# At Quaid's Service: A Journey Towards Discovery

Jinnah Rafi Foundation LAHORE

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Syed Razi Wasti

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Jinnah Rafi Foundation was set up in 1989, commemorating Rafi Butt - a young follower of Quaid - whose son is its Chairman. The foundation is committed to upholding the aspirations of Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. All its resources are devoted to encouraging scholarly research on topics relating to Pakistan's political, social and economic interests, which were so close to Rafi Butt's heart.

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"Read no history: nothing but biography,
For that is life without theory."

- Benjamin Disraeli

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#### **FOREWORD**

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-i-Azam, Mohammad 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 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 behavior 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 Butt's 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.

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, over-weight 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. 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 now slow him down. Imtiaz's Jinnah Rafi Foundation engaged in publications and seminars. I wish them both well.

*Professor Akbar S. Ahmad* Cambridge. May 1995.

### INTRODUCTION

Recollections of the bygone era are hard to document and difficult to verify. These are images which conjure up an ethos but conceal many answers. To write about a person who passed away half a century ago and whose private papers, documents, memos and letters have not survived and who seems to have been lost from people's memory, is not easy. He would have remained buried in the sands of history had his surviving son - Imtiaz, who was only' two months old when his father died - not embarked on a quest for his identity. He had heard stories about his father from his mother, although she concealed his father's death from him until. He was 11 years old. Once he decided to find about his father, he embarked on the project like a true detective. He established a foundation in his father's memory and engaged a staff to locate material about him. After working for five years, they succeeded in collecting scattered bits of information. However, no connected story could be written on the basis of this material. Rafi Butt's old friends, acquaintances, employees and relations were sought out and interviewed. Some cooperated willingly, some were lukewarm and some were unwilling to say anything, though they remembered him with great Affection.

An amorphous mist of nostalgic romanticism looms over many of these accounts. It was left to the historian to sift through this not Very large but fairly important material and present a connected' history of the life of a man who started his career at the age of 16 and made an amazing contribution in numerous sectors of life until his death at the age of 39. He was a businessman, an industrialist, a political thinker, a philanthropist, and a socialite.

Rafi married three times. Two of his marriages were arranged by his mother. The first marriage ended in divorce within a few days. The second marriage lasted a bit longer. He had a daughter by this wife, whose name is Shamim. She is now happily married to Dr. Ahmed Shah Nawaz, the son of Begum Shah Nawaz, a well-known Muslim Leaguer. Rafi divorced his second wife as he did not find her his intellectual equal. He then married Zaitoon Begum, after seeing her at a function at Shalimar Gardens. From this marriage he had a daughter, Yasmin, and a son, Imtiaz, Zaitoon was a beautiful lady, belonging to the famous Pehlwan (wrestlers) family. After his death, Zaitoon went through a very difficult period in her life. She was young and beautiful and could have married again, but instead she devoted her life to looking after her two children and bravely fighting for the inheritance and property which had been usurped by Rafi's brother. Her's is the painful story of a grief-stricken widow running from pillar to post to reclaim her rightful possessions. She was very protective of her children, especially of Imtiaz, over whose education and upbringing she took special care.

This is a brief biography of Rafi Butt about whom so much is still unknown. Nevertheless, that which has been unearthed reveals a man who possessed a restless soul and whose mind was working all the time for the betterment of his fellow human beings.

I am grateful to Prof. Sharif-al-Mujahid, Prof. Javed Nazir, Prof. Akbar S. Ahmed, Dr. Z. H. Zaidi, Prof. Hasan Askari Rizvi, Ms. Sadia Bokhari, Mr. Karamat Ali Khan, Mr. Safdar Mir, Prof. Manzoor Mirza, Mr. Abdullah Malik, Late Khalid Shamsul Hasan. Mr. Nazir Ahmed and Mr. Atiq Zafar Sheikh for providing valuable suggestions as well material for this book. Mr. Iqbal Ismi, husband of Yasmin, sister, shared with me some of his thoughts and advised me in improving the quality of the book. Prof. Leonard Gordon, Columbia University, and Dr. Allen McGrath made scholarly comments. Dr. Usha Sanyal. Editor, Oxford University Press, Delhi, deserves special thanks, as she read the script thoroughly and helped me prepare it for the press. I also thank Mr. Tahir Farooqi for typing the script, proof reading and preparing the index,

Mr. Imtiaz Rafi Butt, Chairman, Jinnah Rafi Foundation, deserves special thanks for material and moral support and continuous guidance. But for his enormous enthusiasm and deep interest in the project this book would not have been written.

## MUSLIMS IN SOUTH ASIA \_ PARTICULARLY IN THE PUNJAB TILL 1947

"There is no god but God Muhammad Is his prophet, is the shibboleth of Islam the Trinity that of Christianity. And: he institute of the Sabbath, that of Judaism, so metempsychosis is the shibboleth of the Hindu religion. Therefore he who does not believe in it does not belong to them, and is not reckoned as one of them."

- Alberuni`s India Edited by: Ainslie T. Embree

Muslims ruled most of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for over six centuries. Their arrival in the region can be broadly categorized in three distinct phases. Hitting the southern coasts of India as traders and missionaries, they were militarily attracted to the Sindh region during the Ummayed period in the second decade of the eighth century. They entrenched themselves in Sindh and in the north up to Multan where their rule survived until the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the twelfth century. Their presence in the vast landscape of the subcontinent was thus at best peripheral until the twelfth century which saw an organized movement of conquest and immigration from Central Asia.

In 712 A.D. Mohammad Bin Qasim led the Arab conquest of Sindh, and established a powerful dynasty. This dynasty ruled until the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. It was first governed as a province of the Umayyad's and Abbasids. And later of the Abbasid alone, finally declaring its independence under a "heretic" Muslim sect. The Arab occupation of Sindh had a distinct characteristic which differed from the Turku-Persian makeup of the Delhi Sultanate. The Arabs established military camps in the larger cities, keeping- the local administrations infrastructure intact. They did not curtail the privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins. The non-Muslims were treated as zimmis and were allowed complete freedom of worship<sup>1</sup>.

Between 1000 - 1026 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazna attacked India several times and ultimately annexed a large part of the Punjab. The Ghaznavids ruled Punjab for almost two centuries. Lahore became the eastern-most center of Persian culture. Turku-Persian administrative institutions were introduced. These became the basis of the 'administrative setup of the Delhi Sultanate, and later to some degree of the Mughal Empire. Hindus were freely employed by Mahmud and his successor, Masood, both as officers and soldiers. Half of Masood's army which fought at Kirman consisted of Hindus.

The Ghaznavids did not last long) submitting to the rising power of the House of Ghaur. Shahab-ud-Din Ghauri, having established himself in Afghanistan, expanded eastwards and occupied Lahore in 1178 A.D. proceeding shortly thereafter to conquer Delhi which later became. The capital. The Sultanate of Delhi lasted from 1206 to 1526 witnessing at least five dynastic changes during this period.'

The Muslim kingdom of the Punjab had an important bearing on the subsequent history of India. It reflected a "Persianised" Islam represented by the Turks which dominated by the Central Asian Turks and Tajiks. The Turks occupied all the senior military positions while the Tajiks dominated civil administration. In addition, the administration included Hindu converts and non-Turkish immigrants. However, with the gradual expansion of administrative work and peaceful colonization, new elements were added to the nobility.

<sup>1.</sup> Elliot and Dawson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*. Vol 1, London, 1930, pp 185-186, instruction from Hajjaj Bin Yousef, Governor of Basra, to the administrator of Sind.

The Delhi Sultanate came into being after the shariat was codified, closing forever the doors of either innovation or reinterpretation of Islamic jurisprudence. However, the codified law especially Hanafi, fiqh, while it addressed the changed situation in the Persianised world, could not address the peculiarities of the Indian situation where the Muslim although the rulers, were in a minority. Consequently, the more politic of the Muslim kings wisely adopted a policy of compromise and moderation.

Punjab's was slightly different case. It was ruled by successive conquerors who attacked India through the Khyber Pass. It is a region of vast plains at the foot of the Himalayas which run along its northern boundary. Prior to partition in 1947, Punjab lay roughly between the Jumna river on the east the Indus river on the west, traversed from north-east to south-west by five rivers --- Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum, which converged in the extreme south-west corner of the province;

Forming the western flank of the subcontinent, Punjab remained an area of great strategic importance to all successive dynasties which had their seats of authority either at Agra or Delhi. During the Mughal period, Akbar attached special importance to Lahore and built several structures of historical importance there, including a fort. Emperor Jahangir was buried here and Shahjehan was born here. Shahjehan built the Shalimar Gardens and his son and successor, Aurangzeb, .the Badshahi Mosque. After Aurangzeb's death the Mughal rulers proved weak and invaders like Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali passed through Lahore without much opposition.

Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) united various Sikh "misls" (sects) and obtained Lahore from the Afghan king, Zaman Shah. Ranjit Singh ruled Punjab from 1799 to 1839. After his death, however, his incompetent successors could not hold the state together and it grew weak, providing the British East India Company an opportunity to annex it in 1849.

Subsequently, the East India Company effected far-reaching changes in the area. One of these was the change in court language. Even during rule the court language was Persian, but under British rule it was changed first. To Urdu and then to English. The western education system was introduced and knowledge of English made compulsory for government service. These changes affected the Muslims aversely, as

being in a state of shock at having lost out to the British, they were slow to grasp the new configuration of forces. Having already been deprived of political power, they were now systematically expelled from government service too. Their main source in the lower echelons of the government administration.

The events of 1857 further aggravated the Muslims' poor economic conditions when a large -number of Hindu and Muslim soldiers of the disbanded armies of the Indian rulers of the princely States at least in Northern India revolted against the rule of the East India Company. The Muslims were blamed for this 'War of Independence' and bore the brunt of British wrath. After 1857 they were deliberately kept out of all responsible government posts by the British. Besides, the Muslims did not avail of the opportunities offered, as they did not fully utilize the benefits of western education. This not only kept them out of government jobs, it also cramped their outlook and stifled their progress. This apathetic attitude was the result not so much of any religious taboos preventing them from learning English and western sciences as it was of deep rooted contempt for everything which carried a foreign, particularly a British, label. Manifestly, this made their position more difficult. Those who thought differently had to work hard and fight hard against this tendency. Although the Punjab did not take any vital part in this upsurge, the atrocities and hardships faced by the Muslims in the Punjab after the failure of the revolt were immense.2

The Punjab was a land of many religions --- Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism. During Muslim rule, the rulers followed liberal policies. Medieval India, especially the Mughal period, can be compared to any contemporary society in terms of the richness of its culture. Muslim contributions in the field of architecture, painting, music, literature and science are fairly well known. Sufis preached universal brotherhood and tolerance, bringing in multitudes of converts, among the various Sufi Orders, the chisti order was the most popular in India. Aware of their social responsibility for bringing various communities closer, they preached that love alone could ensure spiritual bliss. Their emphasis on service to humanity without reservation had an important bearing on the social life of, the country as a whole. The conquest and consolidation of Muslim rule in India, was a process which took several centuries to

<sup>2.</sup> Syed Razi Wasti, *Muslim Struggle for Freedom in British India*, Lahore 1993 Ch.1 pp 1-25

accomplish, generating, in the process, despite the liberalism of various Muslim rulers, inevitable hatred between the conqueror and the vanquished. But there was always a Sufi or a bhagat to heal the wounds of the war. The Sufis, detached from the state" kept the lamp of love and brotherhood burning bright for generation after generation in India.<sup>3</sup>

The arrival of the British in India introduced a new element. Unlike the Muslims they did not settle in India; their main interests were trade and exploitation of economic resources. From the very beginning they assumed that the Muslims would not cooperate with them, being the former rulers. So they sought, and readily obtained, the cooperation of Hindus.<sup>4</sup>

The Hindus switched over to English and were immediately fitted into the new administrative system. The work of Christian missionaries, though not officially patronized by the East India Company, nevertheless brought in many conversions. Western education meant good jobs, acceptance of Christianity more favors. The Muslims, thus, were ignored and suffered economically. The Hindus took to western education in large numbers, as they had previously done to Islamic learning, securing lucrative jobs. The condition of the Muslims went on deteriorating until Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) urged them to learn English and ultimately laid the foundation for the Aligarh School which later became a college, and then developed into a university.

Muslim elite in the Punjab could not remain oblivious to the changing conditions. They too realized that something had to be done to ameliorate the conditions of the Muslims by making them aware of the changing situation. Sir Syed's activities appear to have deeply influenced.

The Muslims of the Punjab, awakening in them a realization that concerted action was necessary to meet the challenge posed by the changed political and economic conditions in the country. They felt the need to stem the anti, Islamic propaganda of the Christian missionaries. The arya samaj movement also post a new threat to Muslim solidarity. Hence in 1884 some Muslims of Lahore met to draw up a plane for an

<sup>3.</sup> Sufi Saint Mian Mir of Lahore laid the foundation stone of the Golden Temple of the Sikhs at Amritsar on a plot donated by Akbar to the Sikh Community.

<sup>4.</sup> See extracts from B.C. Chatterjee's novel, *Anand Math in Sources of Indian Tradition*. Vol II, second edition, ed. Stephen Hay, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988, pp. 128 .. 139.

association to look after the interests of the Muslims of the Punjab. After anxious deliberations and discussions, a new organization was founded called the anjuman-e-himayat-e-islam. The anjuman came in to being at a time when the Muslims of India were politically disorganized, educationally backward, economically bankrupt, in social disarray and generally demoralized.

One off the early reformers who foresaw the disastrous consequences of this policy of boycott was sir syed Ahmed khan, the founder of the Aligarh movement. He had already planned for change on a grand scale, for he was anxious to rehabilitate the Muslim gentry and the enlightened intellectual class, which was slowly dying out. He was ridiculed, even rebuked, by his co-religionists, butt undaunted by all reverses he stood as firm as a rock and realized his dream during his life time. The establishment of the anjuman- e- himayat-e-islam was a natural corollary of sir Syed's movement.

In November 1858, the British Government abolished the east India Company and took direct control of India. Queen Victoria in her proclamation of 1 November 1858 tried to calm Indian fears, assuring her new subjects that she would rule without any racial or religious discrimination, and provide justice to all. But the gap between the "haves" and "have nots" was very wide. Educated Indians, particularly Bengali Hindus, had become increasingly politically conscious. Although the All India National Congress was founded by a retired British civil servant, A.O.Hume (1829-1912), and had the blessings of the then Viceroy, Lord Duffer in (1826-:-1902), certain prior events had led to formation. Briefly these were: the educated classes' opposition to Lytton's administration (1876-80) because of several measures adopted by the Government; i.e., reduction of the age limit for the Indian Service Examination, the financial burden imposed on India because the Second Afghan War (1878-79), the Arms Act and the vernacular Press Act. The controversy over the llbert Bill dampened the hopes reversal of policy that the assumption of power, in England by Gladstone and the arrival of Rippon as Governor - General (1880-85) of India had aroused. Lord Duffer in saw the formation of a political association would serve as a sort of safety valve.<sup>5</sup> Hence the All India National Congress was founded in 1885.

Before the formation of this body, other associations had been founded by reformers and thinkers, which concerned themselves with local affairs or had provincial or local affiliations. But none had any political programmers or aspirations on an all-India basis. With the spread of western education and various social and religious reform movements, a class of people with high ambitions was coming forward, but there was no channel through which their concerns could be brought to the attention of the government.

The founders of the Congress had entirely different views about the part it would play in the political life of India. It was thought of as a "safety valve" against the rising tension amongst educated Indians who had begun to think about and grumble about the injustices of their rulers. The Hindus had surpassed the Muslims in the field of education, and it was natural that they should have been the first to join the Congress in large numbers.

Only two Muslims attended its first session. A majority of them remained aloof from it. The lack of education was not the only' factor that kept them away; there were certain other factors, too. Sir Syed, who had boldly criticised the government's policy of suspicion towards the Muslims for their responsibility for the events of 1857,6 was the most prominent Muslim leader at that time. After watching the activities of the Congress for some time he concluded that Muslims should not join the Congress as the bureaucracy had not forgotten the events of 1857. Furthermore the Congress was a movement dominated by Bengali Hindus which meant that they virtually ruled over all others; thus if the movement succeeded, the Hindu majority would rule over the Muslim minority; and, finally the movement was anti-British. In short, Sir Syed thought the Congress movement was seditious. His advice was heeded and the Muslims kept away from the Congress.

Sir Syed had very early realised that the British were gradually introducing democratic institutions in India. In order to understand these a thorough grounding in western education was essential. 'He Opposed Muslim participation in any political activity as he knew they were educationally backward. That is why he even refused to join Syed Ameer Ali's (1849-1928) Central National Mohammedan Association in 1877. As he thought it had political leanings. When the Congress was established, he advised the Muslims not to join it and instead devote themselves to seeking an English education. With a view to engaging them in some meaningful activity he founded the Mohammedan Education Conference. He did not like the Congress demand for the introduction of

an electoral system in India, as this would mean that Muslims, being in the minority, would never have any chance of participating in government. He was the first person in the Imperial Legislative Assembly who openly opposed the introduction of the electoral system and asserted that the Muslims were a separate "nation" Members of the Congress, however, belonged to an elite group and met regularly at different places and passed resolutions, copies of which were sent to the Secretary of State for India and Government of India. As a result of this incessant campaign, the government decided to introduce certain reforms to satisfy the moderate section of the Congress. Lord Curzon's (1859-1925) administration, especially his decision to 'partition Bengal, infuriated the Bengali Hindus and enabled the Congress' to expand its demands. Bengal was a large province; for administrative' reasons it was partitioned in 1905 into East Bengal and Assam and West Bengal. During the anti-partition movement star1fd by the Hindus, tensions between Muslims and Hindus became very intense. Its subsequent annulment in 1911' led to a further widening of the' gap between the two communities.<sup>7</sup>

The success of the Liberal Party in the 1905 elections in Britain and the appointment of John Morley (1839-1923) as Secretary of State, raised the hopes of the Congress leaders, especially of G.K... Gokhale (1866-1915) and S.N. Banerjea (1848-1925): John Morley did not disappoint them, stating in the House of Commons that the Government of India would extend the electoral system introduced in 1892. Muslim leaders had already expressed their concern over elections. John Morley's statement worried them further.

Mohsin-ul-Mulk (1837-1907), who had succeeded Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as secretary, M.A.O.College Aligarh assumed the mantle of leadership of the Muslims. He organized a deputation of representative Muslims and met Lord Minto (1845-1914) the Viceroy, on 1 October 1906. The Aga Khan (1877-1957) led the deputation. The Viceroy's sympathetic reply encouraged the Muslim leaders to organise themselves as a political party e- The birth of All India Muslim League at Dhaka on 30 December 1906 provided the Muslims with a political platform from which Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) in his Allahabad address first talked of a separate Muslim homeland in 1930. In Lahore on 23 March 1940, a resolution was passed from the League platform under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) which came to be

<sup>7.</sup> For details see Syed Razi Wasti, Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1905... 1910, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964...

known as the Pakistan resolution.

The Punjab leaders had played a prominent part both during Shimla Deputation<sup>8</sup> proceedings and also during passing of the Pakistan Resolution. Punjab was not only the sword arm of the empire, but politically active province. The Congress passed a resolution on 26 January 1929 on the banks of the river Ravi, demanding independence from British rule. As already noted the Muslim League in its Lahore session demanded a separate homeland for Muslims on 23 March 1940

Unfortunately, despite the fact that Punjab was a Muslim majority province, the Punjabi Muslims were economically backward. They had no businesses worth the name and very few admissions to. Government College, Lahore and King Edward Medical College. Mian Fazal-i-Hussain (1877-1936) Unionist Party, Premier of the Punjab, had to pass a law to get Muslim applicants admitted on a quota basis. The Muslim farmer was suffering under the clutches of Hindu Banyas (money lenders) and again Fazal-i-Hussain had to use Chottu Ram (1881-1945) to pass certain laws which would save Muslim lands from being gobbled up by the money-lenders.

The British followed different policy in the Punjab from that in other provinces. In the Punjab they created a class of feudals who were to prove loyal to the British Raj till the last. A classic example of this docile loyalty was described by Altaf Gauhar, Information Secreatary to Field Marshal Mohammad Ayyub Khan, in a television interview. Once he asked the Nawab of Kala Bagh, a big feudal-and Governor of West Pakistan in Ayyub Khan's regime, "What was the attitude of the feudal class generally and of the Nawab particularly towards the All India Muslim League and the Quaid?" His reply was startling. He told Altaf Gauhar that they used to contribute to League funds on the quiet but were never openly allied with the League or any political party. Only when it became obvious that the British were leaving did he go to the Commissioner of his Division and ask him whether it was true that the British were leaving. The commissioner said, "Yes'. The Nawab asked, "What should they do?" The Commissioner said, "Choose your own political party. Once they had the clearance of the British bureaucrats the feudals decided to join the Muslim League in large numbers.

<sup>8.</sup> The Simla Deputation, which met Lord Minto, the Viceroy, at Simla on 1 October 1906, organised by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and led by the age khan, demanded separate electorates for the Muslims. See Syed Razi Wasti, op. cit.

The Unionist Party led by Khizr Hayat Tiwana (1909-1975) remained in power until popular demand compelled him to resign. Despite Khizr's anti-Pakistan policies the League had been attracting vast numbers of Muslim masses to its platform. The Punjabi Muslims, under the dynamic leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, were uniting in defense of their political rights. By the time Khizr came to power in December 1942, the movement had reached a stage from which it could only grow in strength, and not backtrack.

Lahore has been the capital of the Punjab for centuries. After Pakistan came into being, Lahore assumed great importance as the capital of Punjab, when the Muslim refugees from East Punjab, Delhi, u.p. and other parts of India rushed for safety after they were forced to leave their hearths and homes.

The origin of the city of Lahore and its early history are enmeshed in mystery. Situated on the banks of the river Ravi, Lahore is famous in history as the camping ground of the early Aryans. According to popular Hindu tradition Lahore was founded by Lava or Loh, son of the Ramayana's legendary hero, Rama. Lahore itself means, the "Fort of Loh". Probably founded at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, it was first entioned in the Journals of the Chinese Pilgrim, Xuanzang, written in 630 A.D. The first authentic reference to Lahore is found in AI-Biruni's Tarikhul Hind (circa 1030-1033). The later Ghaznavid and the Ghauri Sultans (1098-1206) made it the capital of their empires and adorned it with numerous buildings. Lahore had seen many empires rise and fall, and many invaders and travellers have passed through it.

The Mughals (1526-1765) enriched its architectural heritage with splendid buildings. It was in Lahore that Humayun (1508-1556) when fleeing before the victorious army of Sher Shah (1472-1545) met and married the fifteen year 'old Hamida Begum who gave birth to. Akbar (1542-1605). Upon succeeding his father, Akbar made Lahore his headquarters from 1584 to 1598, during which period he extended his empire to Kashmir, and elevated the city from a provincial center to a capital city of the Mughal Empire. Akbar enclosed the city with a brick wall of considerable height and built a palace which was later enlarged by his successors. The city became a place of royal residence with gardens, .mosques and pavilions. Abdul Fazal in the Ain-i-Akbari Describes Lahore thus:

"A great city in the Bari Doab; in magnificence and Populousness it has few equals, in old history it is called Lohawar. At the time of His Majesty [Akbar] the fort has been built of solid brick and lime and as from time to time, the seat of government was established here, lofty palaces were built, to which additional beauty. Was lent by luxurious gardens. It is the resort of people of all nations from every city, and wonderful works have been made here."

Lahore is also associated with royal romances. It was here, according to popular lore, that Prince Salim (1569-1627), who later ascended the throne as Jahangir, fell in love with the beautiful but unfortunate Anarkali, the title given to Nadira Begum or Sharf-un~Nisa for her beauty. Lahore's famous Bazar, Anarkali, is named after her. It was in Lahore, too, that Salim first saw Mihr-un-Nisa (1577-1645), a Persian beauty, daughter of Eitmad-ud-Daula and sister of Asaf Jah. He later married Mihr-un-Nisa, who became famous as Nur Jehan.

During the scramble for the imperial throne after Shahjahan's (1592-1666) death, Lahore espoused the cause of Dara Shikoh (1614-1659), Shahjahan's eldest son. He had his residence at Lahore and the eminent saint, Mian Mir, was his spiritual advisor. Aurangzeb (1618-1707) built the famous Jamia Masjid or the Badshahi Mosque near the fort. The majestic domes and minarets of the mosque form a conspicuous feature of the landscape in the north of Lahore. There are two other famous mosques built during the Mughal period: Wazir Khan Mosque (1634) and Sonehri Masjid or the Golden Mosque (1753), both located near Delhi Gate.

Qutab-ud-Din Aybak (d.1210), first Muslim ruler in India, Emperor Jehangir, Queen Nur Jehan, and her brother and famous wazir of Shah Jehan, Asaf Jah are buried in the city. Jahangir's Tomb was constructed of red stone with marble ornamentation. The Mughals wanted peaceful and spacious surroundings as their last resting places. Hence magnificent gardens were attached to their tombs. Shahjahan also laid out the famous Shalimar Gardens. The Sufi saints, Ali Hujviri, popularly known as Data Gunj Bukhsh, Mian Mir and others preached here and are buried here. Devotees from all over Pakistan and other Parts of the world come here every year to pay homage. The tomb of Allama Mohammad Iqbal (1877-1938), poet and philosopher of Islam, is in front of the Badshahi Mosque.

After Aurangzeb's death the Mughal Empire declined and during the eighteenth century Lahore was controlled either by weak Mughal Governors or by Sikh chiefs and Afghan nobles. Lahore was once again ravaged by invaders and plunderers. Nadir Shah (1688-1747) the Marathas, the Durrani chiefs and the Sikhs looted it.

In 1799 Ranjit Singh became master of Lahore. After his death in 1839, his successors got caught up in family feuds and were unable to rule the country. The British occupied Lahore in 1846 and annexed it in 1849 As the capital of the British province and center of a modern system of administration, Lahore regained its old grandeur and dignity, During the Sikh period no significant architectural additions were made, and in fact existing ones suffered from vandalism. The British, however, beautified Lahore with buildings that harmoniously combine Mughal, Victorian and Gothic styles of architecture. Under British rule Lahore became a major cultural center of North India, especially notable for its role in Urdu literature and Hindu religious reform movements such as the Arya Samaj.

Lahore was also a hub of political activity during the freedom movement. Famous Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, and Christian leaders, representing the main political parties, used Lahore as their base for propagating their ideas. Newspapers, journals, and periodicals in Urdu, Hindi, English and Punjabi were published. Some well-known newspapers were Paisa Akhbar, Zamindar, Milap, Inqlab, Ehsan, Partap, Vir Bharat, The Civil and Military Gazette, Tribune; the magazines included Humayun. Adabi Dunya, and Adab-i-Latif · Famous jounalists, poets, and writers like Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Abdul Majid Salik, Chiragh Hasan Hasrat, Patras Bokhari, Ghulam Rasul Mehr, Maulana Salah uddin, Seemab Akbarabadi and a host of others enriched the cultural life of Lahore.

### LAHORE IN 1930s AND 1940s -RAFI BUTT

### FROM MODEST BEGINNINGS TO BIG INDUSTRIALIST

"Men in general judge more from appearances than from reality, all men have eyes but few have the gift of penetration,

- Niccolo Machiavelli

During the British period, Lahore consisted of the old walled town with its famous gates - Raushnai, Kashmiri, Masti, Khiziri or Sheranwala, Yakki, Delhi, Mochi, Akbari, Shahalami, Lohari, Mori, Bhati, and Taxali. These legendary gates were named after emperors, saints, ancient landmarks, situated near them or after places to which they led. Anarkali Bazar, the civil lines and houses scattered here and there along the Mall were also part of Lahore.it began to expand in 1914 and house building activity increased greatly in the years 1929-37.

New abadis (settlements), however, grew on communal lines, most of them being predominantly Hindu and Sikh. By the early 1930s, Lahore's growing prosperity and economic activity had expanded in all directions. After the inclusion of several villages around Lahore In 1939, the percentage of the Muslim was higher (65.5% in 1941) than that of non-Muslim. But these were mostly agricultural abadis. A survey con-

ducted by the Punjab government Board of Economic Inquiry

In 1941 showed that the value of the property owned by non-Muslims was much higher than that of the Muslims. The total number of shops in greater Lahore owned by non-Muslims was 5,332 and by Muslims 3,501. The total number of registered factories was 210 in 1943-44, of which as many as 173 were owned by non-Muslims. Non-Muslim investment in these factories was Rs. 2.40 crores and Muslims' was only Rs. 58.91 lakhs. The total non-Muslim investment in industry was Rs.5.12 crores out of Rs. 6.29 crores.

Lahore was an important banking and commercial center and the money market in Lahore was fairly well developed. The head offices of as many as 26 bank belonging to non-Muslims were located in Lahore In 1947 there were 90 bank offices in Lahore of which only three belonged to Muslims. Of the 80 offices of insurance companies, 15 had their Head Office in Lahore. Only two insurance companies and their offices belonged to Muslim's

The economic position of the Muslims in the Punjab and specially Lahore has been described by K.L Gauba, in his book<sup>9</sup>. He did not favour Pakistan butt had to observe.

"Hindu directors of companies may denounce Mr. Jinnah for promoting the two-nation theory. If Mr. Jinnah lays emphasis upon this by words, they prove it by conduct. Take great commercial institutions like the Punjab National Bank, the United Commercial Bank, the Lakshmi Insurance Company, the Bharat Bank and the Bharat Insurance Company. You will hardly see a Muslim anywhere. The Lahore Electric Supply Company, a company to whose prosperity Muslim consumers have contributed as much as Hindu consumers, employed no Muslim in its executive or clerical staff, until faced with the pressure of acquisition by the Punjab Government"

Sir Ganga Ram, the philanthropist, made no secret of the fact that he would admit no Muslims to any of his charitable organisations. He was a kindly gentleman but no good Samaritan. As Gauba writes:

<sup>9.</sup> Consequences of Pakistan, Lahore, 1946, pp 11-13

"The Tribune newspaper, although founded to promote nationalism, has never had a Muslim Trustee or a Muslim Editor, or a Muslim Manager. Its reporters and sub-editors are all Hindus....

"And this in a national Trust! It may be argued for the Sir Ganga Ram Trust that the donor was a communalist and wished to exclude Muslims: his wishes are being followed.

"But Dayal Singh Majithia was not a communalist. One of his first Trustees was a Christian, but now the Tribune, the Dayal Singh Library and the Dayal Singh College which were never intended to be communal institutions are primary Hindu institutions.

Gauba refers mainly to the non-employment of Muslims by the great commercial institutions. But Muslims suffered not only on account of the loss of jobs but also because big concerns like the Punjab National Bank, the Lakshmi Insurance Company and Lahore Electric Supply Company could help or hinder industrial and commercial development. Their advance of credit and supply of power had a good deal to do with the success of an industrial or commercial venture. Discrimination against the Muslims was therefore far more extensive than would be seen based solely on the number of employees.

Lahore was also an important educational center for the province. There were as many as 270 educational institutions, recognised by the Education Department or affiliated to Punjab University. Of these about 100 institutions were devoted to female education. Of the 12 Arts and Science Colleges at Lahore, only one was run by Muslims and one by the Government - the other ten were run by non-Muslims. Of the 15 professional colleges all but one government institution was run by non-Muslims. Of the 36 High Schools, only four were run by Muslims.

Lahore was a city of gardens and there are a few beautiful gardens even now. During the Muslim period the number of gardens mentioned in contemporary sources was enormous. But in the 1930s and 1940s \_ due to negligence, encroachments and vandalism - the number dropped sharply. Lawrence Garden, now renamed Bagh-i-Jinnah, situated opposite the Governor's residence, was the most famous. A large variety of trees imported from all over the world were planted in this garden and it had a small Zoological garden as well.

While most of the city residents were Muslims, very few of them were engaged in business, the civil services or other professions. It was only after the Government job reservation policy came into force that their number in the services increased. The Muslims constituted the majority of workers and artisans, being employed either in craft industries or in factories owned by the Hindus. However, they controlled the fruit and vegetable markets, milk supply, furniture shops, tent manufacture and the tailoring business. There was a sizable Muslim landed aristocracy which owed its wealth and status to the British Government. The Hindus, known to be frugal by nature, piled up money but often gave much of it to charities. The Muslims had the reputation of being less charitable but also less miserly. Wealth to them was an asset to be enjoyed while it lasted but not to be held on to.

The economic life of Lahore was dominated by Hindu Khatris and Aroras<sup>10</sup> who were in part engaged in commerce and merchandising, and in part also occupied important positions in the civil ¬services and liberal professions such as law, medicine and education

Lahore in the 1930s and 1940s had acquired the reputation of being the Paris of being the Paris of India. Fashion ruled in life of its people i.e. the upper classes whose life styles, habits and customs were admired greatly. It had also become the nucleus of commerce and politics, of the various clubs, the Gymkhana was posh, but highly restricted. It was not easy to become a member. It was situated in a handsome building named after John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery, two early Punjab administrators in the Lawrence Gardens. The club has now been moved to a new building on the upper Mall, with a superb golf course.

The Mall, popularly known as Thandi Sarak, was the prettiest road in Lahore, and gorgeous tall trees adorned it. It was called Thandi (cool) because it was sprayed with water every day. People used to enjoy walking and driving on the Mall. The British, popularly known as sahibs and memsahibs, would be driven along the Mall in their cars by native chauffeurs, their pet dogs with their tongues hanging out through the windows. The rich and the famous would use horse-driven carriages and victorias for an airing on the Mall. Traffic jams were unheard of in Lahore in those days. Taxi cabs, public buses, wagons, auto rickshaws,

Motor cycles had not yet appeared 'on the scene. Tongas and

bicycles were the principal means of conveyance. Air pollution was unheard of too. Beautiful, fashionable shops, most of which were owned by Hindus and Sikhs, attracted ladies and gentlemen of the upper society. Muslims had only two buildings of any consequence. While the journalists, artists, poets and writers patronised Nagina Bakery, the India Tea House, and the Coffee House, the elite and the big businessmen patronised Lorang's and Stifle's on the Mall. There used to be an enormous rush and demand for seating places in these restaurants. Here not only did they discuss the current political situation, but they also made business deals worth mill ions of rupees.

For generations, Kashmiri laborers had been coming to Lahore in search of employment. After earning enough to tide them over a few seasons, they would go back. This was a seasonal migration of sorts undertaken purely to meet short-term economic needs rather than a well—considered plan to emigrate in search of long-term economic prospects.

In mid-nineteenth century a family from Kashmir moved to Lahore in the wake of a famine there. They decided settle down Lahore. They weren't labourers', though, back home, they had a. small time business - selling shawls. But while they were above the subsistence level, neither were they too well off. Once in Lahore, the head of the family, Ghulam Qadir, got a job in some business and decided to live at Nivan Katra at Akbari Mandi. Three sons Ghulam Nabi, Ghulam Mohammad and Ghulam Hussain, were born to him.

Ghulam Nabi, who was born in 1887, worked at a surgical instrument repair shop. Having acquired some experience, and with help from a British administrator at Mayo Hospital, he was able to establish a small business of his own, manufacturing surgical instruments, Soon he made enough money to build his own house at Nivan Katra, although the house was constructed on only 115 sq. meters of land, it was a three storey house and at the time was the highest building in the area, overlooking the other houses. Nivan Katra was not a prosperous area. Consisting of shanties, here groups of Kashmiris would come during the season and live together. The entire business, in and around the place, was controlled and owned by the Hindus. The Muslims, as virtually everywhere, were poor, often living below the subsistence level.

It was in this house built by Ghulam Nabi at Nivan Katra that Rafi<sup>11</sup> and his two brothers, Hanif (b. 1913) and Taqi (b. 1919) were Borne. During his childhood and later as an adolescent, he evinced a keen Interest in popular games like kite flying and body-building. Occasionally he visited the nearby akharas (wrestling arenas) also. Being the eldest, Rafi was naturally given the most attention. He spent his early childhood at Nivan Katra. From conversations with his contemporaries, it became clear that he was very popular amongst the people of the Mohalla. Being the son of a comparatively affluent father, he attracted other children like a magnet. They all congregated at his house for kite-¬flying and the other games that the children of that period played.

Kite-flying has been a passion for Lahorites. Basant - the kite-flying festival - was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Young and old enjoyed the sport. Every mohalla had its own acknowledged khilaris (expert kite-flyers). During the season the normal routine was to rush to the roof immediately on returning from the school or office with one's guddis (kites) and fly one's kite. Rafi loved this Game with a great passion and engaged in it till the last days of his life.

Ghulam Nabi did not ignore the education of his children. Rafi was admitted to Islamia High School, Sheranwala Gate. He studied there until he passed his matriculation examination in 1925. One of his contemporaries. Malik Taj Uddin (1908-1993). Remembered him fondly. In later life, both rose to great prominence.

Ghulam Nabi, whose business on Hospital Road near Anarkali was, by now, flourishing, was pleased to see that Rafi was showing a keen interest in business. Rafi used to spend most of his spare time after school, at this shop. Ghulam Nabi had established a factory and also a show room. But he didn't live long, dying at the age of 38 on 4 Ramazan 1342H (1925), a victim of the plague which had gripped Lahore in those days. Rafi was only 16 years old at the time. Obliged to shoulder the responsibilities of running the family business, he started with Only 12 workers in a small factory. With his ingenuity and flair for business, Rafi managed to expand this small-time operation into a big One with state-of-the-art machinery which he had imported. Soon after, he moved the factory, previously housed in a rented building, to Mayo

<sup>11</sup> According to Punjab Gazette, 20 November 1925, announcing Matriculation result, Rafi's date of birth was given 4 January 1909, but on his Passport, which was found, at Oriental and India Office Collection, London, date of birth is 10.02.1909 – see appendix no 10 and 11.

Road, Gari Shahu, also increasing the number of workers. Around this time, World War II broke out, greatly increasing the demand for surgical instruments and other medical equipment for the hospitals. Ghulam Nabi and Sons became one of the most important manufacturers of surgical instruments, and Rafi, taking advantage of this windfall, secured a large number of contracts.<sup>12</sup>

During this period Rafi's social circle expanded, and he became well known among Lahore's elite due to his generous and friendly nature. He had a certain presence, a combination of strength and softness which enabled him to win not only the loyalty of his workers, but also the affection and cooperation of his friends. He had friends in political circles as well as in the bureaucracy. These friendships cut across the religious divide, including Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians. He moved in influential and powerful circles. In a few years, he had acquired so much prestige and wealth that he decided to expand his business further. He moved his factory to Ferozepur Road (opposite the present Qadafi Stadium, where presently Abu Bakar Block, Garden Town is situated) in a newly-built complex. Simultaneously, he moved into a new house near Mozang Chungi. The number of his emplyees rose from 12 to about 600 within a short period.

This was also a period of great political activity. Although demographically dominant, as has already been pointed out, Muslims of the Punjab were economically backward and had no businesses of any significance. It is amazing that in such unpropitious circumstances, a young man, barely a matriculate and coming from a backward area like Nivan Katra, was able to achieve such remarkable success within a few years. However, possessed by a restive soul, Rafi could not remain contended with the expansion of the business he had inherited. He diversified his interest by branching out into banking. The idea was translated into reality with the establishment of the Central Exchange Bank. This Muslim bank was established, in Northern India, in 1936. Rafi was its Chairman. First documentary evidence of this bank, which took off very quickly, is a letter to Quaid-i-Azam, from Mian Ihsan ilahi, Managing Director, dated 21 June 1938. He proudly claimed that the bank had become self-supporting in the short time of a year and three months and that the directors had declared 5% dividend after the completion of its 1st successful year.

At least two former employees of this bank, M. A. Aziz and Ahmed Mairaj,<sup>13</sup> testified the great advance that this bank made. Both these gentlemen, who were originally employees of Grindley's Bank and who were offered jobs at a higher salary by Rafi, in separate interviews, described the charm and dynamism of Rafi in luring them away from the prestigious English bank

Under the dynamic leadership of Rafi, the Central Exchange Bank progressed at a rapid pace. Within a short span of few years, it not only expanded, but also opened up branches in Lahore and other cities of the province. More important, the price of its stock, compared favourably with the prices of stocks of other banks during this period. One has to bear in mind that Rafi became its Chairman at the age of 27 and had to face tough competition from Hindu bankers. At the time, the Muslims of Punjab were neither aware of the significance of saving money, nor were they fully conversant with the modern banking system. An advertisement in the newspaper shows that Saeed Sehgal, who later became a big industrialist, appeared to have used the premises of the Central Exchange Bank for recruiting his staff.

From various advertisements it appears that the Bank started looking after the interests of the Muslims of North India. It urged the Muslims to contribute to the appeal of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League for its relief fund and send contributions to the Bank.<sup>16</sup>

Assuming control of a small business, in 1925, at a tender age of 16 years, he developed it into a big industrial concern. It was gigantic in those days. By 1931, he was able to put his industrial concern on modern lines. With a view to keeping himself abreast with the latest technology, he went to England in 1936 for advance studies in steel industry and surgical instruments production. There he underwent a training programmer at Cannings' Chrome and Chemicals Factory at Birmingham under the direction of Sir Canning, Lord Mayor and owner of various groups of industry. He also visited various steel and surgical industries in Europe.

While in England he "keenly studied the subject of Capital, Labour and Brain". <sup>17</sup> On his return, he introduced modern system of

<sup>13.</sup> Both joined Central Exchange Bank in 1947.

<sup>14.</sup> For details, please see appendix 4

<sup>15.</sup> See Appendix No 5

<sup>16.</sup> The Pakistan Times, 12, 15 April1947.

<sup>17,</sup> A.M. Burque, All-India Trade Directory and Who's' Who (Illustrated), Lahore.1942, p. 460

manufacturing surgical instruments and hospital appliances at his old factory at Mayo Road. Before moving to Mayo Road, he had sold foreign made goods, as he had only a showroom in Anarkali. Now he started selling mostly what his own factories produced. Start of the Second World War suddenly increased the demand for surgical instruments and he was able to secure big orders from hospitals all over India and abroad. This spurt to his business enabled him to build a huge factory at a cost of several lakhs of rupees at Ferozepur Road, which was considered to be one of the largest, well equipped-and most up-to-date factories in India. It was this factory that the Quaid visited in 1942 and which impressed him very much.

Rafi maintained good relations with his workers who were well paid. Because of the technical nature of the work, it was a very well ¬disciplined labour. Some of his old employees, when interviewed, described his work ethics in glowing terms. He was a generous and humane employer. The trust that he reposed in his employees was fully repaid in the form of hard work and the genial environment that prevailed in his factory. He did not harass his employees and provided friendly working conditions. The output of the factory was as great as was the demand for surgical instruments and other products. This could only have been achieved if the relations between employer and employees were cordial. Rafi's employees also pointed out that he was not a prejudiced person. Although a large number of his employees were Muslims, mostly Kashmiris, there were Hindus in responsible positions and his general manager was a German, whom he had brought from Europe.

During the war he supplied surgical instruments and hospital appliances to the army. This not only helped the war effort, but also brought in more contacts and more money. He was appointed non-official member of the Military Advisory Board by the Government of India and often advised the Government on the technicalities pertaining to surgical and other hospital appliances supplied to the troops on the front.<sup>18</sup>

Under the British Raj, Muslims were suppressed in every field to the extent that they were reduced to the level of Munshis (clerks), Thanedars (petty police officers), Patwaris (petty revenue officers) and Rangrootes (soldiers). The elite consisted merely of a small smattering of landholders and a handful of Jagirdar (feudal) families. Most of the Muslims were caught in the clutches of Hindu Banyas (money lenders).

The shackles of meager sustenance had nearly broken their spirit.

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 anyone 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.

He was convinced that the Muslims not only need to be economically well off, but that they also needed an English newspaper, which could effectively counter the propaganda against their political aspiration. There were Urdu papers which were doing a good job. On 21 June 1938, Mian Ihsan Ilahi, Managing Director of the Central Exchange Bank Ltd., wrote a letter to the' Quaid-i-Azam, suggesting that the opening of the Bank had, "to some extent fulfilled," the necessity of the Muslims of Northern India, but that "there remains another one which is of still vital importance and this is an English daily paper." He informed the Quaid that "some colleagues of our Bank have decided to form a separate limited company, with an authorized capital of Rs. 1, 00,000.00 divided into 10,000 shares of Rs. 10 each fully paid up."

He requested the Quaid for his patronage and a message for such a venture.<sup>19</sup> such a move was suggested even before the start of daily Dawn from Delhi in 1941.

From the Desk Diary of the Quaid, it appears that Rafi had frequent meetings with the Quaid. During these meetings he must have presented his suggestions for the welfare of the Muslim community. In one of his letters he recalled their discussion about the start of an English paper.

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. As I have said before, my services are at your disposal for the advance-

ment 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 are able to find there more contributions to raise the guarantee fund of Rs. one lakh" 20

## On 16 April 1944, he again wrote to the Quaid,

"Since I wrote to you last, I have given further consideration to the question of organising a first class English daily in Lahore. After studying various aspects of this question I feel that the best course is to have [a] printing press of our own. I have discussed the matter with Mr. Abdul Hamid of "The Eastern Times" and he advises me that it would cost approximately Rs. 50,000 to purchase the requisite machinery.

"I have asked Mr. Hamid to submit a detailed scheme to you. If the proposal meets with your approval I shall be able to render some help in tills connection. "21

However, it appears that not much progress was made in this connection and he was getting impatient. On 5 July 1944, he again wrote to the Quaid,

"The scheme [for an] English daily for which you did so much during your last visit to Lahore has not made any progress in your absence. Intimation from bank has reached me that the cheque drawn in tills connection has been credited, but I wonder why you delayed its presentation. It is my earnest desire to see a first rate English daily of the League functioning from this Province and I pray for the success of your efforts.

"My brother Taqi wishes to be associated with the newspaper scheme, and I shall therefore be pleased to

<sup>20.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam, 11 April 1944 - Syed Razi Wasti, My Dear Qaid-i¬-Azam, Lahore 1994. pp 21-22

<sup>21.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam. 16 April 1944 Ibid p. 25

have the 'contribution as from both of us.<sup>22</sup>

The start of a first class English daily, owned and controlled by the Muslims, was so close to his heart that he went about this business in right earnest. He discussed the matter with his friends and pondered over the cost of the machinery and other relevant matters, He did not hesitate to offer further contribution towards the cost of machinery besides his offer of Rs. 25,000 made in an earlier letter.

The Quaid-i-Azam was very appreciative of this gesture and wrote on 12 July 1944,

"I have not given up the scheme for an English daily to be published in Lahore, and 1 will talk to you further on the matter when I am in Lahore. 1 hay noted that your brother associates with your contribution 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.

Rafi contributed 25 percent towards the production of the English paper thus the appearance of the Pakistan Times in February 1947 must have gladdened his heart.

Despite his multifarious activities and social engagements, Rafi never stopped thinking and planning for a future prosperous Pakistan. Whenever he had a new idea, he approached the Quaid for advice and guidance. On 21 November 1944, he wrote,

'A friend of mine who met you at Delhi on Sunday last [has] spoken to me ahout the Chemical Fertilizer's Scheme. I wish to discuss the matter with you and have your advice and guidance. I shall be able to spare rupees four lakhs towards the initial cost of the machinery and make satisfactory arrangements to finance the scheme in Consultation with you.,<sup>23</sup>

He also informed the Quaid that he would be visiting Delhi and, If convenient, he could see him then.. He considered the matter so important that he offered to come earlier, if so desired<sup>24</sup>. The Quaid was

<sup>22.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam. 5 July 1944 - Ibid p. 26

<sup>23.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam, 21 November 1944 - Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>24.</sup> Ibid.

Kind enough to meet him on 30 November 1944 at 12.30.25

Although the Quaid-i-Azam was deeply involved in negotiations with the British government and the Congress on matters relating to the establishment of Pakistan, he never lost sight of the economic future of Pakistan. He was fully conscious that for a strong and prosperous Pakistan, healthy economic and industrial development was essential and accordingly he took steps to lay the foundation of an economic policy for Pakistan. Writers on the Pakistan Movement and biographers of Quaid-i-Azam have either ignored this aspect of his extremely" busy life or have paid scant attention to it. Most of the books written so far deal with the political or religious aspects of Pakistan Movement. Khalid Shamsul Hasan's recent book, entitled *Quaid-i-Azam's Unrealized Dream*<sup>26</sup> deals with some aspects of the thinking of the leaders of the Pakistan Movement on economic problems.

It was in December 1943 at the Karachi session of the All India Muslim League that a resolution to set up a Planning Sub Committee was passed. This was moved by Z. H. Lari.  $^{27}$  It stated that;

"Whereas, as the first step towards consolidating the strength of the Muslims of the Pakistan areas and preparing them for the heavy and onerous responsibilities inherent in the status of an independent sovereign State, the All-India Muslim League has, with the support and cooperation of the Muslims, succeeded in establishing its Governments in all the Pakistan Provinces, which has naturally opened up vast opportunities to the Muslim representatives in the Assemblies and Cabinets for service to their people in the provincial sphere of activities like education, agriculture, irrigation, providing facilities for labour, economic holdings and fair rent for tenants.

"And whereas it is acutely realised that neither the people nor the Provincial States, which have for long been denied 'opportunities for a fair and natural devel-

<sup>27.</sup> Born at Lar District Gorakhpur D.P. (India), graduated from Aligarh University with First class First in M.A. History: LL.B from Aligarh University in 1930; enrolled Advocate Hight Court in 1948; elected Member of U.P. Legislative Assembly in 1937; became Deputy Leader, Muslim League Party in the Assembly in 1937; re-elected to U.P. Assembly 1946; and Deputy Leader of Opposition 1946-48; Leader of Opposition July 1948 to May 1950, elected to Indian Constituent Assembly in January, 1948; migrated to Pakistan in May, 1950, appointed Additional Judge, Sind Chief Court, December 1952; resigned and joined Karachi Bar.

opment due to historical political and, in some instances, communal considerations, will be able to ameliorate their lot to any appreciable degree, or effectively function as a State without a gigantic and coordinated drive in tile field of economic Reconstruction and State industrialisation.

"This session of the All-India Muslim League hereby authorises the President to appoint a committee with powers to prepare a comprehensive scheme for a five year programmer for economic and social uplift: State industrialisation in the Pakistan zones; the introduction of free primary basic education; reform of the land system; stabilisation of rent; security of tenure; improvement in the condition of labour and agriculture, and control of money lending". <sup>28</sup>

The resolution hoped that the Committee would submit its report as early as possible, and an interim report not later than June 1944 to the Working Committee for necessary action Theron.

Lari put the blame for Muslim backwardness in education and economic disparity on big zamindars and advocated the abolition of feudalism to protect the rights of the kisans (tillers of soil). It is significant that as early as 1943 League leaders were talking about the abolition of "the class of big zamindars." He stressed the importance of agriculture in the national economy of those areas. The need of "the hour," he said, "was to abolish the class of big zamindars and protect the rights of the kisans"

# Lari emphasised four main parts of the resolution;

"(1) Solid and firm Muslim Ministries should be established with the help of the Muslims in their majority Provinces. (2) A practical programme should be chalked out for the economic and industrial advancement of the Muslims in India. (3) An extensive plan should be made for the educational and general uplift of the Muslims. (4) A five year plan for the industrial development of the Pakistan Provinces should be adopted. ", 29

Explaining the establishment of ministries, Lari stressed that the aim was not to gratify the political aspirations of a few individuals, but to improve the social, educational, and economic condition of the people. He demanded that elementary education be made free and compulsory, so that every inhabitant of Pakistan would benefit from the benefits of education. The Muslim League did not wish to retain the kind of education imparted by the British.

"We will arrange our own curriculum in the way ordered by the Holy Quran, and as suits us best according to times." Lari emphasised.

Talking about industries, he said that state industries were to be established so that the labourers got a fair deal. To find ways and means of achieving all this would be the duty of the proposed Committee. He Hoped that the Committee would go through the various questions relating to the uplift of the Muslims and make suitable recommendations.

Lari was acutely conscious of the unfortunate state of the Muslim kisans and expressed the desire of the League leadership to better their Lot. He emphasised:

You are no doubt aware that the biggest portion of the population of this Subcontinent lives in villages. Our kisans are in' a bad way, they never get any education of social benefits. Our big landlords are the creation of British machinations, and the Muslim League does not desire to back them. We have to think of ways to lower land taxes, so that the poor kisan gets an opportunity of improving his lot. We desire to remove his restlessness, so that he can enjoy the fruits of his land in peace and prosperity. Our committee will work out plans on how a tiller of the soil may get the best from his rights, the foundation of all this will be laid down upon Islamic principles, in all our schemes and actions the benefit of the proletariat will ever be kept in sight. <sup>30</sup>

### Tamizuddin<sup>31</sup> seconded the resolution and stated;

"That nowhere in the world was the standard of living so low as In India, and no one could bring about millennium by merely Preparing a comprehensive plan. In order to find the cure, they should first ascertain the disease. The disease was political subjugation and so there could be no economic Progress until this subjugation was removed. There was no short-cut to the desired millennium, and their first duty therefore was to win independence and Pakistan simultaneously.

He further said that if the Hindus really wanted to have independence for India, they should join hands with the Muslim league. If they were not prepared to do so, one should conclude that it was the Hindus who were standing in the way of the independence of the country.

He added that the liquidation of illiteracy was of prime importance in any scheme of improvement. But he was afraid that not much could be done in that direction so long as India remained a subject country. The Bengal Minister then referred to the new world conditions that might emerge after the War was won and the need for a comprehensive economic and social plan. It was, therefore, quite opportune that a committee should at once undertake the task of planning ahead and drawing up schemes for the future.

#### He was of the view that;

31 (1889-1963) Born in Bengal, became active in Muslim politics of the province at an early age. He was elected to the Bengal provincial assembly in 1937 from a Muslim seat and in 1938 joined the Krishak Praja-Muslim League coalition government under the leadership of Fazlul Haq. After the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan in 1 947, Tamizuddin left Bengal and moved to Karachi, the capital of the new country. The Muslim League elected him deputy president of the Constituent Assembly. Quaidi-Azam was the assembly's president. After Quaid's death in September 1948, Tamizuddin became the Constituent Assembly's president. On the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by, Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad in 1954, Tamizuddin filed a suit in the Sind High Court and won the case. The Sind Court's judgement that the governor-general had acted unconstitutionally in dismissing the Constituent Assembly was overturned 011 appeal by the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Mohammad Munir in writing the majority opinion, argued in favor of the government on the basis of the "doctrine of necessity, II or the judicial need to rectify and act, even if it is a priori unlawful, once a new government has been put into place. Tamizuddin Khan versus the Government of Pakistan remains a landmark case in the legal history of Pakistan. In 1962, he was unanimously elected speaker of the national assembly that had been instituted under the 1962 constitution. He died in 1963

"The essential industries should be run by the State and there should be complete industrialisation of the country. We shall not be able to create conditions under which the state can own all the essential industries unless we are able to get our independence. Money can come from the same source from which it came in Soviet Russia. He hoped that the Committee to be appointed would deal with these issues.

Hamid Nizami<sup>32</sup> supporting the resolution, stated that it was necessary to pass it for the sake of the all-round progress of Muslims in the entire Pakistan area. He emphasized that the Muslim League must show the people that it was an organization not of landlords, zamindars and jagirdars. But a body devoted to the cause of labourers and peasants, who formed the majority in the body politic.in his view the resolution sought to make the Muslims self-sufficient, and they would not have to rely on Hindu India for anything.

Engaging in wishful thinking he hoped that the seting up of Muslim ministries did not mean that friends and relatives of the ministers be provided with lucrative jobs. In his opinion the ministers were there to serve the people, especially the poor. He emphasized that:

"Mussalmans are a nation of poor people. We must therefore first attend to the demand of our poorer brethren; we have to think of their needs, we have no time now for attending to the rich landlords. Let us open all doors of the All India Muslim League, so that poor People and the proletariat can enter it and realise that league IS the one and only panacea for their needs I would request the workers of the League to go amongst the poor and give them' relief 90 percent of our Muslim brethren are poor people. Without bringing them into its pale our League cannot succeed truly in its aima,

The Quaid-i-Azam commended the resolution. He said that the responsibility of selecting the personnel of the committee was his. The experience of such committees in the past, he said, had been that people came forward merely for the sake of publicity. After their appointments they hardly did any work. He would not favour such a com-

<sup>32</sup> Born on 3 October, 1915 at Sangla Hill; small railway junction not far from Lyallpur. He was a self-made man and his early life was a great struggle. While still a student at Islamia College, Lahore he founded along with other, the Punjab Muslim student Feder-

mittee. He Asked those members of the League to come forward who were prepared to carry out a strenuous task - men confident, capable and fully devoted to the task entrusted to them.

The Quaid hoped that the report should be submitted to the Working Committee within next six months, and members would be prepared to devote their whole time to the work. He announced that he would choose the personnel of the Committee from the names received by him. When put to the vote; the resolution was carried unanimously.

No doubt the Quaid-i-Azam was the moving spirit behind this as he immediately started consulting various persons from all the provinces and Muslim League leaders to suggest names for a committee for economic planning. From the Punjab, he asked Mian Bashir Ahmed to suggest some names for such a committee. Mian Bashir Ahmed recommended a number of People, including a lukewarm recommendation of Rafi's name.<sup>33</sup>

The names of the committee announced the by Quaid-i-Azam were as follows:

- 1. Khan Bahadur Mian Afzal Hussain, Vice Chancellor Punjab University, Lahore.
  - 2. Mr. M. Rafi Butt, 35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.

ation. After getting' his degree, he chose journalism as his career. He Worked for a short time in the Press branch of the Punjab Govt. After receiving training under a scheme sponsored by the Punjab Govt. he also worked for some time on the staff of National Congress; an Urdu daily started by Dr. Satya pal, who represented the liberal wing of the Provincial Congress; became the manager of Lahore office of Orient News Agency; used the resources of the Orient News Agency for projection of League point of view and for helping the cause of Pakistan. He was elected President of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation in 1942. First issue of weekly Nawa-i \_ Waqt was dated 29.03.1940, later it became the daily. On 22.07.1942 it came out with a prayer and message from the Quaidi-Azam. Hameed Nizami became editor of the daily Nawa-i- Waqt at the age of 29. He made Nawa-i- Waqt with all its limitation a. powerful newspaper for the cause of Muslim League and Pakistan Movement. He was clear-headed, methodical. And shrewd. With these qualities he made himself a legend;' He rendered lofty service to the cause of Pakistan during. The pre-election period, of 1946 and after. He died in 1962.

33. Mian Bashir Ahmed to Quaid-i-Azam, 18 January 1944. M.' Dear Qaid-i-Azam. Op.cit pp. 41-47. Mian Bashir Ahmed (1893-t971), a prominent Muslim League leader and Secretary, Reception Committee, Lahore Session of All India Muslim League, 1940, editor, Humayun a monthly journal of great literary merit; M. L. A. Punjab Assembly, Member working committee, All India Muslim League, 1942-47, he also visited Raft Butt's factory at. Ferozepur Road along with the Quaid-i-Azam

- 3. Khawaja Bashir Bukhsh. Mcleod Road, Lahore.
- 4. Sir Mohammad Nawaz Khan, of Kot Fateh Khan, Punjab.
- 5. Mr. Abdul Kadir Khan, M.A. General Secretary, N.W.R Muslim Employees Association, Faiz Manzil, 31-A, Queen's Road, Lahore.

## 6. Malik Omer Hayat Khan.

The sheer fact that the Quaid chose Rafi out of a long list suggests that he considered Rafi eminently qualified to serve on this important Committee. Furthermore, the Quaid had ample faith in Rafi Acquitting himself well of the responsibilities assigned to the members of the Committee.

The first meeting of the Planning Committee was held on 3 September 1944 and was followed by other meetings. Fifteen sub committees were also appointed for different sectors of the economy. Once the Planning Committee was set up, the Quaid directed it "to find material for reconstruction of Muslim education, Muslim industry and commerce on a sound basis", during his only meeting with the committee. On 5 November, 1944, the Quaid said:

"It is not our purpose to make the rich richer and to increase wealth in the hands of a few individuals. We should aim to improving the general standard of living amongst the masses". He further emphasized that "our idea should not be capitalistic" and the interests and welfare of the people as a whole should be kept constantly in mind."

In reply to the criticism in a section of the press that the League had not so far taken any constructive step for the economic uplift of the Muslims, Rafi said, tithe main object of the Muslim League Planning Committee is to draw up a program for the economic regeneration of the Muslim Community. "

While lauding the progress made by the Central Exchange Bank at the annual function of the Bank, he expressed his satisfaction over the fact that,

> "Muslims are slowly awakening to the call of the hour and paying due attention to trade and commerce which in future would enable them, to move in step with Hindus and Sikhs.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34.</sup> Inqilab, 25 January 1945.

Addressing a meeting of the Macro Publicity Service Rafi said

"It is my goal to establish such institutions in the industrial and' commercial sector which will have a very meager rate of profit but the wages and facilities of the labourers will be of the maximum Level. This is the only way in which Pakistan can progress and the people of Pakistan throw off the yoke of poverty.<sup>35</sup>

These sentiments are all the more laudable given that the two world wars had totally transformed the world's political landscape. The. 1940s were a period of political upheaval and anarchy, and the world was experiencing acute economic depression.

He made concrete efforts to establish commercial ties with the USA by extensively touring and meeting "captains of industry" for a period of six months. *The Civil & Military Gazette* published the following news item about Rafi Butt's visit to the U.S.A.<sup>36</sup>

"NEW YORK, April 14. --- Mr. Raft Butt, an Indian business magnate from Lahore and member of one of the industrial planning panels set up by the Government of India, arrived here yesterday for an industrial tour of the country, which will last several months.

"Mr. Butt, who owns big hospital supplies and china porcelain factories, will discuss the possibilities of post-war trade and study the latest technique in the development of American industry, particularly in regard to cold storage and refrigeration methods. He plans to open a chain of cold storage plants in the Punjab.

"In the course of the tour, he will also study air cooling and air conditioning methods.

"After his American tour, Mr. Butt will go to Britain to study industrial and post-war trade matters.

On his return, Rafi wrote to the Quaid-i-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

<sup>35.</sup> lnqilab, 22 February 1945.

<sup>36.</sup> The Civil & Military Gazette, 15 April, 1945.

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 achievement. 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."<sup>37</sup>

In 1946, Rafi went to Germany, as one of 'the delegates "of an Indian Industrial delegation to select machinery for India. Malik Taj Uddin, General Manager, Reuters and Associated .Press, gave a dinner in his honour at Falettie's. This was attended, among others, by Syed Nur Ahmed, Col, Majerikar, Major Elahi Bakhsh, Mr. Sachdev, Khan Bahadur Noor Mohammad, Nawab Mamdot, Mumtaz Daultana and Mian Iftikhar Uddin" Major Elahi Bakhsh, Mr. Sachdev, Khan Bahadur Noor Mohammad, Nawab Mamdot, Mumtaz Daultana and Mian Iftikhar Uddin" Major Elahi Bakhsh, Mr. Sachdev, Khan Bahadur Noor Mohammad, Nawab Mamdot, Mumtaz Daultana and Mian Iftikhar Uddin" Major Elahi Bakhsh, Mr. Sachdev, Khan Bahadur Noor Mohammad, Nawab Mamdot, Mumtaz Daultana and Mian Iftikhar Uddin

Thus even before the establishment of Pakistan, Rafi' skeen industrial and business sense · urged him to suggest to the Indians the imperative of developing close business relations with America. On his return from the USA, he emphasised the necessity. Of exploring the American market, in a statement to the press, he stated,

"The reconversion of American industry has been so rapid that some of the industrialists with whom I came into close contact expressed the view that a certain amount of capital equipment for export would be available within six to nine months.

"American industry," according' to him, "was a large domestic market. Before the war the United States export trade was' not more than 9 % of the total production and naturally, the American industrialists were not export oriented. But the war had changed that position. The United States, as the principal arsenal of the Allies

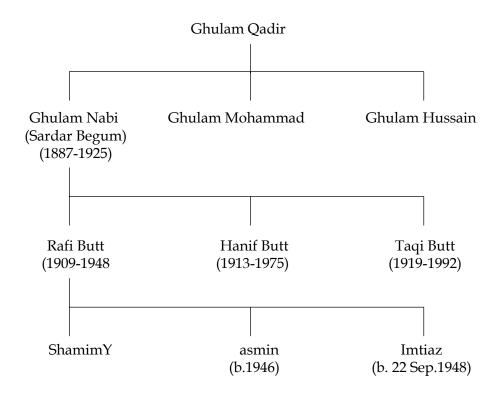
<sup>37.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam, 2 October 1945 - My Dear Qaid-i-Azam am, op.cu. pp.34, also see appendix-9

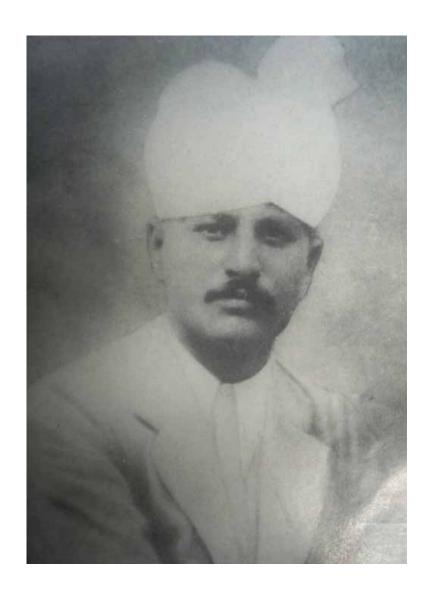
<sup>38.</sup> Nawa-i-Waqt, 2/4 May 1946

had To produce a major portion of war material to meet the demand of the Allies."

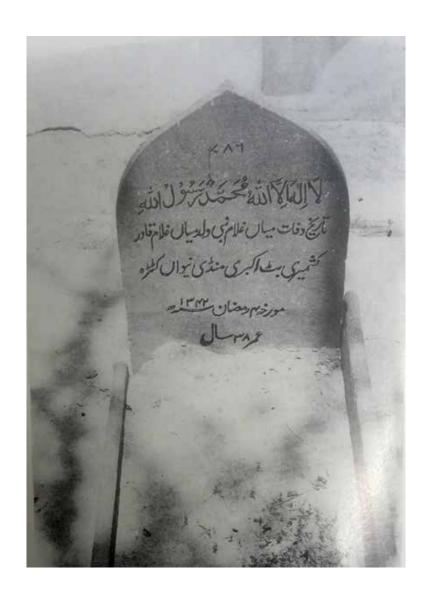
"As regards consumer goods, conversion had already taken place in most of the industries and from what I observed I can say that most of the goods other than textiles will be ready within three to four Months .and a part of it .will be available for .export."

"As it is evidently difficult for Britain to spare immediately capital equipment of essential consumer goods for India, I would urge the British Government to take a realistic view of Indian industrialists and businessmen to go ahead with their plans for the industrialization of the country."

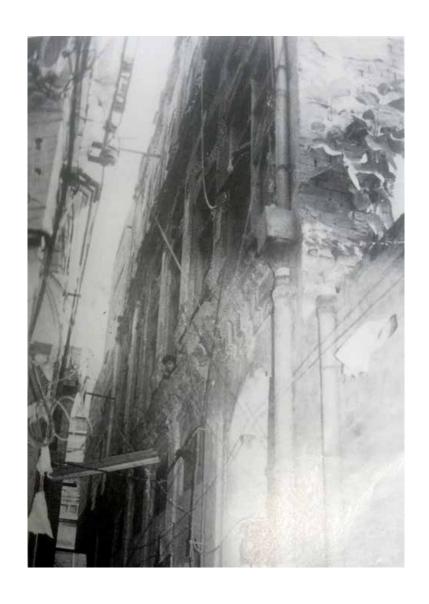




Ghulam Nabi Founder of Ghulam Nabi & Sons



Grave of Mian Ghulam Nabi Father of Rafi



House in Nivan Katra



Govt. Islamia High School Sheranwala Gate Lahore Rafi Butt studied up to Matriculation Examination



Rafi



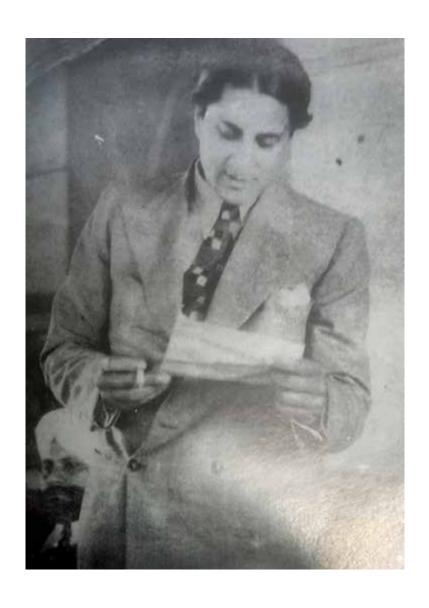
Zaitoon Begum Wife of Rafi With daughter Yasmin



Rafi



Rafi



Rafi Chairman Central Exchange Bank Lahore Reading the Annual Report of the Bank



Col. Mcdonald Director of Production Medical Division With Deputy Director of Production on his visit to Ghulam Nabi & Sons Works.



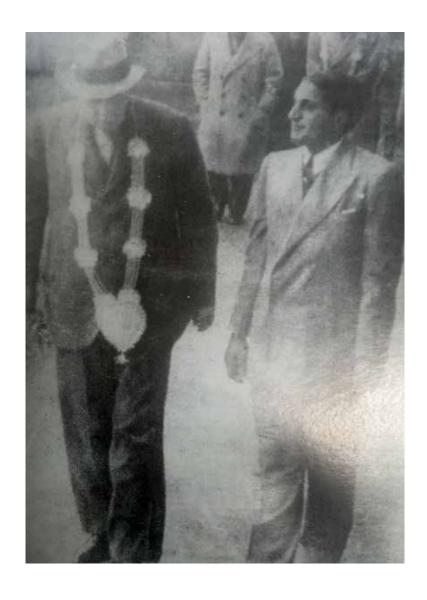
Commander-in Chief for India after his visit to Ghulam Nabi & Sons stall at War Services Exhibition (April 1944)



Khizar Hayat Khan Premier Punjab visiting the Ghulam Nabi & Sons Hydraulic Operation Table on show at the War Services Exhibition at Lahore



His Excellency Governor of Punjab, visiting the stall of Ghulam Nabi & Sons on the Occasion of the Exhibition.



A British Medical Delegation represented by Mr.H.S. Souttar Maj. Gen. Bradfield, Lt. Gen, Hood, Col. Robinson, Gen. Sir Gordon jolly is on their way to inspect the Ghulam Nabi & Sons Factories.



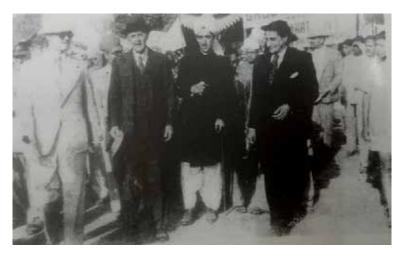
Honorable Sir Manohar Lal, finance minister Punjab govt. Inspecting the Ghulam Nabi & Sons Hydraulic Operation Table.



Sir James Pitkethley examining surgical product, While on a visit to Ghulam Nabi and Sons.



H.S. Souttar Mission Group of U.K. on a visit to the Ghulam Nabi & Sons stall at War Services Exhibition Lahore (April 1944)



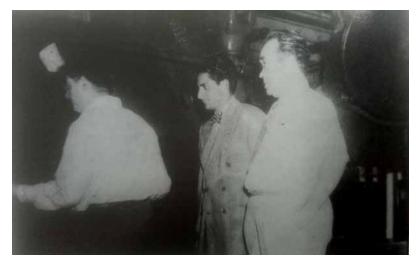
His Excellency Governor of Punjab and Khizar Hayat Tiwana Visiting the stall of Ghulam Nabi & Sons on the occasion of the Exhibition



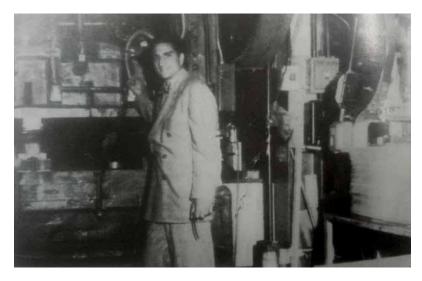
A tea party hosted by Rafi in honour of Abdul Hayee, Education & Health Minister of Punjab.



A dinner hosted by Rafi in honour of Sardar Shaukat Hayat khan, Abdul Hayee ,Mamdot and Baldev Singh.



A member of the delegation of U.K. on a visit to the surgical Unit plant accompanied by Rafi.



Rafi standing near Break Stamping Press.



Factory Scene



Factory Scene





Factory Scene

Factory Scene



A Scene of Ghulam Nabi and Sons.



Another scene of Ghulam Nabi and Sons.



Governor of the Punjab with Rafi inspecting Ghulam Nabi & Sons High Pressure Steam Sterilizer on show at war Services Exhibition at Lahore (April 1944)





Rafi at a Reception

# QUAID-I-AZAM AND RAFI BUTT

'Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country. "

- John F. Kennedy Inaugural Address 20 January 1961

The earliest evidence of Rafi and his associates having corresponded with the Quaid, is a letter from Mian Ihsan Ilahi, Managing Director) the Central Exchange Bank Ltd, dated 21 June 1938<sup>39</sup> A report in the Civil & Military Gazette, dated 3 December 1942 mentions the Quaid's visit to M/s. Ghulam Nabi & Sons, Surgical ¬Works, Ferozepur Road and there is a photograph to further authenticate this report. <sup>40</sup> From these it appears that Rafi came in contact with the Quaid in his late 205 or early 305. The Quaid had a soft corner for young people and he certainly appreciated a bright go-getter. Rafi must have impressed him as he evinced keen interest in this young man's industrial Concerns.

<sup>39.</sup> See appendix No.2 *Q.A.P.* F. 910

<sup>40.</sup> The Civil & Military Gazette, 3 December 1942

That the two had developed a close relationship seems evident from the fact that the Quaid came to dinner At Rafi`s home.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> demonstrates he admired the Quaid so much that he named him as the sole beneficiary I the life insurance policy he took out when he visited the United States. This in 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 especially long distance.

Another incident described by Kh Habibullah (born in 1925) prominent Muslim League and. Kashmiri leader, also strengthens the above point of Rafi's affection. Kh. Habibullah was a student at the law College and was one of the student body guards of the Quaid. These guards took upon themselves the responsibility of looking after security arrangements during the Quaid's visit to Lahore. Kh. Habibullah recollected one incident that he witnessed while some student were sitting on the lawn of Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot (1906-1969).

The Punjab, Muslim Chamber of Commerce had invited the Quaid to address one of its sessions. The executive committee consisted of, President Sir Syed Maratb Ali" vice president Naseer Ahmed Sheikh with 10 executive committee", members" an, honorary secretary, an honorary treasurer and an assistant secretary. 'Rafi was, a member of the executive committee.

To discuss the arrangements for the meeting, the executive Committee met at the residence of Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot. They, discussed about a souvenir to be presented to the Quaid. Rafi suggested that a golden tray be presented to him, but Sir Maratab Ali who was presiding over the meeting disagreed on the grounds that it would be expensive and suggested that a gold-plated German Silver tray be presented instead. Rafi argued against this suggestion and even Offered to pay for the tray himself. When he was unable to convince the President he lost his temper, and leaving the meeting, rushed out towards his car. Khawaja Habibullah described the scene thus: "We were in the

<sup>41.</sup> *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore report dated 1 April 1944 and also *Quaid's Desk Diary*. Ibid, p.56

<sup>42.</sup> Rafi Butt to the Quaid-i-Azam dated. 2 October 1945. Ibid pp 34-36.

lawn and didn't know what happened inside. But later on we heard about it. What we saw was that Nawab Iftikhar Hussain 'was running after Rafi Butt and he caught hold of him when he was about to sit in his car. We heard the words. I don't want to be a party to this fraud which is being played to my Quaid. It was after" great persuasion that Rafi Butt returned' to the meeting." Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan, brother of Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot, who was also a student and was present there at that moment, corroborated Khawaja Habibullah statement and confirmed its accuracy.

The Quaid appears to have trusted him so much that in his letter dated 12 July 1944 he asked Rafi Butt to contact Naseer A. Sheikh whose cheque could not be cashed because of some discrepancy in date. The Quaid informed Rafi that the Sheikh had been negligent in replying to his letter.<sup>43</sup> On his return from the U.S.A., Rafi sent, as a gift, two neckties for the Quaid and a few trinkets for MISS Jinnah. The Quaid was not now two accept gifts yet it is significant that he gladly accepted these gifts from Rafi and thanked him.<sup>44</sup> Gifts of this nature are usually offered to close friends.

The Quaid also recommended to Mir Laik Ali, the Prime Minister of the State of Hyderabad Deccan; the inclusion of Rafi's name 'in the list of contributors to Al-Meezan Corporation, which was set up with a capital of a couple of crores. $^{45}$ 

Their correspondence further proves that despite the obvious Difference in their ages and stature the Quaid appreciated. Rafi a good Deal. That explains why the Quaid appointed him a member of the All India Muslim League Planning Committee. He was also handpicked by the Quaid to head the Steel and Metallurgy Sub-Committee, and participated in other committees of the Planning Committee. This Planning Committee was established to formulate, the economic infrastructure of the proposed areas comprising the prospective State of Pakistan. Rafi also lived up to the Quaid's expectations as the sub-Committee that was chaired by him submitted a well-considered and thorough report.<sup>46</sup>

A draft report was prepared and submitted to the Quaid late in 1945. One of its main points in the report concerned the vast material

<sup>43.</sup> Quaid-i-. Azam to Rafi Butt dated 12 July 1944. My Dear Qaid-i-Azam op. cit. p.27

<sup>44.</sup> Quaid-i-Azam to Rafi Butt dared 30 September 1945. Ibid p.33

<sup>45.</sup> Quaid-i-. Azam to Nawab Mir Liak Ali dated 24 April 1944. Q.A.P. File No. F. 696/38 pp. 41-43

<sup>46.</sup> Khalid Shamsul Hasan, Op.cit

resources of Pakistan. On the basis of this subcommittee's report, the ¬Quaid told the Associated Press of America (8 November 1945) that there was a great future for Pakistan, with its still untapped iron, petroleum, sulphur, coal and other mineral deposits, many of which had already been mapped. The committee report also stressed the need for the utilisation of human and material resources: The material resources are for the state to exploit III the interest of strengthening the standard of living of all the people and not for a small fraction of people for personal gain and fortune. "The Committee report also highlighted the following points:

"If industry is to be for the public good, equitable distribution of wealth through state intervention is unavoidable. Industry is a social function carried out in the interests of all and must be regulated so as to progressively eliminate the elements of private profit. There are many handicaps in the way of the actual cultivator. The most important of these is the existence of intermediaries of the types of Zamindars, Talukdars, etc. The ultimate loss to the country by the subordination of the interests of millions to the interest of the few has been immeasurably great."

Rafi was full of ideas and had a burning desire to contribute the future industrial and Economic development of Pakistan. He was offering suggestions to the Quaid to start an English newspaper<sup>47</sup>, establish a fertilizer plant<sup>48</sup>, the need to counter the negative Indian propaganda against Pakistan, to expand the industrial and economic interests of Pakistan and to establish close collaboration with American industrial magnates.<sup>49</sup> The Quaid must obviously have been tremendously impressed with these imaginative and intelligent ideas of Rafi. Surrounded as he was by politicians and feudals, they must have come to him as a breath of fresh air. Of course, there were industrialists and businessmen like the Ispahanis, the Haroons, the Adamjees and others, but from Punjab Rafi was one of the top-most "industrialists and businessmen. He was able to make practical and useful suggestions. His sincerity of purpose and professional acumen were above reproach.

Rafi certainly had political ambitions. He fought an election for membership of the Lahore Municipal Corporation in 1946 and won comfortably. He defeated his rival Abdul Hamid securing 28

<sup>47.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam dated 11 April 1944 and 5 July. 1944 lbid p. 21-22. & 26.

<sup>48.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam dated 21 November 1944. Ibid P 28.

<sup>49.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam dated 2 October 1945. Ibid. pp34-36.

votes against 17 votes from the Trade and Commerce constituency seat No.2.<sup>50</sup> He intended to play a role in provincial politics on the Muslim League ticket and in this connection wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam about his plans.<sup>51</sup> What the Quaid advised him is, however, not known, as the reply to this letter has not as yet been traced. But one can safely assume that the Quaid had chosen him for a higher purpose. His interest in Rafi's contributions to the industrial and economic sectors indicates that he wanted Rafi to devote all his energies to the industrial and economic development of Pakistan.

Rafi remained in touch with the Quaid after the establishment of Pakistan on 14 August 1947. On 15 September 1947 he wrote to the Quaid from Karachi that he wanted to discuss "some problems.... Personally. He wanted to see the Quaid in Lahore during his visit there but as the Quaid was very busy he "did not like to encroach upon his valuable and busy time." He wanted to take one of his business friends who had arrived from Delhi to see the Quaid.<sup>52</sup> We have not found any reply to this letter. Knowing the punctilious nature of the Quaid, it can safely be assumed that either Rafi "was granted an interview or a reply must have been sent.

However, on 21 October 1947, Rafi addressed a long letter to the Quaid.. As this is a very important letter which shows how deeply Rafi felt about the state of affairs at that time and how keen he was to makeHis contribution towards Pakistan's welfare and prosperity, it is quoted In full:

It is long since I had the opportunity of paying my respects to you, For the most part of the past two years I have been abroad Twice I went to the United States and once to Europe and Germany an Industrial delegate of the Government of India. I write these lines to send my respectful congratulations to you on your historic achievement. I hope under your guidance the nation will successfully pull through the present crises which our enemies have forced on us. But let me unfold my heart to you. I regret that the economic condition of the country should be deteriorating day by day and I am afraid that the economic structure will crumble down unless immediate steps are taken to improve banking facilities, restore

<sup>50.</sup> The Eastern Times, 16 January 1946.

<sup>51.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam, 2 October 1945. My Dear Qaid-i. Azam opcit.pp 34-36

<sup>52.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid 15 September 1947. Q.A.P. File No. F.25 (2)-G.G.I47 (Vol. 1) (Confidential).

the transport system and produce substitute of coal. I would suggest that the Government of Pakistan may start an industrial and commercial Finance Corporation on the lines of similar organisations in the United States to afford assistance to bonafide businessmen.

"The refugee problem, which has no parallel in history, is taxing our resources to the utmost. The Provincial Ministry is faced with a gigantic task and no doubt they are doing all they can to cope with the situation but it is a pity that there is none among them who can appreciate the viewpoint of a businessman or industrialist who with his initiative, enterprise and imagination may take up the reorganisation of the old abandoned factories and formulate new schemes to restore the economic life of tile province.

"People are fed up with the way in which matters concerning industry and commerce are being handled. Unemployment is growing causing widespread discontent and if the situation is not controlled immediately worse days may be in store for us. At a time like this, in my humble opinion, we should not hesitate to seek expert foreign advice and assistance to overcome the economic crises.

During my long stay in the United States I have established Valuable contact with important businessmen and industrialists in that country. My dear Qaid Azam if you feel that I can make a useful Contribution to the restoration of the economic life of the nation by Drawing on my contacts in the United States I am prepared to go to

U.S.A. at your command but at my expense to assist Isphani in the economic field for a year or so and I do feel with confidence of useful and good results. My services are completely at your disposal."

At the time when the country was in the throes of birth and was faced with innumerable problems, the Quaid-i-Azam and other leaders were striving to establish a government, provide succour to a beleaguered people, overcome the machinations of a treacherous former Viceroy and stabilise a non-existent economy, it needed a man of sterling quality to come forward and offer the Quaid the type of advice which is contained in the above letter. Rafi not only analysed the situa-

tion, but made extremely practical and constructive suggestions about business and industry, the need for foreign expertise and the solution to an immense refugee problem. He did not burden the Quaid with his demands. He did not ask for anything for himself. Knowing the precarious economic position of the Government of Pakistan, he offered to go abroad "at his own expense;" and secure help from the contacts which he had established during his sojourn in Europe and America. The Quaid duly appreciated this offer. He underlined the relevent sentences and words and immediately asked his assistant private secretary to give Rafi the time and date for an interview. Farrukh Amin, Assistant Secretary to the Quaid informed Raft on 27 October 1947 that the Quaid would like to see him on 28 October 1947 at 10:30 a.m. at Government House, Lahore.

It may be mentioned here in passing that the Quaid was extremely busy and was not in good health at this time. In the National Archives there are five thick files containing requests from some 447 persons who sought an interview with the Quaid. Some of persons were quite prominent, but he refused them all.<sup>53</sup>

However, the Quaid could not see Rafi, as he was extremely busy. Rafi sent him a letter on 28 October 1947,<sup>54</sup> informing him that after waiting for an hour he had left as the Quaid was otherwise occupied. It seems strange that a person like the Quaid could not keep his appointment. He was very particular about such things.

The reason for the Quaid's preoccupation becomes clear when one reads Alan Campbell-Johnson's Mission with Mountbatten. It he described in detail that on 28 October 1947, Indian troops were ordered to go to Kashmir by Mountbatten. It was a rude shock to the Quaid, who had to take immediate steps to counter this nefarious move. He ordered General Gracey, acting Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army to take some action in this connection. Gracey contacted Field Marshal Auchinleck, Supreme Commander, in Delhi and on his advice, refused to obey the Quaid's orders. One can imagine the state of Quaid's mind at that time. It would have been impossible for him to meet Rafi or anyone else. He had to attend to a very sensitive issue. The Quaid must have been working- and consulting his advisors almost round the clock.

Rafi keenly felt the need to counter the negative propaganda

<sup>53.</sup> Q.A.P. File No. F. 25-G.G.!47-Part I, II, III, IV, V (Ordinary).

<sup>54.</sup> Rafi Butt to Quaid-i-Azam, 28 October 1947

<sup>55.</sup> Alan Campbell-Johnson' Mission with Mountbatten, London. 1951. pp. 223-:216.

set in motion by India against Pakistan.<sup>56</sup> On his return from America after attending the meeting of the International Labour Organisation at San Francisco in October 1948, he issued a statement to the press in which he said inter alia, "a huge anti-Pakistan propaganda machinery is constantly kept in motion by India in the United States. The Indian propagandists give exaggerated accounts of the industrial and commercial plans of their country to the American public while presenting in comparison, Pakistan as a backward and potenially poor country. 57 Rafi insisted that unless Pakistan took effective steps to counter the mischievous lies spread about Pakistan it might lose the assistance of American industrialists which was imperative for the economic development of the country at this embryonic stage. He also disclosed that he had been successful in arranging for the import of certain badly needed chemicals besides cinematographic films. He said that he had also approached the Board of Trade in the United Kingdom, and that his efforts would result in supplies of steel from -that country. For an individual to approach the British Board of Trade in his personal capacity and secure its consent to the supply of much-needed steel for Pakistan at that time, was a remarkable achievement.

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, the massive influx of mohajirs (refugees) from India had totally paralysed the meager infrastructure of the State. The departure from Pakistan of Hindu and Sikh businessmen, industrialists, bankers, teachers and bureaucrats created a vacuum which had to be filled. The talk of reconstruction and reorganisation of the loose ends of the political fabric for a more stable and happier Pakistan and a concrete plan for reconstruction could only come from someone with leadership qualities who possessed initiative and a forward-looking approach towards life. Rebuilding the infrastructure of the proposed "Pakistan areas" was Rafi's primary concern. Therefore, in a statement to the press dated 31 December 1947. on the occasion of the Industrial Convention, Rafi stated:

"I believe the timely convention of the industries will go a long way in removing their gloomy feelings and outlook engendered by dislocation of economic life in the province after the partition riots. In the absence of initiative and encouragement by the Government, the business community in the province was at a loss to formulate any industrial and commercial. programme. Yesterday's deliberations have provided them with new vis-

<sup>56.</sup> Rafi Butt's statement to the press The Civil & Military Gazette. 14 October 1948. 57. *Ibid* 

tas and fresh ambitions.58

Feudals were the dominant force in the "Proposed Pakistan Areas" as only 9.6 percent of the total Indian industrial sector (41.2) percent of which consisted of small industrial units) came to Pakistan's lot: Socialistic or Marxist trends had previously been non-existent in the subcontinent. In the same press release, Rafi also said,

"After the attainment of the cherished goal of Pakistan, we should devote more of our energy and time to solving our economic problems rather than indulging in power politics. We should follow the American motto of producing more things for more people for better living and this is how we can raise the standard of the common man." <sup>59</sup>

Rafi was appointed Chairman of the light metal, surgical instruments and hollow ware panel set up by the West Punjab Industrial Convention held in Lahore on 2 January 1948. He suggested the organisation of regular industrial conventions in Pakistan to-promote the

economic well-being of the people and to make Pakistan a strong and self-sufficient state.

Rafi compared this convention with;

"Similar big and cheerful American meetings held every now and then", and said, "I had the opportunity of attending those industrial conventions where one comes across businessmen arriving from places as far as two thousand miles away to participate in the deliberations. Here it is just the beginning and I hope that under the guidance of our Finance Minister, we will hold regular representative conventions to discuss our economic problems and work out their solution.

Further on, he said: "After the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan, we should devote more energy to solving our economic problems. This is how we can raise the standard of the common man.

Rafi congratulated the West Punjab Finance Minister, Mian

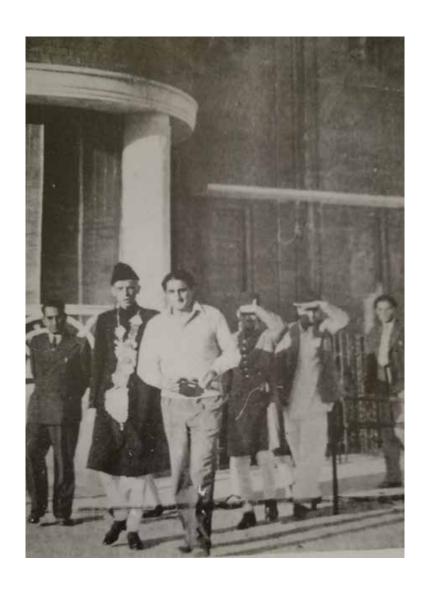
<sup>58.</sup> The Eastern Times, 3 January 1948.

<sup>59.</sup> Ibid.

Mumtaz Daultana, on the success of the convention and expressed gratification over his emphatic promise of support and encouragement to industrial enterprise in the province.<sup>60</sup>

Besides involvement in Pakistan's industrial sector, Rafi participated in the- affairs of the Lahore Municipal Corporation as a member. He was the moving spirit behind the creation of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce which presented a welcome address to the Quaid. He was also one of the trustees of the Lahore Improvement Trust.

In an interview, his former private secretary, Aslam Rathore, stated 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.



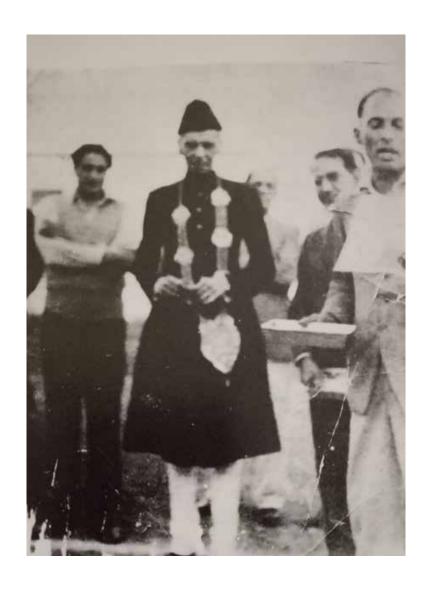
Quaid-i-Azam visiting M/s. Ghulam Nabi & Sons On 2 December 1942.



Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in discussion with Rafi On his visit to Ghulam Nabi & Sons. 2 December 1942.



Quaid-i-Azam in discussion with Rafi during his visit to Ghulam Nabi & Sons, manufacturers of Hospital Equipment and Surgical Instruments, Ferozepur Road, Lahore. 2 December, 1942.



A welcome address being presented to Quaid-i-Azam on his Visit to M/s Ghulam Nabi & Sons industries, Ferozepur Road, Lahore. Rafi standing at rear end.

## RAFI BUTT - THE MAN HE WAS.

"I live for those who love me, for those who know me true; for the heaven that smiles above me, and awaits my spirits too. For the cause that lacks assistance, for the wrong that needs resistance. For the future in the distance, and the good that I can do."

G.L. Blanks, My Aim

Tall, handsome and well-dressed, Rafi had a sophisticated and pleasant disposition. OA serious businessman he might have been, but Rafi certainly did not lack for joie de vivre. His gusto for living came out not Only in his business pursuits, striving for the best, but also in his appreciation of the finer things in life; in his literary and artistic taste and fastidious habits. He patronised Lahore's social clubs and actively Participated in various cultural, literary and social functions. His parties and the witty conversation that took place in those gatherings are well-remembered. He was both handsome and strong, with a serious and kindly countenance bespeaking quiet wisdom and calm strength. He was a charming conversationalist, a gentleman of refinement and courtesy.

His friends have remembered him with great affection and admiration, describing him quite vividly.61 In the course of research on Rafi not much documentary evidence was available, especially in the initial stages. Even now, despite scanty information in the form of documents, Rafi's correspondence with the Quaid, newspaper clippings and photographs, finding the right nexus between the Quaid and Rafi becomes difficult. Much of his life remains undocumented. Some of what could have been useful was either lost or destroyed during the 42 years intervening between Rafi's death and the year his son, Imtiaz, resolved to find out about him. This made us rely more on interviewing those people who knew him intimately. These people include politicians, journalists, friends and his neighbours while he lived in Nivan Katra.

One aspect of his personality which these interviews brought out clearly was Rafi's lovable, affectionate and extremely friendly nature. Despite his wealth and the fact that he had established himself as a prominent industrialist in Lahore with so many contacts with people in power, he never ignored his less fortunate friends or relatives, or showed any arrogance towards them. This is a rare quality not generally found among the nouveaux riches. On our visit to Nivan Katra, his place of birth and place of residence during his childhood, we met a number of local residents and were informed that he was very fond of flying kites. Even after he moved elsewhere he never missed an opportunity to go back to his roots and participate in all those activities in which the people of that mohallah (locality) indulged. While Rafi was a person of great wit, possessed of immense business acumen and on close terms with the upper stata of society, at Nivan Katra he was the same old Rafi. No one gave us the impression that Rafi had ever looked down upon anvone. He would leave all his rich life style either at his Mayo Road residence or at the Ferozpur Road residence and would revert to the Nivan Katra Version of Rafi. Rich Muslims were generally not known to be very charitable but he took care of the poor and the needy by helping them financially and in many other ways.

61. The following persons were interviewed. As some were repetitive and others bad nothing substantial to say, only extracts from a few have been given in the text:

Ahmed Saeed Kirmani, Abdullah Anwar Baig, Sharif Daultana, Ahmed Mairaj, Tariq Ismail Khan, Bushra Hameed, C.R.Aslam, Col. M. Hassan, Ch. Afazal Ch. Kaleem ud din, Humayun Hussain, Jamshed A. Tareen, Malika Pukhraj, Khawaja Habibullah'Meem Lord Hassan's wife, Mumtaz Daultana, Munawar Farooqi, Mumtaz A' Khali' Malik Sheen (Mian Mohammad Shafl), She M. Nazir, Malik Tajuddin, M.A. Aziz'Ghulam Nabi, Naseer, A. Sheikh, Sh. Rafiq Ahmed, Sheikh Riazy Aslam Shaukat Hayat, Agha Haider, Dr. Anwar Haider, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, Begum Tassaduq, She Zaheer Ahmed.

Here we reproduce abridged version of the views expressed by his close friends. Some unavoidable repetition is bound to occure.

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana (1916-1995), a prominent Muslim League leader, who later on became Chief Minister of the Punjab, recalled that

"Rafi Butt was a friend of mine and I had great respect for his ability, energy and pioneering role in industrial development, He was a man of great charm, great personality and influence. He belonged to the highest social class of Lahore. He was a very fine and kind man. We used to meet very frequently at social gatherings. He was a Muslim League supporter, but there was no active participation in politics. I used to hear that he contributed generously to the funds and offered every possible help for the cause of Muslim League. He was an extraordinary man. He was a very charming, very graceful man."

Sardar Shaukat Hayat, another prominent Muslim League leader and son of Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab in the 1930s, stated,

"I met Mr. Rafi Butt for the first time in 1943 when I was twenty-seven years old. He was a friend of my father-in-law, Mir Maqbool<sup>62</sup> ... Mr. Rafi Butt was at that time a handsome man and the only Muslim who had started an industry and was very successful

"Rafi Butt was the man and the brain behind the business of Ghulam Nabi & Sons.

"Mr. Rafi Butt was very fond of giving parties. He was a large-hearted man and would spend money lavishly and these parties were without any strings attached to them.

"I had great regard for Mr. Rafi Butt as he was a self-made man. Besides that he plunged into the field when Hindus were He broke their monopoly and proved himself to be a man dominating of extraordinary qualities and abilities. "Quaid-i-Azam liked Rafi Butt very much. He also attended a party at his place. It was a very big gathering, whether it was a lunch or dinner I do not remember exactly.'

Malik Tajuddin, Rafi's classmate for nine years, who passed matriculation examination in 1925 together with him and was a close friend, was a prominent journalist and headed the Associated Press of Pakistan. In a lengthy account he stated;

"Mian Ghulam Nabi Butt, who enjoyed a unique position in the trading community of Anarkali, was Rafi's father. His showroom exhibiting imported surgical goods was the only establishment of its kind in the market. Judged by the prevailing standards with the British Government in complete control of India's destinies, he was an affluent businessman with a happy home. Suddenly illness befell him during the year 1925 and he passed away in the prime of youth leaving behind a widow and three sons to mourn his loss. The eldest, Rafi, had just turned sixteen. The family was overwhelmed with grief but Rafi faced the tragedy with rare fortitude and courage and acquitted himself admirably. There is little doubt that he rose to the occasion giving preliminary indications of his inherent genius to the surprise of relatives and friends.

"After three days' mourning he made up his mind to assume the practical responsibilites of life under inspiration of the widowed mother. Obviously his first task was to move the inherited business and consolidate it. He took the plunge and remarkably adjusted himself learning the tricks of the trade by trial and error. His hidden talents gradually blossomed and he made the best of his inherent abilities. By the time he had crossed his teens, he was in full grasp of the practical realities of the business and was firmly in the saddle. He assigned routine duties to his younger brother Hanif under his supervision and the business came to be conducted as a corporation called Ghulam Nabi Corporation during the Second World War.

"Having thus been relieved of the routine Rafi divided his time and energy to future planning and expansion of the business. It dawned on him that the future lay in devising measures to promote the manufacture of the imported surgical goods in Lahore itself. This surgical idea, which' took deep root in his mind, led to a pioneering effort culminating in the establishment of the first factory at Mayo Road (now Allama Iqbal Road).

"Equipped with an outline of the plan Rafi took the bold initiative of contacting the newly appointed Provincial Minister for Industries -- Sir Gokal Chand Narang who had made his mark in the legal profession as well as in public life -- and unfolded his plans to him. Dr. Narang, an industrial genius himself, was taken abcak that a young Muslim should think of invading the exclusive domain of his co-religionists, but impressed with his business acumen and youthful exuberance he viewed Rafi's plan with sympathetic understanding - a rare characteristic among the Hindu leadership of the day. He promised to consider the matter and gave Rafi the green signal within a week. In the meantime Rafi also secured the concurrence of the British Governor of the Province. Thus Rafi goes down in the economic history of Punjab as a Muslim pioneer in the field of industry who, in due course of time, built up an industrial empire which was graced with a personal visit by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah during the Pakistan Movement - a rare tribute to his industrial services and achievements. No wonder the Quaid-e-Azam decided to associate Rafi with the planning committee of the Muslim League set up by him.

"It may be of interest to recall that after the lapse of more than a decade since the establishment of the Mayo Road factory Rafi had a chance encounter with Sir Gokal Chand Narang who was engaged in conversation with me in the verandah of 21, Sir Ganga Ram Mansioms, the Mall (my office-cum-residence as the Chief of Bureau of Reuters & associated Press of India). Rafi came to see me and as he alighted from his chauffeur-driven Chevrolet saloon car, Dr. Narang stepped down the verandah and greeted him as "Butt Sahib" with a cordial hand shake. Profusely thanking him Rafi said he remembered him with gratitude as his first benefactor in life.

It may be mentioned that Sir Gokal Chand Narang was not only an industrial magnate himself but was closely associated with industrial families of the United Provinces of India (now Utter Pradesh). This incident is indicative of the respect Rafi enjoyed among the non-Muslim industrialists of Punjab.

"On learning identity he was good enough to come over to my office, He had read a great deal about me in the powerful Hindi press of which had launched a violent campaign agai1iSt me describing my office as "the Muslim League Branch" of Reuters.

"During the winter of 1945-46, this young industrialist at the behest of the Government of India visited the United States, where he established valuable contact with the leaders of business and industry. On his return, Rafi Butt established Hind Enamel Factory with the technical assistance of a German expert and further expanded his business, Had he survived the air crash, he would undoubtedly have rendered yeoman service for the industrial development of the newly- created state,

"In view of his Kashmiri origin Rafi Butt was able to maintain cordial relations with Justice Din Mohammad, who became (he Minister for Kashmiri Affairs after the establishment of Pakistan, and with Sheikh Sadiq Hasan, the well-known industrialist of Amritsar, Both of them were acknowledged leaders of the Kashmiri Muslims and spared no efforts for their uplift, "

## Malik Tajuddin further recalled that,

"Rafi was also the Chairman of Central Exchange Bank Limited promoted by the Muslim traders of Anarkali Lahore who held him in high esteem for his influence with the non-Muslim bank and commercial industrial interests.

"The Central Exchange Bank was the second Muslim Bank to come into existence in Lahore before the establishment of Pakistan, the first being "The Muslim Bank of India with Sheikh Sadiq Hasan of Amritsar as its Chairman. The Habib Bank Ltd. had also been promoted in Bombay, which eclipsed both the Muslim Bank of India and the Central Exchange Bank. In fact, the Muslim Bank had

Collapsed as it could not compete with the non-Muslim bank while the Central Exchange Bank could not survive its Chairman

"Rafi's visit to the U.S.A provided welcome

opportunities to establish valuable contacts in the leading industrialised country of the world and pushed him into the import busniess as well. Shortly after his return, he received a large consignment of Kelvinator refrigerators and other modern equipment from the United States, which necessitated the opening of a showroom at the junction of Mcleod/Hall Road opposite at a stone's throw from Zaitoon Plaza.

### Remembering Rafi's friends, Malik Taj Uddin stated,

"These did not exceed half a dozen although his social contacts were vast and varied. Most of those social figures, however, had their own axes to grind and had cultivated artificial behavior hiding their real feeling behind a deceptive smile, but the circle of his friends was limited to the following;

- (A) Abudul Hameed Malik (associate of his school days, and brother of Malik Ghulam Mohammad, later Governor General of Pakistan.)
- (B) "Lord Hassan. of an aristocratic Kashmiri family of Peshawar, affectionately so called by his close friends and associates on account of his life style. Although a well-read person with a philosophic turn of mind he had no interests in practical life. Nevertheless, he was an embodiment of perfect sincerity and gentleness
- (C) Malik Taj Uddin, a highly connected journalist - a friend of Rafi's childhood

"Their friendship was deep-rooted in school life or in the Kashmiri blood and sustained by mental sincerity and goodwill,"

Malik Taj Uddin mentioned another class-mate of Rafi, Yaqub, who was particularly attached to him. Rafi relied on him for odd jobs, to Malik Taj Uddin he was not a wise counsellor. However, Rafi assisted him generously during the Second World War which enabled him to stand on his feet, He built a house' of his own in the vicinity of the old factory at Garhi Shahu from his earning during the war.

According to Malik Taj Uddin, Rafi could not remain oblivious to the change that was coming in Muslim political life. Soon after Lah Resolution was passed by the Muslim League in 1940,

"Rafi came forward and took upon himself the responsibility of financing the youth wing of the Muslim League, namely the "Punjab Muslim Students Federation" which formed the vanguard of the Pakistan movment. The funds were provided through its President He came into close touch with the Quaid-e-Azam Dr. Ziaul Islam placing his personal services and financial resources at his disposal to promote the cause of the Pakistan movement. The Quaid-i-Azam deeply appreciated Rafi Butt's initiatives in various directiorb and marked him out for the industrial and economic development of Punjab which was to form the hallmark of the new Islamic state of Pakistan."

Mian Mohammad Shafi (Meem Sheen), the famous journalist and writer, wrote in an article,

A prince amongst men he was about six feet tall, fair complexioned like a typical Kashmiri. He looked every inch a regal personality. He wore a natural smile on his innocent face and had dark jet hair on his head. He was clean shaven, and wore English suits and shalwar kameez according to the occasion. He had a natural swagger when he walked leisurely. He had shining white teeth and large black shining eyes. His nose was not exactly aquiline, but its prominence on his smooth face immediately marked him out as an outstanding ersonality. I do not remember if he was a regular smoker of cigarettes. Mr. Rafi Butt was bilingual. He had equal command over English and Urdu. Having gone for training in highter technology to England, he had acquired fairly good control over spoken English, He was a very sober man when he discussed serious issues and was a patient listener, but he certainly was capable of making his point of view known fully and fairly.

'Outwardly he appeared to be a happy-golucky man but in fact he was a very serious man where politics and business were concerned. He knew that to be influential in any branch of life you required proper plan-

63. Mian Mohammad Shafi (1913-1993) (Meem Sheen) was born in Jalandhar and after receiving his primary education at his native village he had his M.A. in English from F.C. College Lahore and obtained Master's Degree in Political Science from Islam! a Movement. For a number of years he worked as chief reporter with the Civil & Mill' Gazette. When the English newspaper, Dawn was launched Meem Sheen was appo its Lahore based special correspondent. He had been a regular contributor to waqt and other newspapers till his death on 2 December 1993.

ning and extensive authority to achieve success.

"Many who did not know him enough, thought him to be a soft, sweet and forgetful person. But those who worked with him knew that he was hard-headed, thorough going and skillful. He brought up the best in his mind and body to bear upon the problems facing him....

"The trio of the Punjab Muslim League represented by Mamdot, Daultana and Shaukat was joined by the young industrialist "Mr. Mohammad Rafi Butt". No less than Mian Mumtaz Daultana described Mr. Mohammad Rafi Butt as a friend and a stalwart of the Muslim League. This he did when a small group of young men met him at his residence at Al-Mumtaz sometime ago. M.A.H. Ispahani was the only other industrialist from Bengal who stood by the Muslim League in the heroic struggle against British imperialism and the Indian National Congress, and it was the acknowledgment of the Quaid-i-Azam to the Young Leaguer that he personally paid a visit to his industrial estate for the opening of a new wing for the manufacture of high quality surgical instruments. I had coverd this historic occasion as a reporter of the Civil and Military Gazette, and I remember the warmth with which the great Muslim leader wished the young industrialist good luck and God speed in his new venture. It was a rare honour that the Quaid-i-Azam conferred on a genuine personality like Mr. Butt.

"Mr. Rafi Butt was the first industrialist in Punjab who openly sided with the Muslim League at a time when the Unionist Government was bent upon annihilating whosoever sided with the Muslim League. The people of Pakistan are aware of the role played by Mamdot aultana, Ghazanfar Ali, Shaukat Hayat and Mian Iftikhar-ul-din. But very few people know that a Muslim entrepreneur firmly stood his ground when the so called veteran Muslim Leagures did not think it worth their while to support the Muslim League in

Punjab. I hope that Rafi Butt's contributions will be brought to light in the of a book.<sup>64</sup>

In an interview, Chaudhry Kalim-ud-Din, former Mayor of Lahore, said,

"Rafi Butt had a lot of intrinsic qualities. What I liked the best in him as a person was the fact that he never stooped low or was Olean to anyone. He was a very courageous, accommodating and generous person. Apologising to the Kashmiri clan I would like to say that I have never seen such a large hearted Kashmiri. In the 1946 election of the Lahore Corporation, Rafi Butt became the Counsellor for Industry. The Unionist Government was in power at that time and was not partial to Rafi Butt's nomination as a candidate but since he was very popular amongst the Muslim Leaguers and had gained a very high stature as an industrialist.... 1947 a lot of Muslim Leaguers ware arrested and put behind bars during the agitation. Rafi Butt supported the families of the Muslim Leaguers who were in jail by providing money and other necessities. This won him a very special place in our hearts, Rafi Butt always supported the Muslim League in a very aggressive and bold manner. That is why he was greatly admired in the Muslim League ranks.

Mumtaz A. Khan, another prominent journalist, recounting his impressions of Rafi Butt, stated,

"1 was interested in the activities of Mr. Rafi Butt as a sympathizer of the Muslim League and a member of the panel set up by the Quaid-i-Azam for the All India Muslim League Planning Committee. In those days, we used to have political gatherings on the issue of Pakistan.

'Since my beat as a reporter was to cover the activities of the Muslim League and other political parties, I was given the duty by the Associated Press of Pakistan to write news reports and interview Rafi Butt, which was carried out at Lorang's over a cup of tea. He was very clear about the stance he had adopted as a keen supporter of the Muslim League. Although he was only Matric he was remarkably intelligent and was very well versed in the English language. Pakistan has not seen a leader like Rafi Butt. He was a legend in his own right. His factory, Ghulam Nabi & Sons had a great structure. It was really delightful to see a Factory owned by a Muslim in such a grand style. A rare treat indeed!

"When I heard the news of the air crash near Vehari on the Radio in Iran I immediately communicated it to the Ambassador Late Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. He knew Rafi Butt because as the member of the first cabinet of the Quaid-i-Azam as a Minister for Refugees and Health as well as Minister in the Interim Government in India in 1946 he had come across Rafi Butt on a host of occasions. He was very much upset when he heard the sad news of Rafi Butt's death. He said to me, "Did you know Mr.Rafi Butt?" I said, "Yes, Raja Sahib, I had the honour and privilege of knowing him. We have lost a very valuable life". Rafi Butt's life was very valuable due to his contributions for Pakistan. At a very young age, he was very aggressive. As a man of forward-looking vision he desperately wanted a better furture for Pakistan.

"It was my job that whenever any news was broadcast about Pakistan on the Radio, I used to publish a news letter. Therefore, I translated the news of Rafi Butt's death into Persian and published the news letter. We published the news of the victims of the air crash and also Rafi Butt's contributions in the Pakistan Movement. It was circulated both in English and Persian. It was sent to the Shahanshah's Darbar and various ministries, universities, colleges and all the other embassies in Tehran. I wish there were more people to serve the nation like Rafi Butt. The destiny of the country would change.

Taqi Butt, younger borther of Rafi, who took over Rafi's vast industrial concerns and involved his widow in prolonged and agonising court cases, which were later settled out of court, recounted an incident in an interview before he (Taqi) died;

"A very rich Hindu friend of Rafi left a well-furnished house on Lawrence Road along with his new Hudson car to Rafi before his flight to India in 1947 disturbances. Rafi stationed some guards at this house and when his Hindu friend later came to reclaim his property he found everything intact. Even I was surprised when after opening the

house they found a vast sum of 90 lakhs of rupees stashed away in the basement. That friend was extremely grateful to Rafi.

Another such incident was described by Munawar Farooqi,

former private secretary of Rafi.

"One Sardari Lal, who was the manager of Rafi's Bank, was given asylum and protection by Rafi during 1947 disturbances in his own house and later he was safely able to cross over to India.

In 1942, the All India Trade Directory and Who's Who (Illustrated), edited by A.M. Burque, was published in Lahore. It was a comprehensive directory, containing the names and biodata of prominent businessmen, industrialists, politicians, lists of literary, scientific and charitable societies, trade, professions and commercial industries. It consisted of 473 pages with names from the Viceroy down to various prominent persons. It had Rafi Butt's photographs in the beginning and his biodata. But the most interesting feature of the Directory is that it was dedicated to him with these words:

To

"Mohammad Rafi Butt, Esq. "the Youngest Industrialist and "Business Magnate in the Province

#### "Who

By dint of his natural ability, business "acumen and liberal outlook to-day "not only possesses huge factories and offices but commands great respect and esteem."

On 26 November 1948, at about 11:30 a.m., a group of bewildred villagers, working in the fields near Vehari, saw a plane lurch above their heads in the sky. It was losing height dramatically. An explosion ripped through the atmosphere, sending the ill fated plane into a tailspin, In an imperceptible moment of time, it hit the fields of a small village some eight miles from Vehari Road. Mohammad Abdullah, now a septuagenarian, was a scrawny youth at the time of the crash. He was working in the fields when he suddenly spotted a plane gushing ominous quantities of smoke. It lost its left propeller first and then came crashing down with a deafening thud. My first reaction was to dive for I though the Indians must have had something to do with it"

The explosion caused both men and animals to lunge involuntary. The skyline under the mellow November sun became dotted with birds, flying nowhere but driven by nervous agitation. Soon an eerie silence descended, interrupted in part by the hissing of leaping and de-

vouring flames. The flinting sounds, indicative of a last-minute contest between mangled metals, human remains and the inexorable flames, died out as well. The wreckage must have been tantalisingly close to where the man saw the plane disappear behind the trees. The columns of smoke tapered off but still retained an ominous dimension for the aghast villagers. Mohammad Abdullah saw severed human limbs scattered around the wreckage. More villagers arrived; but the first official who arrived on the scene was a British bureaucrat still serving the newly created Pakistan. He was attending a meeting in Burewala and it was he who told the villagers that the plane was in fact Pakistan's.

All that was left of the plane and passengers were two battered wings, bits of incinerated fuselage, and some pieces of reinforced it metal. This was the second passenger aricraft to crash in a little a year since the establishment of Pakistan. Apart from the benumbing 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 tried 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!

Apparently Rafi had decided to board the plane at the eleventh hour, for he did not have a confirmed seat in his name. His ticket number was 6308. Sifting through the wreckage for possible survivors is always an agonizing undertaking. Rafi's charred body defied recognition, and had it not been for the diamond studded platinum ring with a deep blue sapphire in the middle that he wore on his finger, and the cash book that somehow remained unscathed despite the raging inferno, he would not have been recognised. The authorities decided to bury the remains of the air crash victims at Vehari.

The national press responded to this tragedy with bold front page headlines. Nawa-i-Waqt stated; "Sad news has been received about the crash of Pak Airways' plane at Vehari district Multan. It has also been learnt that Pakistan's famous industrialist, Mr. Rafi Butt was travelling 66 in the same plane. The paper also gave a breif account of Rafi's participation in the Muslim League's Planning Committee and his services towards Pakistan's industrial development.

The news of Rafi's death cast a pall of gloom over Lahore's social and political circles. The city's minuscule business community had been deprived of an enterprising leader. His shell-shocked wife, Zaitoon Begum, was deeply marked by the tragedy (from this point onward, she never allowed her son Imtiaz Rafi Butt out of sight until he attained adulthood). Several hundred people including high ranking officials of the West Punjab Government converged on his residence.<sup>67</sup>

Three MLAs of West Punjab, in a statement issued to the press, urged the Ministry of Communications, Government of Pakistan, to constitute an in depth inquiry to determine the cause of the accident.<sup>68</sup>

67. The Civil & Military Gazette, 28 November 1948. 68. Ibid.

The Pakistan Times, 28 November 1948.

Constituent Assembly Legislature of Pakistan Debates. Vol. 11, 15th to 30th December, 1948.

The demand for an inquiry acquired a high-pitched tone, and we heard Abdul Kasem Khan (on behalf of Nazir Ahmed Khan) raised the air crash issue in the Central Legislative Assembly by asking Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar, Minister for Communications, Government of Pakistan, "to state the causes of the disaster which overtook Pak Air Dakota on the 26th November 1948, near Vehari. He sought official response to a number of specific issues:

- (b) What arrangements exist for certifying an aircraft air-worthy before flight?
- (c)Do Government propose to make such arrangements strict to ensure the safety of air passengers?
- (d)What action do Government propose to take against those found to have been at fault in this matter?

The Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar:

- (a) The accident is at present under detailed investigation, but the evidence so far collected at examination carried out indicate that the cause of the accident was severe fire which started in the port engine.
- (b) Qualified Aircraft Maintenance Engineers, licensed by the Director General of Civil Aviation in accordance with the Aircraft Rules, are employed by the companies who issue a certificate of fitness every day after actual inspection of the aircraft.
- (c) Necessary provisions to ensure safety already exist in the Aircraft rules applicable to Pakistan, and they are being strictly enforced.
- (d) The matter, as already stated, is under investigation and suitable action will be taken against those, if any, found to be at fault. "

A number of resolutions, condoling his death and offering deepfelt sympathy to the members of his family, were passed by various organisations. Factories owned by him remained closed as a mark of respect to his memory. The Northern Pakistan Chamber of Commerce mourned his death.

"The Northern Pakistan Chamber of Commerce at a meeting held at Lahore on Monday adopted a resolution regarding the Chamber's sense of great sorrow and grief at the tragic death of Mr. Rafi Butt in the recent air crash at Vehari, Multan District, and expressing heartfelt sympathy with the grieved family.

"The resolution further urged the Pakistan Government to take steps for a thorough examination of every aircraft before it takes off.<sup>69</sup>

"The Directors and members of the staff of the West Punjab Steel Corporation Limited Lahore, were shocked to hear the news of the tragic death of the Chairman of the corporation Mr. M. Rafi Butt in a plane crash between Karachi and Lahore. The offices of the company on the Mall and the steel stockyards at Badamibagh were immediately closed as a mark of respect to the late M. Rafi Butt. Mr. C.M. Latif Managing Director, Haji Mohammad Ameen Director and Mr. A. Majid Mufti Secretary, called

Mr. Abdul Kasem Khan: "Will the Honourable Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the aircraft purchased by various companies were from the Army disposals."

#### The Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar:

"I want notice of it".

A report after the thorough enquiry into the accident, by Mr. W.T.Reid, Senior Inspector of Aircraft was submitted to the Government of Pakistan. Its findings were,

"The primary cause of the accident was the omission of a sealing washer on the carburetor fuel filter of the port motor, resulting in leaking on the ignition system, culminating in a severe oil fire which finally involved the main fuel tanks,

Secondary causes of the accident are a generally low standard of maintenance due to lack of tools, spares, adequate lighting, hurried workmanship, and inexperience in the lower staff grades.

69. The Civil & Military Gazette, 30 November 1948

upon Mr. Taqi Butt brother of 70 the deceased, to offer their condolences."<sup>70</sup>

The Government of Punjab decided to erect a monument at the site of the Vehari air crash. Major J.M.E. Wainwright, Military Secretary to the Governor wrote a letter to Mrs. Rafi Butt on 12 April 1950 and asked her views on the two drawings for a suitable "<sup>71</sup> memorial.

Unfortunately, Mrs. Rafi Butt's reply to this letter could not be traced. A monument, however, was built at the site.

Relatives and some close friends of the deceased reached the scene of the accident on 27 November. Villagers and local administration had made arrangements for the burial of the air crash victims. Graves were constructed with bricks. A boundary wall was built with a gate around the graveyard.

The graveyard consists of 481 square meters of land. A 25 foot high monument was constructed in a separate portion of 356 square meter. Unfortunately, the inscription on the monument has fallen victim to the elements. Twenty-one dead bodies are buried in an orderly manner; <sup>72</sup> the pilot's grave is in front and the graves of all the other victims are in two rows, as if they were sitting in the aeroplane. The graveyard is well preserved despite the fact that no government department oversees its maintenance.

"As you will see one is a very plain monolith of simple design and the other is more ornate and in the Islamic style. Naturally the more ornate pattern will be somewhat more expensive than the other, but it is hoped that ample funds will be received for the erection of either design.

"1 would be grateful if you will let me know which of the two designs you consider more suitable for the memorial. In order to save time I propose to give the Deputy Commissioner, Multan, an authority to carry on with the erection of whichever design receives the large number of supporters. In order to speed up the beginning of erection I would be most grateful if you could let me have your decision as soon as possible.

- 72. The names of those who perished in the country's second air disaster were:
- 01. Senior Captain Arthur William Geiser

American

02. Senior Captain Quazi Mohd. Ismail

Pakistani

03. First Officer T. A. Agha

Pakistani

<sup>70.</sup> The Civil & Military Gazette, 28 November 1948.

<sup>71. &</sup>quot;1 enclose herewith 2 alternative plans for the monument which it is proposed to erect at the site of Vehari Air crash.

Rafi was a versatile genius. Sadly the Quaid died on 11 September 1948 and two months later, on 26 November 1948, Rafi died in the air crash at Vehari. He was only 39 years old. With his death all his plans and designs for a better and more prosperous Pakistan died with him. Had he lived longer – with his fertile mind, ingenious ideas untiring energy he would have left an even greater mark on Pakistan's political, industrial, social and economic landscape —

04. Radio Officer A. W. Japhat Burmese 05. Air Hostess Mrs. Francis J. Petterson British (Miss A, H. Dinsdale) 06. Rasheed Ahmad Pakistani 07. John Petty British 08. Colonel Anderson British 09. Lt. Col. H. M. Mahmood Pakistani 10. Maqbool Mahmood Pakistani 11. H.M Nazir Pakistani 12. Rafi Butt Pakistani 13. Mohd. Hussain Pakistani 14. Sir Wilford Grigson British 15. S. C. Grigson British 16. S. M. Afaq Pakistani 17. Mr. Skold Swedish 18. Mohd. Nawaz Pakistani 19. Mrs. Rauf Ahmad Pakistani 20. Ejaz Rauf (child) Pakistani 21. Miss Samina (child) Pakistani

## RAFI BUTT AT A GLANCE

- Date of Birth according to Passport	: 10.02.1909
- Passed Matriculation Examination	: 1925
from Punjab University	
- Ghulam Nabi died	: 1925
- Assumed control of Ghulam Nabi's business	: 1925
- Opened Central Exchange Bank	: 1936
- Went to England	: 1936
- Member Indian Red Cross Society	: 1937
- Member Joint Development Board	: 1942
of Punjab Government	
- Meetings with Quaid-i-Azam	: 1942-1948
- Visit to United States	: 1945
- Elected Member of Lahore Municipal Corp.*	: 1946
- Visit to Germany	: 1946
- Trustee Lahore Improvement Trust	: 1947-1948
- Visit to United States to attend	
1.L.O Conference as a delegate	: 1948
- Died in Air Crash	: 26.11.1948

<sup>\*</sup> Declared elected-15 January 1946. securing 28 votes against his rival Abdul Hamid who secured 17 votes. (The Eastern Times, 16.01.1946)



Rafi with famous American movie star Ava Gardner. in Los Angeles.



Rafi at the International Red Cross conference held at San Francisco.



Rafi with American businessmen in the United States.



Rafi with a friend in the United States



Rafi in the United States.



Photograph taken at Walton Airport, Lahore on Rafi's return from United States, Tour. L to R: Muhammad Bashir Ahmed, Proprietor, Ferrovit Enamels, Orthiler jr. General Manager, Ghulam Nabi & Sons, Orthiler sr.( Father of Orthiler jr.) Engineer, Hind Enamel Works, Mr. Yaqub, Rafi Butt, Taqi Butt, Bashir Butt office worker with garland and Munawar Farooqi on the extreme right.



Rafi & Taqi Butt with workers of M/s Ghulam Nabi & Sons



Rafi in the uniform of Honorary Colonel.



Rafi with 'Lord Hassan in Kashmir.



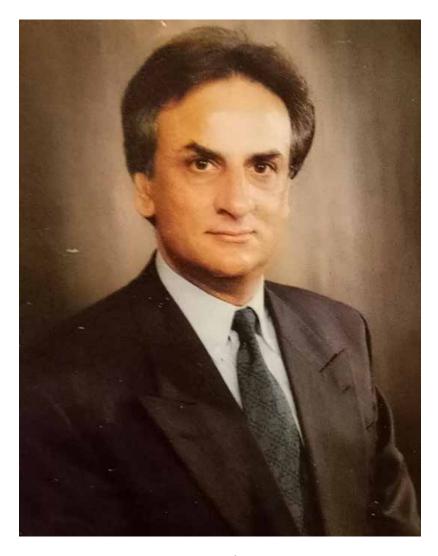
Dal Lake, Srinagar



Dal Lake, Srinagar



Monument of Air crash victims near Vehari.



Imtiaz Rafi Butt

## **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-i-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-year old daughter and two-month old son, was anxiously awaiting the return of her beloved husband but within the 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 the United States pursuing his family business.

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, intergrity. 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 alaramed as these undesirable traits threatened to militate against the future that she had visualised for me. She wanted me to be bold, confident, 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 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 new-found 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 B.A. 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 to-day.

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 Nizami 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 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 vigor. 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 Quaidi-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 realisation 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 likeminded individuals - 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.

## **APPENDICES**

## **APPENDIX 1**

23 , 4.43

Ly dear Quide . Azam

best wishes for the success of

Their important annual function

of to mulin Langue at Delhi

I had planned to come & nect

you build due to trecent illness

doctors have advised me to repain

from modertaking a framery.

They had wishes a propose are

with you

Mr Moha Ali gimel.
President
Muslim Leace.

Rafi Brutt

Prop.

Sungical Factory

SS-A FEROZEPUH KOAD



January 22, '44

My dear Qaid-1-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 sudded engagements I could not attend the mession personally.

I noted with interest the resolutions passed on 26/12/43 and admire your enthusiastic efforts to elevate the Musdamans on a level beyond criticism. Your programme for the economic, social uplift and state industrialization 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 labourous 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 Muslamans from their slumber and develop the industry in par with foreign nations.

plen; e turn over.



with my little experience in the industrial and business lines, I shall consider myself privilaged if I could be of any assistance to the Musalmans (of Punjab in particular) in this connection, under your guidance. I enclose another cheque of \$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,

28th January 1944.

Dear Mr. Butt,

Many thanks for your letter of the 32nd instant.

Yes I wish you could have managed to done to the Sessions and I quite understand that you were unable to do so owing to sudden engagements, but I mut your brother in Karachi and I was wery pleased to make his acquaintance.

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

As regards the "Planning Consittee", 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. Hay 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. wery important and I am glad that you realised it. 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 Simour ly,

M. Rafi Butt, Esq., 35-1, Perozepur Road. LAHORE.

1- Planning committee was proposed by Quaid-i-Azam in December 1943. Its main function was tp prepare the muslims to actively participate to effect commercial, agriculture. and industrial expansion. It had 15 sub-committees. Rafi Butt was the chairman of the sub-committee for Mining and Metallurgy (including production of steel & other metals).

Q.A.P F 240 p3





Feb: 17,44

My dear Qaide 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 as chairman of the Central Exchange Bank Ltd. (the only winder.)

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 mames of a few other desirement that in my

<sup>1.</sup> Rafi Butt earnestly desired that Muslims should take active part in the fields of industry and commerce.

opinion own prove very useful in this scheme.

- 1. Sheikh Sadik ! sean of Amritser (Textiles).
- 2. Mian Nascent Ahmad of Lyallpur (Cinning & Flour Mills).
- 3. Khamaja Mond Siddique of Bheru (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. Wian Afzal Huseain, 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 Ahmad, Director of the Cotton Technological Laboratory, Matunga (Bombay). Dr. Ahmad belongs to Lahore and was held of the Science Department of the Lahore Islamia College before going to Bombay. I suggest that scientific talent

P.T.O.



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 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

1.T.U.

2. Rafi Butt had set up an enamel factory, Hind Enamel Works.



-4-

to spare some time for me.
With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely

( M. Rafi Butt)

Q.A.P F. 240 pp 4-7 First signed copy pp. 8-11 Second signed copy pp. 12-14 Typed copy

Q.A.P F. 240 pp 4-7 First signed copy pp.8-11 Second signed copy pp.12-14 Typed copy My dear Qaid . . . 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 industrial of the Congress - will utilise the opportunity provided by the tour to impress tunity provided by the tour to impress the Congress view point on the British and American public and run down the Muslim words to pledse my whola-hearted and active support to any measure you may consider necessary to take to counteract

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,

13th March 1944.

Dear Mr. Butt,

I am in receipt of your letter of the
9th of March 1944. I shall be very glad in
deed 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
any move to counteract the false propaganda
which is carried on against us and I shall
certainly avail myself of your help.

Yours sincerely,

M. Rafi Butt, Esq., 35-A, Perozepur Road, Lahore.



JANA FEROZEPUH ADAD

April, 11th, 44.

My dear Qaide 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 services are at your disposal for the alvances of the noble cubse 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 pupose of securing sivertisements, 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 B. one lakh.

I am very glad to observe that your fortnight's stay in Lahore has had a very encouraging effect on the Muslimans 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.

P.T.O.

<sup>1.</sup> Rafi Butt had contributed 25% of the capital for launching *The Pakistan Times*.



You will be interested to hear that Sir Chhotu Ram in the course of a speach at Layallpore session (of the Jat Mahasaba) frankly recognized 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 these 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 Pnjab, United Punjab and Purna Swaraj; but the Jat Mahasaba platform could not be utilized 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,

10, Aurangieb Road, NEW DELHI, 15th April, 1944.

Dear Mr. Butt,

Many thanks for your letter of April 11th. I am coming to Lahore on the 19th, and then Ishall have the pleasure of meeting you again, and we will further discuss the matter regarding the proposed English daily.

Yours since Ly,

Rafi Butt, Esq., 25A, Perosepur Road, LAHORE.

Q.A.P F. 1102 p 85



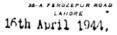
16th April 1944.

Jours Surconf

By dear Quidi Asum,

Many thanks for your letter dated 12th April. I consider it a great privilege to have been asked to serve on the Planning Committee. Needless to say that my services are completely at your disposal.

H.A.Jinnah Esq., New Delhi





hydran kuid-1-1/2m;

Since I wrote to you last I have been giving further consideration to the question of organising a first class English daily in Lahore. After studying various aspects of the question I feel that the best course is to have printing press of our own. I have discussed the matter with Mr.Abdul Hamid of "The Eastern Times" and he advises me that it would cost approximately is forty thousand to purchase the requisite machinery.

I have asked Mr.Hamid to submit a detailed scheme to you. If the proposal meets with your approval I shall be able to render some help in this connection.

M.A. Jimah Esq.,
New Delhi:

your society.

Shamsul Hasan Collection, Karachi

34-A FEROLEPUR ROAD



Dutod bth July 1944.

My dear Qaid-e-Azam,

I have keenly followed the news of your activities through the columns of "Dawn" and locally as well. I am glad you are well and enjoying the much needed rest.

The scheme for an English daily for which you did so much during your last visit to Lahore has not made any progress in your absence. Intimation from my bank has reached me that the cheque drawn in this connection has been credited, but I wonder why you delayed its presentation. It is my earnest desire to see a first rate English daily of the League functioning in this Province and I pray for the success of your efforts.

My brother Taqi wishes to be associated with the newspaper scheme, and I shall therefore be pleased to have the contribution as from both of us.

I shall close with kindest

regards

Yours Sincerely

فيستنف فيتريب والمارات والمتعاد والمتعا

#### Guest House No.4, Srimagar, Kashmir, 18th July, 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 with your to the newspaper scheme. I wonder whether you have made may progress with regard to the securing of premises and some of the machines which we were informed were available in Lahore.

The chaque that I received from maseer Ahmad Sheikh was not not not 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 chaque, which was not met by his mank. Please make emquiries and let me know.

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

Yours sincerely,

M. Rafi Butt, Esq., 35-A,PWrosepur Road, LAHORE.

PHONE:- 3837



Dated 21st November, 1944.

My deat Raid-ALAzam.

A friend of mine who met you at Delhi on Sunday last has spoken to me about the Chemical Fertilisers Scheme. I wish to discuss the matter with you and have your advice and guidance. I shall be able to spare rupees four lakks towards the initial cost of the machinery and make satisfactory arrangements to finance the scheme in consultation with you. I am arriving in Delhi on November 30th, 1944, but in case you consider that I should come earlier I shall feel grateful if you will advise me accordingly preferably by belegram.

I regret that owing to indisposition I was not able to attend the last meeting of the Planning Committee although I submitted my views in writing.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Qaide Azam M.A. Jinnah, 10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

24th Fovember, 1944.

Dear Hr. Butt,

I am in receipt of your letter of Movember 2ist, and I shall be very glad to see you. Please ring me up on your arrival at Delhi on Movember 30th, as proposed by you, and I shall fix up an appointment with you.

Hoping you are well, and with very kind regards, yours sincerely,

M. Rafi Butt, Esq., 35-A, Ferozeput Road, LAHORE.



MA PRIORETTE BOLD

23rd March, 1945.

My dear Qaid-I-Azam,

It was my misfortune that I could not see you in Delhi on my recent visit to that place. I was pained to learn that you were not keeping fit and felt much concerned about it. I hope that you are completely restored by this time.

I wish I could see you before I leave for U.S.A. I would be leaving by the 28th of this month and hope to be away for about three or four months. I hope by the time I come back, your mission and efforts would have been fully remarded.

It will give me much pleasure to render you any service you are pleased to entrust to me in America.

For the present my address would be C/O Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons, New York.

With my respectful regards,

Yours sincerely, 11-11

M.A.Jinnah, Esqr., Malabar Hills, BOMBAY.

1. In April 1945, Rafi Butt went to U.S.A. to study the industrial development taking place there.

DR Rofe Bout

Krach

Manica

29/3/45
Lam on my way

le America. I am glad to ten

that you are disgressing satisfactory,

farry for your long life which is

re essentially needed for the future of

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Canty; but it was my bed buck

that I caned as wait "y-rely of jam extremed advice.

Best of wishs,

I remain force of Ray.

QUETTA, 30th September, 1945.

Dear Mr.Rafi Butt,

Many thanks for your kind remembrance of me and Miss Jinnah. We have received the two neckties and the trinkets that you were good enough to send us. It was very good of you, and we both thank you for your kind thought.

Hoping you are well and with Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Rafi Butt, Esq.,

Murree Hill. October 2, 1945.

Ly dear harde 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 days 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 Simia Conference which have culminated in the present elections. I regret to record my impression that the Congress case

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 Mandot 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,

Claure Sintenj Rafi: Bull



LAMBRE

\*\*\*\*\* { \*\*\*\*

February 2, 1946.

My dear Qaid-I-Azam:

I am so sorry I could meet you on your recent visit to Lahore. During the first few days I was rather busy with my Corporation(1) election; but at the same time I did try to contact you, but you were very busy. Immediately after I was free from the election, I laid down with cold and fever and remained confined to bed until few days ago. I am extremely sorry that I missed the opportunity, although I was longing to meet you ever since my return from "U.S.A."

I am going ahead well with my various schemes which I brought from U.S.A.

Hope this will find you in the best of spirits,

Yours sincerely,

M. Rafi Butt.

Qaid-I-Azəm M.A. Jinnah, NEW DELHI.

1. Rafi Butt also took part in the Lahore Muncipal Corporation elections in 1946 and won a seat. He secured 28 votes against 17 obtained by his rival, Abdul Hamid.

12th Pebruary 1946.

Dear Mr. Butt,

Nany thanks for your letter of the 2nd February and I quate understand why you were not able to see me while I was at lahore, and I am glad to hear that you are going ahead well with the various matters in your hands.

Hoping you are well, with kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

M. Rafi Butt, Esq., 35-1. Ferozepore Road, LAHORE.

# CARLTON HOTEL

Managing Director

Dr. M. A. LATIF FARL QI.

BONUS ROAD.

D.T.M. (Lord) D.P.T. (Piris) KARACHI-4, 15th Sept. 1947.

My dear Quidi-Ajam,

I have come hire the other day for a couple of days in order to meet you and to pay my respects. Besides there are some problems to discuss with you personally.

I wanted to see you at Lahore on your recent trip but seeing you over occupied I did not like to encroach upon your valuable and busy time.

I have another business friend who arrived here from Delhi two d ays ago who would like to join me.

Kind regards.

yours Luncant

7. 1. 4.6 13-4 N. Rafi Butt. of

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Thene, {1437



DATA FERDIEPORE ROAD

Octr: 21st,47.

My dear daide Azam,

It is long since I had the opportunity of paying my respects to you. For the most part of the past two years I have been through frice I went to the United States and once to earope and Germany as an Industrial delegation of the Government of India. I am those for lines to send my respectful congratulations to you on your historic Achievement. I hope under your guidance the motion will successfully pull through the present crities which our enemies have forced on us. But let as unfold my heart to you. I regret that the aconomic condition of the country should be deteriorating day by day and I am afraid that the economic structure will crumble down unless immediate steps are taken to improve banking ficilities, restore the transport system and produce substitute of coal. I would suggest that the Government of Pakistan may start an industrial and commercial Finance Corporation on the 1 nes of oimilar organizations in the United States to afford assistance to bonafide businessien.

The refused problem, which has no parallel in history, is taxing our resources to the utmost. The Provincial Linistry is fixed with a gignetic task and no doubt they are doing all it can to cope with the situation but it is a pity that there is none whom them the can appreciate the viewpoint of a businessmin or industrialist who





with his initiative, enterprise and imagination and taken up the reorganisation of the old abounding the colonic send formulate new schemes to reaters to. Schemes life of the province.

People are fed up with the way in which matters concerning indu try and concerns are being middled. Uncaployment is growing equation in idea, prod discontent and if the situation is not controlled immediately worse days may be humble upinion, we should not mattitate to core expert creign divide and mattitate to core come the scononic crises.

During y long stey in the United States I have establi hed valuable contacts with important businessed and industrialist. In that country, My dear gaide Azem if you feel that I can make a useful contribution to the restoration of the aconomic life of the nation by drawing on my contact in the United States I am prepared to go to 1 3.4. A your con and lut at my expension of the action of Island in the economic field for a year on so and I do feel with confidence of useful and good results. My services are completely at your disposal.

Kuid regard,
Janes Sweens

27th October 47.

Dear Mr. Rafi Butt,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 21st of October, and to say that he would be glad to see you at 11.0 a.m. on October the 28th at Government House Lahore.

Yours sincerely,

(F.Amin)

M. Rafi Butt Esq., 35-A, Ferozepore Road, Lahore.



\*\*\*\*\*\*\* | 10 -- 10 LAHORE

28.10.47.

House at IC.30. a.m. today to pay my respects in accordance with your private secentary's about a hour I felt I should leave you alone to about to more pressing problems today. If you feel you could spare to attack the feel you could spare the during you stay it I whore. I will like to avail of another opportunity.

Eino reserda,

Tours sincarely.

#### **APPENDIX 2**

The Central Exchange Bank. Ltd.

In reply please quote

Lahore. June 21- /93 s.

No. All letters to be addressed and TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS -

COOK BENTLEY'S TELEPHONE NO 3204.

SPLENDOUR 'Lahore.

From, Mian Ihsan Elahi. Managing Director, The Central Exchange Bank Ltd., Lahore.

M.A.Jinpah Rsq., President, All India Muslim League, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Dear Sir, We have great pleasure in bringing to your notice that we started a Bank in the name of the Central Exchange Bank Ltd., Lahore which is purely a muslim concern. With susch a short life of ly year it has become self supporting to such an extent that we declared 5% dividend after the completion of its successful year. This year we hope to show still better results. Other conditions remaining the same we are sure that it will go on progressing smoothly without any exertion of ours, This was a necessity for people of Northern India which has been, to some extent, fulfilled.

Now there remains another one which is of still vital importance and this is an English Daily paper of Mussalmans. Even though the Punjab muslims being in majority have not so for been able to materialize this along felt demand Every one desired to have an organ but no one could pot it into practice due to lack of funds. With the ambition of giving it a practical shape some colleagues of our Bank have decided to form a separate limited company, with an authorised capital of Re-1,00,000 divided into 10,000 shares of Rs.10 each, fully paid up. We have discussed the scheme with the prominent muslims of Lahore who have assured us of full support but unless we have encouragement from a representative of muslim community, we are unable to acheive our, object. Under the circum-

P.T.0

2.

stances we wish to have an honour of your patronizing "The Morning News" as well as send through us a message to the community for our support. The policy of the paper would be quite independent, with a full fledged support to Muslim League against Congress as well as others.

As it is essential for the community to gather under one panner similarly it is most important to have some leading paper in English to propagate their view.

Hoping to receive an early message and suggestions.

Yours faithfully.

Managing Director.

IE/MI.

#### **APPENDIX 3**

# NAMES OF THOSE WHOM QUAID-I- AZAM INITIALLY INVITED TO JOIN THE ECONOMIC PLANNING COMMITTEE AS PER THE LIST AVAILABLE IN THE SHAMSUL HASAN COLLECTION\*

- 1. Khan Bahadur Mian Afzal Hussain, Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University, Lahore.
- 2. Mr. M. Rafi Butt, 35-A, Ferozepur Road, Lahore.
- 3. Khawaja Bashir Bux, Mcleod Road, Lahore.
- 4. Sir Mohammed Nawaz Khan of Kot Fateh Khan, Punjab.
- 5. Mr. Abdul Kadir Khan, M.A., General Secretary, N. W.R. Muslim Employees Association, Faiz Manzil, 31-A, Queen's Road, Lahore
- 6. Malik Omer Hayat Khan.
- 7. Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz, Retired Chief Engineer, Allahabad,
- 8. Dr. Vali Mohamed, Professor of Physics, Lucknow University, Lucknow, U.P.
- 9. Prof. A.B.A Haleem, 9, University Road/ Aligarh, U.P.
- 10. Mr. S.M. Bashir, Sarop Nagar, Cawnpore.
- 11. Dr. Zakiuddin, Muslim University, Aligarh.
- 12. Col. Hyder, Muslim University, Aligarh.
- 13. Dr. L.K. Haider, Muslim University, Aligarh.
- 14. Mr. Mohammed Farukh, M.L.A., Gorakhpur.
- 15. Mr. Ahmad Ispahani, 5, Camac Street, Calcutta.
- 16. Hon'ble Mr. K. Shahabuddin, 52, Amir Ali Avenue, Calcutta.
- 17. Mr. Fazlur Rehman, M.L.A., Chief Whip, Bengal Govt., 84, Jhowtalla Road, Calcutta.
- 18. Mr. Nurul Haq Choudhry
- 19. Mr. Noorur Rehman, 368 Md. Husain Road, Qarol Bagh, New Delhi.
- 20. Mr. Malang Ahmed Pasha, M.L.A., Malang Trading Co, Periamet, Madras.
- 21. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, M.L.A., 125/25, Tjayar Sahib Street, Mount Road, Madras
- 22. Mr. Hatim Alavi, Hatim Manzil, Karachi,
- 23. Hon'ble Mr. M.H. Gadar, Sind Secretariat, Karachi.
- 24. Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Tando Mohd. Khan, District Hyderabad Sind.
- 25. Hon'ble Sirdar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Finance Minister, Peshawar

<sup>\*</sup> See also Khalid Shamsul Hassan, Quaid-i-Azam's Unrealised Dream, Karachi, 1991. pp.56-96

- 26. President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Peshawar.
- 27. Mr. Dalvi, Agent, Eastern Federal Assurance Fort, Bombay.
- 28. Mr. Elias Barni.
- 29. Mr. Arifuddin.
- 30. Mr. Ahmed Mirza.
- 31. Mr. Ali Nawaz Jung.
- 32. Mr. Ahsan Yar Jung.
- 33. Mr. Salar Jung.
- 34. Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi.
- 35. Mr. ML. Qureshi.
- 36. Hon'ble Mr. K.F, Hyder, Finance Minister, Bhopal.
- 37. Abdul Matin Chaudhry, Sylhet.
- 38. Mr. Hasham Premji.
- 39. Mr. Mohammed Ali Habib.

Rafi Butt was Chairman of Sub-Committee on Mining and Metallurgy and member of Sub-Committees on Transport and Trade and Commerce.

#### THE FOLLOWING SUB-COMMITTEES WERE APPOINTED.

1. Agricultural Production. Soil Conservation and Afforestation: 1. Prof. L.K Hyder (Chairman) 2. Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar 4. S. Arifuddin 3. K.B Mian Afzal Hussain 5. Sh. Attaullah Esqr. 6. Dr. Baloch 2. Animal Husbandry and Dairying: 1. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung Bahadur (Chairman) 2. Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur 3. K.B Mian Afzal Hussain 4. K.B Mohyuddin 5. Dr. Hassan 6. Mr. Malik 3. Fisheries 1. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung 2. Dr. Abdul jabbar Bahadur (Chairman) 3. Mir.Ghulam Ali Talpur 4. Dr. S. Valiullah 4. Water Uses and River Regulation: 1. Nawab Ali Yar jung 2. Syed Arifuddin Esqr. (Chairman) 3. Mohsin Ali Esqr 4. Nawab Ahsan Yar jung 5. K.B Mian Abdul Aziz 6. Hon' ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtra 5. Communication and Transport Services including Shipping 1. Mohsin Ali sqr. (Chairman) 2. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung 3. Hashim Premji Esq 6. Rural and Cottage Industries: 1. B.H. Zaidi Esq. (Chairman) 2. Ahmad Ispahani Esq. 4. Mir Azizur Rahman Esq. 3. S. Arifuddin Esq 7. Fuel and Power: 1. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung 2. Mir Azizur Rahman Esq. (Chairman) 3. Hon'bal Mr.K. Shahabuddin 8. Mining and Metallurgy (Including production of steel and other metals): 1. Rafi Butt Esqr. (Chairman) 2. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung 4. S. Arifuddin 3. M. L. Qureshi 5. S.M. Bashir Esq. 6. Dr. Vali Mohammad

# 9. Chemical Industry:

1. Nawab Ahsan Yar Jung (Chairman)

3. Dr. I-A. Hamid

2. Hashim Premji Esq.

4. Lt. Col. M. Haider Khan

# 10. Manufacturing and Engineering Industries:

1. Chairman

3. Hon'ble Mr. K. Shahabuddin

5. S.M. Bashir Esq.

7. Rafi Butt Esq.

2. Ahmad Ispahani

4. Mir Azizur Rehman Esq.

6. Hon'ble Mr. S. A. Nishtar

8. Dr. Vali Mohammad

Agenda of the second meeting of the Planning Committee to be held in Library Hall of the Anglo- Arabic College, Delhi, on Sunday 5th November, 1944 at 10:30 a.m.

- 1. Confirmation of the minutes of the meeting,
- 2. Appointment of the chairman of the sub-committee on Trade and Commerce,

On account of his many commitments in Bengal Mr. Ahmad Ispahani has expressed his inability to accept the Chairmanship of the Sub-committees.

- 3. Revision of the personnel of the sub-committees appointed. (As some of the members nominated at the last meeting arc unable to serve on the sub-committees concerned it seems necessary to appoint their substitutes. Additions may also be proposed),
- 4. Consideration of reports of the Chairman of the various subcommittees about the progress of the work of their respective sub-committees and laying down of the plan of work they propose R) follow,
- 5. (Note:- The Chairmen are requested to send their reports to Mr. M.L Qureshi, so that copies may be made out and distributed to the members of the Planning committee). b.To Draw up a questionnaire.

(A copy of the draft questionnaire is herewith enclosed.

- 6. Fixing a time-table for interim and final reports from the sub-committees.
- 7. Fixing the date & venue for the next meeting of the committee etc.
- 8. Any other proposal which may be brought up with the permission of the Chairman.

A.B.A. Haleem Honorary Secretary

All- India Muslim League Planning Committee Erki 20.10.44 Note:- Supplementary agenda will be issued of necessary

### **Enclosures:-**

- 1. Draft questionnaire
- 2. Copy of the note received from Mr. Rafi Butt, Chairman of the Sub- Committee on Mining and Metallurgy

### Subject: Metallurgy and Mining (Possibilities in India).

I have pleasure to surmise the results of my study of above subject in the following few lines with the hope and desire to elicit your valuable opinion and consequently your suggestions on the subject to enable us to proceed further in the matter:-

**Scope:-** India contains ores of manganese, Iron, (Gold, quantities. The majority of cases the ores bodies have been worked not mainly for the extraction of metals contained in them but for the purpose of exporting the ores as such since few smelting or metallurgical operations are carried on in this country at the present time. Lack of knowledge and proper planning is the cause, In modern metallurgical and chemical developments the bye product has come to be a serious and indispensable item in the source of profit and the failure to use the bye product necessarily involves neglect of minerals that will not be able to work for the metal alone. For example it would be impossible to work for the Copper sulphide ore if there were no demand for the Sulphuric Acid. Perhaps it would be better to discuss each metal separately.

**Copper:-** It is found in Singhbum, Chota Nagpur in some places in Rajputana as Ajmer and Khadri; in Jaipur state (where it has been made use of in the past even as proved by History) at Alwar and Udaipur. In Himalayas at Sikkam, Kulu, Garhwal etc. At Singhbum District Mosabom the Copper mines are being worked successfully. In Kashmir Zanekar River the copper ore is also available.

**Suggestion:-** Singhbum mines should be visited by our planning expert and there the working conditions thoroughly studied, Then Kulu, Garhwal and Zanekar River (in Kashmir) may be visited to explore the possibility of working the mines-there. A thorough report and planning should be prepared, studied and passed. Complete designs may then be prepared. On receipt of reply I shall be thinking of putting this suggestion into practice .In my business experience this method has always given me the best of results and it costs much less than taking up of an enterprise just extempore.

Iron:- it is found in Bihar and Orrisa (Singhbum, Manhbum Burdwanand and Sambalpur)in Madras (Salem, Madura, Mysore, Chanda and Karnul); in Bengal (Damuda iron ores) in C.P (Chanda 250 ft. high belt); also in Jabalpur, Dring, Raipur and Bhilaspur nearer to Lahore; in Riasi Districts in Jammu Hills. It is a good workable mine and had been supporting a number of local furnaces for the last two centuries. In this

regard a visit to the Jammu Hills would be quite in order of things.

Manganese:- With the exception of' Russia, India is the largest producer in the world. The export of this ore rose up to 9, 00,000 tons annually. It is found in Balaghat, Bhandara, Chhindwara. Jabalpur and other Districts of C.P. which yield 60% of the total Indian output. Alldor and Vizigapataam in Madras, Panan Mahal & Balgam Districts of Bombay and Singhbhum eonjhar (sic) and Nagpur and Orrisa, Chitaldrag Shimoya Districts of Mysore and Jalgaon in C. I. The Chief use of' this item is for the manufacture of ferro maganese. It is also used in Chemical industries as an oxidiser as in the manufacture of' bleaching powder, in disinfectants and preparation of gases etc. It is also employed in preparation of colouring materials for glass, pottery, paints etc. The Pink mineral, silicate of manganese is sometimes put for gems on account of its attractive color.

**Aluminum:** - This is the metal of the future. Its ore occurs in Katni (C.P.), Mandla, Sconi, Kalabandi, Sarguja, Mahabaleswar, Bhopal, Palni hills and some parts of Madras, Jammu and Poonch. I am writing to Mr. Mohsin Ali Director Post-War Reconstruction, Government of Bhopal, asking for full information about this ore as it occurs in his state, I shall also arrange a visit to Jammu and Poonch.

**Zinc:**- It occurs in Riasi Districts of Kashmir, but there are generally great transport difficulties in hilly areas and one cannot say anything unless the plane is actually visited and all enquiries completed on the spot. Wolfram: It occurs in Nagpur; Trichnopoly and Rajputana in small quantities. I think it is not worth while bothering about.

**Chromium:** Its ore occurs in Baluchistan, Mysore, Singhbum and in Kashmir in the Dras Valley of Ladakh. Chromite is used for making refractory brick for furnaces lining (which is an industry in itself). Large amount of chromium is used in the manufacture of pigments because of the red, yellow and green colors of its slates.

# CENTRAL EXCHANGE BANK

The earliest advertisement of this bank that has come to our notice was published in the Civil & Military Gazette dated 19 March 1942, and was reproduced in its issue of 25 March, 16, 23, 30 April and 7 May. From this advertisement it becomes clear that the bank's Head Office was in Anarkali. Its subscribed capital was Rs. paid- up capital was Rs. 58,260/—, deposits were Rs. 3, 17,591/—, working capital was Rs. reserve fund was Rs. 7,000/—, and dividend declared was 6%, percentage profit distributed to paid-up capital 28% fixed dposit rates 3% to 4%. It also offered every kind of business transaction and assured grant of loans against approved securities,

In an advertisement on 19 January 1943, in the same paper, and repeated on 23 January, 7, 14 and 21 February, figures increased considerably; authorsied capital Rs.25,00,000/=subscribed capital Rs.2,00,000/= paid-up capital Rs.7,50,000/= reserved fund Rs. I O.OOO/= working capital Rs. 7,50,000 dividend offered remained, however, at 6%

On March 1944 the Eastern Times published report stating that 'the "the directors 'have (he pleasure to announce the offer of right share at Rs. per share (paid-up value Rs. 25/- plus premium of IQs. 5/-)", The market value of the share was between Rs. 55-58, It also mentioned that the Bank had opened a branch at Brandrath Road.

On 12 April 1944 an advertisement in the Civil & Military Gazette announced the opening of a branch of the Bank at Hall Bazaar, Amritsar.

On 14 April 1944 the Civil & Military Gazette, carried an advertisement stating that authorised capital was Rs.25,00,000/= subscribed capital Rs.9,82,950/= paid-up capital Rs. 3, 15,098/= and reserve fund RS.80.000/=. It also gave the names of the directors: M, Rafi Butt Esq., Chairman, l. K.B. Inayat Ullah, 2. Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan, 3. Makhdoomzada Syed Walayat Hussain Shah, 4. Malik Lal Din Qaisar, 5. Sh. Mohd. Jan, 6. Mr. Hamid Ullah Siddiqi M. L.A., 7, Mian Mehraj Din, 8. Mian Ehsan Elahi, Managing Director. It was further mentioned that the Bank had purchased a site at Bank Square and that a branch was opened in Amritsar on 12 April.

The Lahore Central Stock Exchange and Punjab Stock Exchange quoted the following as the closing rates of Bank's shares, at Rs. 42/— and 25, 24 respectively.

An advertisement in the Urdu paper Inqilab of 4, 11 and 20 December 1944 announced that the Bank would soon open branches in Peshawar and Delhi. Nawa-i-Waqt carried an advertisement in its issue of 28 March 1945 repeated on 25.5.45 and 3-8.45, giving figures that the Bank had progressed from Rs. 7,37,000 in 1942 to Rs. 13,46,000 in '1943 and Rs. in 1944, Inqilab carried the same advertisement in. its issue of 13 April 1943, repeated on 3 June 1945 and 1 July 1945.

On 8 September 1945, Inqilab carried an advertisement stating that the Bank had bought (land at Bank Square and construction was going to start soon. The. Bank felt elated that it had been serving Bits clients for nearly the past 10 years and that it now had many prominent business magnates on alts Board of Directors.

The following were 'the board members;'

- 1. M. Rafi Butt, Prop. M/S Ghulam Nabi & Sons, Ferozpur Road, Lahore. Chairman.
- 2. Malik Lal Din Qaiser, Prop. M/S. Qaiser Lal Company, Kashmi ri Bazar, Lahore.
- 3. Malik Abdul Hamid Khan, Prop. M/S. A.H. Khan & sons, Mayo Road, Lahore.

- 4. Sh. Mohd. Jan, Prop. M/S. Haji Sheikh Pir Bukhash & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore.
- 5. Sh. Mohd. Zafar Ullah, Prop. M/S. Chiragh Din & Co., Anarkali, Lahore.
- 6. Khan Mohd. Hassan Khan, B.A. (Alig). Landlord and Raees, Pe shawar, Director Incharge.

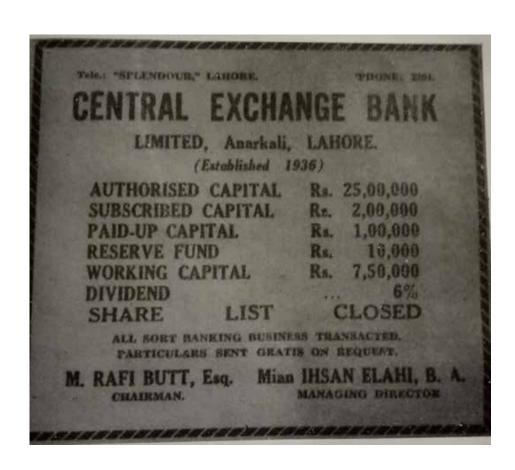
On 23 June 1946 an advertisement in Nawa-i-Waqt announced the opening of a branch in Peshawar on 24 June and a proposed branch at Jullandhar.

On 4 October 1947, Nawa-i-Waqt announced that the Bank had started its business in its own building at Bank Square and the new branches would soon open at Gujranwala, Sialkot, Rawalpindi and Karachi. On 3 January 1948, The Pakistan Times, mentioned that a new branch of the Bank had already started functioning at Campbell Street, Bundar Road, Karachi. Ingilab (Urdu), announced that the Bank started functioning in 1936, but its business remained upto Rs 13 lakh till 1943. It steadily grew to Rs. 24 Lakhs in 1945, Rs. 38 lakhs in 1946, Rs. 55 lakhs in 1947 and by March 1948 it had reached Rs. 70 lakhs. Its head office was in its own building at Bank Square, with branches in Anarkali, Brandrath Road, Lahore, Chowk Kachari, Sialkot, Campbell Street, Karachi and other branches would start functioning in Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Multan, Montgomery (now Sahiwal), Lyallpur (now Faisalabad) and Quetta. It already had branches in Peshawar and Amritsar. While Rafi Butt remained Chairman, the General Manager was changed. Agha Fayyaz Khan took over from Mian Ehsan Elahi. The Board Of Directors was changed. New members were added. In 1948, the new Board consisted of; M. Rafi Butt Chairman Agha Fayyaz Mohammad Khan, General Manager Director:

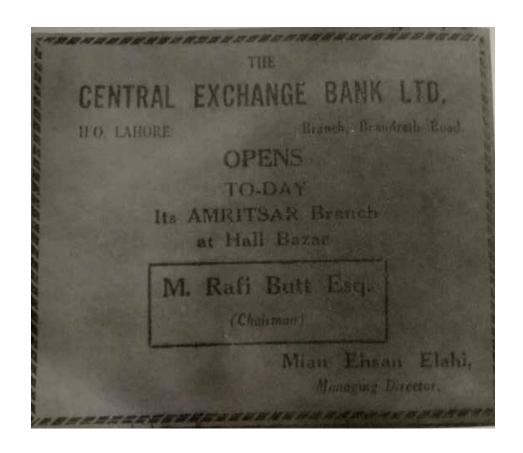
- 1. Malik Lal Din Qaiser, Prop. M/S. Qaiser Lal Company, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.
- 2. Shiekh, Mohammad Jan, Prop. M/S. H.S. Pir Bukhash & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore.
- 3. Malik Abdul Hamid Khan, Prop. M/S. A.H. Khan & Sons, Mayo Road, Lahore.
- 4. Shiekh Mohammad Zafar Ullah, Prop. M/S. Chiragh Din & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore.

- 5. M/S A.S. Latif, No. Eden Hospital, Calcutta.
- 6. Malik Walayat, A-14 Bansi Road, Banglore Cantt.
- 7. K.B. Sheikh Inayatullah, Prop. Kabul Kashmir Stores, Lahore.
- 8. Haji Mohammad Gul Sehgal, 4-Lawrence Raod, Lahore.
- 9. Khan Mohammad Hassan Khan, Landlord, Kohati Gate, Pesha war.
- 10. Mr. Saeed Sehgal of Calcutta, 10 Lawrence Road, Lahore.

It can safely be assumed that the people who opened accounts in the bank were mostly non-Muslims as the Muslims, obviously, did not have the resources to open accounts in banks as they were not in business, Branches of this bank were also opened in commercial areas.



The Civil & Military Gazette 19, 23 January 7, 14, 21 February 1943



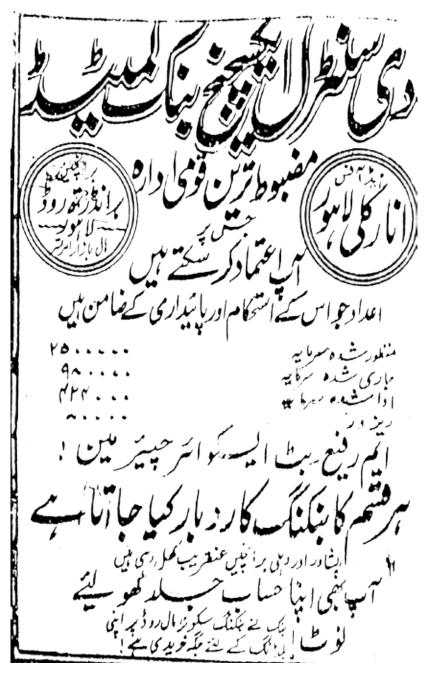
The Civil & Military Gazette 12 April 1944

# LAHORE CENTRAL STOCK EXCHANGE

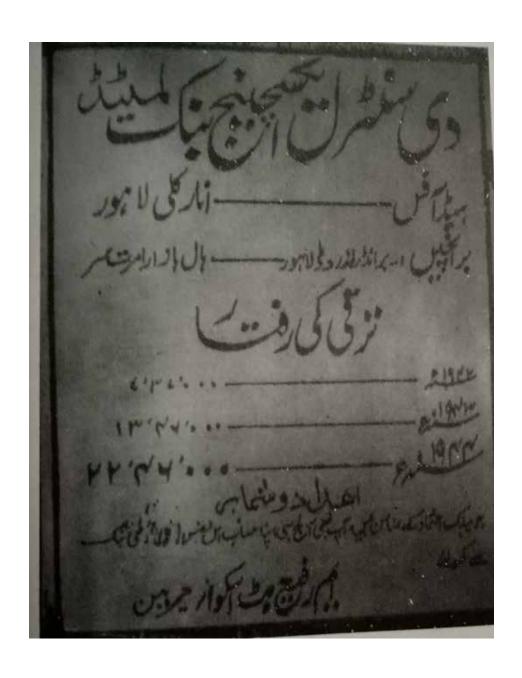
Following were Thursday a closing quotations on the Lahore Centra Stock

Bharat Bank 5 paid 6-2; Central Exchange Bank 42; Hindustan Commercial Bank 57-10, 57-11, 57-2 on lot 57-12; National Bank of Lahore 21-2, 2 21-1; Oriental Bank 5-1; Beserve Bank of India 136-8; Agriculture Machinery 8-10, 8-11; Dragandhra Chemicals 625; Indian Copper 2-14, Indian Iron 37-1, New Victoria Pret. 10-6 10-7; New Victoria 8-10; National Industrial Corporation Defd. 1-3-6 Rampun Distillery 17-8.

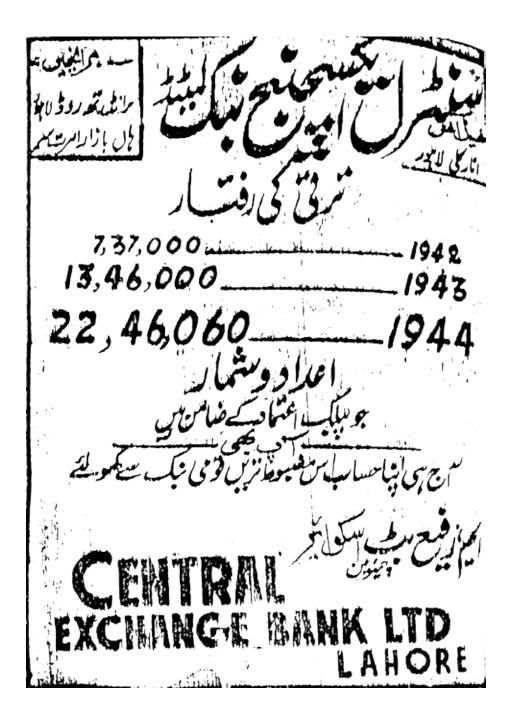
The Civil & Gazette 23 June 1944



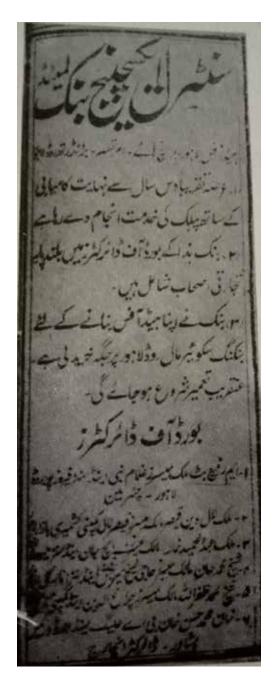
Inqilab, 20 December 1944



Nawa-i-Waqt 28 March 1945



Inqilab, 13 April 1945



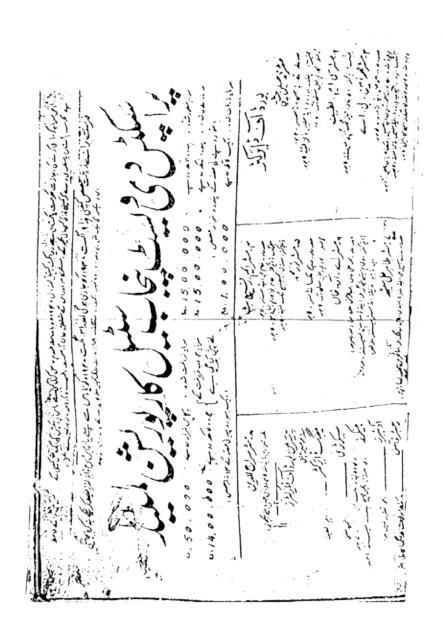
Inqilab, 8 September 1945

معالم منرت به کرندر ایکیمینی بک در به این سند ایکا دید مرزه ۱۹ بر متمبر سن به به برگیک واقع بک کوریمی شریع کردیا به به عنقتیب بی بی این کوج (بوالدیسیا اول. داولد بدی اورکراچی میکل دی جی میکل دی جی

> Nawa-i- Waqt 5 November 1947



Nawa-i-Waqt 25 March 1948





Mr. Rad Butt

RUFI BUTT DECLARED ELECTED

Lahore Corporation results

Inhore, Jan. 15.—Mr. Ruft Butt has been declared to the Lahore Corporation from Trade and Commerce constituency No. 2.

He secured 28, votes against 17 obtained by his rival Mr. Abdul Hamid.—A.P.I.

# THE PAKISTAN TIMES

12th September 1947 Page 6 Col.5

# PUNJAB MUSLIM CHAMEBR OF COMMERCE

At a general meeting of the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce held in the office of the Director of Industries, Punjab, Lahore, an Advisory Committee consisting of the following has been appointed: Sir Sayed Maratib Ali, Shaikh Naseer Ahmad, Mr. M. Rafi Butt, and Dr. M. S. Muttaqi.

This committee has commenced work in co-operation and consultation with Mr. B.A. Quraishi, ICS, Director of Industries. Applications are being called from the refugees and other technical people with a view to provide them for running workshops and factories etc, left by the non-Muslims in West Punjab.

THE PAKISTAN TIMES

# Address presented by the Punjab Muslim Chember of Commerce.

To,

QAID-I-AZIM M.A. JINNAH

President:
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

Qaid i-Azim,

We the members of the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, respectfully extend to you a very hearty and cordial welcome on the occasion of your visit to Lahore. This is indeed a great occasion for us to be able to receive you, the Champion of the Muslims and an accredited leader of the "Milat". The great services you have rendered towards the organisation and up-lift of the Muslim Nation are too well known to be reiterated here.

We note with great satisfaction and pleasure that the questions of economic advancement and the share of Muslims in Comme civil enterprise, have of late, been engaging your attention. The sta the Muslims in the Punjab, where we are in majority have an a by default, because, till recently, there was no Musiim provincial Commercial Organisation which could safeguard the interests of Muslims and keep the administration informed of the detailed facts of the Muslim case. Under your inspiration, the Muslim business community of the Punjab? have fulfilled the aferesaid, long felt need, by providing an economic woll in and thus established an organisation for the protection of the in their people. Accordingly, the Punjah Muslim Chamber to commerce, was formed last year, in collaboration with the leading Muslim business-men and now we are glad to report to you that it his gaining strength day by day; our membership has now grown crow 150 and there are increasing indications of its vast popularity. Representatives of the Muslim business interests from all parts of the Province have responded to our call and are actively taking interest in the affairs of the Chamber. We are contemplating the organisation and affiliation of the Muslim traders associations all over the Punjab.

Muslim Chambers of Commerce thus established in the various provinces of India, will form the motive force of the economic machinery, which is so essential to the establishment of Pakistan. It will enable us to tackle forthwith the commercial and industrial problems of the component parts of Pakistan long before we are called upon to lay the foundation of its economic and financial structure.

Business in the Punjab is almost monopolised by non-muslims and the very small number of muslimans who take to business are greatly handicaped by countless obstacles placed in their way; this state of affairs is aggravated by indifference on the part of the Government and some times its step-motherly treatment.

Only recently the Chamber felt compelled to submit a representation to the Provincial Government, ventilating the grievences of Muslim businessmen in regard to their Food policy which is giving them cause for grave anxiety. In the machinery set up to work the Food policy-a matter of great importance in the present war economy - not a single key-post has been given to the majority community of this province. Likewise in other trades, such as wool, hide, cloth and steel, etc., etc., the Muslims are not treated fairly. The export of grey and black wool having been prohibited due to the present hostilities, the Government of India have appointed a non-muslim firm to make purchases of wool from North Western India, namely Punjab, North Western Frontier, Bluchistan and Sind or in one word Pakistan; resulting in a virtual monoply of the trade in the hands of a non-muslim agency. Not only are the producers of this commodity all Muslims but the suppliers are also predominantly muslims, yet the Central Government have entrusted the whole work to a Hindu firm. The Hide and skin trade which is almost entirely run by the Muslims is hard hit by the Central Government's Hide and Skin Ordinance, which is so designed as to totally crush the trade.

The development of industries, trade and the share of Muslims therein are under the serious consideration of the Chamber. The Punjab Government, we understand, have formed committees for Post War Reconstruction, but it is most reprehensible that the representation of the Muslim business community on such committees is absolutely

negligible. We are thus quite in the dark as to the steps taken by the Government to safeguard the interests of the Muslims. As things stand we are diffident whether we shall at all be associated with any scheme of industrialisation. We would request the Government to work out the scheme of industrialising the Province in a manner as to guarantee the Muslims their full share. We on our part assure the Government of our full co-operation.

We have carefully noted the so called 15-year plan sponsored by some non-muslim industrialists of Bombay. The plan is obviously a clever manosuvre of economic encirclement firmly based upon Akhhand Hindustan and directed against the political ideals of Muslims. We Muslims cannot afford to subvene to any postulates, whether political or economic by which our due national status is not assured.

Adequate and sound finances are essential to the creation, promotion and organisation of industry and commerce and as such it is necessary for us to pool together our financial resources by way of establishing banking institutions at important trade centres in and out of India and strengthening the existing ones.

Before concluding we must express our gratitude to you on your timely decision for the formation of the Planning Committee and we assure you that we shall feel honoured to serve this great cause. Due to lack of organisation we have suffered immensely, but now with your guidance we feel confident of a better future; INSHAALLAH.

It now remains for us to thank our Qaid-i-Azim for having graciously consented to receive an address from the Chamber. We are no doubt a commercial body yet the economic problems are so closely linked to politics that we canot remain indifferent to the achievement of our national ideal and are anxious to play our part within our own limits. Lastly, our beloved Qaid! we assure you of our co-operation and loyalty at all times.

# Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Lahore.

# Executive Committee for the year 1944-45

### PRESIDENT

Sir Syed Maratab Ali, K.B., C.B.E., (M/s. Syed. A. & M. Wazi Ali & Sons.)

### VICE - PRESIDENT

Naseer Ahmad Sheikh, B. Sc., (Hon. (Sch.) (M/s. Sh. Mohd Ismail Maula Bux).

### MEMBERS

Syed Amjad Ali, C.B.E., Military Contractor, Lahore.

K. B. Sh. Anyat Ullah (Kashmir & Kabul Stores, Lahore)

Sh. Mabboob Alam, B. A., Hons. Military Contractor, Lahore.

K. S. Ch. Abdul Karim, Contractor, Lahore.

Sh. Rafi-ud-Din, B.Sc., (M/s. Imperial Roller Flour Mills, Lahore Cantt.

M. Raffi, Butt, (M/s. Ghulam Nabee & Sons, Laborc.)

Syed Hamid Ali, (Dar-ul-Ishat, Punjab, Labore.)

Mohd Aslani. (M/s. Fazal Bhoy Ltd., Lahore.)

Sh Said Ahmad, (M/s. Said Ahmad & Co., Lahore.)

M. Feroz Din (M/s. Sh. Sardar Mohd Feroze Din, Lahore.)

### HONY, SECRETARY

Dr. M.S. Muttaqi, F.I.S.A. (India) Managing Director, The Muslim India Insurance Co., Ltd., 55, Mozang Road, Labore.

## HONY. TREASURER

M. Ebsan Elahi, B. A. Managing Director, Central Exchange Bank, Ltd., Labore.

## ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Khawaja Mohammad Iqbal B.A., LL. B.

Dated Lahore the 24th March, 1944.

# INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN U.S. A.

# Muslim Industrialist's Appeal to H.M.G. to Help India

## Duty of Indian Muslims

Mr. M. Rid Bull, a leading industrialist of the Pusyah and member of the Aliciadia Medina League Pransing Committee, who, has recently returned from the U.S.A. after it match; say there, has released the votes to the Persi as follows:

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# Reconversion to Pesce-time Production

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# War Has Charged The

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As regards consumer goods reconversion has already taken place is most of the industries and from what it depends after than textile will be ready within three to four months and a part of it will be available for expert.

### . Ladia's Steeling Assets

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Mr. M. Rafi Bu t

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The Eastern Times dated 2 November 1945 Courtesy Mr. Khursheed Ahmad Yousafi

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# ANNUAL MEMBERS

# Punjab Provincial Branch.

M.A., I.E.S., K. S. Chaudhri Bashir Ahmad Khan, Lt.-Col. C. M. Nicol. I.M.S., R. S. Lala Sohan Lal, Begum Sahiba Mian Shah Nawaz, M.L.A., Mr. M. Rafi The Hon'ble Major Sirdar Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan, K.B.E., K.B., Miss L. E. Thomas, Mr. F. L. Brayne, M.C., Cl. Ertl. C.S., Mr. W. H. F. Armstrong. Butt, Mr. L. Chaman, Mr. K. G. Mitchell.

District Red Cross Branch, Jullundur.

Khan Noor Mohammad Khan Afghan.

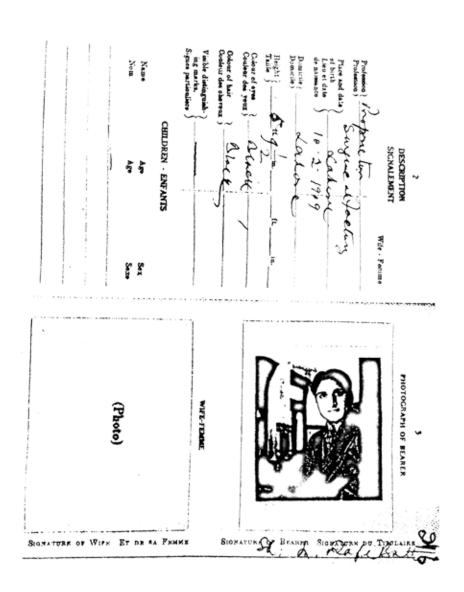
District Red Cross Branch, Ferozepore.

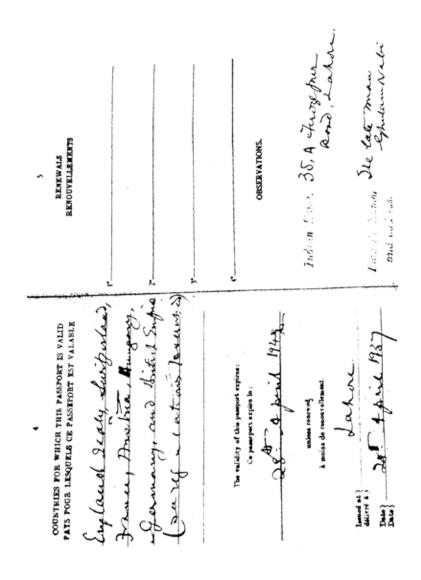
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of the late Mian Son Ghulam Nabi Butt. b. 1910. At the tender age of 15 he succeeded his father's business on his death, in 1925. The heavy responsibilities of the family fell to his lot which he managed very wisely. He devoted his whole attention to the concern, till in 1931 he was able to put the whole show on modern lines. He put his brothers, Messrs. Mohammad Hanif Butt and Mohammad Taqi Butt, in the line and gave them practical sound train-The former is incharge of the Bombay Office situated on Sir Phiroze-Shah Mehta Road and the later is at present working at the Head Office. For advanced studies in Steel Industry and Surgical In-struments Production he went to England in 1937 and underwent training at Canning's Chrome & Chemical Factories at Birminghem under the direction of Sir Canning

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Lord Mayor and owner of various groups of industries. Also visited various steel and surgical fac-tories in Europe. On his return developed the old works Mayo Road, by introducing modern systems of manufacturing surgical instruments and Hospital Appliances. Later built a huge factory at a cost of several lakhs of rupees on Ferozepore Road, Lahore, which is considered as one of the largest, very well-equipped and most up-todate 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-organised labour. Since the out-break of the War he has acquired contracts of the surgical instruments and hospital appliances' supply to Military and thus played a conspicuous part in the war effort. Is Non-Official Member of the Medical Advisory Board, Government of India; has often advised the Government of India in matters concerning Surgical and other Hospital Appliance supplied in the Theatres of War; Chairman, the Central Exchange Bank Ltd., Lahore, President, Advisory Board on the Publication "All-India Trade Directory and Who's Who." He is a keen horseman. Hobby: Tennis & riding. Office Address: Ghulam Nabi and Sons, Near Garden Town, Ferozepore Road, Lahore. Residence: 35-A. Ferozepore Road, Lahore. Phone: Office, 4058; Residence 3837. Telegrams: "Surgicalworks."

All-India Trade Directory and Who's Who-1942



Nawa-I-Waqt 27 November 1948



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