam. Centuries before the Reformation, Islam led the world in mathematics, cartography, medicine and many other aspects of science and industry and contained libraries, universities and observatories when Japan and America possessed none. Europe only a few.

If Islam could provide a magnificent leadership to the world in the past, there is no

reason why it cannot rally its forces once again and emerge as a distinct entity with the power, the will and the intellectual and moral impetus of its own and provide an alternative or, at least, a parallel leadership to that of the West today. ■





## The Prime Message of The September War



Imtiaz Rafi Butt

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. This is the prime and principal message of the September War - a message we can ill-afford to ignore if we are to survive as an independent nation and preserve the sovereignty of the state. We achieved Pakistan after a bitter struggle and in the teeth of fierce opposition from the British and the Hindus. The British made a hash of partition and left the subcontinent in haste but the Hindus who live next door have not forgotten their "sorrow" and harbour an implacable hatred for Pakistan - a hatred that can be explained only in pathological terms. By launching an all-out war against Pakistan in September 1965, Bharat left no doubt in the mind of the people about her aggressive designs and relentless hostility towards them. Since day one Bharat has shown a determination to make things difficult for us. The colossal problem of refugee rehabilitation was created by Bharat to cripple our economy. That was accomplished by

denying our share of the assets of undivided India and the threat of diversion and stoppage of river waters flowing into our territory. Contrary to all agreements and principles, Bharat forcibly occupied a major part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and concentrated her forces there, thus posing a constant threat to our security. This led to the first Pak-Bharat war in October 1948, barely two months after the creation of Pakistan, and the second in September 1965.

At the back of it all is Bharat's deep antipathy towards the two-nation theory that led to the great divide and the emergence of the Islamic State of Pakistan.

Till this day the Bharati leadership mourns over the "vivisection of Bharat Mata" and has missed no opportunity to undo Pakistan. Hindu leaders have time and again given vitriolic expression to their innermost feelings. They have made no secret of their ambition to absorb Pakistan or turn her into a satellite. Acharya Kripalani, who was president of the Indian National Congress in 1947, declared, "Neither the Congress nor the nation has given up its claim of a united India." Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, the first Indian Home Minister and the "strong man" of the Congress Party, announced at about the same time, "Sooner than later, we shall again be united in common allegiance." In

an article published recently in a national daily, a well known politician analyst states: "An idea of the expansionist designs of Hindu Rashtra" can be had not only from the election manifesto of the BJP but also more disturbing from the latest writings of India's 'moderates' and 'intellectuals' like newspaper columnist Ravi Rikhye. He wrote in the India Abroad of November 3, 1995: "We have never, right from 1947, accepted a partitioned subcontinent. Nehru agreed to partition only as a tactical move to hasten the British departure from India. He expected Pakistan to fall apart and rejoin India. However, as years went by and Pakistan did not fall apart, he revealed, "India's objective became more modest namely, to subordinate Pakistan, making it into a Nepal or Sri Lanka, too weak to challenge us, too insignificant to defy our bidding." Rikhye concluded with this vicious counsel to India's policy makers: "The RAW approach has outlived its usefulness. India's military budget must be increased to 5 percent of its GNP for a start, a figure we can afford. After rebuilding the army, we must use a combination of all means to incorporate Pakistan into India." Given Bharat's twisted mind-set, no wonder Pakistan's attempt to find some level of existence as good neighbours with the former have failed. For the last fifty years political leaders of Pakistan have tried hard to come

to some understanding with Bharat. Referring to his own parleys with the Bharati leaders in the early sixties, General Ayub Khan states in his Autobiography "Friends not Masters. The argument from the Indian side has been on the following lines: "Let us forget our disputes; let us have a 'no-war pact: let us have more trade, more freedom of movement between the two countries and more cultural exchanges. This will soften feelings on the two sides and once an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding develops, all problems will resolve themselves." What may be noted here is that Bharat's stand has hardly changed despite the lapse of almost three and a half decades? What is Pakistan's position? It is to ask how goodwill and understanding can develop when the core issue of Kashmir remains unresolved. If India is earnest in settling this dispute why does it keep on reiterating at home and abroad that "Kashmir is an integral part of India." India cannot barter away her sovereignty. "There can be no negotiation on Kashmir." Why has she planted Prithvi missiles close to Pakistan's border? Why is she so hectically engaged in building a massive war machine? If India is really keen to resolve the apex issue, it must give some visible sign of its honest intentions and goodwill; it could, for instance,

reduce its defence budget, stop shopping in military marts for Pakistan-targeting weapons, announce a time-table for the pull out of the six lac soldiers who are violating every human right in the book and tightening their stranglehold on the defenceless Kashmiris.

The point is that the Kashmir issue cannot be allowed to linger on ad infinitum on the assumption that it will be resolved with the passage of time. Time is a great healer but it seldom heals deep-rooted wounds. Such wounds continue to fester and refuse to get buried under the dust of time. Fundamental issues affecting the life and freedom of the people cannot be swept under the rug. They have a habit of flaring up because human beings cannot be kept in perpetual bondage. In view of Bharat's animosity for Islam and Pakistan, its calculated intransigence in the matter of Kashmir, its hegemonic aspirations, its belief in Akhand Bharat and its persistent efforts to undo the country, Pakistan cannot afford to lower its guard or show the slightest complacency. Our armed forces have to be fully prepared to

defend our borders without any warning against an enemy that is not only two-faced and sneaky but also numerically superior. Though we have mastered nuclear technology and nuclear deterrence may keep the enemy at bay, India is quite capable of devising other means to weaken and destroy Pakistan.

We take great pride in our armed forces. They proved their mettle beyond measure when on September 6, 1965 Bharati troops, without a formal declaration of war, crossed the international frontier and launched a two-pronged attack along the Harike-Burki axis and the Wahga-Batapour axis. Their obvious target was Lahore. When the enemy corps breached the border at Harike, they found their advance blocked by two infantry divisions which were deployed astride the Hudiara drain four miles short of the border. It was the gallant action of these handful of Pakistani soldiers, which prevented the Bharatis from rushing to the bridge on the BRB canal at Burki and posing a threat to Lahore. They knocked out the leading Bharati tanks and frustrated all attempts to cross the Hudiara drain along the main

road. These two lionhearted companies succeeded in delaying the Bharati advance for nearly 24 hours that provided ample time for an infantry brigade of 10 Div to take positions, which the Bharatis were, never able to pierce.

It was in Burki that Major Aziz Bhatti fought a memorable action in which he laid down his life. It was an incredible feat of heroism. "The courage and the spirit of defiance and contempt for danger," writes Brigadier (Retd) A. A. L. Chaudhri, "which he displayed in the face of heavy odds and certain death was truly symbolic of the spirit with which the whole of the Pakistan army was imbued while fighting in the defence of their homeland in the September 1965 war."

The story of the fighter pilots of the Pakistan Air Force was no different. These young prodigies of skill and daring performed incredible feats and became a terror for the enemy in those electrifying days. Undaunted by odds, unwearied in their constant challenge and mortal danger Pakistan's airmen established their supremacy by their prowess and devotion. On this commemorative day we

salute our valiant armed forces; we salute the martyrs who laid down their lives for the sake of Pakistan and sanctified the land with their precious blood. Their offering will not go in vain and live forever in the hearts and the annals of a thankful nation.

To every man upon this earth  
Death cometh soon or late.  
And how can man die better than  
facing fearful odds.  
For the ashes of his fathers, and  
the temples of his gods? ■



# Pakistan OBSERVER

Vol. XI No. 251, Regd. No. 111

ISLAMABAD, JAMADI-US-SANI 05, 1420 AH, SUNDAY, APRIL 04, 1998

★ ★ ★ Price Rs 7.00



## Imtiaz Rafi Butt

The successful test-firing of the Ghauri Missile has thrown the Bharati government into confusion and surprised the world. It has also brought a new respect for the professional competence of the scientists and engineers of Pakistan. The missile derives its name from Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri, the founder of Muslim rule in India. The name was suggested by none other than the great Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan himself and the reason is not far to seek. His forefathers came to India along with Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri. They were among the intrepid commanders of his army and played a prominent role in his military triumphs. In naming the missile after Ghauri and in building a mausoleum of the Sultan at Dhamoke, in Sohawa, district Jhelum, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan has given ample proof of his ancestral loyalty and his resolve to ensure the invincibility of Pakistan. Dr. Khan and his associates deserve praise for their great historic success. Dr. Khan's love and attachment for his associates can be gauged from the fact that he declined to

## Ghauri-its far-reaching effects

go in a helicopter that was specially placed at his disposal to carry him to the test-firing range at Malot, Jhelum and preferred to go with his team-mates.

Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri was the first Muslim conqueror to lay the foundation of an Islamic government in India. He replaced the prevailing inhuman caste system with a social system founded on the Islamic ideals of equality and

Hindus, however, continued to conspire politically against Muslim governments, even rebelled on an occasion or two, but did not dare to engage in an armed conflict during all these centuries. If they succeeded at all, it was only in hatching religious conspiracies. The Brahmins, the self-styled religious leaders of the Hindus, denounced the invasion and triumphs of Ghauri and his successors as an assault against the Hindu way of life and a

conquered the Dravidians, the peace-loving settled inhabitants of India, and enslaved them. To perpetuate their hold they evolved a philosophy and called it a religion. They shaped Hindu society in accordance with this philosophy. The Brahmin, they claimed, was born from the mouth of Brahma, the supreme deity; the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaisiya from his thighs and the Sudhra from his feet. The ruling class of the Aryans pronounced itself as members of Brahmin and Kshatriya caste. Some Aryans and traders were placed in the Vaisiya caste and the rest, the weak and the oppressed were consigned to the Sudhra caste. Thus began the most shameful chapter of exploitation and degradation in

**The time is not far when Pakistan will emerge as a force to be reckoned within the four regions of South Asia, Central Asia, the Gulf and the Middle East; when it will extend security and assistance to the weaker nations of the world of Islam and South Asia. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan and his team, General Jahangir Karamat, and the former and present government deserve the nation's gratitude for their sterling role in the missile project but the highest praise should go to Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif for his decision to test-fire the Ghauri missile.**

freedom from exploitation. All the rajahs of the day banded against him to save their antiquated system but in vain. In the terrible battle that ensued, the Muslims carved in their own blood a new chapter of freedom and egalitarianism in the history of India. The age-old forces with vested interests suffered a crushing defeat. From 1192 to 1857 i.e. for 765 years these dark forces steered by high-caste

dreadful conspiracy to destroy Hindu religion. They branded the Muslims as aliens and spared no effort to rouse the antipathy of the natives-the low caste Hindus who constituted a vast section of the populace-against them.

The foundation of Hindu society itself, it may be observed was the result of a conspiracy. The victorious Aryans who came as invaders from Central Asia

the history of humanity. "The Vaisiyas and the Sudhras", the high-priests declared, "were created to serve the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas and to do so was their religious duty."

The triumph of Shahabuddin Ghauri was, in fact, the triumph of an ideology which dealt a deadly blow to Hindu-society. Hindu historians may level whatever accusations they like against Ghauri but it is a historical fact that during the entire period of Muslim rule the odious philosophy fabricated by the high-caste Hindus did not get another chance to spread its wings. It was these high-caste Hindus who brought about the division of the sub-continent. That their perverse mentality has still not changed can be judged from a conversation that took place between Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel a die-hard Hindu and Josh Malihabadi after the country had become independent. Patel said: "Khan Sahib we can listen to you (i.e. to a scion of the victorious Muslims who came from beyond the borders) but it is indeed unfortunate when the natives (i.e. the low caste people who became Muslims) of this place try to hobnob with us." It is this philosophy, symptomatic of a warped frame of mind, that the Ghauri missile has shattered. It was this vindictive attitude fostered over centuries which frustrated all the conciliatory efforts of the Quaid from 1916 to 1947. Hegemonic ambitions and the desire to establish Akhand Bharat dominated the decisions

of the Congress Hindu leadership. Their narrow-minded patriotism eventually led to the division of India. But these devotees of Akhand Bharat did not accept partition with an open mind. Considering it a temporary set-back, they vowed to undo it at the earliest. After independence these anti-Muslim Congress extremists rose to positions of power in the government. Policy framing and decision taking fell into their hands and they started focussing their thoughts on three objectives: one, to establish the Bharat of Ashoka; two, turn the Indian Ocean into an Indian lake and thus make the ocean a part of its territorial complex. (The achievement of this second objective holds one particular advantage: the economic and political domination of the Middle East as a large part of the World of Islam and its oil wealth is concentrated on the shores of the Indian Ocean) and three, to transform India into a superpower. For the achievement of these targets, the destruction of Pakistan became a necessary and logical prerequisite.

The Quaid was aware of these portents of things to come when he flew into Cairo for a few days in December 1946 en route to India. He told a press conference there that with the establishment of Pakistan the menace of Hindu Imperialistic Raj would not be able to spread its tentacles across the Middle East or dictate its policies.

Pakistan, he asserted, would

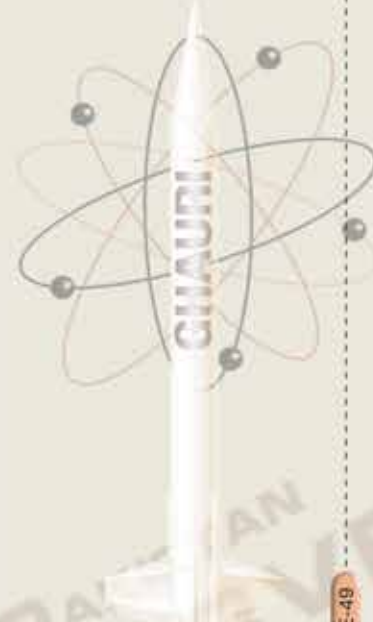
play a vital role in the defence of this entire region. After 1947, India promptly geared its defence and defence-related policies to the achievement of the three aforementioned objectives. It became a nuclear and missile power and its flotillas cruised about in the Indian Ocean. Our domestic turmoil in East Pakistan also erupted around this time. Taking advantage of what to her was a golden opportunity, India broke Pakistan into two and set about conspiring to destroy the rest.

After the amputation of its eastern wing, the political leadership and the people of Pakistan became apprehensive about India's intentions and resolved to bolster the security of the country at all costs. Atomic and missile research was undertaken in a big way and proved fruitful. The poor Pakistani nation displayed exemplary fortitude and a rare sense of sacrifice for the achievement of this vital objective. The test firing of the Ghauri missile brought deep disappointment to the enemies of Pakistan. It also sent a subtle message to the die-hard extremists of Bharat, namely, that history could repeat itself but should that happen all would be destroyed.

The eight-minute flight of the missile has added a new dimension and a new colour to the 800-year old history of the subcontinent: it has restored our psychological clout in clear, unmistakable terms. It has not

only established a balance of terror but has also thwarted Indian aspirations of becoming a regional power not to speak of her dreams of swaggering around as a superpower. The Ghauri missile has translated the Quaid's words at Cairo into reality.

The time is not far when Pakistan will emerge as a force to be reckoned within the four regions of South Asia, Central Asia, the Gulf and the Middle East: when it will extend security and assistance to the weaker nations of the world of Islam and South Asia and lead South Asia. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan and his team, General Jahangir Karamat, and the former and present governments deserve the nation's gratitude for their sterling role in the missile project but the highest praise should go to Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif for his bold decision to test-fire the Ghauri missile. ■





# Nuclear Pakistan

## guarantor of stability in Asia

Imtiaz Rafi Butt

By conducting five nuclear tests on 28 May Pakistan has given a fitting response to the Bharati blasts and restored anew the military balance in South Asia. Israel, too, has got the message that it should stop blackmailing Arab countries and end its military co-operation with India. These tests have confirmed Pakistan's status as a nuclear power and given ample proof of her nuclear sophistication and potential as a Muslim State. They have also demolished the view held by Western observers / analysts that Muslim countries were way behind in modern science and technology. It was this assumption that had often prompted the West to refer sarcastically to the OIC as the Organisation of Inefficient Countries.

How did the arms race originate in South Asia? It originated in the fanatical desire of the militant Hindus to establish Akhand Bharat and in the obsession of the Bharati leadership to make Bharat a superpower.

It may be observed that the establishment of Israel and Israel's bellicose nuclear programme were, in the first instance, directed at the Arabs. But as the Arabs were Muslims subscribing to the same faith as their Muslim brothers in the subcontinent, Pakistan and the Arab world came to be seen as a single political entity. The net result was that Pakistan became a joint target of Bharat and Israel. David Ben Gurion addressing the Jews in Paris in 1967 had openly identified Pakistan as the prime target.

It would, therefore, be pertinent to cast a glance at the nuclear policy of Bharat and Israel and to view in this context the defensive nature of Pakistan's nuclear strategy. Bharat's nuclear programme was launched in 1948 under the direction of Dr. Bhabha. Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was its moving spirit. The primary objectives of the nuclear programme were military: to make Bharat a great power in Asia with an effective naval

presence in the Indian Ocean. They thought that after achieving these goals, the smaller states of South Asia, overwhelmed by their might, would automatically dwindle into satellite states. The Arab States of the Middle East, too, would succumb to their sphere of influence. They would thus succeed in bringing progress and prosperity to a poverty-stricken Bharat with the abundant oil wealth of these countries. Moreover, in consideration of their big power status, the United States and Russia would deem it necessary to seek their approval before formulating any policy for South Asia in particular and Asia in general. Pandit Nehru's political vision and Dr. Homi Bhabha's personal rapport with the nuclear scientists and the chiefs of the atomic institutions in the West played a major role in making Bharat a nuclear power. When Canada initiated a plan to offer nuclear reactors to the Third World, Bharat took full advantage of it. In short, while the U.S., Russia, Britain, France

and Germany provided nuclear technology and projects to Bharat, Canada also played a prominent role in this field.

Israel's nuclear programme was launched in 1952 under the leadership of Shimon Peres with France providing the first nuclear reactor. Later, all western nations, including the U.S. and Canada supplied it with nuclear technology. The Dimona Nuclear Complex is a living proof of this fact. It comprises a variety of projects. It is institutions like these that have helped to transform Israel into a modern and progressive nuclear state. Moreover, its super computer has lent a new excellence to its nuclear and space programmes, namely, its missiles.

While speaking of Israel one cannot resist the temptation of referring to the political leadership of the Middle East in general and the political insight of Gamal Abdul Nasser in particular. As stated earlier, Israel initiated its nuclear programme in 1952. It was in 1952 that President Nasser also came into power and created a furore in the entire Arab World.

His charismatic personality cast a spell on Arab intellectuals and especially the youth. The Soviet Union who was in search of a reliable and strong ally in the days of the Cold War found in him an ideal comrade and a fiery opponent of American policies in the Arab World. What is amazing is that the Soviet Union at the time was completely at the mercy of Nasser. President Nasser's crucial decision in 1956 to nationalise the Suez canal jolted the world powers. The armed forces of Britain, France, and Israel launched a joint attack on Egypt. It was at this critical juncture that the Soviet Union stepped forward and threatened the invading armies with the use of nuclear

weapons. Thus Egypt escaped the destruction of a war that was forced upon it. The question is was President Nasser not aware of the Zionist designs in the wake of the establishment of the State of Israel? Was President Nasser not aware of the vested interests of the U.S. and other Western powers that were linked with Israel in the Middle East? Was President Nasser not aware that Israel had launched a massive nuclear programme with military objectives in view? Was he not aware that the real purpose of the nuclear programme was not merely to ensure the security of Israel but to transform it into a regional power? He must have surely known that with Israel as a nuclear power Egypt would lose

its military and political supremacy in the Arab world. If President Nasser was cognisant of these issues why did he not take advantage of Egypt's special status in Soviet foreign policy and launch a comprehensive nuclear programme of his own. Had President Nasser so desired, he could have got anything from the Soviet Union for the asking. The take-over of the Aswan Dam was a laudable step but wherein lay the wisdom of not turning Egypt into a nuclear power; in depriving it for ever of the political leadership of the Arab world and delivering it to the nuclear blackmail of Israel. One would be quite justified in concluding that while President Nasser did little or nothing for Egypt. Today Israel has a stockpile of atomic, hydrogen and neutron bombs and all the capitals of the Arab world are within the range of its nuclear missiles.

In Pakistan, the Atomic Energy Agency was established in 1957 and raised to the level of a commission during the tenure of Ayub Khan. It was entrusted as an additional charge to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of Industry



## guarantor of stability in Asia

A nuclear state in international politics. When Canada started offering nuclear projects under the Colombo Plan, he decided to take full advantage of this historic moment. He succeeded in persuading Canada into providing one nuclear reactor one reprocessing plant and some technology relating to the manufacture of fuel. In a memo to the President he wrote: "We should avail ourselves of this opportunity. I have brought Canada round to our point of view. The price of the reprocessing plant is 400 million dollars". The President replied: "I have spoken to Shuaib (Minister of Finance). He says that he cannot arrange the amount required for the reprocessing plant". The reprocessing plant could not come about but Bhutto did succeed in setting up a nuclear power-station in Karachi. Had the reprocessing plant been installed, a nuclear infrastructure would have been in place well before the seventies and Pakistan would not have been rent in two in 1971.

After the fall of the eastern wing,

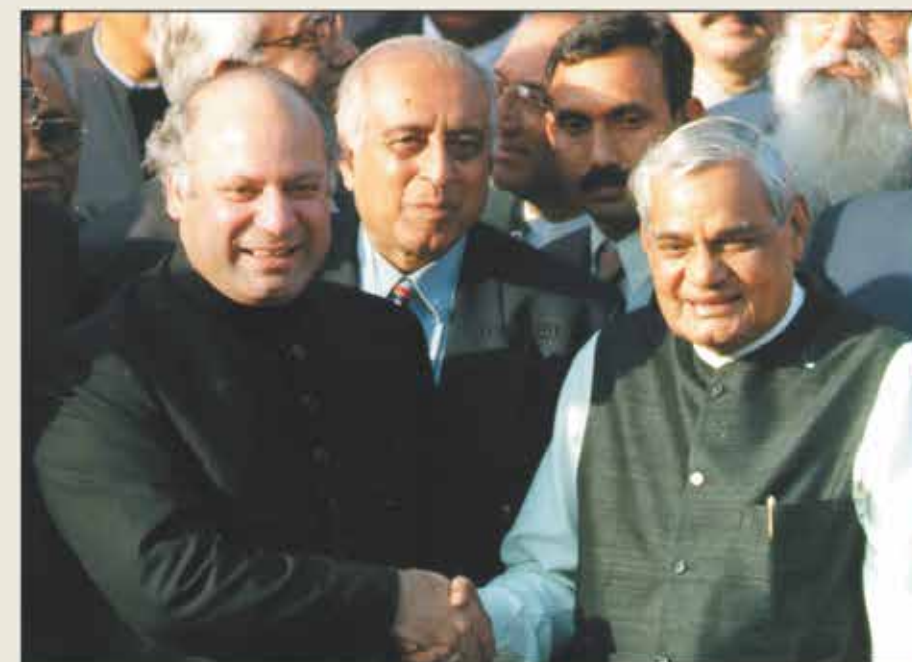
Bhutto became President of Pakistan, he convened a science conference in 1972 at Multan. In an exclusive meeting with the scientists he apprised them of his intention and work began in this direction. Sometime later he got in touch with Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, a scientist working in a nuclear establishment in Holland. Dr. Khan submitted a nuclear blueprint for national security based on the centrifugal system which Bhutto accepted enthusiastically. Thus came into being the uranium enrichment project at Kahuta. Bhutto entered into an agreement with Germany to secure a Tritium Purification Plant, which was later installed. He also signed in 1976 an agreement with France for the purchase of a 900-megawatts reactor and a reprocessing plant. The plant was about to be set up in 1977 when Bhutto was dethroned and lost his life as well. He was succeeded by General Zia who looked after and fostered the nuclear programme. Though he could not acquire the reactor and reprocessing plant from France, the war in Afghanistan at the time helped much to transform Pakistan into nuclear power.

While inaugurating his nuclear programme Bhutto had declared "India has exploded a nuclear device in 1974. I cannot bear to see my helpless nation cringing before the might of nuclear Bharat". Western imperialists killed Bhutto the man but they could not kill the idea. When Pakistan exploded its nuclear device it demolished in retrospect and in a symbolic way all the conspiracies that had been directed against him.

Today Bharat has lost its predominance. Israel's aggressive posture too will soon change. Every country has its Bhuttos and Nassers. History has an uncanny way of dispersing the mists of time and baring events and characters. Animated by their religious ideals, sense of political ascendancy and eight centuries of glorious rule, the Muslims of India achieved Pakistan under the able leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam. The same people were also fired with the resolve to emerge on the global stage as a respected and dignified nation. They have demonstrated their resolve.

I congratulate the Prime

Minister; the Chief of Army staff, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan and all the scientists concerned on their historic achievement and also thank them on behalf of the nation. As far as the bluster about sanctions is concerned, it will prove no more than a temporary extravaganza. The nation will face the sanctions with grit and determination and, God willing, continue to march from one success to another. ■



## Two-nation theory: the corner-stone of Pakistan

Imtiaz Rafi Butt



This year Pakistan Day has come in the wake of two significant events: one, the emergence of Pakistan as the seventh nuclear power and two, the peace initiative taken by Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. In a way the two events are inter-related and

if they succeed in bringing peace and prosperity to this troubled subcontinent it will, indeed, be a great achievement.

The emergence of Pakistan as a nuclear power has changed the geo-strategic equation in the subcontinent. By conducting five nuclear tests less than a

Pakistan has given a fitting response to the Bharati blasts and restored anew the military balance in South Asia. These tests have confirmed Pakistan's status as a nuclear power. A strong Pakistan, it is hoped, will check Bharat's irrepressible desire to establish Akhand Bharat and become a great power in South Asia.

With both Bharat and Pakistan armed with nuclear weapons, a war between them would assuredly lead to mutual destruction. This dreadful prospect has deterred both from resorting to violence and drawn them to the negotiating table. Bharat and Pakistan have both declared that they would shun war and settle all outstanding disputes through

dialogue. But is Bharat's friendly posture genuine or as usual mere hype aimed at telling the world that it is a peace-loving and responsible country keen to improve ties with its neighbours?

Even if Atal Bihari Vajpayee is sincere, he can do little to settle the Kashmir dispute or ensure lasting peace between India and Pakistan. His credentials for the task are inadequate. He is the head of a shaky coalition government—here today gone tomorrow—and the front man of a party (BJP) whose forerunners, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh (RSS), were openly anti-Muslim. But that alone should not pre-dispose us to reject the peace initiative. We should, in fact, welcome these moves and hold talks at all levels to gauge the seriousness and sincerity of the Indian government.

For whatever it is worth, there is a perceptible change in the attitude of India. The visit of its parliamentary delegation and that of Prime Minister Vajpayee was most welcome. Vajpayee described the occasion as a defining moment in the history of the subcontinent. His bus ride to Pakistan was a spectacular affair and aroused tremendous enthusiasm and optimism. The trouble is that in the past, too, the statements of the Prime Minister of India, Inder Kumar Gujral, had evoked a lot of excitement. The press conference held later by Salman Haider, India's foreign secretary at that time, reflected the same optimistic frame of mind and led to the following alluring headline: "Bharati foreign secretary accepts Kashmir as a disputed problem." When the foreign secretary returned home and made a detailed statement all hopes were dashed and the facts of history, as in the past, remained firmly in place. Who knows, Vajpayee's promises and assurances may also prove to be as evanescent as the morning dew. Lal



## Two-nation theory: the corner-stone of Pakistan

He is reported to have told the Lok Sabha: "Kashmir is an integral part of India and there can be no compromise on it at any point of time. There is no question of a plebiscite."

For a more realistic assessment, Pak-Bharat relations should be seen in their historical perspective and not in a romanticised context. These relations, in fact, need to be seen as a two-nation conflict.

Why, one may ask did the Muslims demand Pakistan? Because they had seen through the game of the Hindus and were apprehensive of the prospect of Hindu domination. It was at this critical juncture that the Quaid-e-Azam in March 1940 proclaimed: "Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland their territory and their State. The two-nation theory, one should never forget, is the corner stone, the linchpin, and the very bedrock of Pakistan."

Though, the Hindus and Muslims lived in the same land for centuries there was no affinity between them. Their mutual differences were fundamental. "Like oil mixed with water",

says a European observer, "they lived together and yet apart; and two different cultures developed cheek by jowl with fundamentally distinct sense of values, divergent attitudes towards even some of the most elementary matters of life in this world, and, of course, diametrically opposed beliefs in the life hereafter". The legacy of ill-will continued even after the division of the subcontinent in 1947. India was ever opposed to the Pakistan idea and never accepted the creation of Pakistan with good grace. Kashmir, which was wrongly handed over to India led to two wars, one in 1947/48 when the Quaid-e-Azam was still alive and other in 1965. In the third 1971 war, India made full use of what it perceived to be the 'chance of a century' and broke Pakistan into two. It rejoiced over its victory and boasted that the birth of Bangladesh had demolished the two-nation theory. Indian designs, both overt and covert, since the very beginning were directed at undermining the ideological and territorial integrity of Pakistan.

Peace in the subcontinent and Pak-Bharat relations are being governed by the policies of those who wish to establish Akhand Bharat

and make Bharat a powerful country in the world. Here is what L.K. Advani, Indian Minister for Home Affairs and a bigwig of the ruling BJP is reported to have said only a fortnight ago: "A time would come that people and leadership of both India and Pakistan would willingly decide that the partition of 1947 did not take them to their cherished dream and they may like conscious decision to make the concept of Akhand Bharat a historical reality." It is amazing that even after more than half a century persons like L.K. Advani refuse to accept the validity of the two nation theory. Pakistan Day demands that we see Indo-Pakistan relations in their true historical perspective; it demands that we safeguard our ideological frontiers. It demands that we seek peace but not at the cost of honour and dignity. Pakistan is a strong independent country and should be able to handle the Kashmir issue with tact, understanding and vision. ■

### Imtiaz Rafi Butt

The post-war world of the fifties witnessed phenomenal changes. The forces of democracy had triumphed and crushed the seeds of Hitlerism. United States replaced Britain as the new superpower. Communist Russia, backed by a zealous proletariat, made a quick recovery and emerged as a US rival. Italy and Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia lay in ruins. By dropping the atomic bomb on Japan, America proclaimed its nuclear superiority and made nuclear power a deciding factor for potential claimants to world leadership.

A victorious but enfeebled Britain decided to grant freedom to India. The Muslim League through its Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940, had already spelled out its demand for the creation of Pakistan. The end of World War II brought about radical political changes in Britain. Clement Attlee of the Labour Party replaced Winston Churchill as prime-minister. The Labour Party subscribing to a socialist creed was ideologically closer to the Congress than to the

Muslim League. Attlee did not want to divide the subcontinent and detested the idea of Pakistan. He despatched a few members of his cabinet to find an ultimate solution to the issue. The proposals of the Cabinet-

Cabinet Mission plan and events took their irrevocable course.

At a time when Attlee was straining every nerve to preserve the territorial integrity of India, the political and military

The man who became the governor general after the assassination of

Liaquat Ali Khan was a civil bureaucrat and his election to this high office was the result of a conspiracy. After assuming power he, as planned, first dismissed the prime-minister and then the assembly. The way was thus paved for the setting up of an authoritarian regime.

And that was just what the Americans wanted. They wanted a government that would dance to their tune.

One serious consequence of the formation of such a government was that it damaged Pakistan's bargaining potential with the US.

Mission were accepted both by the Congress, and the Muslim-League. The immediate threat to the unity of India was thus momentarily averted. Later, Pandit Nehru, the president of the Congress sabotaged the

mandarins of the US were busy framing their global strategies vis-à-vis the other superpower, namely, the Soviet Union. For the Russians, the Muslim League's demand for a separate independent Muslim state was a

matter of supreme political and geographical importance. It was in this perspective that President Truman prodded the Attlee government to accept the demands of the Muslim League, grant independence to India and Pakistan and not fritter away its energy in a struggle to keep the subcontinent united. This scenario should be kept in mind to understand the true complexion of Pak-American relations and the questionable framework in which the US planned to fit the new state of Pakistan.

The government that emerged soon after the creation of Pakistan comprised the top leadership of the Muslim League. Quaid-e-Azam became the Governor General and Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister. The League leaders had envisioned an ideological state-a state dedicated to the unity of the Muslim World and inspired by an urge to prove to the world that its claim to nationhood was sound and justified. Contrary to this was the ideology of the Congress-hostility towards the British, secularism, socialism, nationalism-championed by



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Jawaharlal Nehru and his associates. Viewed in this perspective, it was natural for the Muslim League to lean towards America and for the Congress to lean towards the Soviet Union.

The foundations of Pak-American relations were laid during the premiership of Liaquat Ali Khan. He visited the United States where he was warmly welcomed by President Truman and his government. They promised massive economic and military aid to Pakistan and later even made good their promise. Pakistan, at the time, was confronted with colossal problems and American aid did much to overcome them. Liaquat Ali Khan had envisaged a foreign policy based on bilateral relation with America. He was not in favour of being a partner in any alliance system like SEATO or CENTO, which was later devised by the US. He was strictly against alignment with any regional or global power bloc. The world of Islam was the linchpin of his foreign policy.

The man who became the governor general after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan

was a civil bureaucrat and his election to this high office was the result of a conspiracy. After assuming power he, as planned, first dismissed the prime-minister and then the assembly. The way was thus paved for the setting up of an authoritarian regime. And that was just what the Americans wanted. They wanted a government that would dance to their tune. One serious consequence of the formation of such a government was that it damaged Pakistan's bargaining potential with the US.

The trouble with dictators is that they begin as declared champions of the people but end up struggling to retain their "throne". Something of this sort happened to our rulers as well. They obeyed without demur the command of their American masters and thus sacrificed national interests to their desire for self-preservation. The Americans in return guaranteed their continuance in authority and dictated its policies at will. And that is how the rot set in. Pakistan opted for alliances rather than bilateral relations with the US and promptly became a member of the SEATO and CENTO. The primary object

## Pak-American Relations and Jewish Lobby

of these alliances was the containment of China and Russia. Pakistan also allowed a US electronic intelligence-gathering facility to function on its soil at Badaber near Peshawar to which the US military attached great operational importance. It was from here that U2 aircraft had set out on its espionage mission and was shot down by the Russians.

Following this incident, Russia became a sworn enemy and began arming Bharat in a massive way against Pakistan. No doubt, America offered huge military and economic assistance to Pakistan but the one unfortunate fall-out of the "benevolence" was that our armed forces became totally tied down to American military hardware with no choice but to maintain, for the sake of security, the best of relations with the USA. It also led the Americans to establish direct links with the top brass of our defence establishment links, which soon paid off. They were able to get martial law imposed in October 1958 through Ayub Khan, the then commander-in-chief, and well in time to scotch the general elections that were

due in February 1959. The "danger" of a democratic parliamentary government coming into power was thus smoothly preempted.

The sudden attack on Pakistan by Bharati forces was directly aimed at our security. We were in effect fighting for our survival but at this critical hour America placed an embargo on all arms shipments on the pretext that the SEATO and CENTO were meant to counter communist aggression and did not warrant military assistance to Pakistan. With friends like these----- America in the meantime also entangled Pakistan in the coils of its monetary institutions. The 1967 Arab-Israeli war exposed Israel's expansionist designs and its drive to become a regional power. The war proved comprehensively that the US was a "Jewish superpower" committed to an Asian and global policy that aimed at protecting Israeli interests. The clout of the Jewish lobby can be gauged from the fact that it compelled a mighty state like Russia to soften its restrictions and allow skilled Jews to migrate to Israel. As Pakistan

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US. The truth is that the Jewish lobby has always thought in terms of Israel and considered Pakistan's nuclear ambitions a threat and an impediment to Israel's future goals. Therefore, with great ingenuity it transformed what it saw as a threat to Israel into a threat to world peace and made this specious argument a pillar of American policy in South Asia.

The Afghan war revived close relationship between Pakistan and the US and military aid began to flow once again. At the same time Pakistan continued to proceed with its nuclear programme and managed to achieve its target. Soon after, the US cut off all economic and military assistance under the Pressler amendment and held back even those items which had already been paid for. The Pressler amendment was, in fact, directed specifically at Pakistan. Bharat, now a ballistic-missile power, was not included in the net.

It was quite understandable for Pak-American relations to cool down after the end of the Cold War but that their differences should have been whipped up to fever pitch was evidently the work of the Jewish lobby. The US is now an avowed "Jewish-super-power" and cares not a hoot whether Pakistan has an autocratic or a democratic form of government. It measures Pakistan in a purely Israeli perspective and is bent on ensuring that Pakistan remains weak and vulnerable. ■

had backed its Arab brethren in the war, the world Jewish lobby placed Pakistan on its hit list. Pakistan's vehement condemnations of Israeli expansionism in the UN and other world to enhance its prestige as a veritable spokesman of the Arab and the Muslim World. Its sterling role in the 1973 Arab Israeli war and later in the Islamic Summit conference made Pakistan the political leader of the Islamic World. This state of affairs was obviously intolerable for Israeli rulers and their backers in America. Pakistan's military operations against Israel in the 1973 war and its devastating air strikes from the Syrian side enraged the world jury and compelled it to brand Pakistan as a standing danger to Israel. In 1976, Pakistan entered into an agreement with France for the supply of a 900-Megawatt atomic reactor and a reprocessing plant. A pact was concluded under the aegis of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and in the

presence of the American representative of the IAEA. America raised no objection while the pact was being finalized but later it raised a tremendous hue and cry against it. Henry Kissinger, the American secretary of state, visited Lahore in the summer of 1976 and urged Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to rescind the pact. About Henry Kissinger, Shah Faisal, that intrepid soldier of Islam, had once remarked, "Kissinger, in fact, is working to further the interests of world Zionism".

Kissinger's talks at Lahore revolved around a single agenda: Pakistan's atomic ventures. Pakistan's nuclear programme, he argued, was a danger to world peace and hence America viewed it in a global perspective. Bhutto contended that Pakistan's nuclear programme should be seen in a sub-continental context. What possible danger, one may ask, could Pakistan's atomic programme pose for the



## Challenges facing the government

Imtiaz Rafi Butt

LAHORE—Since the day the new government took over it has been trying to figure out how to put the country on the right track and restore public confidence in state institutions. While it confronts a formidable challenge on the domestic front, it has little or no problem on the foreign front.

Although the government faces no political threat from any quarter, yet trying to put a mutilated system back in order is in itself a herculean task. The 7-point agenda of General Pervez Musharraf and the steps taken thereafter indicate that a process of "dezaisation" is underway. Zia imposed martial law on July 5, 1977; dismissed the National Assembly and the Senate and sacked the elected government. He promised to hold national elections on 18 October. When Bhutto and other leaders were released from Murree they were given a rousing reception all over Pakistan and especially at Lahore. The military leadership was stunned. It had come to believe that the PNA movement and its own policies had slashed Bhutto's popularity and rendered him incapable of winning an election. The military regime

therefore signalled its lackeys to chant "Accountability first, elections later". In response to this "public demand" the elections scheduled for October 18 were postponed and the process of crushing the forces of democracy was set in motion. The military leadership felt dwarfed by the towering presence of Bhutto and found itself in a profound dilemma. Fearing Article 6 of the Constitution and Bhutto's supremely vindictive nature, the regime decided to do away with him. Politicians opposed to Bhutto assured the military junta that the death of Bhutto would also spell the end of the PPP. To begin with the martial law government tried to foist the murder of six Hurs on him but realising that the charge would not stick accused him of the murder of Nawab Mohammad Ahmed Khan. Thus began the battle between Bhutto's political power and the might of the martial law regime. This unfortunate struggle destroyed all state institutions.

The worst hit was the judiciary. Henceforth, all government policies began to be dictated by the demands of this tug of war.

The military government disqualified the

elected representatives of the Peoples Party. Anti-Bhutto elements were honoured and made part of the ruling elite. The National Alliance became the virtual cabinet of the martial law government. Ulema sympathetic to the government were patronised and granted pay-offs from the Ushr and Zakat collections. Anti-Bhutto journalists were showered with riches. Industrialists who had fallen victim to Bhutto's policy of nationalization were either inducted into politics or made arbiters of the chambers of commerce and industry. Attempts were made to rope in even religious elders-men who generally shun power and devote their life to spreading love and brotherhood - to promote the devious designs of the government. The one point anti-Bhutto agenda became the ruling passion of the state. It coloured the deliberations of even the Majlis-e-Shoora.

Vindictiveness, in short, became an integral part of state policy and the root cause of state terrorism. The reign of this vindictiveness was extended by the referendum of 1984 and given a democratic garb by the non-party elections of 1985. The military leadership exploited state institutions in the most

brazen way imaginable to achieve its despicable ends. A large chunk of the massive funds offered by the West and the Arabs to deal with Soviet intervention in Afghanistan were pocketed by the ruling junta. Banks were plundered and, ironically, all this was done in the fair name of Islam. It led to sectarianism. The high-handed measures of the government gave a free hand to anti-democratic forces and harmed national unity.

Bhutto was sentenced to death by the Lahore High Court. The four Punjabi judges of the Supreme Court upheld that decision whereas the three non-Punjabi judges acquitted him. Punjabi generals sent him to the gallows. The Sindhis instantly concluded that the Punjabis had ganged together and murdered a Sindhi prime minister. The spirit of the federation was seriously undermined. The Zia government, in fact, destroyed the very fabric of the nation. Provincial and linguistic prejudice reached their peak. The role of the defence forces was compromised and became controversial. When General Zia disappeared from the scene, he left behind a nation of warring factions. Four elections followed

but could not repair the damage. Prejudice and hatred did not abate, on the contrary they became more intense. Twenty-two years of myopic politics has left the nation in tatters. General Pervaz Musharraf, it is hoped will save the country from total ruin and put it on the road to genuine democracy.

As far as the foreign front is concerned, the government faces no danger from that quarter. It will, however, have to fashion foreign policy in accordance with the vital interests of the country. We have a financial interest in the US. We need technology from China. The attitude of the Commonwealth can pose no danger to us. We still stand in need of some conventional technology from France and limited nuclear know how from Belgium. We keep on receiving financial assistance from the Arab states.

In the Asia-Pacific region we are getting sizable aid from Japan. Barring the Commonwealth, the relations of all these countries with Pakistan are quite cordial and friendly. Russia, however, continues to adhere to its time-worn attitude towards Pakistan. As for

America, most people think that America would stop aid if a military government came into power. Such a step, they say, would lead to the economic collapse of Pakistan.

The argument is fallacious. What does the US really want from Pakistan? America fears fundamentalism and the Taliban-the disseminators of this "virus".

Then there is Osama bin Laden who poses a serious threat to the US both in terms of global terrorism and interests in the Middle East.

And right at the top is the crucial question of the survival of Israel and the prevention of nuclear technology transfer to Iran or the Arab world. There is nothing secret about the US objectives. The American government itself has voiced their concerns from time to time. Now the question is who can fulfil these objectives? The answer is obvious. Only Pakistan.

A word about the transference of technology. America has made great sacrifices for the sake of Israel. In the early years it was France but later it was the US which transformed Israel into an invincible atomic power.

It even prevailed on Sadat to recognise Israel. Thus it

freed the Jewish state from the threat of war as there could be no war in the Middle East without Egypt and no peace without Syria.

After the Camp David Accord of 1977, the US and particularly its Jewish agencies, have begun to look on the Arab world as a prospective market for American goods. With this end in view they plan to set up industries in Israel and import raw material from Africa. The goods so produced would be cheaper than those produced in the USA because of the low cost of carriage and freight. In this way they would also foil attempts at competition by Japan and Europe.

As Israel is an atomic power, the Arabs cannot destroy it. America wants Israel to establish diplomatic relations with the Arabs. It has pressed successive Israel governments to subscribe to the policy of "peace for land".

The object of this exercise is to bring relations to normal and persuade the Arabs into accepting nuclear Israel as a regional power.

Arabs have recognised Israel and continue doing so though reluctantly. Israel as a regional power will use its clout

to meddle in the import policies of the Arab nations and turn the Arab world into an Israel-US market. In case Pakistan transfers its nuclear technology to an Arab state or to Iran, Israel would lose both its capacity to blackmail and its status as a regional power. It would also end the dream of an Israel America market. The notion that the Arabs can obtain nuclear technology from Russia is false. One, because Russia recognises Israel. Two, by transferring technology to the Arabs it would gain less and lose more as a result of fierce Western reaction. And three, decision making in Russia is largely influenced by the Russian Jews. It was this factor rather than anything else that restrained Russia from transferring nuclear technology to the Arabs even at the height of the Cold War.

The United States, therefore, for all practical purposes, still has high stakes in Pakistan.

(The writer is Chairman Jinnah-Rafi Foundation). ■





## ایٹمی ٹیکنالوجی کی منتقلی اور امریکہ کی حقیقی پریشانی

ہوئی۔ دوسری جانب ترکی کو فوجی شکست بھی ہوئی اور کرمل لارنس آف عربیہ کی قیادت میں برٹش ایٹمی جنس نے عرب مصیبت کو ابھارا، اختلافات کو ہواوی اور اس طرح ترک سلطنت کو ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کر دیا۔ جنگ عظیم اول کے خاتمہ پر جو پسلا اعلان کیا گیا وہ برطانیہ کی طرف سے فلسطین میں اسرائیل کو قائم کرنے کا باقائدہ اعلان تھا۔

یسودی عالمی صیہونی تنظیم کے زیر اہتمام تیز رفتاری سے آکر مجوزہ اسرائیل کے علاقوں میں آکر آباد ہو گئے اور 1948ء میں اسرائیل کو قائم کر دیا گیا اور یہ شیطانی فریضہ برطانیہ کے ہاتھوں پایہ تکمیل کو پہنچا۔ جرمنی کے ضمن میں یہ واضح کرنا ضروری ہے کہ جنگ عظیم اول میں جرمنی کی تباہ کن شکست اور بعد ازاں رسوائے زمانہ اور توہین آمیز معاہدے کو عمل میں لانے میں اہم کردار جرمنی کے یودیوں کا تھا۔ اس بات کا علم مکمل طور پر شکست سے دوچار ہونے والی جرمن افواج کے کمانڈر انچیف فیلمار شل وان ہیڈن برگ کو ہو گیا تھا اور آئی زیڈ اور

امریکی آبادی کا صرف تین فیصد ہیں اور 38 فیصد حکومت امریکہ کے ملازمین یودی ہیں۔ ستر فیصد امریکی دولت ان کے پاس ہے۔ یسوں اور مالیاتی اداروں پر انکی اجارہ داری تو تسلیم شدہ امر ہے۔ کانٹن انتظامیہ میں تقریباً چالیس اعلیٰ ترین عہدوں پر یودی فائز ہیں۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ اگر اسرائیل کو چھینک آنے کا خدشہ تک بھی ہو تو امریکی حکمرانوں کو دل کے دور سے پڑنے شروع ہو جاتے ہیں۔

پاکستان نے اٹھائیس مئی کو ایٹمی دھماکہ کیا۔ امریکہ نے پاکستان پر پابندی عائد کر دیں۔ اسرائیلی لابی کو خطرہ ہوا کہ کہیں پاکستان پابندیوں سے پیدا شدہ اقتصادی مشکلات کے پیش نظر اپنی ایٹمی ٹیکنالوجی ایران یا عرب ممالک کو فروخت نہ کرنی شروع کر دے تو انہوں نے امریکی حکمرانوں پر دباؤ ڈالا کہ آپ اس مسئلہ کو حل کریں اور پاکستان کی تھوڑی سی امداد حال کریں اور پاکستان کو ایٹمی ٹیکنالوجی کی منتقلی کو مکمل طور پر روکنے کا پابند کیا جائے۔ فوری طور پر مسٹر ہارکر کی قیادت میں گیارہ رکنی وفد پاکستان روانہ ہوا چونکہ پاکستان ایٹمی عدم پھیلاؤ کا حامی ہے اس لئے وہ اس کی منتقلی روکنے پر رضامند ہو گیا۔ پاکستان کی امداد

حال کر دی گئی۔ اس پر بھارتی حکمرانوں نے کافی شور مچا کیا کیونکہ زیادہ امداد تو پاکستان کو ملتی ہے تو ان کا خیال تھا کہ ہمارے دھماکوں کے جواب میں پاکستان لازمی دھماکہ کرے گا اور نتیجتاً اقتصادی طور پر تباہ ہو جائے گا۔ پاکستانی ایٹمی ٹیکنالوجی کی منتقلی سے امریکہ کو قطعاً کوئی خطرہ نہیں بلکہ اس کی حقیقی پریشانی اسرائیل کو ہے۔ پاکستان کو دفاعی اور پر امن مقاصد کے لئے ایٹمی ٹیکنالوجی کو نقطہ عروج پر پہنچا دینا چاہیے کیونکہ ہمارے دفاعی اور اقتصادی مسائل کا حل اسی میں مضمر ہے۔ ■



انتیاز رفیع مٹ

یوں تو اس صدی کے آغاز سے ہی اہل مغرب کی پالیسیاں اور بالخصوص امریکی پالیسیاں غیر منظم اور غیر حقیقی رہی ہیں لیکن دوسری جنگ عظیم کے بعد تو امریکی پالیسیوں کا رخ امریکی مفادات کے جانے اسرائیلی مفادات کی طرف مڑ گیا اور ان پالیسیوں کا رخ اسرائیل کی طرف متعین کرنے میں بنیادی اور فیصلہ کن کردار اسرائیلی امریکن فرینڈشپ ایسوسی ایشن نے ادا کیا۔ اسی لیے امریکی پالیسی و فیصلہ سازی کے عمل پر ہمیشہ نظر رکھنے والے سیاسی دانشوروں نے امریکہ کو یودی سپر طاقت کا نام دیا ہے۔



## ایٹمی ٹیکنالوجی کی منتقلی اور امریکہ کی حقیقی پریشانی

اسرائیل کا قیام برطانیہ، جو اس وقت سپر طاقت تھی کی ملی بھگت سے عمل میں آیا۔ عظیم فرانسیسی یودی بینکار اس چائلڈ نے 1860ء میں نرسون کی تعمیر کا آغاز کر کے فی الحقیقت مستقبل کی اسرائیلی مملکت کی جغرافیائی سرحدوں کی نشاندہی کر دی تھی۔ اس وقت یہ علاقہ زیادہ تر برطانیہ اور فرانس کے زیر تسلط تھا۔ اس پیشرفت کے بعد، دنیا بھر سے یودی فلسطین میں آکر آباد ہونا شروع ہو گئے تاکہ اسرائیل کے خواب کو شرمندہ تعبیر کیا جاسکے۔

یہ سلسلہ ایک معقول رفتار کے ساتھ انیسویں صدی کے اختتام تک جاری رہا۔ اس صدی کے اختتام پذیر ہونے سے قبل سویٹزر لینڈ کے ایک دانشور اور صاحب بصیرت ہرنل نے تمام دنیا میں پھری یودی تنظیموں کو یکجا کر کے ان کی ایک مربوط و منظم تنظیم کو تشکیل دیا، جس کا نام عالمی صیہونی تنظیم رکھا گیا۔ یاد رہے کہ یہ دور برطانوی سلطنت کے انتہائی عروج کا زمانہ تھا اور تاریخ ساز شخصیت ملکہ وکٹوریہ برطانیہ پر حکمران تھی۔

انہوں نے برطانیہ پر 1837ء سے 1901ء تک یعنی چونتیس برس حکومت کی اور برطانیہ کی فرمانروائی کر پھر ارض کے اتنے بڑے حصے تک پھیلا دی کہ اس میں سورج بھی غروب نہ ہو سکا۔ ملکہ وکٹوریہ ایک دور اندیش حکمران تھیں۔ وہ اس امر کو بھانپ چکی تھیں کہ برطانیہ اور اس کی نوآبادیات کو مستقبل دیدہ میں سنگین خطرات لاحق ہونے والے ہیں اور یہ عالمی سطح پر جرمنی کی قیادت میں رونما ہوں گے۔ اس کے ساتھ ہی ملکہ اس بات سے بھی آگاہ تھیں کہ یودی قوم کا بساط عالم پر انتہائی اہم مقام ہے اور وہ عالمی سطح پر فیصلہ کن کردار ادا کر سکتے ہیں۔

اب ایک سوال ذہن میں ابھر سکتا ہے کہ اس نو زائیدہ یودی تنظیم نے برطانیہ کو ہی کیوں مقب کیا، جرمن یا فرانس کو کیوں نہیں کر لیا؟ تو اس کی ایک وجہ تو یہ تھی کہ اس وقت بحری قوت عالمی سطح پر فیصلہ کن قوت تھی۔ یہ حقیقت ہے کہ اس وقت سب سے بڑی بحری قوت برطانیہ تھی۔ دوسرے برطانیہ حقیقی معنوں میں ایک جمہوری ملک تھا جہاں پر یودی بھی وزیر اعظم رہ چکے تھے۔ اس کے بعد دوسری بڑی طاقت جرمنی تھی تو یودیوں کے نزدیک اس میں دو خامیاں تھیں۔ ایک تو یہ کہ وہاں برطانیہ کی طرح کی مثالی جمہوریت نہ تھی، دوسرے جرمنوں میں آئین ہونے کی بنا پر نسلی برتری کے جراثیم پائے جاتے تھے۔

جہاں تک فرانس کا تعلق ہے تو وہ پولین کی روس میں وائرلو کے مقام پر تباہ کن شکست کے بعد دنیا میں کسی مہم جوئی کا خطرہ مول لینے کو تیار نہ تھا۔ عالمی صیہونی تنظیم کی برطانیہ پر نظر اتقاب کی بنیادی اور ٹھوس وجہ تو یہی تھی کہ

جہاں وہ اسرائیل قائم کرنا چاہتے تھے وہ خطہ برطانیہ جیسی قوت کی بدولت ہی آزاد کر لیا جاسکتا تھا کیونکہ برطانیہ کی سیاسی ذہانت، تجربہ اور فوجی قوت ترکی کے زیر تسلط ان علاقوں میں فیصلہ کن کردار ادا کر سکتی تھی۔ ان مذکورہ بالا وجوہات نے آئی زیڈ اور برطانوی حکومت کو مفاد پیومنہ کر دیا اور ان کے مابین ایک افہام و تفہیم طے پائی کہ دنیا بھر میں یودی برطانیہ کے مفادات کے تحفظ اور فروغ کیلئے کام کریں گے اور اس کے عوض برطانیہ یودی کے دوہزار سالہ مذہبی اور نسلی عزم یعنی اسرائیل کے قیام کو ممکن العمل بنائے گا۔ یہ اس وقت کی سپر طاقت کی ذہن سر پرستی قیام اسرائیل کا نقطہ آغاز تھا۔

یہ بات ملکہ وکٹوریہ کی حکمرانی کے آخری برسوں کی ہے۔ 1901ء میں ملکہ کا انتقال ہو گیا اور ان کے جانشینوں نے دل و جان سے اس پروگرام پر عمل کیا اور عالمی سطح پر یودیوں نے بھی پوری یکسوئی اور خلوص کے ساتھ برطانیہ کیلئے کام شروع کر دیا۔ یہ بھی یاد رہے کہ عالمی صیہونی تنظیم آئی زیڈ لو نے اس عمل کو مذہبی فریضہ قرار دیا تھا۔ چند ہی برسوں بعد جنگ عظیم اول شروع ہو گئی۔ اس میں جرمنی اور ترکی برطانیہ کے مد مقابل تھے۔ جرمنی کی سائنس و ٹیکنالوجی، پتھنگ، بھاری اور بنیادی صنعتوں اور خاص طور پر اسلحہ سازی کی صنعت پر کما حقہ یودیوں کا کنٹرول تھا کیونکہ یہ ان کی ملکیت تھیں۔ یودیوں نے دور ان جنگ اپنے اسی "مذہبی فریضہ" پر عمل کرتے ہوئے ایسے حربے استعمال کئے کہ جرمن افواج اپنی تمام تر جرات، حکمت عملی اور ذہانت کے باوجود اپنی جارحانہ برتری کھو بیٹھیں اور دفاعی پالیسی اختیار کرنے پر مجبور ہو نا پڑا، جو انجام کار شکست پر منتج





## پاک بھارت تعلقات اور ان کا مستقبل

آل انڈیا مسلم لیگ کی بنیاد رکھی۔ یہاں یہ بات کہی اور سوچی جاسکتی ہے کہ انگریز نے تقسیم بنگال "تقسیم کرو اور حکومت کرو" کی پالیسی کے تحت کی تھی یہ بھی درست ہے لیکن بنگال کو تقسیم کرنے کے عوامل بھی موجود تھے۔ سمجھی تو پالیسی بھی رو بہ عمل لائی گئی۔

آغاز میں مسلم لیگ کے معرض وجود میں آنے کا مقصد مسلمانوں کے علمی، اقتصادی اور ملازمتوں میں ان کے حقوق کے حصول کا ذریعہ بنایا گیا جو کہ وطن کی آزادی اور سیاسی حقوق کی جدوجہد کانگریس کے پلیٹ فارم سے ہی جاری رہی۔ یہی وجہ تھی کہ مسلم لیگ نے مسلمانوں کو دہری رکنیت کی اجازت دے رکھی تھی۔ جب کانگریس پر انڈین قوم پرستوں کی جگہ ہندو قوم پرست قابض ہو گئے تو منطقی طور پر مسلم لیگ مسلمانوں کے سیاسی حقوق کے حصول کا ذریعہ بنی چلی گئی۔ ان ہندو رہنماؤں کی غلط پالیسی سے آزادی ہند کے لئے جدوجہد کرنے والی قوت تقسیم ہو گئی اور آزادی کی منزل دور سے دور ہوتی چلی گئی۔

آزادی کے بعد پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کی قیادت میں جو بھارتی حکومت بنی، اس کی نظر بھارت کے ثقافتی، مذہبی اور معاشرتی نظریات پر نہ تھی بلکہ وہ ہندوستان کو قدیم اشوک دور کا بااثر اور رہنما ملک بنانے کے خواہش مند تھے۔ عالمی سیاسی منظر میں ہندوستان کو ایک طاقتور اور سنجیدہ ملک بنانے کے متنبی تھے اور اس مقصد کے حصول کے لئے وہ ہند کو اپنی جمیل بنانا چاہتے تھے۔ یہ ہیں وہ خواہشات، نظریات جو خارج پالیسی میں ڈھل کر پچاس سال سے بھارتی سیاستدانوں، دانشوروں، سیاسی و سفارتی عقلموں کے ذہنوں پر چھائے ہوئے ہیں۔ ایشیائی یا عالمی طاقت بننے سے پہلے علاقائی طاقت بننا لازمی امر ہوتا ہے۔ علاقائی طاقت بننے میں مانع صرف ایک ملک ہے اور وہ ہے پاکستان، اور پاکستان کبھی بھی بھارت کو ایشیائی طاقت تو کیا علاقائی طاقت بھی نہیں بننے دے گا اور نہ ہی تسلیم کرے گا۔ اس کی وجہ لوہا یہ پاکستان چونکہ ہندوستان پر ایک ہزار سالہ مسلم حکمرانی اور اس سے تحقیق شدہ روایات و بالا دست نفسیات کا امین ہے اور دوئم یہ کہ اگر بھارت کو علاقائی طاقت تسلیم کر لیا جائے تو اگلے فوری قدم کے طور پر پورا عالم اسلام اس کی زد میں آجائے گا اور منطقی طور اس کے زیر اثر آجائے گا۔

جہاں تک بحر ہند پر بھارتی بالادستی کا تعلق ہے تو اس کا یہ خواب بھی تشنہ جمیل رہ جائیگا اور انجام کار بھارت ایک وسیع و عریض (Back-yard) کی حیثیت اختیار کر جائیگا۔ اپنی بوہتی ہوئی وسیع آبادی اور معاشی ترقی کی گتھم گتھا صورت حال کا شکار رہیگا۔ اس دوران، پاکستان

بھارت کی جینالوجیکل برتری کو یکے بعد دیگرے ختم کرتے ہوئے اسرائیل اور بھارت کے درمیان آباد ممالک پر اپنی فوجی بالادستی اور سیاسی برتری قائم کرے گا جس کی بدولت یہ بدرجہ قابل ذکر اقتصادی قوت بھی بن جائیگا۔ جہاں تک بھارت کے موجودہ رویے یعنی دوستانہ رویہ کا تعلق ہے تو اس میں بھارت کی وہی مذکورہ خواہشات پنہاں ہیں اور وہ جنوبی ایشیا میں اپنے آپ کو غیر ضرر رساں ملک ثابت کر کے عالمی سیاست میں ایک ذمہ دار ملک ثابت کرنا چاہتا ہے تاکہ وہ اقوام متحدہ میں سلامتی کونسل کی مستقل رکنیت حاصل کر سکے۔ اندرکار گجرا ل انہی نظریات کے حصول کے لئے سرگرواں ہیں۔ جہاں تک ان کی پاکستان سے دوستی کا تعلق ہے، اگر پاکستان سے دوستی کی خواہشات کا تعلق ہے، اگر وہ مخلص بھی ہوں تو ان کی بطور وزیر اعظم اس ضمن میں حیثیت تو اتنی ہے کہ بقول ان کے اپنے "انڈین آرمی نے بغیر انہیں مطلع کئے پر تقوی میزائل حیدر آباد سے جالندھر منتقل کر دئے" اس کا یہ مطلب آسانی کا اندھا کیا جاسکتا ہے کہ وہاں کی فوجی اور پاکستان مخالف قیادت نے ان کی ڈیوٹی صرف یہ لگائی ہے کہ مستقبل کے عظیم بھارت کے لئے سلامتی کونسل کی مستقل نشست حاصل کی جائے اور اس مستقل حیثیت کے حصول کے لئے عالمی سطح پر بھارت ایک سنجیدہ، ذمہ دار اور امن پسند ملک ثابت کرنے کے لئے تمام ہمتوں سے تعلقات استوار کر لئے جائیں۔ اندرکار گجرا ل کو اس امر کی اجازت نہیں ہے کہ وہ پاکستان سے حقیقی اور نحوس بنیادوں پر دوستانہ تعلقات استوار کرے اور کشمیر کے مسئلے کو حل کر ڈالے۔



امتیاز رفیع نٹ

گزشتہ دنوں پاک بھارت تعلقات پر گفت و شنید کے لئے ایک بھارتی وفد پاکستان کے دورے پر آیا جس کی قیادت سیکریٹری وزارت خارجہ سلمان حیدر کر رہے تھے۔ اس سے قبل مالی میں وزیر اعظم محمد نواز شریف کی اپنے بھارتی ہم منصب اندرکار گجرا ل سے ملاقات ہو چکی تھی۔ اور ہر دو طرف سے امید افزا اور متاثر کن بیانات آچکے تھے۔ ان بیانات کی روشنی میں مذاکرات کی پاکستانی پریس نے کچھ حد سے زیادہ ہی تشویر کی اور لکھاریوں اور دانشوروں نے حقائق کی بجائے تصورات پر مبنی



## پاک بھارت تعلقات اور ان کا مستقبل

توقعات والہ نہ کر لیں جس کا عوام پر بھی برا اثر پڑا اور ملک عزیز میں ایک خاص قسم کی فضاء پیدا ہو گئی۔ یہی وجہ تھی کہ جب مذاکرات کا آغاز ہوا تو قوم بشمول دانشور اسے اسی فضاء میں دیکھنے لگے اور تبصرے کرنے لگے۔ جب سیکریٹری خارجہ بھارت پیچھے اور انہوں نے وہاں جا کر تفصیلی بیان دیا تو تمام توقعات اور خواہشات نقش بر آب ثابت ہوئیں اور تاریخی حقائق ماضی کی طرح اپنے مقام اور حقیقت پر قائم و دائم رہے۔

یہ تفصیل بیان کرنے کا مقصد کسی پر تنقید کرنا ہرگز مقصود نہیں بلکہ عرض یہ کرنا مقصود ہے کہ پاک بھارت تعلقات کو تاریخی حقائق کے تناظر میں دیکھنا چاہیے نہ کہ اپنی خواہشات کی بنیاد پر۔ پاک بھارت تعلقات کی بہتری اور درخشاں مستقبل کی خواہش ہماری بھی ہے۔ دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ کیا یہ ممکن ہے؟ کیا یہ قابل عمل ہے؟ کیا کبھی ایسا ہو سکے گا؟ یہ وہ سوالات ہیں جن کا ہمیں شافی جواب کافی کچھ بوجھ سے دینا ہو گا۔

حقیقت یہ ہے کہ جب بھی پاک بھارت تعلقات پر غور و فکر کیا جاتا ہے تو انسان دل و دماغ کی کشش کا شکار ہو جاتا ہے۔ اس کی بنیادی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ہم صدیوں اکٹھے رہے ہیں اور اس دوران مسلمان حکمران رہے ہیں۔ ان صدیوں میں اسلام کے نظام عدل اور ثقافت کے اثرات کے تشکیل پذیر ہونے والی ہندوستانی ثقافت اور تمدن کو آزادی کے بعد بھی بھارت میں مٹایا نہیں جا سکا۔ ان کے فنون لطیفہ اور وہاں کی فلمی صنعت نے اس کو زندہ رکھنے میں مرکزی پسند فیصلہ کن کردار ادا کیا۔ ایک اور انداز سے ہم یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ وہ ثقافت اور اردو زبان ہی اتنی طاقتور تھی کہ وہ اس کا نہ تو متبادل پیش کر سکے اور نہ ہی اسے نظر انداز کر سکے۔ یہی وہ عناصر ہیں جو ہوا کے دوش پر پورے برصغیر میں سفر کرتے ہیں، ہمارے دل کو لہجھاتے ہیں اور ہمیں خوشنا ماضی میں گم کر دیتے ہیں۔ ہندوستان کے دیہات و شہروں سے ولہتہ تاریخی، سیاسی، عسکری اور سماجی واقعات اور یادیں ہمیں Nostalgic کر دیتے ہیں۔

ہمارا دل چاہتا ہے کہ ہم ہندوستان سے تعلقات بہتر کر دیں وہاں جہاں ان میں گھلیں ملیں اور وہ سب کچھ دیکھیں جن کے رومانس کا ہم شکار ہیں۔ یہ دراصل ماضی بعید کے زیر اثر اٹھنے والا ایک خوشنا منظر ہے جو ہمارے دل کو لہجھاتا ہے اور ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ بھارت سے تعلقات بہتر ہو جائیں۔ لیکن جب ہم زمینی حقائق پر نظر دوڑاتے ہیں تو ہمارا دماغ کچھ اور ہی نتائج اخذ کر رہا ہوتا ہے۔ یہی وہ مقام ہے کہ جہاں پر ہم دل اور دماغ کی کشش کا شکار ہو جاتے ہیں۔

اب ہم پاک بھارت تعلقات کا جائزہ لیں گے اور یہ جاننے کی کوشش کریں گے کہ وہ کون سے عوامل ہیں جن کی وجہ سے ان دونوں ممالک کے تعلقات آج تک اعتدال پر نہ آ سکے۔ ہمارا سب سے بڑا المیہ یہ ہے کہ ہم اسے دو ممالک کے درمیان دو طرفہ تعلقات کے روایتی انداز میں دیکھتے ہیں۔ جو صرف غلط ہے۔ ان کو دراصل دو قومی کشش میں ہی دیکھنا چاہئے۔





## پاکستان، ایشیا میں ابھرتا ہوا ایک درخشاں ستارہ

اس صورتحال کو پاکستان دبانے جیسے غلط فیصلے کا نتیجہ قرار دیتے ہیں۔

پاکستان کے قیام سے قبل یہ قائد اعظم کے اس لئے دشمن تھے کہ انہوں نے دو قومی نظریہ کی بنیاد پر پاکستان کا مطالبہ کیا تھا۔ یعنی انہیں اس وقت ہندوستان کو ایک ہندوستانی قوم کہتے تھے لیکن قیام پاکستان کے بعد انہیں پاکستان میں چار قومیں نظر آ رہی ہیں (یہ اپنے عوام کو معنی رکھنے کی غرض سے قومیوں جیسے ملغوف الفاظ استعمال کرتے ہیں)۔

دوسرا گروہ ان افراد پر مشتمل ہے جو پاکستان کے حوالے سے خود مختاری کے مرض میں مبتلا ہے یہ آئے میں تمک کے برابر بھی نہیں ہیں۔ یہ غیر متاثر ہیں یہ اپنے آپ کو بین الاقوامی شہری تصور کرتے ہیں یہ معاشی طور پر خوشحال ہیں یہ کرہ ارض کے سینے پر موجود سرحدوں کو تسلیم ہی نہیں کرتے یہ اپنی پیدائش کو کسی خطے میں وقوع پذیر ہو جانے میں اپنا قصور نہیں گردانتے۔ اس لئے ایسے نقطہ نظر کے حامل انسان سے خاندان قبیلہ قوم وطن حتیٰ کہ

مال باپ بہن بھائی سے لگاؤ اور وفاداری کی توقع رکھنا عبث ہے۔ یہ انتھوپیا، السلواڈور، نیپال یا صومالیہ کی تعریف تو کر دیں گے، لیکن پاکستان کی تعریف کسی بھی معاملے میں بھی نہ کریں گے۔

تیسرا گروہ وہ ہے جو واقعی ایک نظریہ کا حامل گروہ ہے جو تیس اور چالیس کی دہائی میں یہ نعرہ لگایا کرتا تھا۔ (Who Lives If Russia Dies) اس مسلم قومیت پر معرض وجود میں آنے والے ملک کے قیام کے بعد ان کے نظریات چونکہ راہ نہ پاسکے اور اس پر مستزاد یہ کہ پاکستان میں کمیونسٹ پارٹی پر پابندی لگ گئی اس لئے انہیں مختلف جماعتوں میں پناہ لینا پڑی۔ ان کی تان اس پر نوبت ہے کہ انڈیا اور پاکستان کا کوئی موازنہ ہی نہیں یہ انڈیا کے مقابلے میں پاکستان کا ذکر کرنا بھی حماقت تصور کرتے ہیں۔ مایوسی اور خاص طور پر نظریاتی مایوسی پھیلاتے ہیں ان کا بھی خاصا حصہ ہے یہ اعصابی طور پر خاصے مضبوط ہوتے ہیں کہ سوویت روس کے مرنے کے باوجود یہ نہ



Monday, July 27, 1998

## پاکستان، ایشیا میں ابھرتا ہوا ایک درخشاں ستارہ

بندہ سہیلی یا روایتی زاویہ نگاہ کو ہی بروئے کار لاتے ہیں لیکن اس پوری حکمرانی میں ہندوستان کو جو عظیم عطیہ عطا ہوئے ایک یہ کہ سینکڑوں ریاستوں اور راجواڑوں میں منقسم ہندوستان کو ایک اکائی نصیب ہوئی اس طرح انسانوں کے مابین ہمہایک قسم کے کشت و خون کا خاتمہ ہوا اور منظم معاشرے کی بنیاد رکھی گئی۔



اعجاز رفیع منٹ

دوسرے اسلامی تعلیمات کے زیر اثر انسانی برادری کو عملاً جاری و ساری کیا گیا یہ کوئی معمولی بات نہ تھی۔ دنیا کے بدترین اور ذلتیات پر مبنی معاشرے میں انسانی مساوات کو سرکاری طور پر اقلیت دینا اور انتظامیہ کو برادری کی سطح پر سلوک روا رکھنے کا حکم دینا ایک حیرت انگیز قیادت کا ثمر ہے۔ جب تک گردش لیل و نہار قائم ہیں ان مذکورہ دونوں عظیم انسان دوست کامیابیوں سے انکار نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ لیکن جب انگریزوں نے ہندوستان کو فتح کرنے کی ٹھانی تو ان تعلیمات کے علی الرغم منظور کرتے ہیں تو یہ مورخین ان واقعات کا تجزیہ کرتے ہوئے زمینی حقائق یا عملی جدلیات کو بیاہ نہیں دیتے،

سیاست میں زندہ رہنے کیلئے ان عناصر نے قومیوں کا نظریہ تحقیق کر کے مقامی طور پر اثر و رسوخ، وہ بھی محدود پیمانے پر قائم کر رکھا ہے اور پنجاب کی خلاف نفرت پھیلا کر یہ قوت حاصل کرتے ہیں ان کے اس نظریے کی مارشل لاؤں کی بدولت خاصی آبداری ہوئی اور عوام میں انہیں پریائی بھی حاصل ہوئی کالا باغ ڈیم کا تنازعہ بھی انہیں عناصر کا پیدا کردہ ہے۔ یہ فی الحقیقت ڈیم کے مخالفین نہیں بلکہ پنجاب کے مخالفین ہیں۔ انہی دھماکے کی گونج میں ان کا قومیوں پر مبنی نظریہ دب گیا تھا اور 1965ء کے بعد پاکستانیوں نے ہندوستانی سوچنا شروع کر دیا تھا لیکن کسی حشر بے تدبیر نے کالا باغ ڈیم دبانے کا ایسے وقت مشورہ دیا کہ یہ سارا جذبہ اس ڈیم کی تصویراتی جھیل میں غرق ہو گیا خبر یہ ملجھہ موضوع ہے اور میں انشاء اللہ اس پر تفصیلی طور پر لکھوں گا۔ اس تنبیہ کو بیاں کرنے کا مقصد دراصل یہ ہے کہ مذکورہ بالا عناصر فی الحقیقت پاکستان کی مخالفت اپنے سیاسی ایمان کی بنیاد سمجھتے ہیں اور ان کی سیاست پاکستان دشمنی پر مبنی ہے یہ بڑے منظم طریقے سے پاکستان کے حال اور مستقبل کے بارے میں پاکستانی عوام میں مایوسیاں پھیلاتے رہتے ہیں فوجی حکمرانی کی بدولت جو ملک کو نقصان پہنچا عوام کے سامنے





### پاکستان، ایشیا میں ابھرتا ہوا ایک درخشاں ستارہ

K-Mart بنا رہا ہے اور انشاء اللہ ہمارے گاہ۔ ہماری ان اشیاء کی خریداری کیلئے عالم اسلام ہمہ وقت تیار ہے اور ہمیں ترجیح دیکھا اس لئے، میں عقلی بنیاد پر اور اپنی قابل اعتماد معلومات کی بنا پر یہ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ "پاکستان ایشیا میں ابھرتا ہوا ایک درخشاں ستارہ ہے" (انشاء اللہ) (مضمون نگار جناب رفیع فائز بخش کے چیئر مین ہیں) ■

پاکستان اور بھارت کا موازنہ، روس اور امریکہ سے کرتے ہیں۔ ان کی ذہنی صحت یا نیت کے بارے میں کیا کہا جاسکتا ہے۔

باقی اعتراضات تو قابل غور ہیں۔ میں ایک بات اس مضمون کے آخر میں عرض کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ درست ہے کہ اقتصادی مشکلات آئیں گی اور قوم اس عارضی صورتحال سے بھی سرخرو ہو کر نکلے گی لیکن آئندہ تین چار برسوں میں، پاکستان ایٹمی ری ایکٹرز، سپر سیون طیارے، الخالد ٹینک، بکتر بند گاڑیاں، آبدوزیں، میزائل اور گن بوٹس فریگیٹ، مائین بٹرز، نزدیک اور دور مار میزائل، کمپیوٹرز وغیرہ پائلٹ کے جہاز اور اسی نوعیت کی سینکڑوں دوسری چیزیں برآمد کرنی شروع کر دے گا۔ ان تمام اشیاء میں بھارت پر ہمارا Qualitative Edge ہے کیونکہ گزشتہ دو عشروں سے چین ہمارے لئے جدید مغربی ٹیکنالوجی کے ضمن میں Conduit اور دوستی کے ضمن میں

قیادت کی امریکہ کے ساتھ (Parity) مساوات کی پالیسی بھی غیر حقیقی اور ناقص تھی۔ فوجی قوت کا حتمی اظہار ایٹمی قوت ہے۔ اس میں روایتی ہتھیاروں کی مانند عددی کھیل (Number Game) نہیں کھیلا جاتا بلکہ Mad لیول یعنی باہمی تباہی کی منزل کو حاصل کر کے برقرار رکھا جاتا ہے اس ضمن میں، رابرٹ میڈلار کی ایک بات، معاملے کو سلجھانے کیلئے کافی ہے۔ وہ فرماتے ہیں کہ "جب ہمیں معلوم ہوا کہ روس کے پاس تین سو دو ہینڈز ہیں۔

اس وقت ہمارے پاس پانچ ہزار ایٹم بم تھے۔ تو ہم اس نتیجے پر پہنچے کہ ہم دونوں کے درمیان Mad لیول قائم ہو گیا ہے۔ تب ہم نے مذاکرات کا آغاز کر دیا" اس طویل مدتی کی غرض و نیت یہ ہے کہ پاکستان نے بھارت کے فحش نظریاتی قوت حاصل کی ہے ہمارے پاس سو ایٹم بم اور اتنے ہی میزائل ہوں تو ہمارے دونوں کے مابین Mad لیول آجاتا ہے تو جو حضرات،

ہے جو دنیا کے کسی خطے میں، کسی بھی وقت، اپنے کسی بھی منصوبے کو بروئے کار لانے کی استعداد رکھتی ہو "تو قارئین مختصر ایہ کہ وہ پس ماندہ، غیر منظم و غیر مربوط روس، جو کمیونزم کی بدولت دنیا کی عظیم ترین قوت بن گیا تھا۔ جس نے خلا کو تسخیر کرنے کا کارنامہ بھی انجام دیا۔ اس کی تمام تر ترقی اور فوائد کو عالمی سطح امریکہ اور یورپ کی منڈیوں کے خاتمہ کی غرض سے تیسری دنیا کو کمیونزم پھیلانے، مکھریوں ڈالنے کی صنعتی، اقتصادی اور ٹیکنالوجیکل امداد دینے، ملک میں (Con-suming) کی بجائے بیوی انڈسٹری کو قائم کرنے اور فروغ دینے اور ملک میں اور عالمی سطح پر نظریاتی ہونے کے بموجب (Non-Commercial) بنیاد پر پالیسیوں کو روہ عمل لانے کی بھینٹ چڑھا دیا۔ قارئین! سوویت یونین کے انہدام میں ان چاروں پالیسیوں کا معتد بہ حصہ ہے جبکہ سپر پاور بننے اور برقرار رہنے کے لیے درکار وسائل کا نہر بعد میں آتا ہے لیکن سوویت



### Activities of Jinnah Rafi Foundation Through Photographs



The Jinnah Rafi Foundation was founded in 1989 in the memory of the Quaid-e-Azam and Muhammad Rafi Butt. Its main objective is to uphold the aspirations of the Quaid-e-Azam and acquaint the younger generation with the philosophy behind the Pakistan movement.

Most of the activities of the Jinnah Rafi Foundation are geared to the fulfilment of this objective. The Foundation holds functions on national days and invites well-known journalists / intellectuals / veterans of the Pakistan Movement to speak on the occasion. The aim is to revolutionise the minds of the people, transform their perspective and infuse in them a sense of pride, which is the hallmark of true nation. The pictorial section that follows gives some idea of the eminent persons who have over the years supported and guided the efforts of the Jinnah - Rafi Foundation.







Mr. Rafiq Ahmed Tarar,  
President of Pakistan,

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt.



Malik Meraj Khalid,  
Former Prime Minister,

Mr. Majeed Nizami,

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,

Dr. Ajmal Niazi.



Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,  
Dr. Rafique Ahmed,  
Former Vice Chancellor,  
Punjab University,  
Mr. S. M. Zafar,  
Former Law Minister,  
Mr. Majeed Nizami,  
Malik Ghulam Nabi,  
Former Education Minister,  
Mr. Amir Abdullah Rokri,  
Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani,  
Former Finance Minister

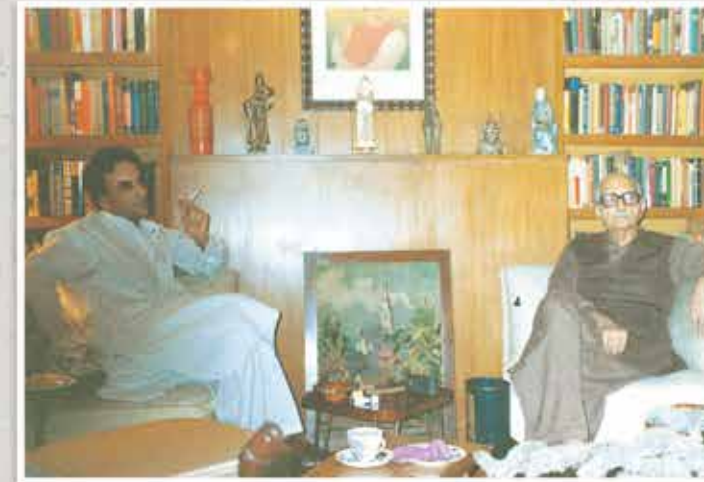


Dr. Mahathir Muhammad,  
Prime Minister of  
Malaysia,

Gen. (R) Sher Ali,

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt.

Mr. Inayat Ullah.



Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad  
Khan Daultana.



Mr. Ahmed Saeed  
Kirmani, Former Finance  
Minister,

Ch. Altaf Hussain, Former  
Governor of the Punjab,

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,

Malik Ghulam Nabi,  
Former Education  
Minister.





Mr. Robert Mulligan,  
Distinguished American  
Scholar,

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt.



Mr. Justice Ijaz Nisar,

Mr. Justice (R) Aslam Riaz  
Hussain,

Gen. (R) Sher Ali.



Senator Justice (R) Dr. Javed  
Iqbal,

Mr. Irshad Ahmed Haqqani,

Mr. Justice Khalil-ur-  
Rehman Ramdey,

Mr. Justice Sh. Riaz Ahmed.



Malik Ghulam Nabi,  
Former Education Minister,

Mr. Ahmed Saeed Kirmani,  
Former Finance Minister,

Col. (R) Ikramullah Khan.



Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,

Mr. Mumtaz Ahmed Khan,

Dr. Ziaul Islam,

Ch. Kaleemuddin.



Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,

Mr. Justice Rashid Aziz  
Khan, Chief Justice,  
Lahore High Court.

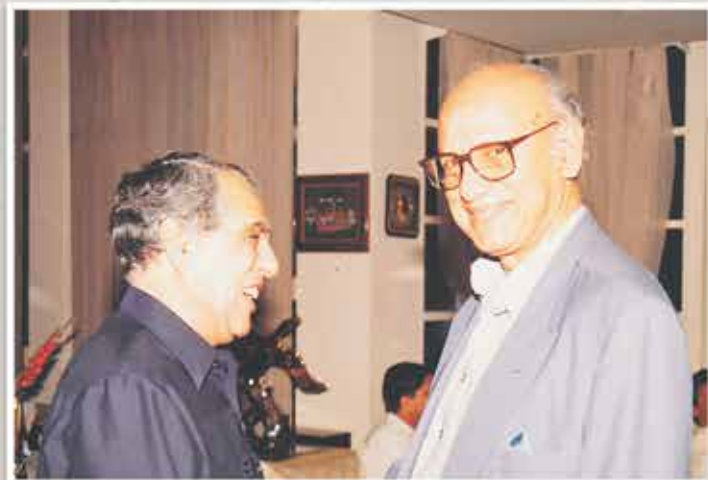




Mr. Ashfaq Ahmed,  
Shahzada Alam Monnoo.



Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,  
Mr. Justice (R) Naseem Hassan Shah,  
Former Chief Justice of Pakistan.



Mr. Justice Sh. Riaz Ahmed,  
Mr. S. M. Zafar,  
Former Law Minister.



Mr. Irshad Ahmed Haqqani,  
Rana Muhammad Iqbal,  
Minister for Forests.  
Mr. Hanif Ramay,  
Former Speaker,  
Punjab Assembly.



Mr. Justice (R)Yaqub Ali Khan,  
Dr. Maskeen Ali Hijazi.



Mr. Abdullah Malik,  
Mr. Naseer A. Sheikh,  
Mr. Majeed Nizami,  
Mr. S. M. Masood.





Gen.(R) Bakhtiar Rana,  
Gen.(R) K. M. Azhar,  
Mr. Tariq Ismail Khan.



Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,  
Pir Mardan Ali Shah of Pagara.



Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,  
Mian Muhammad Azhar,  
Former Governor of the  
Punjab.  
Mr. Hassan Pirzada,  
Mr. Muhammad Arshad  
Khan Lodhi,  
Transport Minister



Gen.(R) Sher Ali,  
Gen.(R) Jehangir Karamat,  
Former Chief of Army Staff,  
Gen.(R) Shameem Alam  
Khan, Former Chairman Joint  
Chiefs of Staff Committee,  
Ch. Tanveer Ahmed,  
Director F.I.A.



Mr. Munawar Mirza,  
Dr. Zia-ul-Islam,  
Kh. Iftikhar Ahmed.



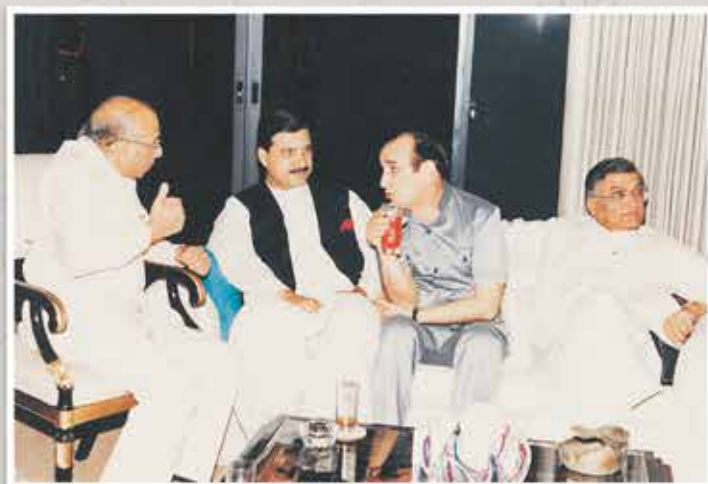
Mr. Shahid Hamid,  
Former Governor of the  
Punjab,  
Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,





Mr. Arif Nizami,  
Editor Daily "Nation",

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt.



Mr. Muhammad Arif,  
Former Chairman B.O.P.

Brig. Muhammad Yousaf,

Mr. A. U. Saleem,

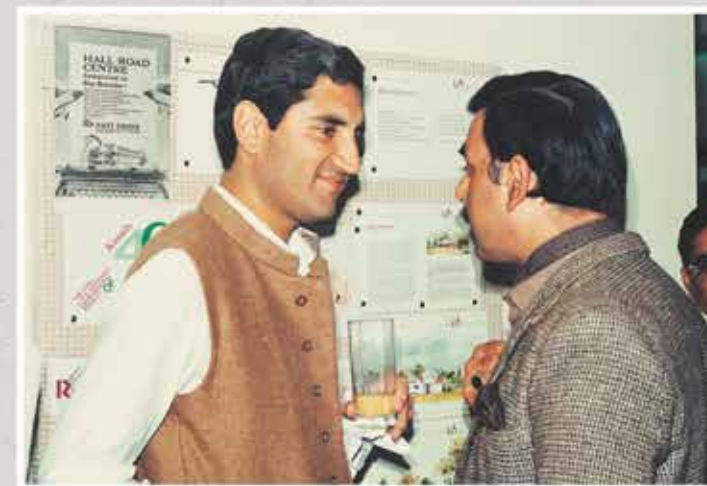
Mr. Nazir Naji.



Mr. Irshad Ahmed Haqqani,

Mr. Abid Hassan Minto,

Prof. Dr. S. Razi Wasti



Makhdoomzada Shah  
Mahmood Qureshi,  
Former Finance Minister,

Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan,  
Former Communication  
Minister.



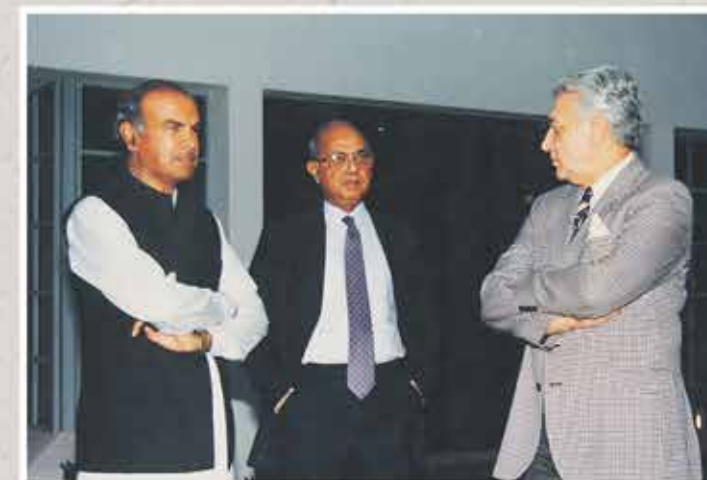
Dr. M. Iqbal Wahla,

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt,

Mr. Iqbal Ismi,

Mr. Javed Ashraf,

Mr. Tariq Farooq

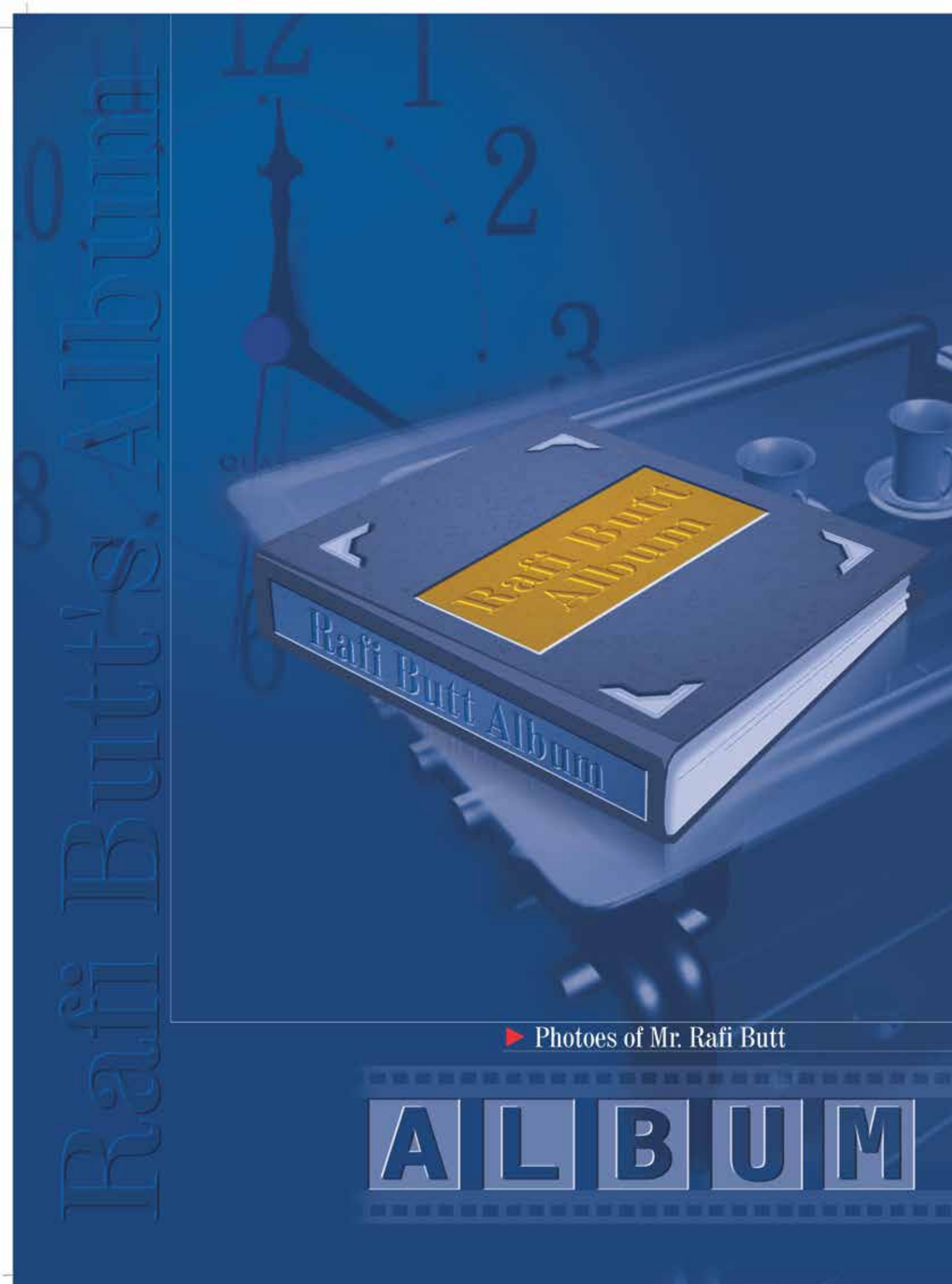


Ch. Muhammad Ashraf,  
Chief Secretary, Azad  
Kashmir,

Mr. Muhammad Yunus  
Khan, Former Secretary  
Excise,

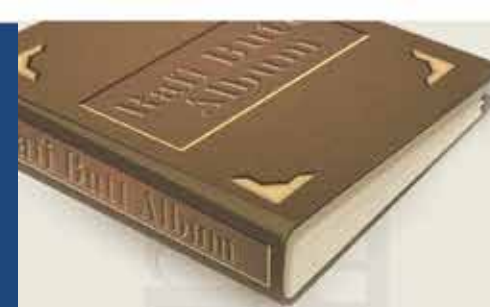
Mr. Abbas Khan, Former I.G.  
Police of the Punjab.





► Photoes of Mr. Rafi Butt

**A | L | B | U | M**



*So that the*

*fragrance of his  
memory should remain ....*

### *Rafi Butt's Album*

Some of the photographs included in this album reveal Rafi Butt's close relationship with the Quaid-e-Azam. Rafi corresponded with the Quaid, offered suggestions on economic matters and placed his services and resources at the disposal of the great leader to promote the cause of the Pakistan Movement. The Quaid liked Rafi and responded to his letters with great cordiality. He was also gracious enough to visit Rafi's factory "M/s. Ghulam Nabi & Sons" in 1942 and dined with him.

Other photographs show Rafi Butt with friends and acquaintances. Rafi was a prominent social figure of his days. A charming conversationalist and a gentleman of refinement and culture, his friendship cut across communal barriers and included persons from all segments of society. His companions and colleagues held him in great esteem.

By a strange quirk of destiny, most of Rafi Butt's photographs lay in obscurity and were discovered 40 years after his death from different sources and after six years of painstaking historical research. Despite our best efforts the exact dates of these photographs could not be ascertained. The dates mentioned herein are, therefore, approximated.



*To that the*  
*fragrance of his*  
*memory should remain ....*

- 3 Quaid-e-Azam in discussion with Rafi during his visit to Ghulam Nabi & Sons, manufacturers of Hospital Equipment & Surgical Instruments, Ferozepur Road, Lahore. 2, December 1942.
- 4 Rafi at the International Red Cross Conference held at San Francisco.



1



3



2



4

- 1 Quaid-e-Azam at a dinner hosted by Rafi at his residence.
- 2 Quaid-e-Azam visiting M/s. Ghulam Nabi & Sons on 2 December 1942.

*To that the*  
*fragrance of his*  
*memory should remain ....*

- 3 A dinner hosted by Rafi in honour of Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Abdul Hayat and Mamdot.
- 4 H. E. Governor of Punjab & Khizar Hayat Tiwana visiting the stall of Ghulam Nabi & Sons on the occasion of the exhibition.



1



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2



4

- 1 Honorable Sir Manohar Lal, Finance Minister Punjab Govt. inspecting the Ghulam Nabi & Sons, Hydraulic Operation Table.
- 2 Rafi in the uniform of honorary colonel on his visit to Germany.



*So that the*  
F*ragrance of his*  
*memory should remain ....*

- 3 Col. McDonald, Director of Production Medical Division with deputy Director of Production on his visit to Ghulam Nabi & Sons works.
- 4 Rafi with American businessmen in the United States.



1



3



2



4

- 1 Rafi with workers of M/s. Ghulam Nabi & Sons.
- 2 Khizar Hayat Khan, Premier Punjab, visiting the Ghulam Nabi & Sons Hydraulic Operation Table on show at the war services exhibition at Lahore.

*So that the*  
F*ragrance of his*  
*memory should remain ....*

- 3 A British delegation represented by H.S. Soultar visiting Ghulam Nabi & Sons factories.
- 4 Governor of the Punjab with Rafi, inspecting Ghulam Nabi & Sons High Pressure Steam Sterilizer on show at war services exhibition at Lahore (April 1944).



1



3



2



4

- 1 A tea party hosted by Rafi in honour of Abdul Hayee, Education & Health Minister of the Punjab.
- 2 H. S. Soultar Mission Group of U.K. on a visit to the Ghulam Nabi & Sons stall at war services exhibition Lahore (April 1944).



*So that the  
Fragrance of his  
memory should remain ....*



1



3



2



4

3 Rafi at the stone laying ceremony of M/s. Ghulam Nabi & Sons at the young age of 24.

4 Rafi with Lord Hassan, Dal Lake, Srinagar.

1 Rafi at a reception.

2 C-in-C for India after his visit to Ghulam Nabi & Sons stall at war services exhibition (April 1944).



Prof. R. A. Khan

Dear Patron,

The Jinnah Rafi Foundation, as you are aware, has been engaged in historical research and publication for the last ten years.

It has so far published two books on the life and work of Muhammad Rafi Butt, a leading figure of the Pakistan Movement. The Foundation also arranges functions on national days to commemorate the great struggle of the Quaid and the reasons for the creation of Pakistan. In this the Foundation has always received the whole-hearted support of the veterans of the Pakistan Movement, prominent intellectuals and veteran journalists.

We are now interested in expanding the role and work of the Jinnah Rafi Foundation and shall be grateful for your suggestion in this regard. We shall also appreciate if you send us the names and addresses of friends and acquaintances you may want to place on our permanent mailing list.

With kind regards,  
Your sincerely,

(Prof. R. A. Khan)

Secretary,  
Jinnah Rafi Foundation,  
Empire Centre, 9-K Main Boulevard, Gulberg II, Lahore-Pakistan.

*Jinnah Rafi Foundation expresses its profound sorrow on the sad demise of Dr. Syed Razi Wasti, noted historian and former Professor and Head, Department of History, Government College, Lahore. Dr. Wasti edited "My Dear Quaid-e-Azam (Jinnah Rafi Correspondence)" and wrote "At Quaid's Service (A Journey Towards Discovery)-a biography of M. Rafi Butt, for the Jinnah Rafi Foundation.*

*The Foundation deeply sympathises with the family in its bereavement.  
May the soul of the departed rest in peace. Amen!*





A Correspondence of  
**Jinnah Rafi Foundation**  
LAHORE - PAKISTAN



T. E. Lawrence in his book  
Seven Pillars of Wisdom says,  
"All men dream:  
but not equally. Those who  
dream by night in the dusty  
recesses of their minds wake in the  
day to find that it was vanity:  
but the dreamers of the day are  
dangerous men, for they may act  
their dream with open eyes, to  
make it possible."

Jinnah Rafi Foundation has been formed  
in the loving memory of Quaid-e-Azam,  
Mohammad Ali Jinnah - a dreamer  
who dreamed With open eyes, offering hope  
to the seething mass of Muslims of  
the subcontinent trapped in the  
dreary darkness of British  
subjugation - and his young  
follower.

M. Rafi Butt who dedicated  
himself to Quaid's dream  
of a separate homeland  
for the Muslims of  
India.

A Publication of  
**Jinnah Rafi Foundation**