# POINT \*\*COUNTERPOINT

### ME peace: The road map is fundamentally flawed

The UN Security Council resolution 242 could provide a solution a long time ago. Israel however rejects the UN's

offers -- an America that sees no wrong in whatever Israel does and everything wrong in what the Palestinians do... A

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N a series of American initiatives to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts, the latest is the socalled road map to peace. The map is said to have been drawn up by the quartet of UN, EU, Russia and the US. It is not clear however what part the first three have played in its drawing except perhaps putting their stamps on it. After drawing up, it was submitted to the American depository to be brought out by its custodian at his pleasure at a time of his choosing. The other three has had no visible role either in the decision on its publication, or its implementation. So it remains mainly an American show in a long series of American initiatives to negotiate and mediate peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

The principal architect and custodian of the map chose to withhold its publication until certain agendas of his were fulfilled. Part of that agenda was to impose upon the Palestinians a new political dispensation. Whether the Palestinians liked it or not, the new order must be to the liking of America and Israel, the mediator and the other disputant. The ostensible purpose is to usher in democracy in Palestine, supplanting the existing regime that the Palestinians had elected to office. The prime condition for the new Palestinian democracy was the appointment of a Prime Minister and a Cabinet with full executive authority. One could question whether a Prime Minister and a cabinet are essential for democracy. Does America, said to be the citadel of democracy, have a Prime Minister and a cabinet with full executive power? The Americans and other people of the world know very well that the Presidential and ministerial forms are two different styles of democracy. The ministerial form may have a wider sway throughout the world, because the presidential form may easily lead to dictatorial tendencies as in present day America despite the Founding Fathers' extraordinary precautions to

The real purpose, as any one can see, has been to bring about a regime change. The intention has been to sideline Yassir Arafat, the democratically elected and internationally recognized most popular leader of the Palestinians. (Meanwhile other regime changes -- Afghanistan and Iraq -have been planned and executed.). The American and the Israeli administrations have been saving in chorus that Arafat is unacceptable as a negotiating partner because he is a "terrorist", a "godfather" to the Palestinian "terrorists", a "liar" and "untrustworthy". Such calumny, abuse and filth

easily pliable, is nothing new. The European imperialists have used such languages against many Arab leaders during the days of their scheming and manoeuvring to occupy Arab lands after the defeat of Ottoman Turkey in the First World War. The latest twist in that bizarre saga surrounding Yassir Arafat is the threat to expel him from the Palestinian territory or to eliminate him physically after vicious name callings for long and virtually impris-

America, the principal peace-

maker-author of the road map, vetoed

 $a\,re solution\,in\,the\,UN\,Security\,Council$ 

against the execution of the threat to

Arafat, to block its passage. America

has fully backed the Israeli demand to

set aside Arafat. In his place should be

found a pliable leader or set of leaders

who would submit to coercion or be

lured by bribery with some crumbs of

power or lumps of money. That would

then enable them to impose a solution

on the Palestinians. Such impositions

through so-called diplomatic efforts

have been resorted to in the Middle

East as elsewhere since the rise of

western imperialism. Coercion, epito-

mised in the old notion of gunboat

diplomacy, and bribery with the lure of

money and/or power, is still alive and

well today as principal instruments of

western diplomacy in Third World

attached to the road map is a complete

cessation of Palestinian hostilities

toward Israel. That has been a feature

of all previous American peace plans a

la Tenet, Mitchell etc. This condition is

attached largely on Israeli demand,

which America finds easily acceptable.

Both the Americans and the Israelis

insist on a 100 per cent guarantee of

non-violence from the Palestinian

Authority. Even the bursting of a

firecracker by a Palestinian will negate

the rest of the peace process; such has

tence. That 100 per cent guarantee

must include the demolition of what

America and Israel call terrorist infra-

that Yassir Arafat is at best a municipal

chairman presiding over a municipal

council on an occupied territory on

America and Israel know very well

The other prime condition

murder, search and arrests. They demolish houses and the existing Palestinian infrastructures, including the security infrastructure that was allowed them. They know that Arafat is in no position to offer a 100 per cent guarantee of non-violence so long as the occupation and colonisation of the  $territories\ continue\ and\ that\ he\ cannot$ demolish the so-called terrorist infrastructures without provoking a Palestinian civil war. Yet he is blamed, vilified, imprisoned and threatened

with exile or elimination for not doing

what he is asked to do and is incapable

of doing. Yassir Arafat ran into this

predicament by agreeing to be such a

municipal chairman in the hope of

eventually being able to establish a

mini-Palestinian state on the Gaza

strip and the West Bank under the Oslo

process. It serves well the Israeli pur-

pose of continued occupation, coloni-

zation and eviction of Palestinians on

the pretext that the Palestinian

Authority fails to guarantee 100 per

himself into this obvious Israeli trap

and abandoning his dream of a demo-

cratic Palestine, late Edward Said, the

renowned Palestinian intellectual and

activist, had broken rank with Arafat

backing, refuses to see Palestinian

free from Israeli occupation some 20

per cent or so land of the old British

Mandate of Palestine. That much was

left after the Israeli grab of 1948 and

that was occupied later in 1967. The

Palestinians have accepted the inevita-

land through the partition imposed on

them in the name of the United

Nations in 1947 and the 1948 Israeli

conquest. They have abandoned their

earlier aspirations for the establish-

ment of a single "non-sectarian,

democratic, Palestinian state in which

Muslims, Christians and Jews could

live together in equality". That idea

was unacceptable not only to the Jews

who claim exclusivity as the "chosen

people of God" and the right to the

"Promised Land", but also to their

western creators and backers who

subjected the Jews to extreme persecu-

ries. These present day guardians of

"terrorism" for what it is -- a struggle to

Israel, with America's wholesale

after the Oslo agreement.

'complicit in history's biggest fraud that resulted in the Israeli state being set up" by snatching away the Palestinian homeland as Mr. Naqvi, has pointed out (DS 2 Oct.) They find Israel as the only democratic outpost in the Middle East and are now set to establish more, which would uphold their "values" and of course protect their "national interests". If one were to ask why Israel, with its Jewish exclusivity based on Biblical myths, should not be regarded as a theocracy rather

than a democracy, few answers could

their hopes for a living space on the 20

per cent of their ancestral land that

Israel lately occupied. Israel has not

only occupied the land but has been

colonising it with the not so concealed

intention of driving away the

Palestinians or submitting to virtual

slavery those who refuse to leave. That

is the grand design to establish Greater

Israel on the so-called "Promised

Land" only for the Jews, Israel inter-

prets with America's vocal support, the

Palestinian dream and demand of a

democratic Palestine as demolition of

the Israeli State, though the demand is

no more than a change in the character

of the state. That change of character is

not acceptable to Israel and the west-

ern angels of democracy. The issue has

The simple need of a peace plan

since then has been the vacation of

occupation and the establishment of a

fully sovereign Palestinian state on the

West Bank and Gaza, with an interna-

tional guarantee of peaceful borders

between the two states with the appro-

priate share of responsibilities

assumed by both. In a speech deliv-

ered in London recently, the French

Foreign Minister reiterated the need

for collective efforts to implement

such a peace plan. It will probably go

unheeded since Israel does not care for

the French or any one else so long as it

is sheltered under America's protec-

tive umbrella. The core issues on

which any would be negotiator can

have a major role are the vacation of

occupation, de-colonisation of occu-

pied lands, halt to continued eviction

of Palestinians from their hearths and

homes, and at least a fair compensa-

been long dead any way.

The Palestinians are now pinning

probably be found.

than fifty years ago. Instead of seriously addressing any of them, the American peace plans keep insisting on guaranteeing security to Israel by a Palestinian non-entity. The issues are left to the parties to negotiate knowing fully well the Israeli reluctance to

The UN Security Council resolution 242 could provide a solution a long time ago. Israel however rejects the UN's resolutions and its negotiating role, for which it is not punished as

tion and despair of the Palestinians as a result of the continued brutal repression under occupation and denial of their right to freedom. America sees nothing in the imprisonment of Yassir Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian people. America vetoes resolutions asking Israel to desist from exiling or assassinating Arafat and condemning the construction of a so-called security wall through the Palestinian territories which amounts to further land grab and isolation of Palestinian communiresolutions and its negotiating role, for which it is not punished as others are. Israel accepts only American mediation ties from one another. America casts the only negative vote other than Israel (two other tiny island states which road map with hardly any clear direction and destination, drawn up by such an 'impartial' cartographer can only lead voted against are virtual American colonies) when the proposals are placed before the General Assembly. Such has been America's behaviour and its sense of impartiality in peace negotiations in the Middle East. A road map with hardly any clear direction and destination, drawn up by such an 'impartial' cartographer can only lead to nowhere. The Palestinians had accepted the map like a drowning man catching a straw in attempts to survive. The straw seems too thin for their support or comfort. The chorus of demand to dismantle their capacity for armed resistance looks like being targeted to

repression; their only right seems to be

to submit meekly to occupation and all

Research and Policy Analysis Division, UN-ESCAP

others are. Israel accepts only American mediation offers -- an America that sees no wrong in whatever Israel does and everything wrong in what the Palestinians do. America cries in pain when a young Palestinian woman sacrifices herself by detonating a bomb in Haifa in revenge for Israelis killing her brothers and cousins. America sees nothing in daily killings, arrests, humiliations, tortures, hombing and destruction of homes and refugee camps of the Palestinians, or sees in them Israel's exercise of the

hasten the drowning. Dr. Abul Hashem is retired section chief, Developmen right to self-defence. Palestinians have no right to defence, no right to buy or The Israeli Wall

**Mohon Mia** 

that goes with it and is forgotten as they were until the rise of Intefada. America sees nothing in the frustra-N remembering Yusuf Ali Chowdhury, popularly known as Mohon Mia, one is sure to be struck by the fact that since his death on 26 November 1971 at the age of 66 there has not appeared in our political scene another king maker totally devoid of any greed for office or profit. For several decades he was a very influential East Pakistani politician but preferred always to keep away from limelight. To him service to people was more important than power and wealth. He proved it over a considerable period of active political life. Mohon Mia was born in an aristocrat zamindar family of Faridpur and became

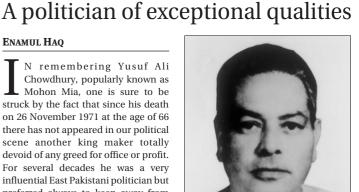
*Lest we forget* 

well-known for philanthropy and promotion of education among the Muslims who suffered many disadvantages due to their backwardness. Among many educational institutions he founded were Maizuddin High School and Halima Girls' School to commemorate his parents. The Halima Students' Home, established in 1926, was a unique boarding house in which meritorious students enjoyed free residence under the care and supervision of a reputed teacher. I had the privilege of living in this home for two years in the 1940 and I can confidently say the lessons of discipline and service I learnt there helped shape my way of life. Many students of this hostel later distinguished themselves in various Another unique institution set up

by Mohon Mia in 1945 was Baitul Aman on the outskirts of Faridpur town. For this multipurpose agricultural, industrial and educational project Mohon Mia donated large tract of land. The primary purpose of this pioneering project has been to train up students in technology and craft to stand on their own feet and set examples of selfsupportive initiatives in income generation and social welfare. In founding Baitul Aman, Mohon Mia demonstrated a vision of social uplift rarely seen in those days. He believed in building institutions to promote social welfare and mitigate distress among the disadvantaged groups of people.

He demonstrated similar vision and initiative as a distinguished chairman of the Faridpur District Board for fifteen years. He initiated many projects to promote education, facilitate communication and provide health services to the people. The people of greater Faridpur remember him as an incorruptible person always ready to spend money from his own resources to

advance a good cause of public welfare. He was a very accessible and amiable person and never hesitated to help the needy. In fact, his open handedness in supporting worthy political and other causes at times put him in financial crisis. In running his zamindari he was most humane to the tenants and broke the tradition of other zamindars by allowing them to approach him as



respected persons. He was a democrat per se and never discriminated against In the 1940s he succeeded in keeping Faridpur free from communal disharmony although the rest of British India suffered worst kind of communal

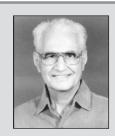
Mohon Mia entered national politics under the leadership of Sher-e-Bangla A K Fazlul Huq as a member of the Krishak Praja Party, Following the election of 1937 Fazlul Huq formed the government in Bengal in coalition with the Muslim League. But when in 1941 Fazlul Huq severed his ties with the Muslim League Mohon Mia stayed on in the League and played a significant role in the party. From 1940 to 1957 he was the general secretary of the Faridpur Muslim League. After the birth of Pakistan he was for a while the general secretary of the East Pakistan Muslim League. But he left the party forever when he found that its high command did not support the popular demand of the people for a honourable place of Bengali as a state language of Pakistan. He also fought vigorously to secure the rights of the people of East Pakistan in the constitution of

Mohon Mia did not see the formal birth of Bangladesh but the intensity of the liberation war convinced him beyond doubt that the emergence of an independent state was imminent. This was so specially after his ceaseless efforts failed to arrange transfer of power to the majority party Awami League following its landslide victory in the 1970s elections. It became clear to him that the military rulers of Pakistan were prepared to dismember their country rather than share power with the majority people of the eastern

I knew Mohon Mia well and used to meet him often in Karachi when he went there to attend the parliament sessions He knew I was from Faridpur and had lived in the Halima Students' Home as a scholar. I wish we had many more dedicated and honest personalities like him to lift Bangladesh out of today's deca-

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### What should minorities do



M B NAOVI

OR minorities, including smaller sects of Islam, should not organise themselves communally. Instead of being protected, they may only help set up a cycle of revenge violence. Their best chance lies in the liberals in the given majority being mobilised for promoting tolerance and peaceful conditions. Counter violence, in the name of either defence (deterrence) or revenge is to step on a slippery slope, which is sure to promote even greater counter mobilisation by the majority. When a minority organises a militia, it does so at its own peril. For, the majority is sure to ask: they are organising (uniting) against whom? Its extremists are sure to magnify the danger from the minority and intensify their mobilisation, making it more effective or mur-

This is an unfamiliar and unsought advice and is not likely to please. The dynamism that results from acting on common notions is generally ignored. Doesn't every schoolboy know that unity is strength or smaller numbers can be offset by greater commitment? And yet, what is the evidence? No communal mobilisation by a minority can prevent attacks on its members in the vastness of the country. They can only be brought into action for taking revenge. That sets up a tit for tat cycle of violence. Once that takes hold, no minority can win; it is bound to lose more often. No minority can mobilise as many men and material as a major ity can.

The experience of late 1980s and 1990s sectarian violence is before us. In order to take on Sipah-i-Sahaba, Lashkar-i-Jhangvi etc., the Shias had formed their Sipah-i-Mohammad. After a decade it is necessary to count who had more people killed? There is no doubt more Shias have died in sectarian violence than Sunnis. Supposing the Shias had not had any organisation for avenging their losses what would be the situation? True, Shias would still have suffered losses, in the dead and maimed but the total on both sides, would have been less. By the same token, panic and losses among Shias would have been smaller.

In order to illustrate the point, suppose there was also a Muslim militia in Gujarat last year. Would that have meant fewer losses for the Muslim minority or more? Resistance in kind would surely have meant much greater and even more efficient mobilisation by the majority. Total losses of

as an undifferentiated mass of united people who will always make trouble). More schools of thought will come into being with time. Isn't this true of the Pakistani majority? Aren't there many opinions among Sunni majority about treating the minority sects among

The question persists: Was the Muslim League's victory in 1947, with the help of the British, the best solution of Muslim community's backwardness and poverty? If a separatist and inimical approach had not been brought to bear on the situation in 1940s to worsen it, Muslims would now be 400 million or more in India that could scarcely be oppressed or seriously

These are however might-havebeens of history. They have no direct relevance. India was partitioned hopefully finally for the benefit of all its parts. Let us try and make Pakistan a success in terms of human freedoms and popular welfare. But Pakistan inherited the blight of a hollow militaristic mind that is moved by a shallow indeed bogus, pan-Islamic sentiment. The result is the curse of military rule: power balance among political groups is heavily tilted in favour of the military. So it pre-empts democracy and thus subordinates human rights and popular welfare to its own needs and

One fact is obvious: sectarianism is

human beings, qua human beings, over every other value. Guarantees for freedom, primarily of faith and opinions are implicit in humanistic value. In other words, it presupposes a democracy that does not discriminate in favour of any particular faith or opinion or against any religion or sect or parties. For ensuring social peace and solidarity for all Pakistanis, the basic requirement is to make Pakistan strong through unity of all truly secular approach is vitally needed.

Unnecessary confusion has resulted from demands of an Islamic State. In a 95 per cent Muslim country like Pakistan, any democratic government would be Islamic. Since the

demands from Muslims and non-Muslims. Jinnah wanted all Pakistanis to be treated equally; he asked IN Mandal to preside over the first session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. How can now a Hindu or Parsi be discriminated against? In the Meesaqi-Madina, the Prophet of Islam included Jews into his Ummat-i-Waheda. Like Jinnah he too wanted a

> compulsory Jihad. Moreover, further efforts to Islamise Pakistan will stoke the fires of sectarianism among Muslims even, it non-Muslims get ignored. The ulema have achieved one thing: the undifferentiated Musalman of Sir Sved, Igbal and Jinnah has been killed. For them a Musalman is either a Deobandi kind of Sunni or a Barelwi type of Sunni or sympathiser of II or a Shia or Ahmadi or Bohra or Agha Khani or Zikri or Ahle Hadis. This sectarianism is a natural

ian distinctions. But can the IUI, IUP,

JI or other MMA members do the same? Mufti Mahmud's idea of Islamic

State was the enforcement of Shariah

as defined by his Hanafi school of

thought. For JUP enforcement of 500

fatwas, the Fatwa-i-Alamgiri, plus the

acceptance of actual rites and prac-

tices of Indian Islam constituted the

 $implementation of Nizam\hbox{-} i\hbox{-} Mustafa.$ 

Who can escape defining a Muslim

accurately to know what Islam

secular dispensation for the Madina's

incipient state and there is nothing on

record that any discrimination was

ever shown towards non-Muslims in

Islam other than paying a tax in lieu of

next stops will be Somalia or Bosnia. Do we want that?

product of the efforts to capture power by orthodox leaders. It is dangerous. Muslims are divided in over a hundred sects. Each sect believes it is the true and the only Islam there is. In matters of faith no compromise is possible. Think of the

consequences of religious leaders making politics the means of acquiring more support, influence, money and eventually power. If sectarianism spreads, Pakistan as a state would collapse. What will then happen is not foreign invasion or intervention. Jealousies among great and neighbouring powers will prevent that. But once sectarian passions flare up, the

 $MB\ Naqvi\,is\,a\,leading\,columist\,in\,Pakistan.$ 



#### All health information to keep you up to date Please get your Blood Pressure checked

High Blood pressure (hypertension) is indeed a 'silent slayer' or killer. As it is usually asymptomatic, it is sensible to check your blood pressure (BP) routinely. And if you have headaches, blurred vision, feel dizzy or sleep disturbances, a thorough screening is essential. Many young men and women are suffering from high blood pressure these days in Bangladesh (probably mostly in the cities) along with aged people. According to some medicine specialists, "only half of the affected have been identified; only half of the identified have been managed, and only half of those are satisfactorily treated." If treated in time one could have saved from 'retinopathy' (limiting vision/eyesight), 'paralytic attack' (brainchances increase seven fold) or peripheral arterial disease (pain on walking). As well high BP can damage your kidneys and there could be erectile dysfunction. Chronic hypertension also causes pregnancy related problems along with growth retardation and premature birth. But above all, high BP is a major risk factor stroke and myocardial infarction (squeezing pain in the centre of the chest caused by occlusion of one or more of the coronary arteries).

Study reveals that high blood pressure speeds up the formation of fatty acids in the arteries, and puts the heart under additional damage. Our heart is the vehicle that drives us through existence. Chances of angina or heart attack add to three-fold in cases of hypertensive (high BP) people.

#### What does BP mean?

Blood Pressure is the pressure of blood flow. Heart endlessly pumps blood through blood vessels to different parts of the body. The flow produces pressure against the vessel walls. Blood Pressure is a measure of this pressure. This value is affected by an innumerable of factors, the more important being the condition of one's heart and arteries. Arteries that are clogged affect the flow of blood circulation and limit the amount of blood to heart, following in strokes or heart attacks.

#### How is BP properly measured?

BP measurements are indicated by two numbers, e.g.,140/90 mmHg, 120/80 mmHg. The higher number is the systolic blood pressure (top value) and is the pressure in the arteries when the heart is pumping blood. The other number indicates the diastolic blood pressure (bottom value) and measures the lower pressure when the heart is at rest between beats.

But remember, one or two readings may not indicate the true blood pressure. By taking regular readings at a predetermined time each day, you will be alerted with any irregularities and early precautionary action can be taken against potential health problems. The World Health Organization has set a classification or standard by which blood pressure, whether systolic or diastolic, is compared. This helps to decide whether your pressure readings are considered high or low. Then again, for children the numbers are different; and special tables are obtainable with child specialists.

#### Did you know?

No BP drugs or medicine can help (a hypertensive) if not accompanied by healthy eating habits and regular exercise. Don't forget, if you would like some more advice, pop into your local clinic/health centre/hospital and talk to the doctor.

## PLAIN WORDS

Muslims are divided in over a hundred sects. Each sect believes it is the true and the only Islam there is. In matters of faith no compromise is possible. Think of the consequences of religious leaders making politics the means of acquiring more support, influence, money and eventually power...But once sectarian passions flare up, the next stops will be Somalia or Bosnia. Do we want that?

the Muslims would surely have been far greater, even if many Hindus might also have suffered. In Pakistan, this temptation for defensive communal mobilisation is pointless for religious minorities like Hindus and Christians; they are too few to register on the majority's radar. Sectarian minorities have occupied the place of religious minorities. Majority community takes out its accumulated spleen on the

Historically too, it is about time to assess what the Muslim community lost and gained from the partition of the Sub-continent, the result of excessive communal frenzy on both sides, involving world's largest ethnic cleansing to date. The Muslims thinking they would never get a fair deal from the Hindu majority forced the issue. As is peculiar to all communalisms, the Muslim League had taken the vast body of Hindus as one undifferentiated unit that would, for all time to come, take just one (hostile and unfair) view and oppress the Muslims. Like any majority Hindus comprised many schools and had their full share of

communalists (who took the Muslims

discriminated against. Undivided India would have offered more opportunities for development. Despite the short sightedness of Congress leadership and its hatred for Quaid-i-Azam, there were many schools of thought, among them, i.e. leftists of various hues who were genuinely noncommunalists who were keen to eradicate the poverty of all Indians. Hindus and Muslims alike. Moreover, there were many Hindus who shared a lot of cultural traits with Punjabi and Urdu speaking Muslims, as was the case in Bengal and Bihar. Opportunities for Muslims would

have been incomparably greater in an undivided India; without their substantial support no government could run in Delhi. The very Hindus, who frightened the Muslim League so much had to be politically divided, and thus would have needed their votes. How long could the communalist politicians deny benefits to the voter? Only thing that would have made for fair play and justice for all was democracy. And there could be no chance for a non-democratic government in

a part of the larger phenomenon of intolerance, especially over religious matters. It won't go away until people learn to be tolerant of differing views and faiths of other communities, groups or parties. Rationalist attitude of tolerance of the other viewpoint and resolving differences through reasonable argumentation is needed. Religious intolerance against Hindus. Christians, Parsis and others is a kin of sectarianism and all such phenomena stand or fall together. So, if sectarianism is to be exterminated, people will need a society and state that tolerate all faiths, views and groups. In other words, State should promote a tolerant and democratic society. There are prerequisites of social

peace and harmony: a pluralist society cannot be achieved unless it is embedded in human rights that are truly respected -- of all men and women, Muslims or non-Muslims. Only in such a society can Shias, Sunnis, Ahle Haddis, Daudi Bohras, Aga Khanis, Zikris, and Ahmedis can happily coexist and make progress together. Such a society, to repeat, has to recognise the supremacy of and respect for,

ulema's 22 demands before Khwaja Nazimuddin in early 1950s, these have grown. Each time a constitution was made in 1954, 1956, 1962, 1973, or even in the case of abortive one of 19th December 1971 by General Yahya Khan -- major ulema had expressed satisfaction over its Islamic provisions adequately. Even in 1971 case, Yahya Khan shared the details of his constitution to the then JI chief, who termed it was adequately Islamic. The same was true in the case of 1973 Constitution. Maulanas Mufti Mahmud, Shah Ahmed Noorani and JI's Professor Ghafoor Ahmad signed it. Even so, they agreed with Zia that scope for more Islamisation exists. An Islamic dispensation obviously

presupposes two things: All Muslims must have no differences over what is Islam or on its rights and obligations for different Muslims and of course non-Muslims. Well, there happens to be no homogenised, simple Musalman; what is to be found, and thanks to ulema as a class, a Sunni Musalman, a Shia Musalman, an Ahmadi or Zikri Musalman. Iqbal, Jinnah or Sir Syed could ignore sectar