

After his return from Europe he again started to work as a lecturer, but after two years he resigned from the educational service of a Government of which he had become an outspoken critic. He continued to live in Lahore, earning just enough as a lawyer to support his very modest way of living, devoting himself primarily to his studies and to poetry.

In an interview which Mumtaz Hasan had in 1957 with the life long servant and companion of Iqbal, Mr. Mian Ali Bakhsh, the latter was asked whether his master's legal work was a very time consuming affair, and his reply throws some interesting light on Iqbal's general attitude on his worldly affairs. He said: „He did not wish to involve himself beyond a point in his law practice. Usually when he got cases that could bring him fees of about Rs. 500/- a month he refused further briefs and would tell the parties to come next month. If the sum was secured during the first 3 or 4 days of a month he did not accept any more work during the rest of the month.....He estimated that he did not need more than this amount for his monthly expenses. This in the old days included the rent of the house, the wages of servants, the salary of the *munshi*, and the general expenses of the household.“

Looking at his living circumstances it is only but logical that the stage from which the younger Iqbal observed and contemplated the world was that of the middle classes of Muslim India, which according to Prof. Kiernan „was just in process of separating themselves off from the feudal order of landlords and peasants, and leading a general revival of the Muslim community in India. Once the reigning power in India, and after the Moghul collapse, the British conquest, and the failure of the *Mutiny* pushed into the background, the Muslims had for long remained baffled and resentful. Meanwhile the Hindus, whose commercial habits made it easier for them to acclimatise themselves to the new conditions, were going ahead. After Sir Syed Ahmad and the 'Aligarh movement' had summoned the Muslims to get to grips with the new age, it was natural that the Muslim middle classes should come to be drawn in behind the Hindu nationalist movement led by the Congress. Iqbal's early poetry (therefore) held up the ideal of a united and free India, with Muslims and Hindus living side by side like brothers.....(but) this was not to last long. Finding its more immediate and palpable obstacle in the superior Hindu wealth and organisation, rather than in British rule, the Muslim middle classes, despite various fluctuations, were to turn away from the Congress in the direction charted by the Muslim League.....”

„Iqbal, a man of the middle class, was close enough both to the landlords and princes above it, and to the labourers and peasants below it, to be able to look at life through the eyes of all of them...“

It is said that Iqbal, in the broadest sense, was a *political poet*, one concerned with men as social beings. But he was also actively associated with politics from the later 1920s till the day of his death, the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 1938. One of the reasons why he had left his professorship at the Government College in Lahore was that he felt that he was not free to speak openly as long as he was in Government employment. And in spite of his rather strained financial conditions, he was hesitant to serve the British Raj even though a person with his qualifications should have had no problems whatsoever to get easily absorbed in their 'system'. He was therefore, as his only son, Dr. Javid Iqbal, tells us, very keen to seek some form of academic employment under a Muslim ruler where he could express his ideas freely. He obviously went to Hyderabad State and met his old counsel and mentor, Nawab Mirza Dagh, himself a poet par excellence and considered to be the '*doyen of Urdu literature, king of the ghazals*', who held the position of poetical preceptor to the Nizam. But he returned to Lahore 'absolutely disgusted and disillusioned with the deadness prevalent among the people and the obsequious attitude of the Nizam towards the British. His letters written in this period to close friends show a man bitter and frustrated because of the oppressive pressure of the social customs of his community upon creative individuals like himself. His letters are full of cynical disgust with the hypocrisy, narrowness and self-righteousness of the people among whom he was born'.

To become a 'political poet' was the result of his three year's intensive studies in Europe. As already mentioned he had started his poetical career as a 'pantheist', having accepted the influence of Hafiz, the great Persian pantheistic poet. „He started as a lyrical poet“, writes his son Javid, „and at the same time founded his political ideas on a pantheistic philosophy. Accordingly he wrote poems in support of Indian nationalism. But this was merely a passing phase. His three year's stay in Europe brought a complete revolution in the mind of Iqbal. He discarded pantheism as an unsatisfactory philosophy and turned instead to the principle of Islamic solidarity.....

„It was the growth of 'Muslim nationalism' which led to the bifurcation of the Indian nationalist movement and eventually resulted in the secession of Islam from India.“

This change of mind in Iqbal is very much reflected in one of his letters written in 1909: „I have myself been of the view that religious differences

should disappear from this country (India), and even now act on this principle in my private life. But now I think that the preservation of their separate national entities is desirable for both the Hindus and the Muslim. The vision of a common nationhood for India is a beautiful ideal, and has a poetic appeal, but looking to the present conditions and the unconscious trends of the two communities, appears incapable of fulfilment“.

Here comes the herald of an independent, sovereign Muslim State, who decades later, as President of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League in Allahabad on 29<sup>th</sup> December 1930 held his famous speech which is generally considered as having been the clarion call for a separate homeland for the Muslims in India.

„The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups“, said Iqbal. „The Muslim demand for the creation of a ‘Muslim India’ within India is, therefore, perfectly justified.....”

“Personally I would like to see Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sindh and Baluchistan“, he told his baffled audience, „amalgamated into a single state, self-governing within the British Empire or without the British Empire. The formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.“

Whether it was sheer coincidence that shortly before, in November-December 1930 during the first Round Table Conference, one Mr. Choudhri Rahmat Ali had met many Muslim leaders in London and explained to them his scheme of partition, for the first time giving it the name of Pakistan. P for Punjab, A for Afghania (North-West Frontier Province), K for Kashmir, I for Iran, S for Sindh and Istan for Baluchistan). He was a young student, a Punjabi like Iqbal, who together with some of his friends had been discussing this ‘scheme’ for quite some time in political circles, mostly consisting of fellow students. The word appeared for the first time in written form in a four-page leaflet entitled *Now or Never*, published in January 1933, signed by Rahmat Ali and three of his friends.

When Iqbal unfolded his scheme to the delegates of the All-India Muslim League session held at Allahabad he really must have taken them by surprise because it is indeed „strange“, as Choudhry Khaliquzzaman expressed in his biography, „that the Council of the Muslim League did not take any notice of the President’s address nor put forward any concrete proposal touching the subject“. However, as Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada later reported, heated debates

took place following Iqbal's address when differences of opinion became very obvious. 'The differences rose to such a high pitch that Iqbal left the meeting.' Still, the fact remains undisputed that his speech constituted a milestone in the Muslim's struggle for freedom and has come to assume a tremendous historical importance.

Iqbal had entered practical politics in 1926 when friends and admirers more or less forced him to contest in the elections for the Punjab Legislative Council. He came out with flying colours and won a seat from a Muslim district of Lahore. He worked as a member of the Council for a full term and afterwards attended local political meetings without, however, really considering himself to be an active party worker. Still, his national and international fame had grown so much that in 1931 he, together with the Aga Khan and Mohammad Ali Jinnah represented the Muslim's cause during the second session of the Round Table Conference in London. It does not come as a surprise that as a delegate he played an important role, 'both as an advocate of the rights of the Muslims, as also of India's demand for an advance in constitutional reforms.'

In 1932, „Allama Iqbal once again came to England as a delegate to the Third Round Table Conference“, writes G. Allana in his fascinating book on the lives of great freedom fighters. „At this time, Quaid-e-Azam was in England, and had given up active participation in Indian Politics. The two often met, and Allama Iqbal, having observed developments during the discussions at the Conference, was pessimistic about the outcome of the deliberations.

„On his return, Allama Iqbal presided over the All-India Muslim Conference in 1932, and during his presidential address he said he was opposed to nationalism as understood in Europe, as in it there were the germs of atheistic materialism. What really mattered was man's faith, his culture, his historical traditions. 'These are the things, which in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated.'“

Iqbal continued his political work until his death. He for some time was the Secretary and also the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and after the return of the Quaid-e-Azam to India and his becoming the unquestioned leader of India's Muslims, the two were in close contact with each other. Iqbal always kept Jinnah informed through letters about the state of affairs in the Punjab, and his personal views on political problems of an all-India nature. „These letters“, says Mr. Allana, „reveal how close the two great

leaders stood to one another, and that there was complete unanimity between the two on the ultimate goal and destiny of the Muslims of the subcontinent.“

Many more such ‘pieces’ could be added to this profile on the life of Allama Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, and I am sure they would all enrich the picture of this man and add additional food for thoughts. They would be ‘bits and pieces’ of a fascinating journey, stories worthwhile telling. They would accomplish the picture of a man who had really made it to the top of everything, who had not only become the internationally renown ‘poet of the East’, who in 1922 was knighted by the King of England, but who, - and that was much more important to him, - had finally become the much loved, adored and unquestioned champion of the Muslim’s renaissance in India. And we would also see that despite all these honours, love and affection, Iqbal until his very end led a very simple life. His last few years were spent under the shadow of deep sorrow caused by the death of his wife, followed by a long spell of bad health. According to his lifelong servant, he was a very kind-hearted man who was very composed and controlled in all his actions and hardly ever got really angry. He loved his two children, his daughter and his son and took great personal care of them after his wife had left this world.

His dynamism and great will power stayed unbroken until the end and his will to serve his people was even growing every day although his physical powers were said to be rapidly declining. His eyesight worsened dramatically so that he had to request friends to write letters on his behalf.

His last visitor on 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1938 happened to be a German, a famous traveller, orientalist and philosopher, Hans-Hasso von Veltheim Ostrau. In his diary which was published after World War II, he remembers this:

„In the afternoon I visited the famous poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He received me in bed since he had been ill for some months. He suffered from asthma and angina pectoris and was nearly blind as a result of cataract. For hours we discussed philosophy and art and spoke of the political situation in the world. As a good friend of Germany, which he knew well from his travels, as an admirer and one who knew Goethe extremely well, he had agreed with me already for some years previously that closer spiritual bonds between Indians and Germans would now be an even more important demand of the times. Although I spoke to my friends in Lahore about my impression of Iqbal as one who was nearing his end I had no idea that I was to have been his last visitor. The next morning special editions of the papers of India brought the news of his death on Thursday, 21<sup>st</sup> April, early in the morning at 5-30,

only a few hours after my visit. Schools, universities, law courts and the bazaars were closed all over India as a sign of homage and all Muslims wore mourning for some days. The newspapers wrote: 'On Wednesday night Sir Muhammad Iqbal was very lively and spoke for a long time with Baron von Veltheim, a German friend. They discussed philosophy and politics for quite some time. After his German visitor left him he slept until 2 o'clock in the morning and was awakened by pain. He felt his death coming. He dictated his last verses in Persian. His last words were: I am a Muslim, I do not fear death, I shall greet him smilingly:'

A great Muslim, a poet, a philosopher, and a champion of the rights of the Muslims had passed away. He had a funeral which in the words of his friend, Sir Abdul Qadir, even princes might have envied. His last resting place is near the Badshahi Mosque, at Lahore, where people even today pay homage and continue to place at his feet flowers as a symbol of their gratitude.

In a note-book called 'Stray Reflections' which was written in 1921 Iqbal once said: 'Nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians'.

The architect of Mohammad Iqbals's dream of an Islamic State of Pakistan who was to become one of the most distinguished statesmen of his times, the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Jinnah, qualifies at least for the creative and prosperity part of this statement. The Quaid's untimely and early death swung the door wide open, even until today, as to whether and when also the rather pessimistic outlook on the future of nations must become true or can, as Iqbal would have hoped and prayed for, be ultimately averted by men's wisdom.



Quaid-e-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah at Malabar Hill, Bombay  
(around 1943)

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah the successful barrister (around 1912)







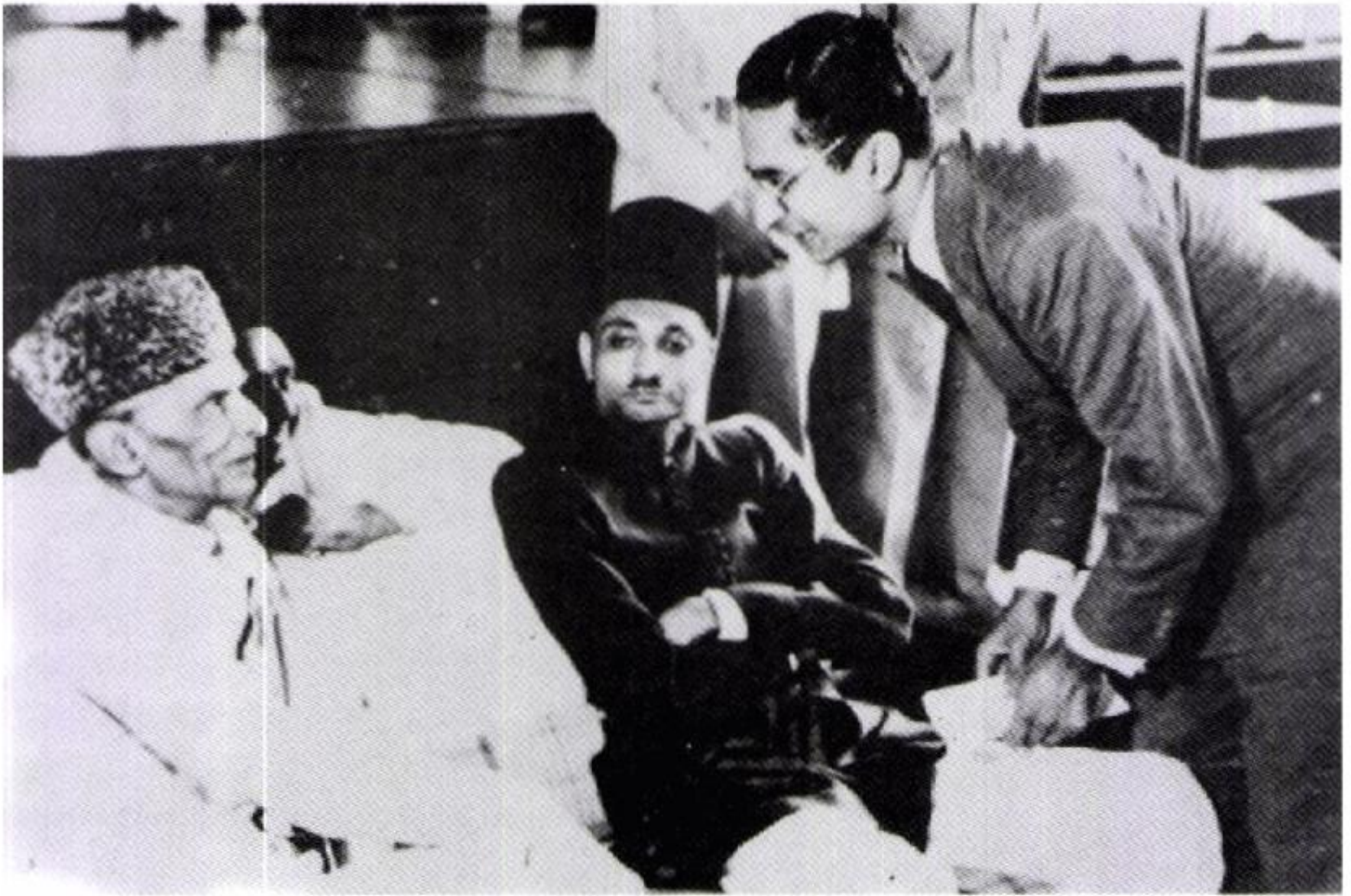
Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan accompanied by  
Miss Fatima Jinnah and Mr. and Mrs. Liaquat Ali Khan,  
Prime Minister



Governor-General Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 1947/1948



Jinnah's Birthplace



Mohammad Ali Jinnah chatting with Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee  
(Bombay around 1944)

## Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Architect of Pakistan

Pakistan's birth has produced a vast and very diversified collection of literature written by eminent scholars, historians, witnesses of the time and politicians from both sides of the 'great divide'. But some remarkable and most outstanding contributions came also from other parts of the globe, primarily, of course, from England and the United States.

Countless biographies were written on quite a number of those great women and men who have made their admirable contribution towards India's march to freedom. Some of them, like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlar Nehru have been authors themselves, have written autobiographies as well as other books closely associated with India's freedom movement.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the 'Architect of Pakistan', who was destined to become the unchallenged leader of the Muslims of British India and who without any doubt played a most decisive part in the struggle for independence, at even par with Gandhi and Nehru, did neither write his biography nor did he leave any other kind of a 'political manifest' behind. It may be that his rapidly failing health and the immense pressure of work during the last years of life have prevented him from doing so. Others maintain that he never in his life was very fond of writing beautifully worded prose. But as one of his many illustrious biographers, Stanley Wolpert, the famous American professor of history said: „Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammad Ali Jinnah did all three.“

Thus the creation of Pakistan was his legacy and became the cause of joy, applause, love and affection as well as hatred and deadly animosity, depending on which side of the 'great divide' people considered themselves to be 'at home'.

Many biographies were written on him, most of them worth reading and full of praise for a man who today is worshipped in Pakistan as 'Father of the Nation' whose outstanding abilities had been acknowledged by friends and foes alike.

The Aga Khan, not always in agreement with him when himself being actively involved in Indian politics, wrote this about him in his memoirs:

„The Quaid-e-Azam’s brilliant and epoch-making career, so untimely ended, reached its summit in these momentous years of 1946 and 1947. Now he belongs to history; and his memory is imperishable. Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life, - Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi, - Jinnah is the most remarkable, and that almost uncanny combination of prescience and resolution which is statecraft“.

I will neither try to bring owls to Athens nor will I make an attempt to carry coals to Newcastle, which indeed it would mean if I would fill long pages full of details of the Quaid’s biography. When my friend Roshen Ali Bhimjee and I discussed the outlay and the contents of this book and came to the conclusion that it should contain a historical review of the Indian Muslim’s long march to freedom and independence it was never our intention that I should compile a comprehensive textbook on the history of the last 150 years of the subcontinent or, even in an abridged form of the Indian freedom movement and on the life of its most prominent and outstanding leaders. We, of course, knew that we would not be able, - for a variety of reasons, - to do such a specific and highly scientific job, nor would this have even suited our intentions and ambitions. This book was, as I have repeatedly indicated primarily intended to become a manual for our group’s staff members and associates and their families. But it was also meant to pay special homage to its ever increasing clientele, friends and well-wishers. And as it started to shape, page after page being written, we became increasingly confident about our project and kept on wondering whether it would not warrant the attempt to also interest an even wider circle of readers in its contents. Journalists for instance, or executives and staff of the country’s insurance industry at large, students of history and economics, perhaps even also people generally interested in all kind of practical politics and entrepreneurial activities. But never, ever, was it our intention to ‘compete’ with those learned academics whom we owe such a variety of excellent publications on the subject matter. On the contrary, as the reader has seen, I have heavily drawn on the works of such eminent scholars and am immensely grateful for what they have been able to put together in the course of time. All this applies not only to the historical review which I am trying to give in this chapter, but holds equally good in respect of most of the profiles or life sketches I have written on those men who in one way or the other have contributed to the foundation and development of the EFU Group of Companies. Many of them hold their place

in the history of Pakistan in their own rights and have been actively involved in writing it.

These remarks do, of course, particularly apply when it comes to the Quaid-e-Azam about whom whole libraries could be filled and whose life data, I am sure, are well known to even first graders in this country.

Still, - having said this, however, it was felt that one could simply not afford to at least briefly 'memorise' the life and deeds of this remarkable man who, as Wolpert said, was one of the few 'individuals' who was able to change the map of the world. And having read many of the well written and mostly fascinating books on his life I soon came to realise two things which did strike me, I must confess, rather unexpectedly.

To start with, I was genuinely surprised that despite the many thousand pages written about the 'Quaid', - the Leader, - how little we, as readers and 'students' of history really get to know him as Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the human being, as child and growing up boy, or about his family, his friends or classmates. Nor are we told much, if anything at all, about his early inclinations, hobbies and adventures. Not much is known of these early years. His real biography, at least as it presents itself to the general public, seems to start only when he is approaching seventeen and sails for England and studies law at the most prestigious and world famous Lincoln's Inn to become the 'youngest Indian student ever to be called to the Bar'.

There are, of course, descriptions about Jinnah's parental background and birth, and out of the many I liked the one written by Mr. G. Allana best. Apart from having had a distinguished record of public service both in the national and international fields, Mr. Allana was an author and poet of international repute. His contribution to history, literature and poetry has been of a singularly high order. His poems have been translated into many languages whilst his books on the historical aspects of the Pakistan Movement are regarded as standard works in this subject.

Let us listen to what he had to say to this particular part of Jinnah's biography: „While the rebellion (1857) raged in all its fury in many parts of India, *Gondal*, a princely State in Kathiawar, continued a life undisturbed by political turmoil and awakening under the rule of the Thakur Saheb. *Gondal*, the capital of the State, was the biggest city but its overwhelming population lived in the villages. *Paneli* was one such village, having a population of less than a thousand at the time of India's first rebellion. In this sleepy little village

lived at this time a hard-working old man, Poonjabhai, an Ismaili Khoja, and there his forefathers had lived, worked and died. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people of *Paneli*, Poonbhai being among the few exceptions, as he owned some handlooms, on which he worked long and tiring hours. This enabled him to make enough money to let his family lead a happy and contented life.

„Poonjabhai had three sons.....and one daughter. Jinnabhai, the youngest, was born around 1850, and he was more dynamic than his two brothers. To his youthful and ambitious mind, *Paneli* appeared to be too small a place, where the only prospect that stared him in the face was to be one of the three heirs to his father's few handlooms and to spend a whole lifetime running after paltry gain. He soon realised this was not a life that he would like to live. *Gondal*, that big city, tempted his spirit of adventure, and he quietly left *Paneli* for *Gondal*.“

Allana keeps on telling us how young Jinnabhai became a successful businessman and having returned to his home village got married to Mithibai, a girl from a respectable Ismaili Khoja family from Dhraffa, a village not far away from home. The married couple returned to Gondal where Jinnabhai's business succeeded beyond his expectations. Very soon this place became too small for him and he thought of either going to Bombay, that glittering and glamorous city of trade and industry, or to Karachi which had a population of just fifteen thousand people but with a lot of future prospects as far as business was concerned. He opted for the latter and rented a small apartment in a building on Newnham Road in Kharadhar and set up his office not far away from his residence.

Jinnabhai's business again prospered 'and he was soon reckoned among the leading merchants of Karachi with an extensive overseas trade as well as trade with the vast hinterland. Two of the items in which he dealt was isinglass and gum-arabic.'

On Sunday, 25<sup>th</sup> December, 1876, Mithibhai with the help of a midwife of Kharadhar brought her firstborn, a son, Mohammed Ali, into the world. He should become the favourite child of his parents although he was followed by four sisters and two brothers, out of which his sister Fatima became the only one who played an important role in Mohammad Ali's life.

As was not unusual in those days in India, Jinnah's date of birth is not quite certain. The register of his first school in Karachi gives an earlier date but

Jinnah himself insisted on the one mentioned above. He, therefore, was seven days old when the English Queen, Victoria, became Kaiser-i-Hind, the year that the Crown took over what should become the most precious jewel of her Empire, when Imperial India was created. „And he lived“, writes his first biographer, Hector Bolitho, „to negotiate, with Queen Victoria’s great-grandson, for its partition and deliverance from British rule“.

Jinnah spent his childhood in Karachi and he received his early education there, starting at the age of six. At the age of ten he was sent to Bombay, to stay with the family of an aunt. But after a year he returned to his city of birth. Whether it was homesickness or instigation of his ailing mother is not known. But fact is that he joined the Sindh Madrasah Tul Islam High School. It is still there and at its gate there is written: 'Enter to learn - go forth to Serve'. He must have taken this very literally for his life story seems to be just that.

At the age of fifteen he went to the Christian Missionary Society High School and at the end of the one year that he was a student there his parents married him, as was customary then, to a twelve year young Khoja girl from Kathiawar. Shortly thereafter he left Karachi for England to study law, as was already mentioned. Whilst he was there his youngish wife died, so did his mother and it appears that his father became a broken man, also in financial terms.

Jinnah himself did never speak much about his childhood and youth, - and he was not a diarist, as I already said. Only some casual remarks are to be found, like the ones which he made in a speech held at a Dinner Party at the Karachi Club a few days before Pakistan came into being: „Yes, I am Karachi-born“, he said, „and it was on the sands of Karachi that I played marbles in my boyhood. I was schooled at Karachi“. No more, no further details, just that.

And a few days later, all in August 1947, just after his appointment as Pakistan’s first Governor-General he paid glorious tribute, - at least by his standing, - to his city of birth when replying to the Civic Address presented by the Karachi Corporation:

„Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why starting from humble beginnings it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world.....I visualise a great future for Karachi - it always had immense potentialities. ....So let us all strive together to make this



beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce, and a seat of learning and culture.“

All what there is to Jinnah's life story may be in a boyhood dictum, as Hector Bolitho beautifully describes. During his research Bolitho came across two elderly people, former neighbours of the Jinnabhai's. A man and a women, then in their mid-eighties. The man had been at school with Mohammad Ali, but the only thing he could recall was, „I played marbles with him in the street“. Bolitho, not satisfied, requested the man to close his eyes and to see, once more 'the coloured glass marbles in the dust.' The man then closed his eyes and dug deeper into his memory and finally enlarged his only reminiscence about his schoolmate by narrating how on one fine morning, when he was playing in the street, Jinnah, then aged about fourteen, came up to him and said: „Don't play marbles in the dust; it spoils your clothes and dirties your hands. We must stand up and play cricket“.

According to Bolitho, the boys in Newnham Road were obedient: they gave up playing marbles and allowed Jinnah to lead them from the dusty street to a bright field where he brought his bat and stumps for them to use. When he sailed for England he gave his bat to his school friend, the one I have referred to a little earlier and said: „You will go on teaching the boys to play cricket while I am away.“

A beautiful story which, if not true, certainly should have been invented if Bolitho had not already narrated it to us. Perhaps this is all there is to Jinnah's life, him in a nutshell: „*Stand up from the dust so that your clothes are unspoiled and your hands clean for the tasks that fall to them*“.

The second thing puzzling me ever since I had started to take interest in the history of Pakistan, something which increasingly amazed and irritated me, was that whereas I soon came to realise that Mohammad Ali Jinnah's role in India's freedom movement was at least at par with men like Gandhi and Nehru, to just mention these two, the world at large, people outside the Hindo-Pak subcontinent were at no time, not even until today really aware of it. And when speaking of the 'world at large' I, of course, do not refer to those numerous eminent scholars, historians and former officials of the Government of British India and/or the United Kingdom, of whom many have paid glorious tribute to the outstanding and decisive role which Jinnah was destined to play in Hindo-Pak politics.

Montagu for instance, Secretary of State for India at the close of the First World War, considered Jinnah „perfect mannered, impressive-looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics“. Jinnah, he felt, „is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country.“

Why then, at best, does ‘the world at large’ came to see a hardly visible, unclear and blurred picture of a man who at one time or another was acknowledged to be one of the greatest legal luminaries India had perhaps ever produced, an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, a great constitutionalist, a distinguished parliamentarian, a top-notch politician turned barrister with a razor sharp brain,- a man who seemed to be picture-postcard of an English aristocrat, cultured, aloof, restrained, - always wearing the most elegant and expensive clothes, playing with a monocle in his long and fine-nerved hands; a dandy-type of a man who spoke beautiful English, but hardly knew the language of the man in the street whose interest he so eloquently and fervently wanted to represent; a technocrat without charisma and an unhappy married life; a man who, after his marriage had failed and his beautiful wife passed away, was only seen in the company of a skinny old lady, a spinster,- his fully devoted sister. In short: Jinnah a soulless, cold-blooded bureaucrat rather than a fatherly type of a statesman, full of wisdom and love, - or, in another version, a glorious champion of might, power and victories!?

And why, in an even worse scenario, are we confronted with an engineered and fully distorted picture of a man as the one shown in the film ‘Gandhi’ which millions of people whole over the world have seen,- a grand spectacle confirming the opinion widely held around the globe about ‘this Mr. Jinnah’, - if one had formed an opinion at all!?

Jinnah was not known for scandals nor was he in his later political life very much of a social man. Could this vague international image of a man be due to lack of any dramatic impact that a historical figure makes on the minds of his contemporaries and of later generations?

„An average person“, writes Saad R. Khairi in his biography on Jinnah, „is impressed by brilliant military victories, breathtaking adventures and story-book exploits, not by solid achievements..... People in general, remember not decades of peace and construction, but years of war and devastation; not building of dams, but floods and famines. They remember Mussolini and Garibaldi, not Cavour. Even Einstein is known to them because of the atomic bomb and not for his general contribution to physics.“

„Jinnah led no army, fought no military battles and was not involved in any dramatic adventures that would thrill a reader. Nor did he propound any novel philosophy such as that of non-violence and non-co-operation; nor did he adopt a Mahatma-like life style - living on goat's milk, dressed in a *dhoti*, spinning a wheel, and responding to his inner voice - that would invite curiosity. He led a straight life, followed a straight path, talked and acted straight. Such a character arouses no interest. Simple truths are dull, facts are boring; fiction and make-believe are colourful and catching.

„Naturally then a study of Jinnah's life is far from interesting to an average person, who very easily swallows the anti-Jinnah propaganda that has been going on systematically for decades.“

Whatever the reason, I still get annoyed and embarrassed when in discussions with even highly educated people in America and Europe, or other parts of the world, I have to realise that India's freedom movement and its ultimate success is widely seen as the personal success of only the man clad in a *dhoti*, Mahatma Gandhi, ably assisted by another, who in the early 50s became one of the adored champions of the Third World, Jawahar Nehru.

‘The Times’ in its obituary on Jinnah, many years later wrapped it up most beautifully, I think, with the following words: „Jinnah provided a striking contrast to Mahatma Gandhi. He lived in stately mansions, was tall and elegantly groomed, with a distinguished presence and fastidious tastes. In his fast-greying hair a white lock stood aggressively like a plume. Jinnah owed much of his later success to the impression he made upon Western investigators of the Indian communal problem; for he provided in his own person the best illustration of his contention that the Muslims constitute a separate nation. There was nothing in him of the subtle flexibility of intellect which seems to the Englishman characteristic of the Hindu; all his ideas were diamond-hard, clear-cut, almost tangible. His arguments had none of the sinuosity of Hindu reasoning; they were directed, dagger-like, to the single points he was attacking.“

As I have said before, nobody, - and this includes the majority of the people of Pakistan, - disclaims the tremendous efforts and contributions made by Gandhi and Nehru, and for that matter, of course, by many more outstanding Congress and Hindu leaders, in finally achieving India's freedom. But it gives me genuine and great pain to see that the sacrifices and himalayan efforts made by the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, his gigantic contribution not only to the cause of Muslims and the creation of their own, sovereign

country, but to the Indians cause as a whole, have never been duly recognised and applauded by 'world opinion' at large.

I have often wondered whether this non-recognition or distorted picture of the man whom the people of Pakistan rightfully consider to be the 'father' of their nation was not, perhaps, also one of the reasons why still so many of the country's intelligentsia have not come to terms with Pakistan as their 'fatherland', have not found their own identity. Everybody accepts Jinnah in his role as the „Quaid-e-Azam“, as the man who almost single-handedly created this new nation physically. He is beyond any criticism, even by those who have not, or still are not on the same wave-length with him, - at least not officially. The official media and their top brass keep on praising him, rightfully so, from morning till evening, without however, I think, addressing the same Mohammad Ali Jinnah whom I discovered in the many books written by so many learned people and well known politicians, - or in his speeches and letters. I may be wrong, - but could it be that even here, in Pakistan, we are confronted with two different versions of the life and mission of this greatest son of theirs, - one official version which can be suitably adjusted, and another one, partly hidden by clouds of doubt, like a very valuable painting protected by a screen against too much light and sunshine!? A picture similar to the one which for one reason or the other has been projected to the international onlookers, 'the world at large', as I said before, one which still is diffuse and not very clear.

Is this, perhaps, one of the reasons why Pakistan as a nation still finds it much harder to compete with her Indian neighbours in winning the understanding and goodwill of so called 'world opinion'!?

Many unanswered questions, I am afraid, and I sincerely apologise to my readers for having allowed myself to be carried away and having dwelled on this particular aspect which, to me, seems to be very much connected with the Quaid-e-Azam's biography and the personal picture people today are able to derive from it, a little longer than I intended to do. As sad as it may be, but Jinnah's extraordinary self-discipline and his personal concept of duty which has always reminded me of a living example of Kant's 'categorical imperative', must have not allowed him to show the world his real and inner face. It must have been very different, I am sure, from the one usually depicted of him. I was, therefore, more than happy to come across the following remarks made by someone who had known the Quaid-e-Azam very closely before partition and had a close insight into his political theories and way of thinking, Lord William Francis Listowel, a very senior British bureaucrat and

politician. Having amongst others served as Parliamentary Secretary of State for India and Burma just during the last days of British India he said this during a function held in London in honour of the late Mr. Jinnah, in April 1984:

„I had the privilege and good fortune to meet Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on several occasions during the time I was a minister in the British Government - first, in an official capacity when he used to come to London representing the Muslim League, in negotiations leading up to independence in 1947, and later, as a guest at his home in Karachi just after independence. After the loss of his wife, his sister Miss Fatima Jinnah had been keeping house for him and they made me feel completely at home during the short but very pleasant visit. I was delighted to find Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in the atmosphere of his home, a relaxed and genial host, very different from the stern, unbending figure usually depicted when he was acting as spokesman for the Muslim League.“

The remaining part of Jinnah's biography, the 'Quaid-e-Azam' as politician and creator of Pakistan can be quickly told because that part of his life is, I am sure, well known by everyone who ever has taken at least some interest in the history of his country.

We have earlier in this part accompanied young Mr. Jinnah to London and witnessed him becoming the youngest Indian to be called to the Bar in 1896. He sailed back to Karachi in autumn of this year, but found conditions prevailing in the city of his birth depressing. Whilst in London, English had become his main language, which it remained until the end of his life. He must have felt like a stranger in what was then still a small, provincial town with not much of a cultural life to satisfy his intellectual ambitions. His mother dead, his father broke. Nothing really that would keep him there. In 1897 he left for Bombay to face another three years of frustration and financial hardship until finally he was able to force his luck and was appointed a temporary Presidency Magistrate. His worries were over, the sun started to shine over a more than happy Mohammad Ali Jinnah. One of the first things he did was to call his sister Fatima over from Karachi to Bombay and had her admitted to a Catholic convent for higher education. A more than brave, but very typical decision at that time, telling us much of his unbending character which should become his personal trademark as the politician Mohammad Ali Jinnah, whom we seem to know so much better than the man himself.

Jinnah rose to prominence and became one of Bombay's most successful lawyers, albeit also in financial terms.

He formally entered politics as a member of the All-India Congress, - as many young people of his intellectual calibre did in those days, Hindus and Muslims alike. This was in 1905, the same year as Bengal was divided, and one year before the foundation of the All-India Muslim League. Together with the great Gopal Krishna Gokhale, one of the most outstanding and moderate leaders of the Congress he went to England as a member of a delegation to discuss with government officials the future of Indian self-government. As Secretary to Dadabhai Noaraji, whose stern admirer he had become during his stay in England and whom he had assisted to be elected the first ever Indian as member of the British Parliament, he gained his first practical experience under the wings of this 'Grand Old Man' of the Indian Congress Party. Already in 1906 he made his first public appearance at the Calcutta annual session of the Congress and in 1910 he was elected to the newly-constituted Imperial Legislative Council. His first great success on India's political platform was the Congress-League Pact 1916, better known as Lucknow Pact, the only agreement ever signed between them, representing as these two political organisations did, the two major communities in the subcontinent. And Jinnah was hailed as the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He was consequently recognised by both Hindus and Muslims alike as one of India's most outstanding leaders. And the strength of this voice was also, for the first time, realised by the British.

With the advent of Mahatma Gandhi and his policy of *Satyagrah* (civil disobedience) and the introduction of religion into politics, which Jinnah increasingly felt difficult to support, a rift between the two communities was programmed. Still, in 1928 at the National convention Jinnah said: "What we want is that Hindus and Mussalmans should march together until our object is achieved....These two communities have got to be reconciled and united and made to feel that their interests are common".

The Convention flatly refused his proposals and demands and also the First Round Table Conference, which he attended, could not reconcile the two 'hostile Indian camps'. A disillusioned and wearied Jinnah, „feeling that he was out of tune with prevalent opinion in India“, as 'The Times' once phrased it, „and telling his friends that he had no political future there he decided to settle in London for practice at the Privy Council Bar and in the hope of gaining a seat in Parliament 'to fight India's battle'“.

The Muslims soon felt the lack of a towering political leader like the Hindus had in the Mahatma. And it was Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Jinnah's junior by twenty years, later to become Pakistan's first Prime Minister, who together with his wife persuaded Jinnah to come back to India to lead the Muslim's further struggle. And very reluctantly he agreed. He sailed forth and back, still undecided, but finally, by the end of 1935, he was ready to devote his life to the service of India's Muslims.

His first major task was to reunite the Muslim League and to prepare it for the elections to be held in 1937 under the Government of India Act, 1935. And for the first time in the history of the League a Central Parliamentary Board was formed to fight the elections. The Congress came out with flying colours and secured absolute majorities in five out of the eleven provinces. The League won only 108 out of 484 Muslim seats. No wonder that Congress leaders were said to have become intoxicated by the wine of power and it was particularly Jawaharlal Nehru who heaped scorn on his opponents, calling the League an assembly of feudal lords and lawyers who had no feelings whatsoever for the Muslim poor classes whose real champions, he insinuated, were the Congress leaders.

Slowly, however, Jinnah's dynamic and visionary personality plus his ability to inspire enthusiasm into young Muslims students from Aligarh and other urban areas enabled him to build up a party structure and machinery which led the party to increasing strength and helped him to win three by-elections.

An irritated Nehru kept on fighting the Muslim's 'Two Nations Theory', „There are only two parties in the country - the Congress and the British“. And Jinnah thundered in protest, „No. There is a third party - the Mussalmans“. Actively supported by Iqbal, Jinnah realised that he had to win the support of the masses, which he did, and some of his dynamic lieutenants, like the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Abul Hassan Ispahani and, of course, Liaquat Ali Khan, greatly contributed to this success. The Muslim League, after all, now had become a well-organised, powerful mass political party headed by a man who, as I already said, did not speak the language of the masses and was yet able to become their undisputed leader, simply by convincing and overwhelming them by his straightforwardness and charismatic appearance.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1940, the famous Pakistan Resolution was unanimously adopted by the historic session of the Muslim League in Lahore. A proud Jinnah told his Secretary after the meeting: „Iqbal is no more among us. But

had he been alive, he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do.”

The Muslim's now officially recorded demand for their own nation, Pakistan, was bitterly opposed by Congress as it shattered their dreams of a Hindu empire on British exit from India. It signalled an era of Islamic renaissance and their will to be active participants in the process to follow on the road to independence.

What followed is to some extent already part of modern history and thus commonly known, at least to the elderly generation, for they have partly followed these developments with their own eyes and ears and their personal experiences have hopefully been down-filtered by them to their children and grandchildren. The Sir Stafford Cripps Mission, 1942, the Jinnah-Gandhi talks in 1944 and the ill-fated Cabinet Mission which started in March 1946, to name just a few of those many important and decisive events.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1946, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Baldev Singh reached London, on invitation by the British government, to hold talks with the Secretary of State regarding India's political future. The talks broke down, did not succeed and the then Prime Minister Attlee issued a statement saying that latest by June 1948 the British government will definitely hand over power 'to responsible Indian hands'.

The rest is commonplace. Lord Mountbatten took over as the last Viceroy of India in March 1947 and a quick look at the last days of the British Raj clearly shows that already two weeks after his arrival in Delhi the division of India would be the most likely course of events, for it was all too apparent that the new, - and last, - Viceroy from the very beginning of his short termed mission did not conceal his predilections towards Partition. The Viceroy went back to London for discussions with his government and after a full appraisal of the situation the British Government issued their 'Statement regarding the method of transfer of power, 3 June 1947'.

The Congress fought 'tooth and nails' until the very last moment to prevent a division of India and Gandhi made his famous remark: 'Partition will be over my dead body'. But he too changed his mind after Mountbatten had already succeeded to win Patel and Nehru over to the idea of Partition by 'playing on Patel's eagerness to get rid of the Muslim League'.



Whereas the Muslim League Council authorised Jinnah without any serious objections to accept the Partition scheme as laid down in the 3 June statement 'as a compromise', the All-India Congress Committee (AICC) pleaded for rejection. It needed strong intervention by Gandhi before finally it resolved that 'the AICC earnestly trusts that when present passions have subsided India's problems will be viewed in their proper prospective and the false doctrine of two-nation will be discredited and discarded by all'.

Thus 'Partition had arrived' as Professor Khalid Bin Sayeed did write, 'not with a bang but with a whimper'.

On 13<sup>th</sup> of August 1947 British India's last Viceroy flew into Karachi and on the following day, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah accompanied by his sister Fatima Jinnah, drove in State to the Assembly Building, where Lord Mountbatten, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, handed over power to Mr. Jinnah, the first Governor General of the newly created country Pakistan, in a symbolic ceremony.

„To us Pakistanis“, writes Mr. Allana, „it was our day of independence; to the Quaid, it was the day of fulfilment. He knew the destination had been reached, but the struggle was by no means over“.

Knowing that he was very ill the Quaid-e-Azam hurried to make sure that the newly born nation started to function in line with his visions, ideals and plans. It was an uphill task,- a fight against all odds. Always under the fear, as Jinnah disclosed to Lord Ismay during a meeting at Government House in Karachi, that India 'was determined to strangle Pakistan at birth'. His extraordinary willpower and determination carried him through for some time. But finally a completely exhausted and physically worn out Jinnah had to interrupt his Herculean task as architect and most devoted 'builder' of the new nation's administrative and policy-making machinery in August 1948, almost one year after he had reaped his fruits after a long and tiring fight. Under doctors' advice he left for Quetta to regain physical strength at Ziarat, high in the rocky hills.

His last public appearance was the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan for which he specially flew to Karachi. He spent the last weeks of his life in the hills of Quetta to fight his last battle. „He never wanted to share his sorrow with others“, writes his sister Fatima some months after his death. „He suffered patiently, and alone, until at last, alas, it was too late. And even then, he would have preferred to fight all alone.....Even after his ghastly ailment

was known to him, he remained perfectly calm and unperturbed. ....When he died, at his bedside, there was nobody except his doctors and myself!“

He died on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1948 in Karachi, having been flown from Quetta to his city of birth in the morning of the same day. He breathed his last at about ten, the same night, while sleeping peacefully in his bed in the Governor-General's House .

Mr. Allana was among the first to arrive. „As I looked at the plain white sheet of cloth that covered his body“, he reminisces, „I realised that the nation, hardly one year old, had been orphaned on that day. I realised the greatest political leader that the Muslims of this subcontinent had produced had passed away. He left us at a time, when we needed him so much“.

In his last message to the nation on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1948, he had told his people: „The foundations of your State have been laid and it is now for you to build and build as quickly and as well as you can“. Jinnah had virtually worked himself to death, or in the precise words of Lord Pethick Lawrence, the former Secretary of State for India, „Gandhi died by the hands of an assassin; Jinnah died by his devotion to Pakistan“.

The world showered beautifully phrased words of eulogies and compliments on the late Quaid-e-Azam, -genuine ones as well as those which were nicely wrapped in crocodile tears, - but it was left to an Indian, Surat Chandra Bose, leader of a fraction of the Indian National Congress, to sum up his personal and political achievements in a most succinct and touching way. „Mr. Jinnah“, he said, „was great as a lawyer, once great as a Congressman, great as a leader of Muslims, great as a world politician and diplomat, and greatest of all as a man of action. By Mr. Jinnah's passing away, the world has lost one of the greatest statesmen and Pakistan its life-giver, philosopher and guide“.

H.V. Hodson, himself an active player in Indian politics during some crucial years in the 1940s, has written a very important and brilliant book on 'The Great Divide'. He had this to say when he writes of the part which Jinnah played in the historical process leading to the transfer of power:

„Of all the personalities in the great drama of India's rebirth to independence, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was at once the most enigmatic and the most important. One can imagine any other of the principal actors (not counting Mahatma Gandhi, who makes fitful and inconclusive appearances from the wings) replaced by a substitute in the same role - a different Congress leader, a

different Secretary of State, a different representative of this or that interest of community, even a different Viceroy - without thereby implying any radical change in the final denouement. But it is barely conceivable that events would have taken the same course, that the last struggle would have been a struggle of three, not two, well-balanced adversaries, and that a new nation State of Pakistan would have been created, but for the personality and leadership of one man, Mr. Jinnah“.

## A new nation State emerged Still a draw or a win!?

About three years ago the country celebrated its Golden Jubilee. Many books were published and special supplements of Pakistan's leading newspapers came out on this auspicious occasion. Reminiscences of prominent historians from here and there, wise words of great old men of the past as well as those written by abrasive young men, full of disillusion, frustration and scorn.

'A time to look back & look forward', as Mr. Mahmood A. Haroon rightly observed in his contribution. Time for big headlines, eye-catching all, with a touch of sadness in the air and not much of complacency. When enthusiasm should be expected one finds sombreness mixed with self irony, moths ready to fly into a still burning candle as if this could bring salvation.

'Can we stop whining for a day' titles Ayaz Amir one of his Islamabad diaries, pondering about how dutiful and perhaps loving offspring celebrate their grandmother's birthday and then making a comparison with how this nation was approaching her great day. „Birthdays are for being sentimental“, he rightfully states, „and, if possible, happy. They are not occasions for drawing up a balance sheet of the cosmos“.

And there could be much to celebrate. Few countries have faced such an endless series of challenges, internal as well as external ones, that Pakistan has encountered in the past five decades. It was born in the bloodshed which followed the 'great divide' with hardly any material resources worth the name, and has lived with insecurity and confrontation throughout most of its sovereign existence. Already before it came to life, most of the spectators and commentators, well-wishers as well as others, were rather sceptical about its survival chances and predicted its early demise. „To have survived at all, in the face of such challenges and predictions, is“, as Professor Richter wrote, „perhaps sufficient cause for celebration. On the other hand, Pakistan continues to have political, economic and social problems of such a magnitude as to raise major questions. Within the past year Pakistan stood on the brink of financial bankruptcy...continued to be plagued with social violence, corruption, and security concerns. I assume it is the persistence and recurrence of issues such as these that led the editors of *Dawn* to request this commentary on the question, „Is Pakistan a 'failed state'?“

I could not agree more with Professor Richter when he questions the appropriateness of such a question, which he says, he would have differently phrased. Mainly because terms like 'failed state', 'soft state', 'lost cause' can easily become only little more than vague epithets, especially when used by outside commentators,- the author of this book, very much, of course, included.

In August 1947, when Pakistan and India finally had their 'tryst with destiny', patriots on both sides of the 'manmade borders' rejoiced in their new-found independence. A feeling of spiritual exaltation suffused the people as they listened to the hopes and programs for national greatness propounded by their leaders.

One of the most remarkable speeches held in those days was the one by Jinnah on his election as the first President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11<sup>th</sup> August, 1947. It has inflamed and inspired not only his audience on that auspicious and historical day but has - even until today - not only been the cause of thundering applause but also of heated controversies and political manoeuvring of unimaginable dimensions.

„You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this subcontinent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty subcontinent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

„Dealing with our first function in this Assembly“, Jinnah said, „I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me.....

„One of the biggest curses.....is bribery and corruption. That really is poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so. Black-marketing is another curse. ....The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil - the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall

never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Wherever I will find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.....”

„Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make. I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities....will vanish...

„Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed- that has nothing to do with the business of the State.... Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.“

When Jinnah delivered this forceful and future orientated speech he was well aware that he and his people had secured an extensive land area for their new nation, but they did not obtain the necessary governmental structure for their state. This had to be built up almost overnight. The old capital of British India at New Delhi, with its great public buildings, offices and the bulk of bureaucrats and staff members went to the Union of India. In Karachi, Pakistan's chosen capital, main city and seaport of the province of Sindh, offices had to be improvised in tents and barracks. And on top of it all: the new nation's financial coffers were empty, for the arrangements for the division of Indian assets were not reached until December 1947, when Pakistan secured 17,5 % of the sterling balances owed India by the United Kingdom, a like percentage of the cash balances of undivided India, and the same ratio of its uncovered debt. And even then, cash was only very reluctantly coming forward and it was only Mahatma Gandhi's threat to fast until death, which finally broke the Congress leaders' resistance and

obstructive attitude in this particular regard. It was the generosity of the Nizam of Hyderabad which came to the country's financial rescue and helped to avert an early collapse, which regrettably some eminent Congressmen had been waiting for.

One of the biggest problems, however, equally faced by the two new governments was to stop the holocaust which had swept throughout many parts of India before and immediately after Partition became a fact. Consequently an estimated twelve to fourteen million people were uprooted. They had left their homes and tried to seek shelter on the other side of the new boundaries. They were fleeing on foot, by bullock-cart, railway, by plane, by sea or by car, - and many were killed, slaughtered, raped and terrorised. It will never be known how many people got actually killed,- some estimate the number may exceed even one million.

These events which hit both governments rather unexpectedly, at least as far as severity and size were concerned, fractured Pakistan's strained and extremely weak economic, human and social resources even more heavily and, in hindsight, it appears miraculous how this nation, its leadership and people were able to care, feed and house those millions of desperate people who had come to ask for their share, which they must have rightfully thought, was due to them.

Coming from a country which had to undergo similar experiences in the wake of World War II and belonging to a generation which had personally witnessed and participated in a restructuring process which virtually started from scratch, I have the greatest respect for what the people of Pakistan were able to successfully shoulder and master. It was again the masses who had originally responded to Jinnah's call and had voted him and the Muslim League into that powerful position which finally brought them Pakistan, and which, in the aftermath of it, helped him and the country to survive the first critical months and years.

Not everything went right, as even the greatest enthusiasts inside and outside this country will readily admit, - but not everything was bad either. When Pakistan secured independence in 1947, it appeared that her economic problems would be the most serious and difficult to solve. Looking back now at her more than five decades of sovereign history, the biggest surprise, perhaps, is that her greatest success stories were written in the economic field rather than in the area of politics. Unlike India, which has moved steadily toward a socialistic pattern of Government regulated economy, Pakistan has

modified her original 1948 policy in favour of a mixed economy with rather strong private enterprise components and encouragement of foreign investment, - a policy which then in the early 1970s was toppled and partly reversed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his nationalisation programme. And it is only now, at the beginning of a new century, that Pakistan's chief planners, reformers and 'executives' seem to rediscover the recipes of those who in the late 50s and during the 60s of the preceding century have been the stalwarts of Pakistan's success story which had yielded them worldwide attention and applause.

There was much hope in the air when Pakistan was coming to life and many prophets of doom had to eat their words when contrary to their expectation the new country not only had the will but the ability to survive. Many great men have helped to let this happen and, as my readers will soon realise, the life of quite a few of them have been profiled by me in a following chapter for they have been closely associated not only with the creation of Pakistan and the development of her economy, but also with the history of the Eastern Federal Union which is likewise described by me.

It is said that, looking ahead and trying to visualise a possible scenario for the further political, sociological and economical development of the country, that old Pakistani spirit, the original elan and enthusiasm, are missing. My personal experience tells me otherwise. It is true, the young people of the country are increasingly short of patience with corruption, incompetence and exploitation by any form of feudalism and nepotism. But they are also aware that the country as a whole has prospered during the last fifty years and that much has changed for the better. They are critical as well and become increasingly more expressive and uncompromising in their demand to whosoever their leaders may be, to do much more in future than simply use charges of corruption as weapons to bring down governments or to pilory defeated opponents. They dream of further economic development, social justice and an all out fight against the biggest menace of the country, illiteracy, - and of creative, non-corruptive, farsighted politicians whose prime objectives are not to satisfy the needs and wishes of their own clan and 'claqueurs' and to throw mud on political opponents, blame the outside world for what goes wrong in their country, - but who have clear conceptions of a Pakistan of to-morrow. A country to be proud of, - where one can work with respect, as one of the great bureaucrats of India and Pakistan, Mr. Abbas Khaleeli, once said, before he decided to migrate to the new home for India's Muslims.



„Looking back at the story of the partition of India“, said Lord Listowel, when partly quoting his friend, H.V. Hodson, „one is beset by a question to which there is no certain answer, because all alternatives in history are only hypothetical, and entirely unpredictable. Was partition the best solution for the future of the people of India after British rule?.....Up to the last moment of British rule, when Mountbatten and Attlee took the fateful decision to divide the subcontinent, partition seemed to most of the British an evil to be averted at almost any cost. But now, from a greater distance in time we can perceive that task as short-sighted, and a too self-centred political view. ....We can now see with hindsight that the prophets predicting Pakistan’s eventual collapse - from lack of economic resources, political experience, or national cohesion - were wrong. These prophets of doom had underrated the emotions that gave rise to the Muslim separatist movement, the sense of national pride and identity that grew with the challenge to its progress....“

Jinnah himself had asked this question in his famous speech of 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947, which I have referred to already a little earlier. And having by now gone through a full library of books on Pakistan’s history I genuinely believe that I cannot come up with a better reply than the one offered by the Quaid-e-Azam:

„I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India....One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether, it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgement there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. ....Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgement it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct; may be it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution.“

The battle for Pakistan, her survival and further development was no ‘draw’, I think. But it has not come to a winning end either, the fight is still on. The odds are in her favour, I am convinced, for there are sufficient ‘overs’ left to make the necessary, winning runs.

## Chapter Two

### EFU and the emergence of Pakistan's indigenous Insurance Industry

Looking back at more than five decades of economic and industrial development in Pakistan there is no reason to be pessimistic about the overall performance shown during this span of time. Of course, there is no reason either to be over jubilant also for, given the size of the country and its human resources, it could have done still much better. Considering, however, the small, almost fragile economic base which Pakistan had inherited at the time of Partition, one can rightly say that Pakistan has made tremendous headway in half a century. Going through the many commentaries and articles written on the eve of her Golden Jubilee this seems to be the view held by most of their authors even if all come also unanimously to the conclusion that much is still left to be desired and to be done.

Throughout the movement for the creation of Pakistan one of the main objections raised against it was that the new country would not be economically viable. And without doubt, the country started its economic development with numerous handicaps. As Jinnah in his message on the first anniversary of Pakistan on August 14, 1948, therefore rightly pointed out: „Disappointed in their efforts by other means to strangle the new State at its very birth, our enemies yet hoped that economic manoeuvres would achieve the object which they had at heart. With all the wealth of argument and detail, which malice could invent or ill-will devise, they prophesied that Pakistan would be left bankrupt. And what the fire and sword of the enemy could not achieve would be brought about by the ruined finances of the State. But these prophets of evil have been thoroughly discredited.“

The economic challenges lying before the founding fathers of the country were enormous. They had to create the foundation of an economic framework with meagre and modest resources in an overall environment where the people's aspirations were very high. Because was not the economic situation in pre-independence India after all one of the factors which influenced the Muslims to seek their deliverance and security in the shape of a separate homeland and state!?

Mirza Abool Hassan Ispahani, Member of the Muslim League Working Committee until 1947, who, as I have written elsewhere in this book, was one of Jinnah's most intimate lieutenants, had this to say about economic circumstances prevailing at the time of Partition:

„Business and industry were overwhelmingly the monopoly of the Hindu bania and the British merchant and industrialist. The British had a substantial share in big industry, particularly in jute, cotton, tea, mining, engineering and collieries. Their share in the raw cotton and textile industry too was substantial. Most of the industries and almost the entire internal trade, from money-lending to the buying and selling of all types of produce -raw and finished - were in the hands of the Hindus. Muslims only subsisted on the crumbs which were swept off these monopolists' tables. They were largely producers of jute, cotton, and food-grains which crops were purchased from them at exploitation rates by the wealthy industrialists and banias whose profits, as a result of their operations, swelled each year.

„As there are exceptions to every rule, so there were a few exceptions to the British and Hindu monopoly of business and industry. Here and there was established an industry owned by a Muslim. There were also some Memons, Khojas and Bohras who competed with the Hindu bania in the field of the retail sale of grains, cloth, hardware, etc., and held their ground well, but these were exceptions and did not change the general pattern of India's economy. The Muslims generally were poor and were denied opportunities and assistance to improve their lot. As I have said, they were forced by adverse circumstances to eke out their existence by being hewers of wood and drawers of water or by finding employment in the lower echelons of business or government service.....”

„In the Punjab (for instance), most of the commercial, industrial and banking establishments were controlled by the Hindus. In none of them was any Muslim employed except in a menial capacity.....Well-paid posts and positions of profit were not open to outsiders but were filled on the basis of family, caste and other similar connections according to the deeply embedded habits and traditions of Hindu society.

„.....some facts and figures which are revealing. On the eve of partition there existed in India 111 jute mills comprising about 69,000 looms. Of these, only one mill of 500 looms and one of 150 looms were owned by Muslims, namely, Adamjee and Ispahani, respectively. Against all these mills which were located in and around Calcuta, there was not a single unit installed in the

region which is today East Pakistan, which was treated merely as an agricultural slum.”

„.....Turning to cotton in the western region, the picture is no different. There were two textile mills.....in the region which now constitutes West Pakistan. The rest of the mills, about 400 of them, were located in the neighbouring country - India.....”

„In pre-independence India, the notion had been sedulously spread that the Muslims were incapable of handling banking and insurance. It was a vicious circle. On the one hand the Muslims were denied opportunities to participate in these careers and, on the other, they were branded as unfit, so that the Hindu monopoly continued. There used to be only one Muslim bank in pre-partition India - the Habib Bank - which was small in size as compared with countless Hindu and foreign banks operating in the subcontinent....The position in the world of insurance in pre-partition India was no better“.

The story of Pakistan’s insurance industry, it is said, has been a story of roses and ruses, beautiful, thorny and beguiling. When the country was created it inherited 5 indigenous and 77 foreign owned insurance companies. A few years later 2 companies, namely the Eastern Federal Union (EFU) and Habib Insurance Company transferred their Head Offices from India to Karachi, Pakistan. EFU from Calcutta and Habib from Bombay.

Most of the business written in the country was, of course, in the hands of the well established and technically well equipped foreign insurance companies who were all operating through chief agencies or own branch offices. Tariffs and policy conditions were those as used by companies in pre-independence days, all well regulated then by the Bombay Insurance Association. In February 1948 a total of 79 companies got together and formed the Insurance Association of Pakistan (IAP) out of which only two were ‘national’ companies, EFU and Habib.

All business was tariff regulated and very profitable, because most of the business written by these ‘chief agencies’ was very selected and largely ‘in-house’, thus enabling non-Pakistani companies to transfer sizeable amounts in terms of profits and reinsurance premium to their head offices. To check on this very legal and unavoidable ‘drain’ of the country’s scarce and precious foreign exchange resources the government started to plan the establishment of a government run reinsurance company as far back as 1950, and in 1952 the Pakistan Insurance Corporation (PIC) was finally launched, the first of its kind in the public sector. Its first Chief Executive was a foreigner, a born

Australian, who had been in charge of the 'Queensland Insurance Co.', Mr. Purnell. He launched PIC rather successfully and later became the first CEO of the then newly founded Adamjee Insurance Co. about which we will hear something more at a later stage in this chapter. According to its articles of association PIC's two main objectives were : to help and support the indigenous insurance industry and to promote new companies. In return they were to receive 10 % so called compulsory reinsurance cessions on all general insurance policies written in the country. Apart from the foreign exchange and other 'political' angles, there had been a very 'industry inherent' reason to force the government plans for the establishment of a Pakistani reinsurance vehicle. In 1949 a devastating fire had occurred at the infamous 'Thole Produce Yard', situated at Queens Road in Karachi. It was here where huge quantities of baled cotton was centrally stored awaiting shipment to overseas countries. The loss amounted to several crores of rupees, which considering the value of a Pak Rupee at that time, was a horrendous amount of money. Quite understandably the foreign insurance community, mostly British, Australasian, Indian and American, became rather reluctant to carry the major burden of this particular risk on their own and the small number of indigenous companies found it increasingly hard to find reinsurance capacity for themselves in the local and overseas reinsurance markets. A marginal note in this particular respect: the by far biggest Pakistani company in the early 50s was the Eastern Federal and they were suffering from the after-effect of this mentioned cotton loss and were badly in need of additional reinsurance capacity. EFU was then headed by a New-Zealander, Mr. T.Baxter, and its number two was a German, Mr. EC Iven on whom I have written a separate profile in the following chapter. He had been the Allianz chief in Burma before World War II and happened to be a close friend of the Ispahanis, then major shareholders of EFU. A senior Director of the Munich Reinsurance Company, Dr. Ruperti, an ex-colleague from old Allianz days made his first trip to Asia after the war around that time and, of course, visited his old friend and colleague in Karachi. They did not only share quite a few drinks with each other, talking of foregone good, old days, but also scrutinised possibilities for a co-operation between the two companies. In short: Munichre through him offered the much needed capacity to EFU and thus started a very special relationship between two companies which has lasted now for already more than five decades, - and to which I will come back again a little later.

Pakistan's insurance industry in those days, the early 50s, was still very much dominated by foreign companies. They controlled about 80 % of the country's insurance business. Their representatives dominated in the Insurance

Association and its first Secretary was also a foreign national, Mr. Stafford, an Englishman.

This pattern changed in course of time, first very slowly, then at a rapid speed. The creation of PIC was the beginning . As mentioned it started with compulsory reinsurance cessions of 10 % which were increased to 30% in 1958. Out of this business a major portion was ceded back to the growing number of Pakistani companies under a pooling scheme. The business ceded back was normally fully retained by the 'retrocessionaires' and thus strengthened the individual company's net account.

Another important step taken was the establishment of the 'National Co-Insurance Scheme', a pool of indigenous companies which started with six members, with the Eastern Federal Union as the 'leader' of the consortium, having also the largest share in it. PIC were appointed Secretaries of the scheme, although the actual work was done by EFU. And it was in fact this business plus the 'retrocessions' from PIC that kept at least some of the growing number of newly floated national companies going and helped them to survive. A procedure which has not only found acclamation but also aroused some bitter criticism even amongst the staunchest supporter of a strong indigenous insurance industry. Quite a number of these 'mushroom companies' were for all practical reasons nothing but 'agencies' for their reinsurers without any own contribution to the cause of the industry as such. It has often been argued that it was because of these 'mushrooms' that the high standard of Pakistan's insurance industry, which in all fairness to the former 'British masters' was definitely part of the positive heritage they were able to leave behind, was occasionally deteriorating and brought into jeopardy.

Still, these were adventurous and exciting years also for Pakistan's insurance industry because the country's economic and industrial development was indeed impressive and aroused envy amongst many of its Asian neighbours. One of the most remarkable things done by the Government of Pakistan was that it had realised right from day one of its creation the necessity and importance of development planning. The result was a 'Six-Year Development Plan (popularly called Colombo Plan), which came out as early as 1951. It was a very flexible plan and was modified and expanded in the course of years, which was another very farsighted move by the then reigning 'bureaucrats', because the first draft, of course, had to be based on a number of assumptions than rather on proper supporting material and statistics. Realising the need for a separate body to prepare a comprehensive and co-ordinated blueprint of development, the government took finally another far-

reaching decision, it set up a Planning Board in July 1953. The First Five Year Plan (1955-1960) was produced by the Planning Board in 1956 with assistance from the Harvard Advisory Group. This started a chain reaction and three more such plans were implemented until the separation of East Pakistan in December, 1971 brought the abrupt end to such successful procedure.

The first of such plans was perhaps the most significant and far-reaching one and was much applauded by leading economists, planners and other reputable experts inside and outside the country. The First Five Year Plan has always been regarded, until this day, as one of the finest documents of its kind and was most successfully 'copied' by the Koreans. Why, after a most successful launch and a few years of great economic growth and prosperity, it could in the end not be fully implemented, is perhaps one of the most lively and hottest issues discussed even today amongst leading economists, politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen. It must have also taken aid giving agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the member countries of the Pakistan development Consortium, slightly by surprise for they were the ones who were visibly impressed by the more than successful start of Pakistan on her very likely path to become even the first of Asia's famous tiger countries.

However, the fact remains that Pakistan's rapid industrialisation of the 1950s and even more in the 1960s with their multiplying textile and sugar mills, their fast increasing vanaspati-making companies and cement plants had a major impact on the development of the country's insurance industry.

As was mentioned earlier around 1950 there were only three insurance companies out of a total number of 81 owned by Pakistani nationals, EFU, founded 1932 in Calcutta, Habib, born in 1942 in Bombay, and Muslim, created even earlier in Lahore. Already by 1961 this picture had changed at least to a considerable extent. Out of a decreased total number of companies of 63, Pakistani owned 19, against 44 foreign establishments. Also the distribution of business had changed. To no less extent due to the formation of the NCS, Pakistani companies were writing more than one third of the total business available, and as years passed by this picture finally turned completely in favour of indigenous companies. By the end of last year, 1999, out of a total number of companies of 51, 46 were owned and managed by Pakistanis, only 5 were of foreign origin.

I will not go any deeper into these details because I have never been particularly impressed by these statistics, nor have I been able to become party

to a rather short-sighted and chauvinistic outlook on this particular aspect of Pakistan's insurance industry's rather proud history. From my own and long time experience as a senior executive of the then by far largest Pakistani company, and being a 'foreigner' by passport and a 'naturalised citizen' by heart and conviction, I can proudly say that even at a time when the indigenous companies were fighting for higher market shares against those insurers who were the traditional and established ones, the spirit of friendship and co-operation between leading personalities representing the full range of market participants, never got lost. On the contrary: the professional approach towards a common goal, i.e. providing best possible service to the insurance clientele was always put first and the social climate between top managers of the industry, regardless of their nationality, remained excellent throughout. Of course, everyone in his right senses, was aware that it was the ultimate 'birthright', - and 'birth-duty' of the Pakistani owned and run part of the industry to build up a sound and fast growing 'national' market segment. And all those fine and highly professional insurance managers of those multinationals operating in Pakistan whom I knew, were, of course, aware of the likely outcome of this development, - and they, of course, tried their level best to prolong this 'struggle' as long as possible, but this was generally done in an atmosphere free of political manoeuvring. It was an atmosphere of a very friendly club, where a minority slowly assumed the role of a majority, without ever a major calamity.

When I entered the local stage in 1960 things were just about to turn. Although the majority of business was still written by foreign companies, the wind of change had also reached Pakistan's insurance industry. The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Insurance Association was, of course, by now a top man from an indigenous organisation. Its Secretary, Mr. Maroof, of course, a Pakistani. And through NCS all business derived from government or semi-government organisations and institutions was now entirely in the hands of Pakistani companies. And even when foreign loans were connected with huge industrial projects, and special conditions of the loan agreements stipulated that insurance had to be placed outside Pakistan, sizeable parts of the business went to a 'national carrier', - still bigger portions reached the aid-giving markets through relevant reinsurance channels allowing the 'fronting' company to earn at least some commission on the business serviced by them. And all this was done in a fine spirit of 'give and take'.

Similarly friendly was the spirit of co-operation amongst Pakistani companies, at least as far as the leading ones were concerned. My personal experience coincided with that particular time of industrial development which in the



opinion of many Pakistanis and of 'friendly, foreign observers' is almost unanimously considered as having been perhaps the most dynamic and fruitful period in the country's economic and industrial history: the 1960s. Apart from EFU, the then undisputed leader of the industry, companies like Premier, Habib, New Jubilee, - and to a lesser but then fast increasing extent, the newly founded Adamjee and Central, had established themselves very well, and even a small company like United, because of its dynamic and forceful chief, the late Mr. Malik, successfully raised its voice in support of a smooth and professional running of the insurance industry. Outstanding and highly qualified personalities like SC (Mamo) Subjally, CEO of New Jubilee, Mr. Mohammad and Rusi Dubash, chiefs of Habib, Akhtar Azad and Mohammad Chowdhury, both then representing Premier, guaranteed a very high standing of the industry. Men like Purnell and Hamid Subjally played important roles in the powerful 'newcomer' Adamjee, and, of course, at a later stage again Mohammad Chowdhury, who most successfully replaced Mr. Purnell as Adamjee's CEO, stood for top quality and the highest degree of professionalism. I must have spent innumerable hours together with most of them in meetings and discussions, small and big, petty and important ones, and whereas we may have occasionally failed to reach consensus of opinion, - we never parted in a bad mood or an unfriendly spirit. We were all members of the same club, regardless of the different colours we were flying.

M.A. Chishti, another great Pakistani insurance man, has all along struggled for true professionalism in our industry, and he has written extensively on all major technical and management aspects of insurance. He, like many others of his kind, had started his professional career with the Eastern Federal, then joined New Jubilee in a very senior position and thereafter became chief of a few medium sized and smaller companies, - as a matter of fact, whilst writing these lines he still is heading one. He once coined the phrase of 'Roses and Ruses' when summarising his impressions on the overall achievements of the country's insurance industry. When he spoke about 'ruses' he indirectly referred to government interference which more than once put the future of Pakistan's privately owned insurance companies at stake and in question.

Instances like when in 1958 the original 10% compulsory reinsurance cessions to PIC were raised to 30%, and in 1976 a further 25% of the remaining 70% had to be placed with them. Or when Bhutto's government nationalised Life Insurance in March 1972, just one year after Pakistan's insurance industry had lost almost half of its business when Bangladesh came into being. Or on July 1, 1973, when the National Co-Insurance Scheme (NCS) was nationalised and NIF (National Insurance Fund) created in the public sector. This then was later

transformed into National Insurance Corporation (NIC) and with its creation the private sector insurance companies lost another huge bulk of business, the one coming from government, semi-government and autonomous institutions, which henceforth had to be exclusively placed with NIC. This step by the government aroused bitter criticism amongst the privately owned insurance companies. The establishment of the now defunct National Co-Insurance Scheme had been their own invention, a step to keep more business in the country. They, therefore, rightfully thought that they should have been applauded for their farsightedness. Instead, they now found themselves frustrated and deprived from what they thought should be duly given to them. And there were other 'Hooks and Jabs', as the fearless and outspoken Chishti keeps on drumming, be they in the form of additional taxes imposed on the private sector insurance companies, or by ignoring important industry bodies when reviewing or amending insurance laws.

As many of my readers know, I come from the private sector myself. I have worked in it for about forty years. Mostly in Asian countries,- in those believing in private enterprise,- and also in those who run - or used to run! - insurance (and banking) completely under the thumb of government agencies. I can therefore, sympathise with such views and it would run counter to my own convictions if I would even pretend to think otherwise. However, like human beings, also governments are able to learn from past mistakes and take corrective decisions. To allow the private sector in Pakistan to return to the field of life insurance, if even only on a restricted scale, was such a farsighted step and needs to be commended. And I am convinced that the day will come when enlightened and progressive bureaucrats, - and there are an impressive number of them available in all government departments, - will realise that by now the country's insurance industry has matured enough to handle the entire business available, be it from private or public sector sources. This may not necessarily be rectified in one dramatic step. The private sector has learned to live even with the present situation which, in the light of experiences made elsewhere in the world, is not considered to be the most ideal and beneficiary one, - at least not anymore. A glance across the former 'iron curtain' or the various forms of 'bamboo curtains' will surely serve as an eye opener, although, I am sure, many enlightened bureaucrats are already very much aware of it and may have started thinking on similar lines.

The future of Pakistan's insurance industry is in safe and experienced hands. Due to extensive training programmes offered and organised by market bodies, such as the Pakistan Insurance Institute, the Insurance Association, as well as by at least the leading companies within their own organisational set-

up, the quality of staff has tremendously improved over the years and compares well by any international standard. Insurance as a career path for even the best university trained brains of the country has been recognised by those, and an increasing number of them have already embarked on their journey, which hopefully will lead all the way up to the top. Outstanding personalities like the ones I have mentioned before, and a great number more of those whom I could unfortunately not all name within the limited context of this publication, do serve as fine examples for what this industry is capable of achieving, - provided no bureaucratic and artificial hurdles are set up. The future, I am convinced, is even more like 'Roses'. All that is needed is determination and faith in ones own capabilities and vision. And these are ingredients of which those whom I have tried to portray in this book had in abundance.

However, let us leave the future and quickly glance back again at some specific aspects of the past.



First meeting of the sponsors of the Eastern Federal Union  
Insurance Co. Ltd. (1931 in London)

Left to Right: Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Partner of Haira Trading Co.,  
Mr. BM Collins of BM Collins & Co. Ltd., London,  
Mr. CH Falloon, General Manager, Atlas Assurance Company,  
London, Mr. KF Haider, Partner of Haira Trading Co., London



Our First General Manager Mr. Edward Norman Menhinick  
remained in service from 1932 to 1939



View over the 'Great Water Tank' across to former Clive Street,  
EFU's first office in Calcutta, 1932



Standard Life Building in 32, Dalhousie Square, South, Calcutta,  
EFU's Head Office as from 1945





Interior of 32, Dalhousie Square, photographed in 1998, said to be unchanged since the time it was EFU's Head Office



## The creation of EFU

EFU, as has often been said, has been the cradle of Muslim India's insurance industry, - as has been the Habib Bank in banking. A group of farsighted young men, friends from university days in Aligarh, London, Oxford or Cambridge, cling together, discuss Muslim politics on the basis of the Aligarh movement, decry the shortcomings of their minority community in the field of commerce and industry. And some of them become active members of the Muslim League, fight either in the forefront of India's freedom movement, or at least indirectly support it. People like Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, KF Haider, Shoaib Qureshi, Ghulam Mohammad, Prince Hamidulla Khan, who later becomes the Nawab of Bhopal, Dr. M.A. Ansari, the leader of the famous Medical Mission to Turkey in connection with the Khilafat Movement, and the latter's nephew, Abdul Aziz Ansari.

Two of them, Siddiqui and Haider, decided to form a joint venture, a trading company in London, in the 1920s, Haider becoming its manager. Their London insurance broker, BM Collins, thinking of a long term relationship and a constant flow of income and profits, have a brilliant idea: float an insurance company in India, they suggest. And the two discuss this with their group of friends,- and the answer is: yes, but owned and run by Muslims!

I have given detailed descriptions of the background of this very interesting story in different contexts elsewhere in this book as well as in the biography on the late Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee. I don't want to bore my readers with unnecessary repetitions and variations of a theme otherwise well worth harping on. Therefore here, only the briefest version possible, just enough to grasp the idea of EFU as the cradle of Pakistan's insurance industry.

Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and KF Haider executed a 'memorandum of understanding' somewhere in 1931 with one of the then leading British insurance companies, the 'Atlas' and the aforementioned Messrs. BM Collins, Lloyds brokers, envisaging the establishment of an insurance company in Calcutta, India. A senior manager of 'Atlas', Mr. E.N. Menhinick was placed at their disposal to become the company's first chief executive. The group of friends whom I have mentioned earlier hailed this ambitious venture and wholeheartedly supported it. The fact that such imminent and 'public' celebrities like the Aga Khan and the Nawab of Bhopal (the former Prince Hamidulla Khan) agreed to become 'Patrons' of the new company did, of course, greatly enhance its prestige. And still, placement of shares became a



very major and difficult task as I have described in the life profile of Abdur Rahman Siddiqui. But the efforts of this dedicated, - and influential, - group of politically highly motivated young Muslims were not in vain. Through great personal efforts of Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, substantial subscriptions could be obtained from the States of Hyderabad and Bhopal. Sir Victor Sasoon became the largest foreign shareholder and the Ispahani family purchased the remaining lot.

Finally, and to the great relief of all, the Eastern Federal Union Insurance Company Ltd. could be incorporated on 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 1932 at Calcutta, Bengal's flourishing centre of trade, commerce and industry. Its Board of Directors consisted of very prominent people, amongst them were Raja Oudh Narain Bisarya, Finance Minister of Hyderabad, representing the financial interest of the Nizam's government as shareholders of the new company, Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister of Bhopal, and, of course, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, who acted as Chairman of the Board, without, however, carrying this designation as such. A very interesting marginal point, I think, reflecting the great respect such feudal lords, as the ones just mentioned, were commanding at that time. As from 1940 till 1950 he, however, also officially was the company's chairman.

India's first Muslim owned and run insurance company was thus successfully launched and the EFU Saga could start its highly adventurous, slippery and yet overall glorious journey. Its historical importance lies in the fact that the majority of all those well known and highly respected persons who, in one way or the other, directly or indirectly, were involved in its launching process, were also very actively involved in the Pakistan movement and thus amongst the illustrious circle of the nation's founding fathers. As I have hopefully been able to show in some of the profiles on the lives of some of these persons, the creation of EFU was the result of collective endeavours and considerations by a group of people. They all contributed to the final result. The idea as such was implanted into KF Haider by his London broker friends. The more experienced and older friend Abdur Rahman Siddiqui encouraged the vague proposal and through further discussions with their friends the scheme finally took shape.

The company started its underwriting activities in the field of general business, and it was only in 1936 that life insurance business was commenced. By 1946, the last full year prior to Partition, considerable progress had been made. The company had rightfully found its place as a respected member of India's insurance world. With the exception of the Chief Executive's post, all

other staff members were of Indian nationality, Muslims, Parsees and Hindus. Mr. Menhinick, the company's first General Manager retired in 1938 and was replaced by Mr. T.N. Baxter who stayed until the end of 1951, when one of the founding fathers, Mr. KF Haider finally took over the reigns.

Mr. Siddiqui retired in 1950, when he became Governor of East Pakistan, and Mr. Mirza Ahmed Ispahani was the official Chairman until 1960 although, because of his involvement in various high powered government activities, he had to leave the actual work to an acting Chairman, Mr. G.H. Shirazee, a man of his own choice. Mr. Ispahani was also responsible for the appointment of Mr. E.C. Iven, a German national, as Deputy General Manager. He was the man who virtually convinced EFU's board that the company must have its future in Pakistan, - and this is what was decided. EFU migrated to Pakistan with its Registered Office in Chittagong. The company's Head Office was established in Karachi. Some staff members were transferred to Dacca, which by then had become the capital of East Pakistan, to build up a close network in this important and fast growing part of the new nation.

All these measures, however, did not mean that the company ceased its operations in India all together. Mr. Abdul Aziz Ansari, a close associate of Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, had been appointed EFU's Resident Director as far back as in 1934 and became the company's Manager for India and Ceylon in 1950, after having served the Indian Government as Head of the Insurance Department. It was only around 1957 that EFU's activities in this part of the subcontinent must have come to an end because it was in its 1956 Balance Sheet that for the last time Branches in Calcutta and Madras were mentioned.

Tom Baxter, the man from New-Zealand, and Erwin C. Iven, the tall German, both now in Karachi, headed a very fine team of insurance executives and dedicated staff members when they started to build up and develop EFU in a different environment all together. This was in 1949 and their office was at Lloyd's building, Mcleod Road, which is still there, presently occupied by the Emirates Bank. What had been a small Branch office in Karachi before, had now to be converted into the centre of the company's widely spread activities. Akhtar Azad had been heading the Branch and became Fire Manager, Agha Raza was Chief Accountant - he later became an important man in PIDC - SM Moinuddin was Manager of the Agency Section, Mr. Hashmi the Marine Manager,- Tahseen Ahmed was responsible for Misc. Accident and Motor, and the life business was in the hands of the famous Wisaluddin brothers, headed by the eldest, Mr. M. Wisaluddin, strongly supported by their father, a kind of a 'grey eminence'. Another German, Heinz W. Schwarz reinforced the

team in 1951 and all seemed well set for a period of great successes and prosperity. Business in Pakistan grew and produced profits. And another CEO, as was already mentioned, had joined: KF Haider, who led the company as from 1.1.1952.

It was a time of great and fast developments in the country. New insurance companies were floated and a kind of 'merry-go-round' for executive staff was set in motion. Akhtar Azad was approached by the Governor of State Bank, Mr. Zahid Hussain, to join Premier Insurance Company, and M. Wisaluddin, the eldest of the three brothers working for EFU Life, joined American Life as CEO and became the toughest opponent of his former colleagues in EFU. Agha Raza left for PIDC and quite a few more had looked for greener pastures and tried their luck with one of the many new companies which one after the other came into existence. Also Erwin C. Iven, deputy to KF Haider, had left in 1955 and joined Munich Reinsurance Company in Germany as a senior director. Nobody then could have visualised that this step should pay rich dividends for EFU, a few years later, when luck seemed to have run out for them and their very existence had become more than doubtful.

I have dealt with this unhappy and almost deadly episode elsewhere in this book and have given further explanations in the biography of my late friend, Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee. Here is a synopsis:

In search for new venues the management of EFU had instructed their London Agents, BM Collins, to write business on their behalf in the London market. That business produced disastrous results, the fact of which, however, became not immediately known in Karachi. EFU's London Agents, for one reason or the other, did not supply sufficient and detailed accounts, and the company itself tried to adopt an attitude of 'wait and see' and somehow found a way to circumnavigate accounting criteria which under normal circumstances would have been applicable. To cut a very long and extremely unpleasant story short: by the end of the 1950s it became very obvious that a full and final settlement of the London losses would have exceeded the company's financial resources. Drastic steps had to be taken to avoid 'the final out'. The Ispahani family, being major shareholders, was looking for a 'saviour', and contacted Mr. Abbas Khaleeli, an old family friend and ex-bureaucrat, extremely well known for his wide spectre of abilities. He, on recommendation of his close friend, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, and Mr. Osman Ali, another outstanding and well known bureaucrat, brought Roshen Ali Bhimjee, a well experienced life insurance man and highly matured politician, and both together accepted the



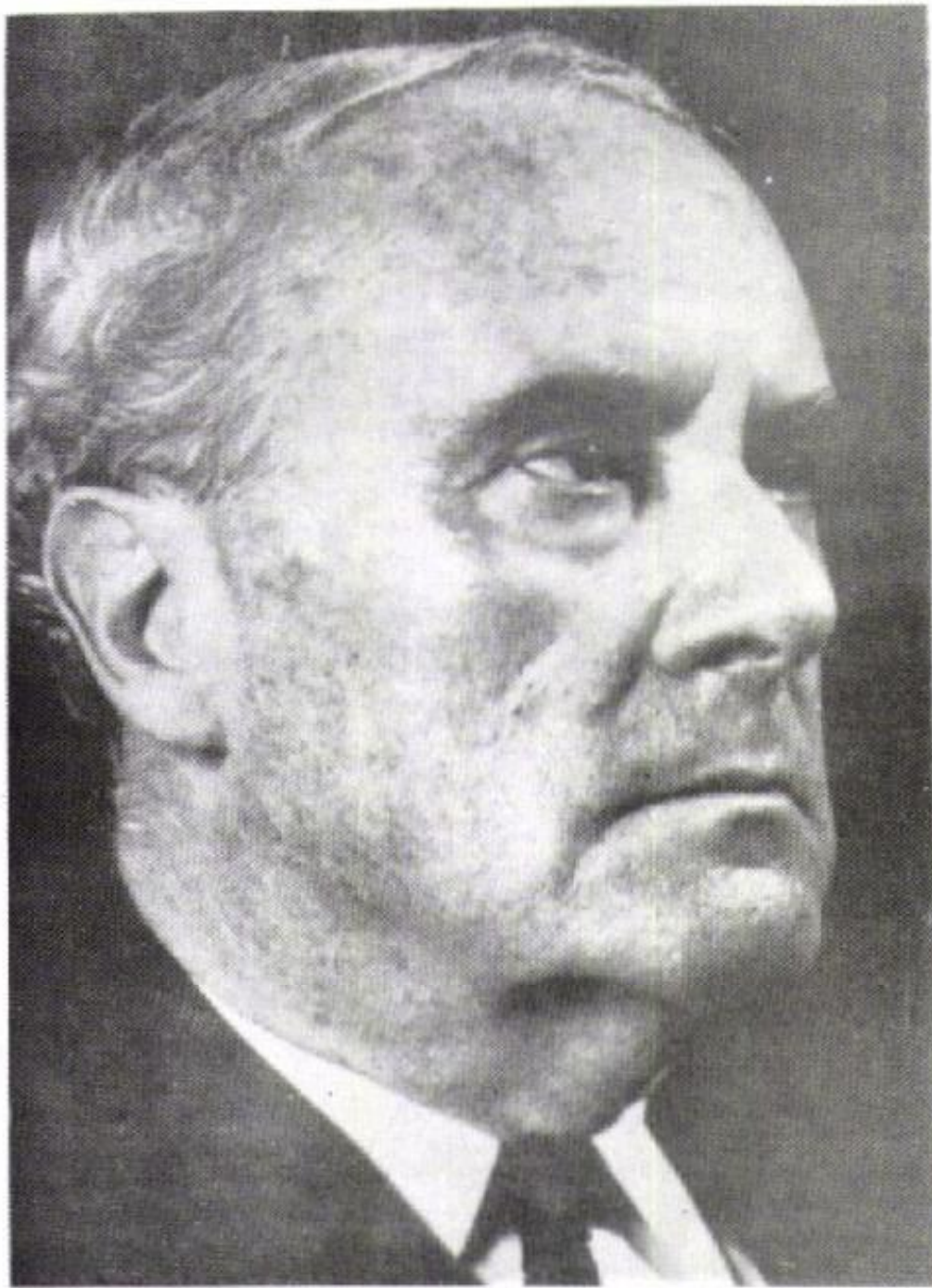
Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee introducing Mr. Said Ahmed to EFU trainees



How to solve the problem? Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee



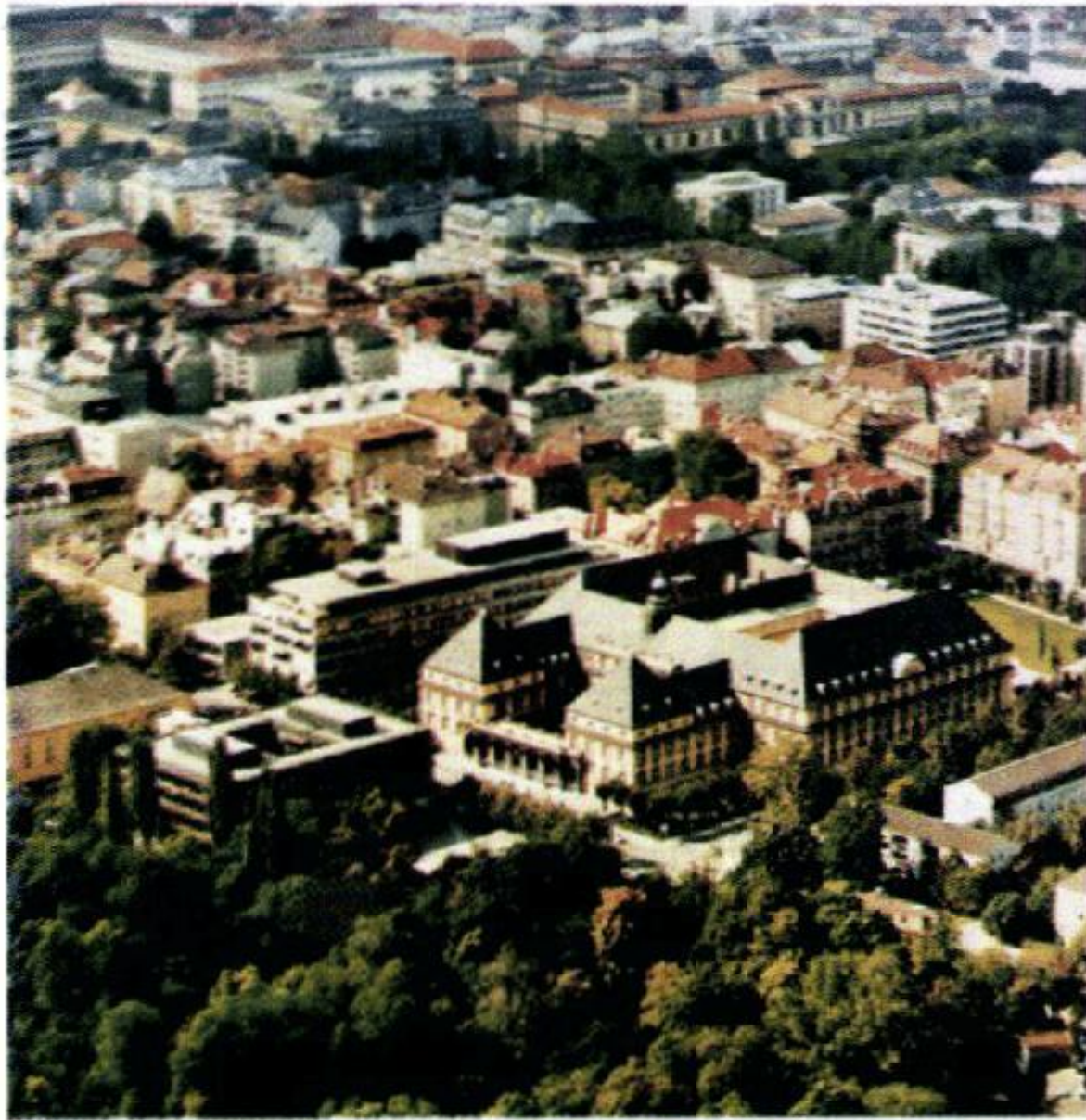
**Close colleagues and great friends!  
Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee with the author in 1965**



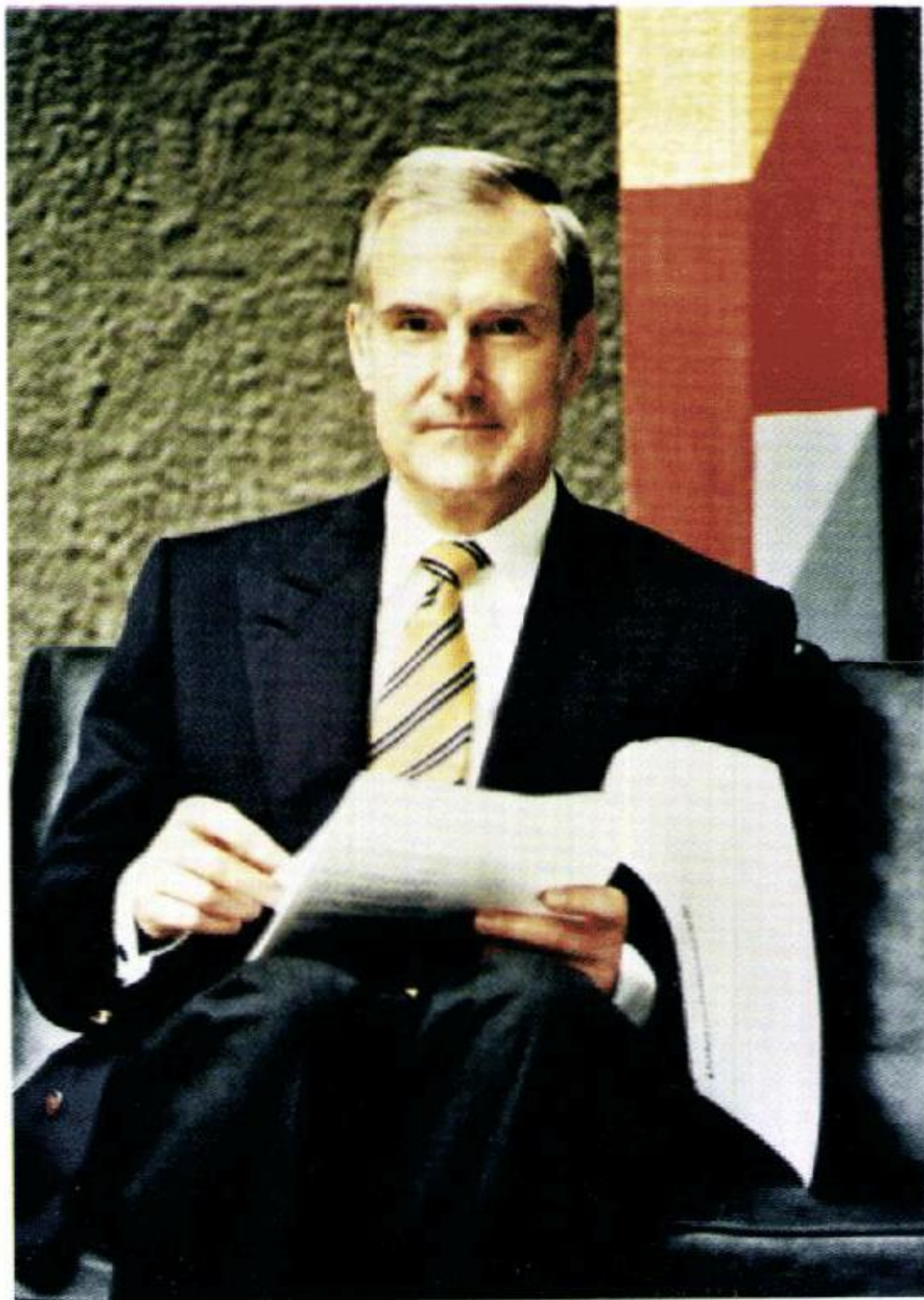
Dr. Alois Alzheimer, Chairman Board of Management of Munich Reinsurance Company, from 1950 to 1969



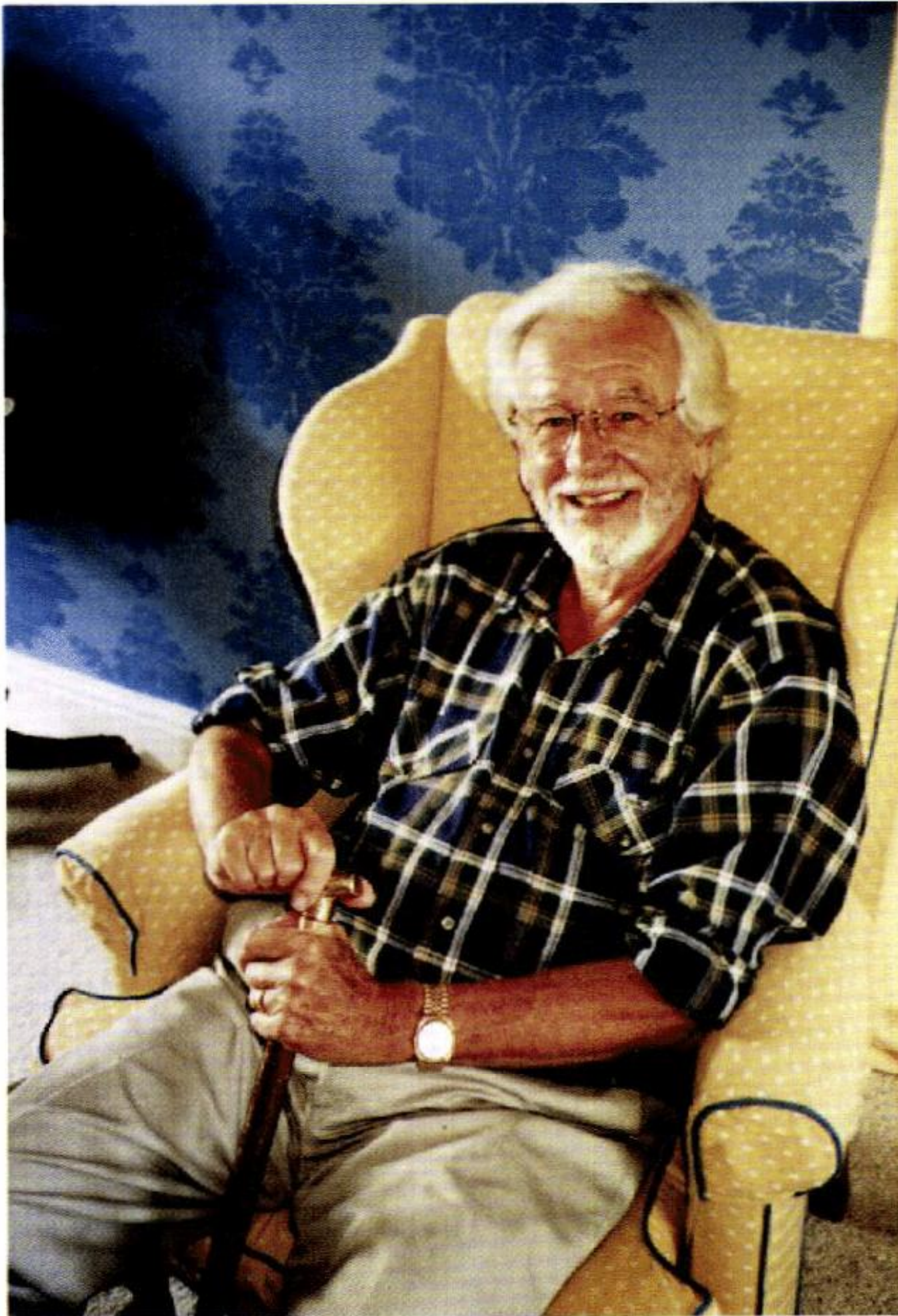
Dr. Horst K. Jannot, Chairman Board of Management of Munich Reinsurance Company, from 1969 to 1993



Aerial view of Munich Re's Headquarters in Munich



Dr. Hans Juergen Schinzler, present Chairman Board of Management of Munich Reinsurance Company



Mr. David Dowlen, former Director of Credit and  
Commerce Life, London and ex-Chairman of Robert Bradford,  
Lloyds Brokers, London





Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee welcoming Mr. Wahiduzzaman, Commerce Minister, at EFU's 1963 Convention, held at Beach Luxury Hotel, Karachi



Mr Roshen Ali Bhimjee receiving Sitar-e-Quaid-e-Azam (SQA) from  
President Ayub Khan in 1966

challenge to rescue this Pakistani institution, the 'cradle' of the country's insurance industry, as I have repeatedly said. The first thing they did was to change the shareholding structure of the company. Isphanis disinvested a large portion of their former holdings, the Habib family (Arag Limited) came in. Having achieved this, both Khaleeli and Bhimjee then flew over to London and Munich in search for a miracle to occur.

And it did. Thanks to the ex-EFU managers Iven and Schwarz, who like me had meanwhile become executives of Munichre, Roshen Ali Bhimjee could convince Munichre's Chairman, Dr. Alois Alzheimer and his then secretary and later successor, Horst K. Jannott, that EFU under the new management stood a good chance to come out of troubled waters once the 'London issue' could be satisfactorily solved. And Dr. Alzheimer readily responded by deciding that 50% of all the profits so far earned out of the reinsurance relationship between Munichre and EFU should be returned to them. Furthermore a substantial loan, free of interest, was put at the disposal of R.A. Bhimjee. With this in his hands he and Khaleeli were able to convince the 'London consortium' that a fair compromise settlement would also be in their interest. It was in particular one man who immediately understood this message, Mr. David Dowlen, a senior director of Robert Bradford, Lloyds brokers. Thanks to his inspiring and untiring efforts he got the other members of the consortium to accept the offer made by EFU,- and suddenly the clouds hanging over the company's future had disappeared. What had looked like the end of the day, doomed and without hope, now seemed to have been just a nightmare, a bad dream. And all this was done just within a comparatively short span of time. Khaleeli and Bhimjee had officially taken over the company as from 1.1.1961, - by the end of the same year most of the rescue operation was successfully completed.

The new management could start to write what is now commonly known as EFU's great success story. By 1972, when Bhutto's government nationalised life insurance in Pakistan, EFU had become a household name in the country, „EFU Afiyat-ka-Nishan“ as everybody seemed to say. EFU had reached a size in its life insurance operations which had made it by then the largest life insurance company in Afro-Asian countries (excluding Japan).

Within a short span of only two years Pakistan's privately owned insurance companies had been downsized to an extent which made it appear questionable whether they would survive or not. First the loss of their former East Pakistan business, then the foundation of NIC, and finally nationalisation of life business, which, of course, hit the industry's leader, - EFU, - the

hardest. Nationalisation of general business, as had been done years earlier in India, seemed only to be a question of time. No wonder that quite a number of senior executive staff decided to leave the country. Pakistan suffered from her worst brain drain ever, although, ironically, this was sold as a great achievement because of the huge amounts of valuable foreign exchange resulting out of substantial remittances made by those emigrants.

Once again the end of the EFU Saga seemed to have come. Roshen Ali Bhimjee, convinced of early nationalisation of the remaining part of insurance business still in the hands of the private sector and being generally disgusted and frustrated about the direction his country seemed to be heading for, decided to follow the example of his long time friend and business partner, Mr. Agha Hasan Abedi, who with the help and financial resources of some Arab friends had just started what should soon become the world's fastest growing bank, the Bank of Credit & Commerce. Mr. Bhimjee accepted Abedi's proposal and together they set up insurance companies in the UK, Dubai and Saudi Arabia. I have given a detailed account of this particular development in Mr. Bhimjee's biography. Its most unfortunate and tragic end is well known and need not be repeated. Following the collapse of the Bank, the insurance companies lost substantial amounts of money, which they had, of course, deposited with Abedi's bank. There were other reasons also which I have likewise described elsewhere.

What could not be destroyed, however, was the strong will and determination of the group's Chairman, to lead EFU back to its roots and to a most impressive revival of its fighting spirit. A young and dynamic management was newly installed, Mr. Saifuddin Zoomkawala, after 15 highly successful years in the Group's UAE set-up, returned to Karachi and took over as Managing Director. A very challenging task indeed, considering that EFU General, as it was called after nationalisation of life business, had meanwhile lost its leading and dominating position to Adamjee's. Mohammad Chowdhury, one of Pakistan's most brilliant and dynamic insurance personalities, had grasped the chance of the hour when EFU's leading executives had left the country. He had carefully analysed and methodically scrutinised the market's existing and adopted mechanisms, differentiated between its weak and its strong points and then formulated a most farsighted and innovative strategy, tailor-made for his company and adapted to his own visions. And he did what his former fiercest competitor, EFU, had been doing in the 1960s, he successfully trained his officers and staff and, wherever deemed necessary, attracted suitable expertise from other companies, mainly from EFU. In short: he created a vehicle which soon became second to none.

Adamjee Insurance Company substituted EFU's role and became the unquestioned and dominating market leader. Year after year the gap between the two widened in favour of Mohammad Chowdhury and his troops and everyone in the market, including his friendly competitor EFU, unhesitatingly admitted that they were very badly beaten by the Bengali insurance wizard.

With the arrival of Saifuddin Zoomkawala and the return of Roshen Ali Bhimjee the 'wind of change', however, started to blow. EFU was restructured, most modern training facilities were provided, - the highly respected Mr. Arshad Abdulla, past President of Pakistan's Institute of Management, was made an Executive Director of the company, - and antiquated customs were thrown over- board. Young and promising executives were given challenging jobs, - and responsibilities.

Qamber Hamid, Executive Director and chief of EFU's Northern Zone may serve as a very good example for this development. At the same time his successful career with EFU stands for another great thing happening in this company, - sons stepping into the footprints of their fathers and grandfathers, who, each in his own time and environment, had made their great contributions to the advancement of this company, thereby helping it to become what it stands for today: a great national institution.

Qamber Hamid was born in 1951 in Lahore, had his early education there, did his 'O' level from St. Anthony's High School, joined Government College in 1967 and graduated in 1970. He decided to take up Law as a career and did his L.L.B. from Punjab University Law College in 1972. His earliest memories of EFU relate to his school days when he used to visit its office at the Co-operative Insurance Building, The Mall, Lahore. Qamber's grandfather, Shaikh Abdul Haq, was then the Life Manager for Pakistan. „My school being close by“ remembers Qamber Hamid, „I just used to walk in after school hours. And by the time my grandfather retired from EFU in 1958, my father had already joined the company in its Accounts Department from where he retired in 1984 as Zonal Accountant.“

Having graduated from Punjab University, as mentioned before, Qamber Hamid took up a job with an American Multinational Oil Company engaged in oil exploration in Pakistan. Wanting to further increase his academic credentials he left the company and went to London to join University College London, London University, from where he obtained his L.L.M. in 1978 (Master of Laws) with majors in Insurance Law, Company Law, Civil Law and Anti Trust Laws. He returned to Pakistan and got himself enlisted as

advocate of the High Courts of Pakistan and started practicing in Lahore and Karachi. Because of his old family connections with EFU he kept on visiting Mr. Sultan Ahmad, the then Managing Director of EFU in Karachi, a dear friend of his father. During these meetings Sultan Ahmed tried his level best to convince Qamber Hamid that 'insurance is in his blood' and that he should seriously consider joining 'his own family' again. If I remember correctly, also Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee had a word with him and finally, in 1985, he so to speak succumbed and joined EFU as Branch Manager, Lahore Main branch. „It was a pleasant coincidence“, he told me, „that I should now occupy the same room and the same seat my grandfather had graced during his long tenure in EFU. The burden of responsibility lay heavily on my shoulders. Doubly so. I had to justify my Managing Director's confidence in my abilities and at the same time I was conscious that my performance was bound to be measured against my great ancestor's legendary role and contribution.“

Qamber Hamid is doing a fine job as EFU's Chief of the Northern Zone. He is well liked by both his clients and his staff. The reputation earned by his grandfather and his father is felt by him as a constant source of inspiration, - and a continuous liability weighing heavily on his shoulders. A situation similarly faced by one of his closest colleagues, Shaukat Saeed Ahmed, who is the son of another famous senior executive of the 'old' EFU whose spirit is still around and very much alive, Mian Saeed Ahmed. And there are quite an increasing number of similar cases where sons become worthy and fortuitous successors of legendary fathers, Qamber Hamid just being one of them, albeit the most successful so far, if measured in terms of the given hierarchical structure of the company. His and similar examples underline the internal strength EFU is able to produce to accelerate its march back to the very top of the industry.

Someone else immediately comes to my mind when thinking of the impressive line of fine and younger officers which will help EFU to just achieve that, Mr. Mahmood Lotia, now a Senior Executive Director. Like Qamber Hamid he has insurance in his blood. His father, Mr. Fakhruddin Lotia, was the founder and major shareholder of both the Mercantile Fire & General as well as the Mercantile Mutual Life Assurance Company. As members of the Bhora business community they are a very well respected family in Karachi and other parts of Pakistan right from the very start of this country.

Mahmood Lotia was born in 1948, in Karachi where he also had his early education. He studied science at St. Patrick's College, then had about two

years at Gordon College in Rawalpindi and finally obtained his BSc from the University of Punjab. He then went to the United States and had postgraduate studies at the University of Minnesota. Being now a Chemical Engineer he returned to Pakistan in 1974 and joined the insurance group of his father. Whilst there he did his ACII, specialising in Marine and Aviation. In 1977 he was sent for training to one of the then world's well known reinsurers, the Mercantile & General in London. No wonder that Adamjee Insurance Company, by then Pakistan's largest general insurer, had thrown an eye on young, promising Mahmood Lotia and offered him a job after his return from England. He still cherishes his two years with them but went for greener pastures in 1979 when the largest multinational insurer operating in this market, the Commercial Union Group appointed him as its Marine Manager.

Like so many others of his age group he fell victim to the country's brain drain in 1982 when he decided to accept an attractive offer from the Abu Dhabi National Insurance Company. He tremendously enjoyed his stay with them but he had to return to Karachi for family reasons; his father had fallen seriously sick and he was needed there. He once again joined Commercial Union and finally ended up to become its Assistant General Manager, the second man in line. He stayed with them until 1990 when ADNIC, his former employers in Abu Dhabi, contacted him and persuaded him to rejoin them, which he did. It did not turn out to be a happy reunion and he decided in August 1991 to return home, to Karachi, to join EFU General, where he is now one of its most senior executives.

Mahmood Lotia to me represents one of the fine species of younger insurance executives in Pakistan who have all they need to meet the challenges of an increasingly sophisticated industry. He has a solid technical background, profound practical experience acquired whilst working for the very top companies in Pakistan as well as abroad, - and he has the necessary business acumen to be also successful in the field of insurance marketing. His straightforwardness, - he would always call a spade a spade, - his friendly and warm-hearted personality has won him many friends, inside and outside the company.

People like Mahmood Lotia and Qamber Hamid are made of the right fabric to further enhance the prestige and reputation of this great company they have finally chosen to work for. I have highlighted them as representatives of a new generation of Pakistani business leaders who might well be able to prove that they have the necessary charisma and courage to step out of their own shadows and become creators and visionaries in their own rights.

Another milestone on EFU's way back to 'normalisation' was the government's decision to open the Life insurance industry again to the private sector. A very happy day for late Mr. Roshen Ali Bhimjee, then still EFU's Chairman. He had been working very hard to convince the authorities that a healthy competition between the government owned State Life Insurance Corporation and the private sector would stimulate a further and still faster development of this 'social service' to the citizens of the country, and some farsighted members within the government finally supported him in his untiring and dedicated efforts.

On 8<sup>th</sup> November, 1992, EFU Life was the first life insurance company to be granted a license, with four more to follow. Two for Pakistani companies, New Jubilee and Metropolitan, - and two for foreign multinationals, American Life and Commercial Union. EFU Life started operations in 1993 with Group Life products and in 1994 launched its 'individual life' insurance products. The company was headed by a most experienced life insurance professional, Mr. Taher G. Sachak, who together with some of his closest associates had extensive life insurance experience in the United Kingdom. Amongst the private Life insurance companies EFU Life had again become the undisputed leader. Highly respected and experienced professionals like Dr. Tajuddin A. Manji, the Medical Director, Omer Morshed, the Consulting Actuary, Michael Bell, an internationally renowned actuary, as Chief Consulting Actuary and Advisor, greatly contributed to the early success of the new EFU Life.

EFU General and EFU Life together represented the old, forward looking spirit which had made EFU that great institution before government 'intervention' put a temporary halt to its further development in 1972. It was the old fighting spirit, the same fine art of insurance professionalism and dedicated service towards its clientele throughout Pakistan, - and yet it also represented the new business acumen of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in its most refined and sophisticated form.

Since the beginning of a new millennium, a new company joined the EFU family. Together with the Allianz Insurance Company of Germany, a global leader in the insurance industry with an active presence in 70 markets across 5 continents, a new company was formed that would provide health insurance to the people of Pakistan. On March 29, 2000, a joint venture agreement was signed according to which the 'Allianz EFU Health Insurance Company' was created. This in itself created history in Pakistan's insurance industry for it was for the first time that a leading indigenous company formed a joint venture with one of the huge international global players. And, of course, it is