

## Chapter 8

### **Will Punjab and Sindh rise to the Occasion?**

In the inaugural session of the All-India Muslim League (Dacca, December 30, 1906) a fifty-eight member Provisional Committee was formed with two Joint Secretaries, namely, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. The Muslim majority areas/ provinces which were later to constitute Pakistan had 14 members, while 44 members belonged to Muslim minority areas/ provinces. U.P. alone which was a Muslim minority province had 22 members. The both Nawabs (Joint Secretaries) hailed from U.P. Of the future Pakistan areas 3 members hailed from Eastern Bengal, 1 from Sylhet, 7 from Punjab, 2 from Frontier Province and 1 from Sindh. It is interesting to note that the sole member from Sindh (Hyderabad) was Mr. A.M. Dehlavi. And Hakim Ajmal Khan from Delhi was one of the 7 members representing Punjab province as at that time Delhi was part of the Punjab.

Is it not so that one who can claim to represent whom, is a question of time and circumstances? Imagine, a 'Dehlavi' from Hyderabad representing Sindh! Imagine Hakim Ajmal Khan from Delhi representing Punjab. Imagine 14 members from the whole of Pakistan including present Bangladesh versus 44 members from U.P. which was not Pakistan. Was not this the preparation of the future occupation of the Pakistan areas? What were the times! Accepting slavery apparently not only willingly but with passion, killing who became others and in return being killed by them became the success story. Who and what type of men were those who pushed the masses of innocent humanity into bloodshed that when they came out of it, they became totally disoriented and thus available for exploitation to the perpetrators of the crimes of 1947 for a long time to come?

And why the Muslims of the U.P. could do what they did? The United Provinces (including Delhi) had been a curious amalgam, 'and in some ways an epitome of India.' They were 'the seat of the Hindu culture as well as of the Persian culture that came in Afghan and Mughal times, and hence the mixture of the two' was most in evidence there. 'For long they' had 'considered themselves, and had been 'looked upon by others, as the heart of India.' 'Indeed in popular parlance, they' were 'often referred to as Hindustan.' [1] If this area was the heart of India, this heart belonged to Muslims who ruled Hindustan from this 'Hindustan' for about 600 years.

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru: The Discovery of India: p. 334

Descendants of Muslim ruling classes and other Muslims who had come to India from outside or converted to Islam from the local population and belonging to

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Muslim minority provinces – by now Urdu-Speakers – had no collective name which could distinguish them from the Muslims of the Muslim majority provinces who were by and large converts from the local population. They, the Urdu-Speakers or the Urdu Party, were now to claim the political leadership of Muslim masses who originally belonged to India and had converted to Islam at various stages and under different circumstances. For Punjab, for example, the nameless U.P. Muslims and even their brethren from other minority provinces were ‘Hindustanis’. They did not belong to any other Muslim people or community of India. For example, they were not Punjabis, they were not Sindhis, Kashmiris, Bengalis, Baluch or Pakhtuns. If some of them had Afghan background, in no way they belonged to Pathan or Pakhtun society or culture of North-West Frontier Province or Tribal Areas. Therefore, for others, also, like Punjab, they were ‘Hindustanis’. This minority not belonging to any majority in any province/state/area of India was able to hide behind an Islamic cover which they orchestrated vehemently and become unrecognizable for the Muslim masses of India. Obviously they indulged in religious deception. Then there was British imperialism like a caring father to encourage, guide, help and protect them at every step. When the British got old and withdrew, Americans stepped in.

Referring again to the inaugural session of the All-India Muslim League, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk in his presidential address said: ‘We ... should accept it as a rule of our conduct that the plant of the political rights of a subject race thrive best in the soil of loyalty, and consequently the Musalmans should prove themselves loyal to their Government before they ask for recognition of any of their rights. . . . I do not hesitate in declaring that unless the leaders of the Congress make sincere efforts as speedily as possible, to quell the hostility against the Government and the British rule, which is fast increasing in a large body of their followers, the necessary consequence of all that is being openly done and said today will be that sedition would be rampant, and the Musalmans of India should be called upon to perform the necessary duty of combating this rebellious spirit, side by side with the British Government, more effectively than by the mere use of words.’ [2]

[2] Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents: 1906-47,  
 Edited by Syed Sharifuddin  
 Pirzada, Vol 1, 1906-1924, 1969. pp. 4-5

‘The political ‘lift-off’ of the League occurred in the United Provinces between 1937 and 1939. It was here that the threat to ... the Muslim and Urdu-speaking bearer of Mughal culture was most felt. It was here that, with the growing proportion of Muslims knowing English and having college qualifications, middle class competition for government and professional careers was keenest ... It was here that Muslim landlords had the wealth and standing to resist tenancy legislation. It was here that Muslims felt most strongly that they were the natural aristocracy of the country and it was here, at Aligarh University, that the League

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found an eager band of young propagandists and election workers. The United Provinces first gave Jinnah that provincial *pied-à-terre* which as an all India politician he had previously lacked; it also provided the League with its 'natural' leaders, able to meet British politicians and administrators on socially equal terms. Even in 1946, when the destiny of the Muslim majority provinces was immediately at stake, the United Provinces had four members of the Working Committee of the League to three each for Bengal and Punjab.' [3]

[3] The Muslims of British India: First Corrected South Asia Edition 1998: Foundation Books, Ansari Road, New Delhi. P. 235

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On 29 November, 1947 the partition plan of Palestine of the United Nations, through Resolution 181, was approved by 33 to 13 votes, with 10 abstentions. All 33 countries which voted 'Yes' were Christian countries. The 13 countries which voted 'No' were: Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey and Yemen. At that time all 9 independent Muslim countries voted against the creation of Israel. Unfortunately, there was no one in Pakistan to appreciate that India went along with Muslim countries and voted 'No'. China abstained. At that time Jinnah was alive, very much in control and Governor-General of Pakistan. Today there are more than 40 Muslim countries which are members of the United Nations. They would have overwhelmingly voted against the resolution thereby stopping its approval. But ironically, they were under Western and therefore Christian occupation. This was Western or Christian democracy in operation at international level. This is how Jews/Zionists were empowered. I believe there cannot be any word in any language of the world to describe this crime of the West against the Muslim world and, I must emphasize, against the humanity at large.

The empowerment of these two minorities Jews/Zionists and Hindustanis/Urdu-Speakers or Urdu Party was made possible by British imperialism. To start with, both these empowerments on civilizational level were illegitimate because by these acts Palestinian Arabs lost their homeland and Indian Muslims who were majorities in their own provinces – Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, N.W.F.P., and Baluchistan were denied enfranchisement. This is not known to the world. Even today in 2015, a voter in Pakistan is either alienated or is not sure what fate is in store for his ballot. And the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir and others all over India were put in the perennial dilemma of loyalty to their country India or well-wishing Pakistan which had been made contradictory by the ideology Urdu Party had assembled and developed under the secure and permanent protection of the

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British. And as history moved forward, the problem got worsened showing thereby the potential of evil-doing in their ideology. The present stand-offs between Christian and Muslim civilizations and between Muslims of South Asia and Hindu civilization presently conveniently clubbed as India-Pakistan confrontation have their geneses in these two empowerments.

This was then in 1947 and before. Fast forward, to this day, Muslim world has not been able to find an answer to Israel. An evil of world proportions was thrust upon the Palestinian people who were so few. I cannot find words for their unwavering stand and struggle against the occupation of their lands by the Zionists backed by the evil forces of Christian civilization. I believe history will take turn in the right direction which is to dismantle Israel and defeat Zionist ideology. For me nine-eleven means that the Zionists can conspire to push India and Pakistan into a nuclear conflict and then come to help the suffering 'humanity'.

Our struggle for our languages and show what they call 'Urdu' the door is to defeat the evil forces in our region. Uniting our people on a truthful platform will be our contribution to civilization. The dimensions of our struggle for our languages go beyond our region. The struggle is to put unprecedented number of people into a struggle which should remain a mainstay for a right direction of our people, our country and the region.

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All books or any other writing anywhere in any form - article, column, report, research paper etc. or spoken word - in any language which in any way supports Urdu stands cancelled and will also stand cancelled in the future. To rely upon any content or information in any such material, care must be taken as the fundamental understanding of any such author or speaker was and would always be erroneous. Except verified data and historical facts, any theory, explanation or interpretation should be out rightly rejected. There is a need to turn away from the falsehood which was continuously stuffed into the minds of the Muslims of pre-partition Hindustan. And after 1947, present Pakistan was a soft prey for the propaganda of the Urdu Party.

Look at the enormity of tasks we confront today and will continue to confront for a very long time. Urdu has to vacate the place for Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, and Baluchi. It is one thing to expel Urdu but equally or perhaps more important is that the new occupants have to get ready. If given the chance today, they are not ready. Therefore, we will face problems on both fronts. Even if there is no active opposition from some quarter, established habits or inertia always impede change.

All books from primary to the highest level written in Urdu have to go. Simply re-writing them in real languages will not suffice, because falsehood is rampant in them. And it is not as simple as to take out any individual falsehood and put a fact

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in its place because it is connected through roots and branches with other falsehoods in more than one way. And the fakeness of Urdu itself is fundamental and central to these cobwebs of falsehoods. Unseating Urdu and giving seats to our real languages is the task ahead. To start with, this work can be started from below i.e. class one and from further below wherever there is such a category. The innocent children perhaps should have more rights than the grownups to inhale the fresh air laden with fragrance of truth of historical change.

Where we should start from the top is the abolition of National Language Authority and put in its place National Languages Authority by expelling Urdu and bringing in with great respect and humility the real languages of Pakistan.

Starting from the top, all Ph.Ds. in Urdu should stand cancelled. All departments of Urdu in universities and colleges stand abolished. The facilities can be used in converting them into the departments of the real languages or adding up with the already existing department of a real language.

What I have written is what was in my mind or I could contemplate. Take it as an indicator for devising a comprehensive programme or programmes. In our special situation, individual initiatives without waiting something from the top will be crucial.

### **Summing up notes**

The presence and supremacy of the Persian language in the subcontinent should be kept in mind to understand the issues under focus in this manifesto. "The amount of Persian literature composed in the Indian subcontinent up to the 19th century is larger than that produced in Iran proper during the same period. From the very beginning of the Muslim invasion of northern India, Persian, as the language of the Ghaznavid court, gradually achieved the status of the most prestigious language of an increasingly large region, whose subjects were mostly Indian and the rulers predominantly Turkish. ... After the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206, the munificence of its rulers attracted many poets and scholars from Persia and Central Asia." [4]

[4] <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/india-xiv-persian-literature-in-india> 18-4-2014

How satisfying and reassuring would it be to know with reasonable certainty the north Indian linguistic scene before Muslim invasions! One description by the Urdu Party which although cannot be of any scholarly value can at least be used to discuss the matter. "There was a certain Indian language stretching all the way from Peshawar to the border of the Bengal before the Turkish invasions of the

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subcontinent in the eleventh century. Being an unstandardized, pre-modern language it was a collection of mutually intelligible dialects. The Muslims started calling it Hindvi or Hindi, i.e. the language of Hind – Hind being the word they used for India. All these dialects picked up words from the languages of the newcomers but the one around the Delhi area (Khari Boli) probably picked up more words than the others. It was this that came to be identified as Hindvi or Hindi which sufi writings from the fourteenth century onwards refer to.” [5]

[5] From Hindi to Urdu: p. 388

We should know this view is Urdu-centric. Pundit Nehru wrote in his ‘Discovery of India’ (1945): “I remember that when I was a boy the British-owned newspapers in India were full of official news and utterances; of service news, transfers and promotions; of the doings of English society, of polo, races, dances, and amateur theatricals. There was hardly a word about the people of India, about their political, cultural, social, or economic life. Reading them one would hardly suspect that they existed.” Similarly, for the Urdu Party, others did not exist. To say “there was a certain Indian language stretching all the way from Peshawar to the border of the Bengal before the Turkish invasions of the subcontinent in the eleventh century,” seems to me simplistic. What about Punjabi and Pashto of that time? And what about their dialects? I believe there are many unknowns. Which name Hindvi or Hindi was pronounced first, where and by whom? Did it happen in present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or Punjab areas where Muslims remained in power from about 1020 onwards or in Delhi areas where Muslim rule was established about 200 years later in 1206? Did Muslims call Pashto or Punjabi with which they first came in contact Hindvi or Hindi? Is it possible that Muslims who ruled Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab areas for about two hundred years did not give any name to the language or languages they confronted? But then, Muslims came from Afghanistan, obviously they must have been already in contact with Pashto. Did they call Punjabi Hindvi or Hindi? Did they wait 200 years to first reach Delhi and then there call the Indian language Hindvi or Hindi as we have been told? One can see there are so many questions. Whatever, these unanswered questions here do not hamper our broad inquiry within which even contradictory assumptions can exist. As far as the sufi writings to which the author refers to, they were written in Persian script. There can be no question about the innocence of these early endeavours by the Muslims to put their thoughts in Punjabi or Hindi using Persian script. It seems, it was just natural. And once a tradition is formed, who come after follow that. The politics which made Persian script a roadblock for other languages came later.

Why the author is looking only one way by saying: “All these dialects picked up words from the languages of the newcomers”? The related question is what the newcomers were doing in the meantime? Did they not pick up words of languages they came in contact with? The author mentions sufi writings. If Sufis wrote in

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Hindavi or Hindi and Punjabi as Baba Farid did, I do not know if in the meantime any Indian or Hindu wrote anything in Turkish, Persian or Arabic language? Does it not mean that the newcomers came down to Hindi? And this is logical. Look we have, for example, ت, د, ر in Urdu. They are present in Arabic and Persian. The question is who from the Muslims in India created their hard equivalents ٹ, ڈ and ڑ which are found in Hindi but not in Arabic and Persian. In this way there are other letters or sounds the equivalents of which had to be designed or created new from the Arabic or Persian alphabets to write Hindi. Who did that? Obviously Muslims did that.

The very title of the book 'From Hindi to Urdu' validates Urdu which as if is the 'final station'. And by saying "From the thirteenth till the end of the eighteenth century the name of the language we now call Urdu was mostly Hindi", the final station Urdu is taken back to thirteenth century very cleverly and told us that at that time, our present Urdu was called Hindi! The problem is solved. In the beginning it was Urdu, at the end it is Urdu!

It means whatever the past, we have reached the final 'destination' which is Urdu. The book is representative of the blind culture which prevailed in 1947 in Pakistan whose vanguard was the Urdu Party. And they at every turn took the wrong path, be it pre-1947 or after. And presently anyone in Pakistan who matters belongs to this culture and therefore Pakistan's leadership classes collectively see wrong, listen wrong, feel wrong, say wrong, and therefore do wrong. I do not know if any individual has broken the chains of this behaviour.

The question arises what was the purpose of writing this book at this late stage? It is a question of ideology and commitment to it. It is a question of author's love for Urdu. Totally blind, they see nothing around! I attended a marriage function in Karachi in January 2015. I asked one of the hosts if there was any Sindhi guest in the function. The answer was, none.

All this effort and discussion is because Muslims in India tried to occupy Hindi but failed. And they have been unable to reconcile to this defeat. Earlier history bypassed making them irrelevant. But as yet there is the unfinished part of the job to be done in Pakistan.

Like my life-long practice, it has been normal for me to go through intense study and thinking on any relevant issue which came up during this work. Similar has been the case for me of those who struggled for Hindi in particular at the earlier stages. Finding myself in a situation in many ways not dissimilar to their situation, I have been imagining their difficulties in the prevalent hostile environment of the time. The historical backlog they must have confronted after remaining for centuries in the backyard of history would horrify anyone who might dare to think. It very often struck me of the possibility of Hindi losing its script and having met the fate of Persian. Although now I feel it was not that dangerous, but its disadvantaged position and vulnerabilities have been really frightening.

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Now being amidst my own initiated case which started with Punjabi but now dares to confront the entire linguistic mess not only in the present day Pakistan but of its tentacles in India as well, I continue to seek inspiration and courage from the case of Hindi when in particular seeing the odds my spirits go down.

Solution of any problem needs comparable wisdom. Question of Real Languages of Pakistan is a political question. The question of Punjabi with which I started is not unrelated to the question of Sindhi, Pashto Baluchi or Hindi. It is not the question of being right and then of argue only. It is not that simple. Then, what should we do to make our languages the working languages of our societies? Culturally it is embedded in our minds, and rightly so, that great jobs in history were accomplished by great people whose quality and level of character **were** far above the ordinary people. Should we continue to wait for some 'super-men' to emerge? Has the time been static since the time of such ideas which got embedded in our minds? Look around, has not some or more democratization taken place that not only 'ordinary' but 'many' of them are performing today what was unimaginable earlier? And this is a world-wide phenomenon. Therefore we can think of reaching the goal we fix for our languages by starting in whatever shape we are. As long as we understand that the question of Punjabi or any other real language or collectively of all real languages of Pakistan is a political question, the job is to prepare for political action. In one respect it is as simple as that.

We must understand the difference between a family man and a thief. A family man is a builder and the thief who steals and damages the family is a destroyer. One who builds is civilized, one who destroys is uncivilized. Punjab is a society, a *mu'ashra*; Sindh is a society, a *mu'ashra*; Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is a society, a *mu'ashra*; Baluchistan is a society, a *mu'ashra*, and collectively at another level, at the level of Pakistan, we are a society. In the case of Urdu Party, they on their own and themselves could not have constituted a society as they were living amidst an already existing larger Indian society. That they had not become a part of that already existing Indian society even after living there for centuries came forth when history was near 1947 and moving towards it. I believe that on human and civilizational scale, this is not forgivable.

It is time to bring down the power structure and culture they built in Pakistan misleading the peoples of Pakistan in more than one way. Their presence at every position of benefit in Pakistan will never let Pakistan move forward. The needful has to be done. Whatever required in the process, they must be made harmless for Pakistan.

Let us make another attempt for clarity. Let us try to understand the problem as in mathematics where we build upwards from the simplest, known and confirmed relationship what we call in Punjabi '*Do dooni char*' which means  $2 \times 2 = 4$ . Think about the scenario without Persian language and consequently Persian script in India. Had there been no Muslim conquest and establishment of Muslim rule in



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India, there would have been no interference in the languages of India and there growth onward would have been normal. With Persian script in India and conversion to Islam, intervention in and its associated negative effects on the languages of India were inevitable. Consequently Punjabi and Hindi got partitioned due to scripts and before, in fact much before, and Sindhi got partitioned with the geographical partition of India in 1947. Now think about the scenario without the British and therefore the English language in India. But so much adverse has happened that, practically speaking, the truth has been killed. Moreover the educated classes have been so acclimatized by the English language that for most of us, it is impossible to think in other terms. Although not similarly, but when Persian was supreme in India, it was also impossible to think otherwise – without Persian - even by Hindus. Without the British in India, the Punjabi and Hindi which had not yet been partitioned physically in spite of the Persian script most probably would have eventually overcome the duality of their scripts. And except mentioning the fact that the present Arabic script of Sindhi was given by the British, I do not venture further and leave for somebody more informed to contemplate what course Sindhi language would have taken without British presence in India.

Whosoever and whenever any Muslim wrote something in any local Indian language wherever he happened to be, he must have written in the Persian script. Obviously, this had to happen sometime. It should also be understood that writing comes after speaking. If anybody wrote in the script of the local language, this is not under discussion. Because in that case he was just like a local Indian. In this way Hindi, whatever its name, of that time was written by some Muslims in Persian script. If some words from Turkish, Arabic or Persian entered in the writings of the Muslims while writing in Hindi, this in no way changed the name or ownership of the language. The language remained Hindi and it remained the language of the land and Muslims due to their own needs had entered the domain of the Hindi language.

How one can accept that a simple fact was not being understood? Obviously, and I need not give any proof of that, from that time to this day honest and enlightened people in the subcontinent and foreigners who had chance to interact with the us have continued to understand this fact. Muslims had been occupying India since many centuries. The British marched from Plassey in Bengal (1757) through Delhi (1803), conquering Sindh (1843) and lastly Punjab (1846-1849) eventually quit India in 1947. Now when the Muslim supremacy, but not all power, was being dismantled in steps by the British, they were trying to become owners of a major Indian language Hindi just because they had started using it due to their own needs and in their own ways and that they had started writing Hindi in Persian script and given it their own name Urdu. It was like occupying another peoples' language like they had occupied their country before. It was a deception. And the deception was not leaving soon. It had to have consequences. Therefore the controversy

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between Urdu, can we say a non-language, and Hindi a language along with other factors led the subcontinent to 1947.

It should be understood that how and why anyone could have prevented the use of Urdu by Muslims or by anyone else? But that was not the case. The Muslims wanted to impose Urdu on India! And strangely such thoughts were coming to their minds when they had lost their supremacy! The British were always ready to help them at the cost of collective interests of India. I believe the Muslims were misled by the British. And they had lost the capacity to think rightly in the changed circumstances under British dispensation.

For centuries India lay passive while Muslims were the only 'players'. The Muslims who wrote so much Persian in these centuries came to write so much Hindi in Persian script. From the thirteenth till the end of the eighteenth century and even after the name of the 'language' they now call 'Urdu' was mostly Hindi. And then came the political move to call it 'Urdu': The name Urdu – first used only around 1780 by the poet Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi (1750-1824) – cleared the way to own Hindi with this new name and Persian script without any reference to its real owners as perhaps they did not exist. What was it – stealing or robbery? Perhaps both and even much more than that. The stealing and robbery was continuous by the leading Muslim community of the heritage of the Hindu culture. The owners of the language, the Hindus, had been temporarily defeated and were helpless. They fought it out. Presently the real languages of Pakistan are in many ways in a similar situation. Their victory will bring normalcy to the region and in a way complete the historical process. Sindh and Punjab stand qualified in every way to take up this task and complete it faithfully. This struggle directly leads to the empowerment of the peoples of Pakistan which did not happen in 1947. ■