

**Religious Thought and National Integration in Pakistan**

**PH.D South Asian Studies**

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## ABSTRACT

The foremost question that comes to the mind of almost all the people of Pakistan is: How and why a country created through an ideology, based on Islam, is unsuccessful to achieve the objectives of its inception? Not only it has failed to become one of the greatest nations of the world but also could not retain its original size of 1947. Initially Pakistan had to be contented without Junagarh and Kashmir and then the larger part, in terms of population, East Pakistan became separated after a civil war and Indian intervention in 1971. After that ethnicity, sub-nationalism, sectarianism and extremism struck the country with such intensity that the whole political, social, economic and cultural structure of the state convulsed violently. Religion, the binding force throughout Pakistan movement, has been the most hit area. The so-called moderates or liberals as well as extremists and conservatives have made the interpretations of the religious teachings in such a way that only their personal interests could be protected within. They have transformed the religion into a mere slogan. Consequently the process of disintegration has made its way in the society.

Although majority of the people of Pakistan claim a strong attachment with the religion but neither the governments nor the citizens are ready to evolve a pattern by which genuine religious thought could be evoked. Basis of the religious thought is Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In spite of countless dissimilarities and divergences, Muslims all over the world have complete faith and consensus on the basis of Islam. The religious thought have all the potential to become a strong base of unity in Pakistan. But the policy makers seem to be unsought to transform this potential into a vigorous reality and integrity. The prevailing injustice, lawlessness, exploitation and resultant thoughtlessness are few of the insurmountable dimensions of Pakistani society. Iqbal's insight and Jinnah's vision have been concealed by the ruling elite and intelligentsia as an undesirable commodity. Islamization and constitution are only obsolete measures and attempts, on the part of the despotic rulers, to camouflage their vested interests. The absence of democratic norms and inefficient state institutions has given much room to counter ideologies to flourish all around without any proper check

and balance. In addition to this, the involvement of the foreign countries particularly of major powers in the socio-economic and religio-political affairs of the country has further aggravated the situation of disintegration and disharmony. Fragmentation and polarization of the society have given birth to secessionists like BLA, extremists like Taliban and terrorists like Al-Quaida. The state machinery seemed paralyzed in front of non-state elements. Such situations made the normal life of the people of Pakistan uncomfortable and insecure. Suffering from anguish, the people of Pakistan are looking for some remedy for their distress. Why do not they understand that the remedy lies in following and implementing the religious thought with true letter and spirit? Allah says in the Holy Quran, *“So set your face towards the religion ( Islam ). No change let there be in (the religion of Allah) that is the straight religion but most of men know not”* (Ar-Rum, 30 : 30). Then in the same surah Allah further added: *“Of those who split up their religion, and became sects [i.e. they invented new things in the religion and followed their vain desires], each sect rejoicing in that which is with it”* (Ar-Rum, 30 : 32).

No serious attempt in the post-Jinnah Pakistan has been made for quest of that religious thought which was envisaged by Allama Iqbal in his thought provoking poetry, Allahabad Address of 1930 and his elegant series of lectures “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”. The unofficial attempt on the part of Ulema in 1951 in the form of agreed 22 points and the halfhearted official attempts on the part of landed aristocracy and bureaucracy, in the shape of constitutions, could not create an egalitarian society of Islamic outlook. The ruling elites, both civilian and military, made this country a “laboratory” of self-seeking experiments rather than experimentation on Islamic principles. Consequently a vast vacuum of thoughtlessness has created which is being filled by the clergy with extreme ideologies and by the so called “revolutionists” with the anarchic thoughts. Eventually the life of a common man is becoming more frustrated and directionless. There is a need to reconsider our approaches and behaviors in the light of true Islamic thought. Because religion, being the word of inner core, make the people unite but religiosity, being the word of self-centeredness, make the societies disintegrate. In Pakistan only religious thought and not the mere religiosity, can be a genuine source of national integration.

## Chapter. 1

# INTRODUCTION

No religion of the world except Islam could claim itself as a complete code of life. Because of its universal message Islam remained successful to introduce a new civilization. In Islam religion does not consist of few spiritual or ethical values but contains an integrated system of economic, social and political aspects of human life. In Muslim world religion has been facing various challenges since centuries because of this universal claim. Not only the opponents but the Muslims also could not refrain to create hurdles in the religious progression. Particularly sectarian differences have badly damaged the religious thought. Different interpretations and philosophies have further barred the religion to become a dynamic force.

In the past serious attempts like crusades were made to stop the way of Islam. Then during colonial rule the Muslims had to adopt apologetic attitude specifically due to the political and technological supremacy of the west. Fully impressed by the western thoughts the local educated Muslims became secularized and declared religion as the personal affair of the individual. In response to this attitude the religious class of the Muslims could not reconcile with the modern education so they rejected it completely. Although they remained successful to keep alive the traditional way of life of the Muslims yet they deliberately ignored the growing extremisms and segregation among the Muslims. Consequently no religious thought could flourish for centuries.

The result of War of Independence 1857, for the Muslims of South Asia, was the end of their about Eight hundred years rule. The British- new rulers- were not ready to reconcile with the Muslims and at this turning point of Indian history the Hindus who were in clear majority, exploited this antagonism in their favour. The British policies significantly benefited the Hindu majority. Consequently the frustration of Muslim minority began to escalate even faster. Not only were the Muslims politically demoralized, economically, academically, and socially also their position was deliberately depressed by the government.

The Muslims were highly discontented with prevailing situation. The crisis and social stress, which are generally required for the formation of ideologies, had emerged. Hence the Muslims started thinking seriously for their salvation from the prejudicial Hindu majority. The concept of two nations, which was dormant, became active gradually. This theory expounded that Hindus and Muslims are to diverse denominations. Islam reflects an entirely distinct outlook “Its call is addressed to the whole of mankind, irrespective of colour, race, tribe and language”(Ali,1988: 2). Muslims are completely different from Hindus in political culture, economic standards and social relationship in general and in religious practices in particular, so they were unwilling to live together with Hindus in united India.

Few Muslim thinkers and reformers, like Shah Wali Ullah, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Syed Ameer Ali and Allama Iqbal tried their utmost to inculcate a religious thought in Muslims in this regard. The idea of separate identity of the Muslims was initially projected by All India Muslim League (AIML) at the time of its inception in 1906. ‘What the various Muslim leaders advocated and endorsed can be taken as the sum total of the collective Muslim thought during that times’ (Salik.1997: 21). They remained focused on national self-determination during colonial period. In the context of Pakistan movement such political motives could not attract the support of majority of the Muslims of Sub-continent as AIML remained a small and unpopular political party unless the clear religious objectives were projected as the actual motive for the creation of Pakistan. The beginning was Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal’s presidential address in 1930 at Allahabad. To test their political worth the AIML took part in provincial elections in 1937 but could not succeed to win in any province and not even in the Muslim majority provinces like Punjab, Sindh and Bengal.

As a result of policies, adopted by the Congress ministries towards the Muslims, they had felt a grave threat to their religion. The feelings that “religion is in danger” have given birth to a strong thought among the Muslims of the subcontinent. That thought had its roots in the religion of Islam and became a binding force for the entire Muslim community of South Asia irrespective of their regional, ethnic, sectarian and other diversities. The concept of Muslim nationalism emerged and this religious ideology had

become an instrument of national integration for the Muslims of subcontinent. The famous slogan “Pakistan ka Matlab Kiya La Ilaha IllAllah” illustrated clearly the aims and objectives of the creation of Pakistan.

Throughout the Pakistan movement the Muslims had followed with letter and spirit the advice of the Holy Quraan “*And hold fast all together by the Rope (The Islam) and be not divided among yourselves*” (Al-Imran,3: 103) and the reward was formation of the biggest Muslim state Pakistan on August 14, 1947. The only attraction, for Millions of Muslims of the subcontinent to participate enthusiastically in Pakistan movement and to migrate without means towards Pakistan, was of course the religious outlook of the proposed homeland. In fact Muslims of this region wanted to see the practical form of their religion in the manifestation of Islamic state. The father of the nation was desirous of shaping the Pakistani society fully in conformity with the Islamic principles. His struggle for the establishment of new state was the outcome of his desire to outline a social and political order in which religion could be acknowledged as the ideal arrangement for the individual’s life and as the law to unite the Muslims of the region into a single nation. Compelled by the difficulties, emerged due to the ill intentions of adversaries, the father of the nation could not focus solely on the body polity of the country during the short period of his Governor Generalship.

With the sad demise of Jinnah, there initiated deterioration in religious thought and the successors began to behave wantonly. Conspiracies and controversies like Islamic state or secular state, theocracy or democracy, welfare state or security state etc. had flared up. The process of segregation had taken birth and the entire segments of the society began to pursue for their own vested interests. However the sincere and moderate leadership remained striving for voicing the basic structure of the state in the light of ideological thoughts. Passage of Objectives Resolution in 1949 was a first step towards constitution making in pursuit of religious thought. ‘The extraordinary quality of this Resolution was that it provided a base to the Constitutions of Pakistan on the standards of Islam’ (Chaudhury,1988: 113).

The next major step was an unprecedented unified and sincere move on the part of religious scholars (Ulema), who presented comprehensive proposals with consensus, famously known as 22 points of Ulema, for the guidance of the Constituent Assembly in their endeavor to formulate a constitution for Pakistan. A clear message of national integration was conveyed through this document. With these points the Ulema had tried to unite the Pakistani nation, legally and morally, by denouncing the hypothetical disintegration among the various Muslim sects. All these efforts went in vain when new leadership having little legitimacy and secular outlook came on the horizon of politics soon after the martyrdom of Liaqat Ali Khan.

Ghulam Muhammad, Sikandar Mirza and Ayub Khan had no valuable contribution in Pakistan Movement; therefore they had nothing to do with ideological foundation of Pakistan. During their respective regimes not only the political but also the social institutions had become weak. The menace of provincialism and sectarianism took birth, which further disintegrated the nation. The 1965 war was fought with national spirit and the nation remained intact for the time being but soon after the war a rapid decline was started. The bonds of Islamic brotherhood had become so weak that the East Pakistan was dismembered after a civil war. The derogatory and humiliating remarks of Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi regarding the Two Nation Theory, that India has drowned it into the bay of Bengal, were irrefutable but inadmissible too. This abuse was responded in the left over Pakistan by promoting feelings of religious thought. The developments like 1973 Constitution, declaring Quadiyanies as non-Muslims, Islamic Summit Conference and initiation of Pakistan's nuclear program were all motivated by religious thought.

During the period of General Zia the religious sentiments were fully exploited for political gains. Not only General Zia but also the religio-political organizations and some external forces used these emotions to further their agenda of grabbing more authority. Particularly the Afghan war was fought in the name of religion. Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Islamic Revolution in Iran, absence of think tank and genuine political leadership in Pakistan, involvement and interests of external forces in Afghanistan, created an artificial environment for militancy in Pakistan but the justification for this

fanaticism was derived from the religion. That specific period is full of Jehadi activities, from curriculum to the mushroom growth of religious madrassahs and sectarian organizations. No considerable opposition can be traced from society and institutions in this regard, which depicts the tendency of Pakistani nation towards religion. Keeping aside the consequences, the nation was almost united in the name of religion.

After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan no proper policy was adopted in Pakistan to channelize the religious potential of the people. Consequently that potential, which might be exploited for national integration, started converting into extremism. Lack of visionary leadership, lethargy and inefficiency on the part of institutions and unjustified policies adopted by rulers with secular outlook pushed the country into catastrophe which is becoming intolerable and irremediable with the passage of time. Both the government and the extremists are claimant of serving the religion but the masses are still waiting for an instrument of national integration, which is of course religion in true spirit with Muhammad (PBUH) as a role model.

In an Islamic state religion cannot be considered as a private affair of the person or a belief of a distinct class of society. Instead it binds the whole society into a single nation. Role of religion is inevitable in a Muslim state towards running the state affairs. It regulates the whole system of society. 'In an Islamic state a Muslim is a strong part of an organic unity entrusted to transform the Divine message into a practical reality. The creation of an Islamic state is in fact is the materialization of the Divine ordinance' (Qadri,2004: 124).

Islam is a divine religion. The Creator Himself has completed it. Its actual teachings are free from all categories of prejudices and inequalities. However human likings and disliking have converted it into controversies and deputations. The leaders and thinkers in any society always keep in their minds the ground realities hence their approach is mostly influenced by the surroundings. Such thoughts generally emerge as a reaction to the prevailing circumstances.

The reform movements of the past in South Asia, Africa and Middle East could not convince the majority of the Muslims about the revival of Islamic thought. Few of

them partially succeeded to bring a change in their respective areas. But none of them could create a nation primarily motivated to establish an order, where every faculty related to human life would seek guidance from the religion. This attempt on the part of Muslims of 20<sup>th</sup> century in Sub-continent is unprecedented as the leaders and masses both were focused upon the creation of a dynamic, true, progressive and moderate Islamic welfare state. The central Idea of the creation of Pakistan was لا اله الا الله . There is no God but Allah. This was not a mere slogan but a complete and comprehensive programme of making the religion of Islam as an updated and irrefutable reality meant to solve all the problems of mankind. We the Muslims of South Asia have promised with Almighty Allah to follow with letter and spirit His commandments, which He has given through His Messenger Muhammad (PBUH) because the Messenger never speaks of himself but of Almighty's Revelation. وَمَا يَنْطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَىٰ (النجم : ٣)

Could we maintain this spirit after the creation of Pakistan? No certainly not because we become divided among ourselves in the name of sect, language, isms, races and regions. Religion is the only common factor among the Muslims across the globe. This is the force that can bind the Muslims all together despite their racial, ethnic and regional considerations. In South Asian perspective religion has played a vital role to unite the Muslims belonging to different schools of thought, in achieving the goal of independence.

Such national integration was only due to the religious spirit of the freedom struggle. The cultural, economic, political, sectarian and social considerations have been of secondary importance while the religion was the foremost as well as integral part of the whole Pakistan Movement. The Muslims of Sub-continent remained intact with religious thought throughout freedom struggle until Pakistan came into existence. After the creation of Pakistan deterioration started in the religious thought but regional, ethnic and sectarian differences emerged rapidly. The vacuum of thought and leadership created due to the demise of Quaid-i-Azam was filled by the so called liberals, seculars and the fanatics. The personal partialities and abhorrent has totally replaced the collective religious thought and the process of national disintegration started. Because of this deviation the dream of establishing Islamic state and society remained uncherished till

today. In sum without pursuing and implementing the religious thought no Islamic state or national integration is possible.

## Chapter. 2

### RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND POLITICS IN ISLAMIC STATE

According to the Muslim belief Islam is the final verdict of Allah with Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) as final Prophet and Quran as the final Book. Allah Almighty Himself has recommended in clear terms Islam as the religion for entire humanity and forever. *“This day I have Perfected your religion for you, completed My Favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion”* (Al-Maidah,5: 3). ‘It emphasizes the point that Allah has sanctified Islam with political dominance’ (Qadri, 2004:127). Being follower of the most perfect religion, Muslims are directed not to undergo from any inferiority complex on account of their religion. Islam provides guidance in all the walks of life including political, economic, social and cultural aspects.

Establishment of a successful body polity is not beyond the domain of Islam. Islamic concept of state is more advanced than any other conception of the past and even of today. Islam ensures the peace, respect, harmony and mutual wellbeing of the entire community by establishing a just, fair and impartial system. The concept of written constitution and welfare state in actual is the basis of Islamic political thought, which was successfully implemented during the times of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.) in the form of City State of Madina and during the period of Pious Caliphate as well. ‘Islam is a solid expression of His heavenly finding, its communication is worldwide and it is not bound and restricted by the hampering confinement of time and space’ (Ibid)

The scope of Islamic laws covers rules of human performance in all the walks of life, confirming man’s comfort in his worldly life as well as in the Hereafter. The promulgation of Islamic laws given in Quran is the responsibility of an Islamic state. Muslims should never be apologetic to entitle their homeland as Islamic state. The primary sources for legislation and constitution making in Islamic state are Quran and Sunnah. State is the only a device for the accomplishment of Islamic laws. ‘Lacking

political sustenance and the availability of state-execution, the religious thought would have been idealists allusion and virtually would never have amounted to be more than a poet's fantasy'(Ghazi, 1992: 15).

Islam wants to build and democratic society, where writ of the government, rule of law and protection of the rights of the people, justice and equality are compulsory ingredients of body polity. This just and peaceful system that Islam wants to establish cannot be possible only through verbal preaching rather a political authority is required for its inception and survival. Without political authority enforcement of most of the commandments of Allah would not possible. Islamic state is supposed to be under the commitment to administer the application of rules of moral behavior as heavenly directives. 'The Quran continually demands to human conscience to follow the wisdoms of the Revelation for its own wellbeing as well as for the comfort of fellow human beings' (Hassan, 1982: XIV). However this welfare scheme will remain unworkable unless administered by a well-planned system.

Islam in not just a doctrine or amalgamation of some ceremonies and customs like various other religions of the world but it is a complete code of life having religio-political structure. 'As such there in no contradiction in Islam between the physical and the mystical features of life. In this system, the state constitutes an essential part at the top' (Hussain, 1987: 9).

Presently we are living in an era largely western in its thought-pattern, cultural alignment, advancement, academic temperament and instructional exercise. 'This age of our history can precisely be entitled as an age of intellectual dependence, which is headed by an era of political and military suppression' (Ghazi, 1992: 281). From so called political leaders to media analysis and academicians everyone is greatly impressed by the western thoughts of state and politics. Being unaware of the religio-political character of Islam they maintain and even proliferate the western conception of state and democracy. Many of them believe that Islam and democracy is contradictory to each other. Along with the western orientalist some enslaved intellectuals of the Muslim world also think Islam as orthodox and outdated religion having no genuine methodology towards politics,

economy and development planning. 'In the rational environment of the contemporary world it has become almost obvious among many learned people that religion must not to obstruct with political affairs' (Asad, 1986: 4).

Unfortunately none of the Muslim states could make its system completely in accordance with the Islamic concept of state. Hence no state either using the word Islamic in their nomenclatures can be considered as a role model for the sympathizer as well as for the critics. Perhaps due to the absence of any successful model, Islam – the religion of peace, love and mercy- is being projected as a religion of ignorance, extremism and terrorism. 'Regrettably, this facet of Islam has been downgraded to the background relatively because of the endless propaganda sprang by some circles unreasonably stressing upon the so called combative character of Islam' (Siddiqi, 1991: 3)

In the earlier twentieth century, the theory of state started experiencing a modification in the new world. The political thinkers of the west initiated to talk about the philosophies of social contract, sovereignty of people, and the government as a body for the wellbeing of the people. These social scientists, perhaps have overlooked that centuries back there had arisen a true Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.), who had, under divine direction, projected all their insight and comprehended of a "universal state" decorated as consistent religious-cum-political tradition and in fact set up such a state on the strong basis of cohesion through consensus, equivalence, commandment and self-determination, through trust in the principle of Oneness of Allah' (Hussain, 1987: 9-10).

The western perception about Islam has been, that it is a mere creed and represents solely an enlightenment of souls, proved and misapprehension when they came to know that Islam 'is fairly a standardized total which also contains an evenhanded economic system, a well-balanced social institution, codes of public, criminal as well as global law, a rational attitude towards life along with a method of physical training, all of these flowing from the same ultimate doctrine of Islamic religion' (Qutb, 1974: IX)

Their hypothesis about Islam that it had since long ceased to exist as it has turned into an outdated notion and had pooped all its utility, went incorrect. Rather they are amazed that Islam does not fit in to a remote past. It is not old-fashioned or out-of-date but it is alive and blossoming system of life even at the contemporary age, as it retains within itself such components of life as no other structure known to them does including capitalism, socialism as well as communism or any other system. Such ignorant people know nothing about Islam but doubt. They have no information about Islam. That is why they are seen advocating the separation of religion from the state and of science from Islam. ‘The so called secular intelligentsia of Muslim world when call upon their nationals to thrust aside religion or assert that religion ought have no place in the running of scientific, social, cultural, political and economic activities of public life, they are purely articulating and impersonating the smuggled judgments of their bosses sitting abroad’ (Qutb, 1974: XII)

This is the time to make the people understand that it is religion and religion alone that can reinstate to the world of kindness, harmony and peacefulness. It asserts in man love for good and resolution to stand up to the forces of foul and dictatorship as an obligatory state of gaining Allah’s appeasement.

## **2.1. CONCEPT OF STATE IN ISLAM**

A justice oriented system cannot be established without a Divine Law revealed through a Prophet. For the implementation of the principles of law and justice the utmost political authority is required. State is the expression of such political power. Therefore state and society are always together. ‘For a state is implausible without a society, while a society without a state is practically unmanageable, due to the destructive tendencies of people, which call for a restriction. An institution thus rises, either theocratic or imperial, and this is what we mean by state. (Issawi, 1958:102).

Islam as a whole unites both state and society at the same time. In Islamic thought no state can establish and consolidate itself without laws which are laid down by

Almighty Allah, through a lawgiver. Such state system sets on a religious basis. And such a religious polity is beneficial both for this and for the afterlife. Heavenly commandments then pursue to recommend the behavior of people in all their businesses, their reverence and relations even in those concerning to the state, which is usual to anthropological social order. ‘The state for that reason is decorated on religion, in order that the entire universe should come beneath the regulation of the lawmaker’ (Issawi, 1958: 135).

In Muslim history the genuine Islamic state was established by the Prophet of Islam Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) at Medina and then by his successors known as Poise Caliphs. They enforced the divine laws to integrate the society. Social integration was therefore, inescapable if a nation wishing for to play the part which Allah has dispensed to it. So the Prophet himself and his successors imposed the cannons of Faith and perceived high moral values in their concerns. They endorsed on which they trusted for national integration. That state of affairs sustained to prevail with perfection up to the time of Hazrat Ali. Partial promulgation could be observed during Omayyad dynasty and also during the supremacy of Abbasid Caliphs. During those times caliphate and monarchy were interweaved and amalgamated and the spirit of supremacy was humored for the delight of wishes. However the model of the state established by the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) and his companions was that which we call uprightly Islamic. ‘It is completely revealed the original knowledge of Quran and the Prophet’s Sunnah and was as yet freed by later-day dogmatic additions and suppositions’ (Asad,1986: VI)

Allah’s saying in the Holy Quran “*Indeed in the Messenger of Allah you have a good example to follow*” (Al-Ahzab,33: 21), and number of sayings of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) recommends undoubtedly that we should follow these patterns in all the walks of life including politics and governance. Fortunately, besides number of role models regarding different spheres of human life, the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) has left for us a model of successful state and government.

## 2.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF AN ISLAMIC STATE

No state in the human history has ever existed without a basic philosophy. The whole system of the state depends upon that basic thinking. Such philosophies may be secular, conservative, theocratic, democratic, dictatorial or monarchical in nature. The structure of an Islamic state has also been erected on some well-defined principles. It is inevitable to abide by such principles. “Otherwise the Islamic character of the state would be lost.”(Ghazi,1992: 29)

Some of the main characteristics are as follows:-

### 2.2.1 ALLAH’S SOVEREIGNTY AND MAN’S VICEGERENCY

The first and foremost principle of an Islamic state is to establish Allah’s Sovereignty. As He is the sole creator of the universe, so no one else has the right to rule here. “*He makes none to share in His Decision and His Rule*”. (Al-Kahf,18:26). Allah Almighty does not allow anybody to think about any kind of sharing with Him regarding authority over the universe. “*they said, Have we any part in the affairs? Say Indeed the affair belongs wholly to Allah*” (Al-Imran,3:154). The choice before the human being is only to obey the directives of his Master. Any person or nation which constitutes keeping apart these principles are disobedient, corrupt and their supporters are also the rebels. “*The command is for none but Allah.*” (Yusuf,12: 40)

Although an Islamic state is built upon the concept of Allah’s sovereignty yet the concept of man’s vicegerency is also associated with Islamic state. In Islamic diction the term “Khilafah” (Caliph) is used for vicegerency or succession. Nevertheless the state or Khilafah in itself is not a completely sovereign body. Here the definitive Sovereign is the Creator of the universe, who in His aptitude of being the Creator of the entire universe has every right to be Sovereign. Though an authority is certainly required to apply the Rule of Allah. The status of such authority would be vicegerency. ‘Formation of the Khilafah is a holy responsibility of Muslims, because its core

objective is the protection of the Belief and conservation of instruction in the domain through the execution of Revealed Law' (Jan, 2003: 131).

Islam is a religion of integrated awareness. Its foremost emphasis is on the unification of society. No society can flourish without a reliable establishment which may replicate the determination of the populaces. In Islam such organization is called Khilafah and person delegated with such power is called "Khalifah" the vicegerent or inheritor. Allah Almighty has promised to give political authority to His beloved people *"that He will definitely grant them succession in the land."* (An-Nur,24: 55)

Two things should be measured considerably in the above quoted verse. The very first is that Islam uses the word succession as an alternative of sovereignty, which represents that sovereignty is absolutely exclusive to Almighty Allah so the ruler of an Islamic State is his vicegerent who enjoys only the authorities delegated to him by the factual Sovereign.

And the second point is that the promise of succession is being made with all the believers. It is not particular to a person or group of persons. Every Muslim, in his individual capacity is vicegerent to God Almighty and he himself is accountable before Him as stated in Hadith 'every person will be questioned regarding his responsibilities. The ruler of the Islamic State, who in the status of the successor of the Sovereign administers the heavenly commandments in the community. He firmly obeys the orders of Quran and Sunnah in the running of the state businesses.

He has twofold liability on earth he is accountable to the people and in the heaven to the Allah Almighty. In no way he can enjoy a privileged place on the essentials of colour, creed or social prominence. It can be resolved that according to Muslim conviction next to God, the sovereign control exists in the people and application of this authority is a trust. So this authority has to be used firmly in accordance with the doctrines laid down in Quran and Sunnah. No one is above the law not even the Caliph enjoys any immunity. Man is authorized by the Loveliness of Allah.

Allah Himself has delegated these controls to man, so that he may relate these commands in the world. So man is not sovereign but vicegerent. “*O Dawud verily, We have positioned you as a successor on the earth*” (Sad,38: 26).

The succession of man will be legitimate so long as it is in accordance with the commandment of the real sovereign, otherwise it may become a rebellion, as in the case of Pharaoh when he crossed all the limits by claiming “*I am your lord, most high*”. (An-Naziat,79: 24). Then Allah sent Moses to him and warned not to claim alike.

The model of a real Islamic State was specified by the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) himself and after him the next model for us is the form of state established during the period of Rightly Guided Caliphate. The difference between the two periods was only that the Prophet sought all guidance directly from the revelation but the Pious Caliphs used to act in accordance with the way of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) but certain changes had to be introduced to meet the changing circumstances as a result of expansion. However no change was against the spirit of the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet (P.B.U.H).

One of the unresolved issues among the different sects of Muslims is regarding the appointment of the caliphs, because the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) himself had not “prearranged a definite way for such selection.” (Iqbal,2003, 15). If any such method had been prescribed then the Muslims community would have to follow that specific method irrespective of their political culture, social norms, economic conditions, geographical location and ground realities. So the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) had proceeded in accordance with the traditionalism of the Quran, which is silent on this subject. (Iqbal,2003: 16)

The real aim of the religion is to produce community of Faith ruled under the Islamic laws (Shariah). The passage for the implementation of Shariah is of course the institution of Khalifah. A Khalifah should be the most knowledgeable soul of the community who could have the potential to accomplish all brands of matters of the

Muslim society with spirit, insight and organization. The era of Rightly Guided Caliphs is full of such potentials. All of them tried their utmost to keep the community united without compromising the spirit of religion.

### **2.2.2 ISLAMIC DEMOCRACY**

Like love and religion it is really very difficult to define democracy also. There exist already hundreds of definitions of each and still a lot of room is available to define these anew. The most common definition of democracy was given by Abraham Lincoln that it is a 'government of the people, by the people and for the people'. In the contemporary age democracy has become a faith. 'It is unavoidable for that reason that like religion it should develop indefinite and undertake diverse forms among unlike states due to variance of disposition and history'(Siddiqi,1991: 6).

The West particularly British are considered to be the founder of democracy. It is perhaps due to this claim their Parliament is considered as mother parliament. The capitalist world and the communist world are advocates of their won respective democracies. West believes in popular sovereignty. The majority decision is the essence of western democracy. 'The western democracies commonly have supposed the distinguished label of the "free world" indicating that perhaps the communist world is a subjugated world' (Siddiqi,1991: 7)

The most unfortunate development in the west is that they have projected Islam as incompatible to democracy. They are of the belief that democracy is always secular and Islam is opposed to it. This antidemocratic perception of Islam on the part of west is totally a biased propaganda and nothing else. Islam by all means is a democratic religion but the dimensions and targets of Islamic democracy are different than those in the west. Islamic democracy believes in rule of law, freedom of expression, equality of mankind and accountability of administrators in general and of rulers in particular. Some of these qualities are the part of western democracy as well but the spirit of Islamic system is much ahead of it.

In the west the democracy in its early shape took birth in thirteenth century with the emergence of “Magna Carta” and after that the British Parliament. After that French and Russian revolutions became the source of promoting democracy with different interpretations. The objective of this western democracy is to establish a system where the popular political parties have the right to govern instead of any monarch or autocratic ruler. Generally the ruling bodies are elected with majority vote and the whole system revolves around the election methods. In this way the sovereign authority vests with the people through their chosen representatives. In addition to this there exists equity in all kinds of social, economic and civic rights.

On the other hand Islam believes in Sovereignty of Allah. The Islamic system is bound to follow the commandments of Allah revealed through the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). No one is allowed to cross the limits set by Almighty Allah. To establish Allah’s sovereignty in an Islamic state, just and impartial social order is inevitable. By creating such society man can be emancipated from man’s rule. In this way the rulers and the masses come on the same level. In the contemporary democracies this does not happen. Rather the majority has the right to govern over the smaller and relatively weak segments of the society. In this way a man becomes the slave rather than subject. Even the institutions established under such system do not protect the rights of the people but they safeguard the vested interests of the architects.

Islam does not support the dynastic rule. Political authority is not meant only for a particular family or group. Instead each and every person has the equal status in the eyes of law given by Allah. In Islamic history the Rightly Guided Caliphs had never thought of themselves superior to the others. Their life style, dresses, food and even residencies were not better than that of the ordinary people. In this way the spirit of democracy according to Islam is the equality of the entire citizens in terms of social status and legal accountability.

Another characteristic of the present day democracy is freedom of expression. Islam had already confirmed this fundamental right in its political thought. It

happened at number of occasions during Pious Caliphate that ordinary people had given their opinions unequivocally differed than that of the rulers. People could criticize the policies of government. In one of the incidents when Caliph Umar tried to fix the amount of Haq-e-Mahr,(a dower approved by the Muslim law) a lady objected while referring the commandments of Allah and his Messenger regarding the issue. The Caliph acknowledged, apologized and withdrew his orders. Such religious thought became the basis of Pakistan ideology and the Muslims of South Asia did resolve to establish a state on the model of early Caliphate of Islam.

### **2.3 RELIGIOUS THOUGHT DURING PAKISTAN MOVEMENT**

It is beyond doubt for the majority of the Pakistani Muslims that the state was created in the name of Islam. Religion was the central idea of Pakistan Movement. ‘Many of the Muslim leaders more or less consistently presented the idea of Pakistan as an Islamic state to the Muslim masses’ (Sayeed,1980: 28).

Apparently such intentions of the founding fathers of Pakistan including Iqbal & Jinnah, seems true as they had referred to religion at various occasions in their statements and speeches. There was no confusion in the minds of leaders as well as masses regarding the revival of Islamic state in the shape of Pakistan till its inception on August, 1947. Unfortunately the confusion had created after achieving the goal of independence.

Two extreme ideologies came on the forefront regarding the identity of the country. The religious extremists wanted to see Pakistan as theocratic state where modern democracies has no room at all. Contrary to this so called liberals had projected Pakistan as a secular state where religion has nothing to do with the body polity of the country. Both the schools of thought have been deviating from the principle of moderation.

Although no serious debates were carried out in the meeting of All India Muslim League about the form of Islamic law in Pakistan yet the ideas of the founding

fathers are quite clear in the form of their statements. However, the avoidance from such issues was perhaps due to the difference in the interpretations of Islamic law. During the freedom struggle the Muslim leaders did not discuss the matter by this angle, what would happen if there were a conflict between the injunctions of Shariah and the requirements of a modern state.

In the presence of very influential Hindu majority and their allies, the so called nationalist Muslim scholars, the Muslim League Leaders could not take this risk. But at the same time the main leadership like Iqbal and Jinnah were very much clear regarding establishing a modern Islamic state. They never tried to keep the masses into darkness. This can be proved by searching reference from their speeches at different moments of the freedom movement.

### **2.3.1 IQBAL AND PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY**

Among founding fathers of Pakistan Iqbal's name is at the top of the list. Because "both the idea and the founder of Pakistan are the discoveries of Iqbal" (Tamimi,2008:196). He was not only a poet and philosopher but a saint with strong insight who believed a real Islamic state for the Muslims of sub-continent on one hand and a role model for the entire Muslim nations and for rest of the world on the other. Enlightened with the spiritual qualities he guided the Muslims towards attaining the glory through his poetry as well as through his writings, lectures and views.

In his famous Allahabad Address [Appendix], Iqbal has given the idea of creation of a Muslim state. The motive behind this idea was religion. Iqbal has referred to religious thought in his presidential address very clearly. 'It is difficult to recall Islam as a moral ideal and to discard it as a state in favour of national politics in which religious approach is not tolerable to play any role' (Shehab,1990: 30)

No social order and polity can be sustained without seeking guidance from the revelation. Thus, the building of a political entity on national appearances, if it means a shift of the religious principles of unanimity is modestly ridiculous to a Muslim.

(Ibid). When Iqbal presented this idea, the Hindu leaders as well as the so called nationalist Muslim scholars ‘exploded in an uproar over the very idea’ (Ahmad,1979: 51, which they viewed as “ridiculous” and “mischievous”. Hussain Ahmad Madni’s verdict that nations were born of countries has incited Iqbal and he responded by writing some lines in Persian to condemn vehemently the above said view point of Mawlana Madani. The free renderings into English of the verses are given below:-

‘Those who talk of the basis of a nation on geographical boundaries, they are unaware of the loving status of the Prophet P.B.U.H in our hearts. We the Muslims need to keep ourselves beyond such rubbish idea and our salvation exists in the affection of Muhammad P.B.U.H. Away from him there is nothing for us but the everlasting fire of unqualified mistrust’( Ahmad,197: 79)

The Muslims of the sub-continent received such thoughts with great enthusiasm. They took it as a message of hope and optimism. It gave the Muslims of sub-continent a concentration for their ambitions. Iqbal’s main anxiety was to implement Shariah in the Muslim majority areas. ‘Iqbal was convinced the Islamic Shariah could only be applied in a place where the Muslims were unrestricted from foreign stimulus’ (Ziring,1980: 67). Iqbal tried to wake the Muslims of South Asia with his thought provoking poetry. His poems transformed the thinking of entire East.

The main source of his inspiration was the Holy Quran. He wanted economic wellbeing and political rights for all the people of India, irrespective of their caste or creed. But his first and foremost commitment was to Islam. Because of its distinct economic, social and political structure, Islam cannot be merged with other religions. Any attempt of its amalgamation with other systems would distort the real teachings of Islam. As Islam and Hinduism are two distinct religions so they must have separate homelands in subcontinent. In one of his letters to Jinnah on 28, May 1937, Iqbal argued ‘the execution and expansion of the Shariah of Islam is difficult in the state without a free Muslim government’ (Letters to Jinnah :18).

Due to his commitment to Islam, Iqbal was not ready to bring together with western colonialism and democracy and with the communist response as well. In contrast to Islam the other 'ideologies were either comprehensively immoral or totally insufficient, the only optimal before the world was Islam which is a fair and comprehensive scheme' (Hussain,1977:VI).

Islam upholds guiding principles which inspires the Muslims to strive for progression in all walks of human life and for all times to come. After Mujadid Alf-Thani, Iqbal was the first South Asian Muslim who clearly thought that Islam could only persist in India if there would be an Islamic Rule. There was no confusion in Iqbal's mind regarding the socialistic principles and his commitment to religion. He wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 'For Muslims the approval of social democracy in some reasonable form and trustworthy with the legal principles of Islam is not an uprising but a journey to the actual pureness of the religion' (Iqbal,1990: 19). Because of Iqbal's strong religious commitment the father of the nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah has rightly called him "the sage philosopher and national poet of Islam" (Iqbal,1990 :3).

Iqbal's philosophy of Khudi or egoism offering a innovative theory that the perseverance of world is to oblige as the ground for the accomplishment of the self. He thought that the man is the architect of his own destiny. 'In his view art, religion and morals required to be judged from the stance of the self.' (Hassan,2009: 166). To him Allah Almighty is the ultimate Ego. He is continuously creative and the practice of creation is still goes on. The role model for every Muslim in all the fields of life is the Prophet of Islam Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and his ideal man cannot flight from the world but take it as the training centre for mystical growth. Iqbal's "revaluation of Man in not that of man qua man, but of Man in relation to God." ( Schimmel, 1963: 382)

In pursuit of spiritual development although Iqbal has criticized the Sufism yet he acknowledged their contributions towards checking "hypocrisy and artifice in religion." (Hassan,2009: 166). Iqbal's concept of Khudi was "a direct

development out of the experience and speculations of old Muslim Sufis and thinkers.” (Vahid,1964: 161).

In response to western thoughts, Muslims have adopted a defensive and apologetic attitude. Through his poetry and lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Iqbal has changed his apologetic feelings of the Muslims. In the lectures Iqbal’s doctrine ‘was not meant to modernize conventional spirituality of religion but the Sufi mysticism.’ (Gibb’1947: 82). In his famous lectures Iqbal declared ‘the birth of Islam as the birth of inductive intellects.’ (Iqbal,1962: 126). To Iqbal the main cause for the downfall of Muslims in sub-continent was their “reluctance to focus the legal system of Islam to logical scrutiny.” ( Hassan,2009: 168)

The national poet of Islam has focused on the principle of Ijtihad which may be considered as the ‘principle of movement in the structure of Islam’ (Iqbal, 1962: 148). In addition to this Iqbal was also a strong advocate of Ijma. In his opinion Ijma is only an option when the power of Ijtihad is reassigned from personal agents to a Muslim lawmaking Parliament where various individuals with vision can give their response. (Iqbal,1962: 174). He wanted to establish the “Kingdom of God on Earth” (Bilgrami,1966: 91). That is why he rejected western democracy, which he took corrupt practices and manipulation. However he advocated Islamic democracy as a political ideal.

Islamic political system rejects landed gentry. Collective wellbeing of the citizens is the collective thinking of Islamic political culture. So without getting political authority the implementation of Islamic democracy was not possible, therefore Iqbal presented the idea of an independent Muslim state in India through his famous Allahabad Address of 1930. Iqbal’s ideal was to establish an egalitarian and justice based society in accordance with the vision of the Quran.

Iqbal has not only presented the idea of a Muslim state to safeguard the religious uniqueness of the Indian Muslims but also this idea was materialized in the form of Pakistan. The geographical as well as ideological foundations of Pakistan are the

outcome of Iqbal's vision. Iqbal was so determined and enthusiastic to create a religious based Muslim state that he did not refrain to work on this idea even during the days of his sickness. The "selection" (Tamini,2008: 268) of Quaid-i-Azam to lead the Muslim nation towards achieving this goal is clear evidence of his attachment with the cause of Pakistan.

This was the religious insight of Iqbal which made the creation of Muslim state possible in South Asia. For this purpose he took an active part in organizing Punjab Muslim League. He remained the president of Punjab Muslim League for about six years. He closely observed the anti-Muslim attitude of the Sikh and Muslim feudal and the Hindu politicians during his representation in Punjab Assembly. He convinced Quaid-i-Azam through his letters to Jinnah to organize the annual meeting of Muslim League in Lahore. It was perhaps due to this background that Quaid-i-Azam got the Lahore Resolution passed on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940, despite the unpleasant incident of firing on Khaksars on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1940, just two days before the passage of this historic Resolution. The passage of Lahore Resolution was not only became the basis of creation of Pakistan but it was the constitutional and mature response to the Iqbal's Allahabad address also.

Freedom at the cost of religion was not acceptable to Iqbal. However to him religion of Islam is not a static phenomenon but a dynamic and progressive way of life. It is quite capable to give solution to all the problems of mankind on earth as well as in the heavens. Iqbal believed that the change is one of the signs of God.

So religion does not reject the evolution, but the Indian, Muslims could not succeed to present this progressive form of Islam. Iqbal wanted to give a strong message to the entire humanity, that religious thought is a living conception and a Muslim India should have been created to demonstrate this fact. That is why Iqbal projected a leading role for Indian Muslims to play to make the religion applied and pragmatic without considering its limits with reference to time and space. Islam is a religion that is final and forever.

The creation of a Muslim state is inevitable for the very survival of both the Muslims and their religion. This religious foundation of a homeland later on became the ideology of Pakistan. Iqbal did not believe in any system separated from the religion and to him religion and politics are not separated from each other. He wrote in his poetic work “Bang-i-Dra: Jawab Shiwa” ‘A nation survives on Deen (Religion of Islam), you die away if the Deen does not alive.’ (Khan’2009: 26). The success of west in worldly affairs by separating religion is due to their self-made religion is incapable of providing complete guidance in the state affairs, ‘instead it became an obstacle in the way of evolution’ (Khan,2009: 43). But Islam being a complete code of life provides guidance for both the rulers and the subject.

The best example of such religious state and government was the Rightly Guided Caliphate where the whole system was just and right. Human history could not produce such a fair and popular system before or later. Iqbal referred in his book Bal-e-Gibrael that ‘statecraft separated from conviction to supremacy of fright indicates though it is a Monarch’s rule or so called democracy’ (Ibid: 42). Non-Muslims may succeed in state affairs by excluding religion ‘but Muslims have suffered a lot of humility and disgrace by keeping themselves aloof from Islamic way of life. (Ibid:

### **2.3.2 JINNAH AND PAKISTAN IDEOLOGY**

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah led the Muslims of the subcontinent to their most cherished dream of life. Quaid-i-Azam gave a tangible shape to the vision enunciated by “the national poet of Islam”, Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal. Quaid-i-Azam started his political career from the platform of Indian National Congress. His initial approach was to secure self-rule for India. He was of the opinion that Muslims and Hindus should make joint efforts to free India from British domination. That is why he advocated Hindu-Muslim unity. Later on Quaid-i-Azam observed that the Congress and the Hindus will never acknowledge the rights of the Muslims. Therefore he decided to

make efforts for the creation of a Muslim state in India, where Muslim live according to their own faith and principles.

The Quaid-i-Azam became firm in his belief of a separate Muslim state after the thoughts of Iqbal through Allahabad address in general and through Iqbal's letters to Jinnah in particular. It is obvious from most of the statements of Jinnah which he delivered to elaborate his vision of Pakistan, that the whole scheme was being designed to seek guidance from the universal principles of Islam. In his broadcast speech to the people of United States of America on February 19, 1948, he uttered regarding the future constitution of Pakistan 'It would be a democratic constitution containing basic Islamic principles. 'Today they are as pertinent in actual life as they 1300 years before' (Jinnah,1989:157).

However Quaid-i-Azam rejected theocracy in clear words. That Pakistan would never become a theocracy, where priest are supposed to be the rulers of the state Pakistan must have to adopt the Islamic principles in all the walks of life. Without implementing democracy, justice, equality and fair play the Muslims of Pakistan would not be able to convince the international community regarding universality of Islam. To him creation of Pakistan was to be the revival of Islamic state system. In his broadcast talk to the people of Australia on February 19, 1948, he said that Muslims of Pakistan, being the followers of Prophet Muhammad PBUH, believe in tolerance and harmony as Islam has demanded the same from us. (Jinnah,1989: 149-150)

Muslim nationalism in South Asia strongly biased on religious thought. Muslim history, traditions and way of thought was totally different than that of Hindus. The religion of Islam does not allow its followers to merge their unique characteristics into any other doctrines. That is why, when Muslims arrived in South Asia and the people started embarrassing Islam the whole Indian society divided into two sections and two separate nations came into being. Quaid-i-Azam asserted this in his speech at Aligarh on March 8, 1944. Pakistan came into being when the first non-Muslim Indian was converted to Islam .Religion occupies the dominant place in Quaid's method for the demand of Pakistan.

Religion was to play an important role in Pakistan once it was established. At many occasions he pointed out towards the objectives of the Pakistan. He declared clearly that we the Muslims would seek all the guidance from the principles of Islam mentioned in the Holy Quran because it is the “bedrock and sheet anchor” in our journey towards smooth sailing. This is a unique feature of Islam that it not only a religion but it is complete code of life. It contains everything that matters to a man from morning to night. So politics is not out of the domain of religion. The Holy Book of Muslims provides guidance for all the walks of life. One can find social, commercial, military, ethical and judicial guidelines in the Holy Quran. This regulates all the affairs of the Muslim life including worldly as well as spiritual. Throughout Pakistan movement Jinnah’s focus remained on religion as an ideal mean to establish it as a success for not only the Muslims of subcontinent but for the Muslims of the whole world and even for the entire humanity.

Jinnah wanted to establish a Muslim state where social justice prevails in the whole society, where hard work and honesty are pursued and where knowledge and spirit of inquiry carry the day. It seems that the model of an Islamic state before Jinnah was the Holy Quran. He had not only referred to this thought in many of his statements but also explained its details. In his historic speech at Sibi Durbar on February 14, 1948 he concluded ‘Let us construct the democracy of Pakistan on pure Islamic basis because Allah Almighty has recommended for us the way of decision making through consultations and consensus. (Jinnah’1989:142).

To counter the religious thought of Jinnah, the Hindu leaders started a negative propaganda campaign that in this new age, religion is the private affair of every person. ‘It cannot be considered as a factor for demanding a separate country for the Indian Muslims’ (Syed,1985: 4). When Hindu leader Mr. Ghandhi was trying to negate the importance of religion to creation of a purely Islamic state, Mr. Jinnah responded promptly that Islam is not a religion to be compared with other religions of the word because it is not only a way of worship and spirituality but also provide complete

guidance in all other areas like economy, politics, culture, society, law and international relations. Religion of Islam cannot be divided into social, economic, political and purely religious sub sections by keeping them “into water tight compartments” (Ahmad,1960: 126).

The demand for the separate Muslim state was made through historic Lahore Resolution in 1940. Before the formal approval, of this resolution Jinnah had pointed out that Islam and Hinduism are two distinct philosophies. The type of democracy congress leadership was propagating had nothing to do with Islamic concept of democracy. Muslims being a separate nation have every right to establish their separate homeland so that they could promote their social, economic and cultural interests. Jinnah was convinced that if India was granted freedom without dividing it then all the authority would be usurped by the Hindus due to their majority status. And the Muslims would be treated as third grade citizens. Therefore the Muslims had to strive for their emancipation. In addition to that Pakistan would work for Islamic renaissance by producing intellectuals, educationists, economists and scientists. These people would not serve only in Pakistan but also in the whole Muslim world.

In 1943, a religious scholar Munawar-ud-Din came to Quaid-i-Azam and showed him some copies of codified Islamic laws which he intended to publish. The Quaid appreciated the work and said, ‘If he[Jinnah] would find the opportunity to become the ruler of an Islamic state, a committee of the religious experts would be setup promptly to study his works and implement them as far as possible in civil and criminal courts’ (Toosy, 1976 : 53).

In response to Jinnah’s concept of an independent Muslim state based on Islamic system, the congress and Muslim nationalist leaders had started a negative propaganda campaign against the ideas of Islamic state. The congress with the assistance of Muslim nationalist leaders were trying to create confusions in the minds of those Muslims who had gathered together to support a movement launched to establish a state where all the systems of life would be governed in accordance with the principles of

Islam. The question regarding the enforcements of Islamic law in the contemporary age due to the difference of time and space was addressed by the Quaid-i-Azam that: Islamic state system based on principles of democracy and social justice for all and these “principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1300 years ago” (Jinnah, 1989 : 125).

Jinnah was determined to lay down the foundation of the state on pure Islamic constitution. As regard Jinnah’s speech in the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947 is concerned, that speech definitely did not mean a secular foundation of the constitution of Pakistan. His words “The Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims” were uttered intentionally to make the non-Muslim minorities assure that they would be given equal status, religious freedom and fair treatment in the newly established state of Pakistan. When this speech was delivered on 11 August, 1947, the Boundary Commission Award was not announced and the migration across the border was in progress. The minorities were particularly worried about their future. It was therefore that Quaid-i-Azam had attempted to take them into confidence by such indemnities.

There are number of writers and analysts who exert all their energies to prove Jinnah as a secular leader. The only argument with such writers is the speech of Quaid-i-Azam on 11th August, 1947. Such people deliberately highlight that speech only and ignore all other speeches and life events of Jinnah just to create confusions in the minds of Islam loving people of Pakistan. They are afraid of, inwardly, the presence of religious thought in the foundations of Pakistan. That is why they always target the personality of Quaid-i-Azam sometimes by proving him a secular person and even to the extent that Jinnah did not know how to offer prayer.

Sir Sikandar Hyat once spoke to the people in 1941, “I might be a sinner but I offer five times a day, but Jinnah does not offer even one times, (Ahmad, 1976 : 64). Mr. Ahmad Sayeed in his Urdu article “Kia Quaid-i-Azam Secular They” (was Jinnah secular?), published in Monthly Nazaria-i-Pakistan has analyzed this blame and referred that at many occasions Jinnah did offer prayers at public places or mosques. In 1935 he

offered Eid-ul-Fitar prayer in Bombay Cricket ground. On 1st May, 1936 offered Juma prayer in Badshahi Mosque, Lahore. On November 3, 1940, he addressed the people in Azad Park Ground Bombay after Eid prayer. On 3rd March 1941 offered Asr prayer in Austrasia mosque Lahore. On December 29, 1941 offered Eid-ul-Azha in Nagpur and greeted people there. During Muslim League session in Karachi in 1943, he offered Juma prayer in Sindh Madrasah tul Islam. Similarly many other references have been given in his essay. (Sayeed, 2012 : 24-25).

Sayeed has also quoted an interesting incident, when Jinnah was present in the meeting of MSF in Islamia college Lahore. Then Allama Masharqi proclaimed Azan at 12.00 noon. Listening this Quaid said “This is not the time of prayer”. How could he know about the prayer timing if he had not offered prayers any time” (Ibid : 25).

Jinnah’s focus on Islam throughout freedom movement was not the matter of that particular time rather he became associated with religious events and ceremonies from the very young age. Jinnah was present in the ceremony on the occasion of Holy Prophet’s birthday on August 12, 1897, (Ahmad, 1996 : 4). Jinnah was a regular participant of such religious occasion before and after the creation of Pakistan. This was Jinnah who, being a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, prepared the Muslim Trust Bill and got it approved from the council. This happened for the first time in British Indian history that a private member’s bill was given legislative approval. (Sayeed, 2012 : 26).

Quaid-i-Azam was defense attorney of Ghazi Ilm Din Shaheed also. It was certainly due to Jinnah’s strong belief in Islamic principles and his attachment with the religion that Iqbal had selected him to become the Quaid-i-Azam of the millions of Muslims of Sub-continent. Iqbal was competent enough to discover and recognize the religious thought present in Jinnah’s mind. Jinnah has never permitted the secular idea to overcome his religious thought.

When during the power transfer ceremony Mount Batten referred to Mughal King Akbar as a role model for the coming Pakistani governments pertaining to their policies regarding minority rights. Jinnah's answer to that speech was "The tolerance and goodwill that great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back when our Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) ..... treated Jews and Christians ..... with the utmost tolerance". (Jinnah, 1989 : 54).

Those who talk of Jinnah's secular personality, only on the basis of his 11 August speech, have created some doubts in the minds of few ethnic and nationalist people. This approach has created a class in Pakistan's society, who always portrayed Jinnah as a secular leader and then demanded secession of their respective regions to create a secular system there. These arguments in self favour sometimes created confusion in the minds of neutral people that perhaps, Jinnah was not certain in his religious ideological approach. They must remember that "No true believer in God can have two personalities". (Munawwar, 1989 : 194). Allah says in the Holy Quran: "*Allah has not made for any man to hearts inside his body*" (Al-Ahzab,33 : 4).

Jinnah did not have split personality rather he was straight forward man. He said nothing what he did not mean. Addressing to the Tribal Jirga in Peshawar on April 17, 1948, he said 'I have done everything as a servant of Islam ..... We Muslims believe in one God, one Book – the Holy Quran – and one Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)[along with all the true Prophets], so we must stand united as one Nation. (Jinnah, 1989 : 237-238).

Jinnah's model of an Islamic state was not based on any theocratic Idea, which was "to be ruled by priests with a divine mission". (Jinnah, 1989 : 157). But the constitution of

the country would be democratic and in accordance with the principles of Islam. The Islamic thought consists of democracy, equality, justice and fair-play.

Whenever Jinnah found an opportunity to address the people of other nations and foreigners he took start with the glorious Islamic history and democracy and then related it with Pakistan's system in future. Quaid-i-Azam deliberately adapted this way of talking just to make these people clear that Islamic state system is entirely different from the governments of the present. Jinnah was aware that western people fully understand the concept of theocracy because they had experienced it in their history during the rule of the Church. The ruling priests were not bound to follow any divine law of state craft because basis of the Christianity is only morality. Therefore they were completely free to apply their personal, will in the state affairs. 'That is why the church's attitude towards the Scientists and Physicists was very harsh. The whole western intelligentsia was frightened with any such theocratic state as they had experienced in their past' (Siddiqui, 2006 : 46).

Negation of theocracy on the part of Jinnah was due to the fact that he did understand the western mindset and wanted to remove any misconceptions in their minds regarding the future constitution of Pakistan. It did not mean at all that he was a secular or had a secular approach towards the future system of Pakistan.

The type of theocracy Quaid-i-Azam had disowned was not acceptable to most of the religious scholars as well. A well known religious scholar Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, who also took an active part in Pakistan movement, too had similar views regarding the nature of the state. Taking part in the debate at the time of passage of Objectives Resolution in 1949 he said "The Islamic state means a state which is run on the exalted and excellent principles of Islam. It does not mean that the "Maulvis" will run the state affairs. It can only be run by those who believe in Islamic principles". (Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, 1949 : 45).

Another scholar Maulana Maudoodi was also against the government of clergy, (Siddiqui, 2006 : 48). If Quaid-i-Azam disassociated Pakistan from theocracy then the scholars too have same views. Hence none of them was secular but Jinnah's struggle was only to make people comprehend the form, of an Islamic state. Indeed, in most of

Jinnah's statements during Pakistan movement, the word "Secular" was not come in use even for once. Then, how could he has conceived the Pakistani concept of nationhood, in a "secular" sense and not in the Islamic one, (Dawn, December 25, 2001).

Quaid's concept of Islamic state was not, limited at all; neither had he intended to camouflage secularism with essence of Islam rather he was very clear in his concept of a democratic, progressive and modern Islamic welfare state with true spirit of Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). The analysis of his statements pertaining to state system deduce unequivocally that he projected democracy against theocracy, social justice, equality and fair-play against discrimination, exploitation and deprivation, peace, unity and sacrifice against discord, provincialism, ethnicity, sectarianism and usurpation.

Jinnah also stressed upon the rights of minorities and religious freedom for all. He spoke against concentration of wealth in few hands and landlordism. His appeal to different segments of society was to eradicate social evils like bribery, nepotism and black marketing. Regarding Islamic brotherhood, he raised his voice for the rights of people of Palestine and Indonesia. His focus was on education and industrialization. He asked the bankers to adopt Islamic economic system. "I shall watch with keenness the work of your research organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life" (Jinnah, 1989 : 271).

Actually Jinnah was convinced after Allama Iqbal's untiring efforts in connection with Muslim state, ,that this would not only help the Muslims to achieve their justified economic, political, social and culture rights but would become them able to revive the golden days of Islam. Thus Jinnah studied and learnt about Islamic systems. Meanwhile Jinnah established very good relations with prominent Muslim scholars of that time and discussed with them the ideas regarding Islamic state models.

In addition to Iqbal he had a close association with. Maulana Ghulam Murshid, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Moulvi

Munawar-ud-Din, Pir of Manki Sharif, Pir of Zakori Sharif, Pir Jamat Ali Shah and many others with Islamic orientation. In almost all the statement of Jinnah after 1934, Islamic references like Quran and the Prophet (PBUH) were prominent. Jinnah was much cautious about the interpretation of the Holy Quran. His emphasis was always on rational interpretations. He observed, “We should be guided by our rational interpretation of the Holy Quran and if our dedications to truth is single minded, we shall in our own measure, attain our goal, (Shehab, 1990 : 62).

Jinnah’s “one of the greatest states of the world”- Pakistan- was meant to him a place where experiments on Islamic principles could be done, where Muslim intellectuals, scientists, educationists, doctors, engineers and technicians would be invited to work together to bring about Islamic renaissance, (Dawn, December 25, 2001). Unfortunately the self-seeking successors of the Quaid-i-Azam could not keep intact with Quaid’s vision.

They purposely ignored Jinnah’s conception of Islamic state. They raised slogans of Islamization just to, protect their own interests but through their actions, they worked whole-heartedly, against the Quaid’s concept of state. “This is why the Quaid’s concept of the Islamic state could not take practical shape in Pakistan” (Shehab, 1990 : 65). The main “Conspiracy” behind disintegration, ethnicity, provincialism, sectarianism, extremism and political, economic, social injustice is the deviation from Quaid’s model. The role of West, America or any body’s else is of secondary consideration. But by adopting and following the actual religious approaches and the true Islamic injunctions Pakistan can take off towards the real glory and would be able to become “one of the greatest states of the world” (Jinnah, 1989 : 243).

## Chapter. 3

### QUEST FOR RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN PAKISTAN

No society can flourish completely unless it possesses comprehensive philosophy of life. Allah Almighty, very kind to the Muslims that they have been blessed with miraculous book the Holy Quran and practical model of Muhammad (PBUH). By following the word of Allah and the way of the Prophet (PBUH), the successor companions' successfully established a peaceful society and incomparable state. That golden period of Islamic history would serve as an eternal role model. After 30 years of Rightly Guided Caliphate, deviations from the true spirit of Islam took birth and Islamic state and society suffered from deterioration. The actual glory of the early Islamic period could not be reinstated during the subsequent centuries. The decline concluded with the fall of Mughal Empire in South Asia in 19<sup>th</sup> century and the fall of Turkish Ottomans in Turkey and Middle East during 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Establishment of state and government is an integral part of Islamic thought. Its importance can be judged from the verses of the Holy Quran where Allah Almighty Himself has taught his Messenger Muhammad (PBUH) as prayer *“and say (O Muhammad PBUH) My Lord! Grant me from you an authority to help me”* (Al-Isra,17: 80). This verse was revealed before the Holy Prophet (PBUH) migrated to Madinah. So with this historical perspective its importance and vitality of the institution of Islamic statehood become more comprehensible. It also confirms that the reform and change, Islam wants to bring about in this world, is not possible only through preaching and verbal practice but political authority is inevitable for this cause. Thus religious will fail to deliver without political authority and vice versa.

According to Muslims belief enforcement of the commandments of Allah Almighty is not optional rather it is obligatory and undeniable. Striving for the implementation of just and fair political order is the duty of every Muslim irrespective of his status as majority or minority at any place. This thought has become a motivation for the Muslims of subcontinent about one century ago. The utmost desires of the Muslims of united India were to establish a homeland where they could implement Islamic system with letter and spirit. 67 years have passed but the Islamic model as envisaged by the leaders as well as masses is a dream to be cherished yet. Now confusion is prevailing everywhere about the status of religion in the body polity of Pakistan. The state of affairs was not as vague as it is in the present era. The decision makers in Pakistan are nourishing the same spirit of imperialism against which millions of Muslims have struggled. Hundreds of thousands have embraced martyrdom for the sake of Islam. Consequently a vacuum has created and the forces trying to fill the vacuum through their specific state of mind have given birth to extremism, sectarianism and terrorism. The whole society is plagued with polarization and the nation is wandering in a blind alley.

Islam and its religious thought was the sole and common agenda of the Muslims of subcontinent. Pursuing this agenda father of the nation Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah along with his colleagues initiated the process of constitution making in 1947. As constitution is the document which contains all the rules and regulation to govern a state. If constitution is derived from the basic sources of Islam then all the laws will reflect an Islamic model. Jinnah himself was anxious enough to make a constitution on modern Islamic lines.

Hence the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was convened on August 11,1947 even before the formal power transfer. Quaid-i-Azam himself presided over the meeting and provided a guideline to his comrades “that Pakistan would be a democratic state based on Islamic principles of social justice” (The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973: ii). Father of the nation has no ambiguity in his mind regarding the status of religion in the constitution. However for the other

members “the issue of relation between state and religion was dominating theme” (Choudhury, 1969: 3). Most of the members were convinced to establish an Islamic model of state but various groups have divergent point of view about the nature of an Islamic state.

The first disagreement was arisen between religious leaders and intellectuals regarding the nature of an Islamic constitution. Few religious leaders were not ready to incorporate anything new which is beyond the pattern of Pious Caliphate. While the other members were looking more interested in modern democratic system. They have had the opinion that ‘the necessities of religion could be seen without evading from the requisites of a modern democratic state (Ibid). The issue remained unresolved until the passage of Objectives Resolution on March 12, 1949[Appendix B].

This resolution was moved by the then prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan and was unanimously supported by the other members. This resolution pledged ‘to endeavor to convert this state into a fort of Islam’ (Syed, 1985: 19). This resolution did provide an Islamic base for the future constitution of Pakistan. This resolution provided that sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty alone. Also the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be followed fully and that the Muslims shall be made able to make their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam. It was also ensured that the rights of the non-Muslims to follow and practice their religions freely shall be permitted without any restriction thereto. This resolution also provided for the independence of judiciary.

During the debate in the Constituent Assembly, divergent ideas were presented by the members. The main opposition party in the Assembly ‘Pakistan National Congress’ objected to it that it mixed up religion with politics. The non-Muslims members were not happy with this Resolution, surprisingly some of the orthodox religious leaders too were not happy with the Resolution on the ground that it placed too much weightage to the rights of non-Muslims, (Mehmood, 1990:

11). In Islamic thought religion and politics are not as apart as they are in Christianity and other religions of the world. Islam not only emphasized on ethics but organized a state also. Its focus is always to establish a social order. The state of Madinah was organized in accordance with Quranic revelations. 'Islam has been a religion of societal outlook from the day one. Primary interpretive differences among Muslims were not basically disagreement over creed but over questions as to how the ummah should be united' (Chaudhury, 1988: 81).

Pakistan was established because the Muslims of this region wanted to live in accordance with the principles of Islam. The Muslims were desirous to prove to the world that religion provides a remedy to many of the diseases which have made the life of the people miserable in the contemporary world' (Mahmood, 1990: 47). Muslims of subcontinent wanted to contribute towards the peace and prosperity of the world. That is why the Objectives Resolution recognized clearly that actual authority must be subservient to Allah Almighty. By passing this resolution the Muslims have precluded in a way the "Machiavellian ideas" where religion has been assigned no responsibility in the matters pertaining to the state system. By declaring Allah's Sovereignty over the universe this resolution has established the spiritual and ethical values in the political system on one hand and on the other, by entrusting this authority to the people's representatives, any speculation to establish theocracy has also been disregarded.

In his speech to the constituent Assembly on the occasion of passage of objectives resolution the then Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan [Appendix] referred the divergent democracies of the western countries and Soviet Russia. That both the systems in spite of having different polities claim their structures as democratic. In that way our system can also establish Islamic democracy. Islam believes in equality of mankind without considering any distinction on the basis of color, race or birth. So the democratic principles along with democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice must be strictly followed in accordance with the spirit of Islamic social order.

Unlike other religions 'Islam stress upon a just social arrangement. And in order to make the Islamic principles beneficial for the members of the society there needed a completely sovereign Islamic state having the political authority to enforce religious laws' (Sheikh,1957: 16). Islam believes in tolerance towards every one. The policy of the Muslims towards non-Muslim minorities in particular based upon tolerance and respect for others religious freedom. Study of Muslim history shows that all Muslim rules have always provided every opportunity to the non-Muslims to develop their own thought and culture so that they may contribute to the glory of whole nation.

There is a resolve in this document regarding enabling the Muslims of Pakistan to order their individual and collective life in accordance with the teachings of Islam as mentioned in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH). This is obligatory for the state to provide a conducive environment to building up a real Islamic society. Islam cannot keep itself aloof from the affairs of the state rather 'Islam lays down clear methods for social behavior and strive to instruct the society in its ways towards the issues which challenge it with the emerging situations every day' (Mahmood,1990: 49). Pakistani society ought to demonstrate a new social outlook based upon the democracy, tolerance and social justice. All the Muslims believe without any doubt that commandments of Allah Almighty and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) are the real sources of his inspiration. One cannot find any sect of the Muslims who could dare to deny the authenticity of these sources. Hence there should be no misconception about the intentions of the state. All the sects irrespective of their numerical strength would be allowed to practice their own particular school of thought. No majority group can dictate to any minority group their own sectional beliefs.

However difference of opinion should be given due weightage. According to the tradition of the Prophet (PBUH) that differences of opinions amongst the followers of Islam should be taken as blessing. It depends upon us that how we

make our disagreements a channel of making Islam and Pakistan strong, and ‘not to exploit them for personal interests which will harm both Pakistan and Islam’ (Mahmood,1990: 49). The real target of the people of Pakistan is to serve the religion. Muslims should endeavour to prove ‘that Islam is not only a forward-looking reality in the world, but it also provides effective remedies for all the evils due to that humanity has become a victim of disappointments’ (Mahmood,1990 :49).

Religion of Islam binds the whole society into an integrated body. Rights of the non-Muslims could not be ignored in an Islamic state. The non-Muslims minorities must be provided conducive environment to profess and practice their religion or to develop their specific cultures. Like all other citizens of Pakistan minorities will also contribute towards mutual interest of the state. Therefore ‘a conformed guaranty is to be assured to the religious, cultural and other genuine interests of the non-Muslims’ (Ali, 1992: 30). Under the dictates of their religion all the Muslims governments have protected fully the due rights of the religious minorities, throughout their supremacy. National integration would not be possible without carrying into effect the everlasting principles of religion which based upon freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice for all including religious minorities.

Guarantee of certain fundamental rights like equality before the law economic wellbeing of the people by promoting Islamic economic system, elimination of poverty and ignorance, freedom of expression and political participation has also been ensured in Objectives Resolution. This resolution was first step towards practical implementation of religious thought in the affairs of the state to integrate the whole society of Pakistan into one sum. Other member of the Constituent Assembly also took part in the debate and threw light on the role of religion in binding the Muslim society. As concept of worship in Islam is different than that of other religions. Islam provides a complete code of life so the

matters related to individual, communal, national and international spheres of life as well as laws of peace and war and the state craft may also be taken as worship of Allah Almighty. One of the members Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi uttered “to us religion is not like a Sunday suit which can be put on when we enter a place of worship and put off when we are dealing with day to day life” (Constituent Assembly debates,1949: 96).

### **3.1 RELIGIOUS INPUT BY THE SCHOLARS (ULEMA)**

After the passage of Objectives Resolutions in March 1949, different factions of society contributed towards providing a religious base to the constitution of Pakistan. The political leadership started working on the subject from the platform of Basic Principle Committee (BPC) and the Ulema belonging to all leadings sects of Pakistani Muslims gathered together and agreed on 22 points for the constitution of Islamic Pakistan. Although these 22 points could not be adopted in the future constitutions of the country yet they might be used as the guiding principles and the basis for enforcement of Shariah in the country.

In 1951, 31 prominent Ulema of different sects and schools of thought, under the leader ship of Syed Suleman Nadvi, presented 22 points, proposed unanimously, to create a true Islamic state. Among these Ulema, Maulana Maudoodi, Ihtisha-ul-Haq Tanwi, Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Peer Sahib Manki Shareef, Muhammad Ali Jalandhri, Syed Dawud Ghaznvi, Mufti Jafar Hussain, Hafiz Kifayat Hussain, Zafar Ahmad Ansari and Abdul Hameed Qadri were also included. The caliber and authenticity of these Ulema along with their rest of the colleagues was beyond any doubt and discussion. All these scholars were actually pursuing the idea behind creation of Pakistan. “That is, a state based not on the concepts of nationality and race but solely on the ideology of Quran and Sunnah” (Asad, 1980: ix).

An unprecedented struggle on the part of the Muslims of subcontinent was to create a state and society which would represent a clearly religious character and would also meet the challenges of present age. The Ulema had tried to construct a bridge between two schools of thought regarding the inter relationship of state and religion and the model of an Islamic state. Few segments of society were staunch advocates of the models of early caliphate of Islamic history. While the other sectors were more interested to adopt a model of western democracies. Such people were in favour of few cosmetics like Islam as the state religion or name of the country may include the word Islamic. Both the ideologies were representing a complete contrast and it was not any easy task to bridge the Gulf between these two extremes. A considerable majority of the people of Pakistan desirous to see 'Islam as the supreme guide for the formation of a just political order and the running of the state administration' (Jan, 2003: 131).

Allah Almighty has taught the followers of Islam, through his message-the Holy Quran-and the messenger Muhammad (PUBU)-, the laws related to social, political, economic, civil, criminal, and military affairs for implementation. 'The rules of Islam demand the establishment of a state with the sufficient authority to construct the society and the means for creating a supporting situation for the Ummah to live their lives to accomplish the overall purposes of man's creation' (Ibid). All these disciplines were successfully implemented during the times of Holy Prophet (PBUH) and during the period of Rightly Guided Caliphate. Hence it has become an obligation for the followers of Islam to establish a governing system based on the revealed principles and values. Therefore, follow and implementation of the principles of Quran and Sunnah is the must for any Islamic state.

In a true Islamic state and society religious thought cannot be disassociated from matters related to politics and governance. Because if a state is based upon such ideas which are thoroughly derived from human logic then the form of the state would be completely secular. So such state system will tend to develop only the material advancement of its people. On the other hand if the

state system is based upon revealed law, this will obviously promote the material as well as the spiritual improvement of its citizens. 'Thus Islam, unlike the previous religions which were confined to the boundaries of the places of worship, is not confined to the four walls of the mosque. It is in reality, a system of life which contains and controls all dimensions of human life including religious rites, academics or legal issues, moral or spiritual complications, social or cultural aspirations or any other applied day-to-day matters-all are administered by the Islamic laws' (Rehman: 1980:194). It was due to this particular conception that the Muslims of the subcontinent sacrificed their everything to see its practical form in the land of Pakistan. Therefore, the Ulema's focus was on all such aspirations and expectations of the people of Pakistan in particular and of the Muslim world in general.

There was an unprecedented move on the part of the Ulema regarding basic principles of an Islamic state. Keeping their sectarian differences aside, they agreed that the constitution of an Islamic state must contain certain principles that will play a guiding role in process of constitution formulation. These points can be categorized into three major areas. 1. Points regarding ideological basis of the state, 2. Matters related to rights of the citizens, 3. Plan to govern the state. In all three categories the spirit has been taken from the basic sources of Islam, the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Upholding the Objectives Resolution the Ulema also focused on the Allah's Sovereignty over all nature and law. The law of country shall be based on Quran and Sunnah and any laws which are in conflict with Quran and Sunnah must be replaced gradually with the Islamic ideology rather than any geographical, linguistic, racial or other material considerations. Such religious thought reflects the desire of the architects to integrate the Muslims society by denying all materialistic concepts. All such considerations have been disowned by Islam and these are also the cause of disintegration in all the Muslim societies including Pakistan.

The thought reflected through these points contains to establish such institutions which could do efforts to promote the Right (*Maruf*) and to eradicate the wrong (*Munkar*). This point was in the pursuance of Quranic verdict that “*Muslims are those who, if we bestow on them (authority) in the land, establish regular prayer and give regular charity, enjoin that which is right and forbid that which is wrong*” (Al-Hajj,22: 41). Such institutions will contribute revival and development of Islamic cultural pattern. This might be attainable by projecting Islamic education of all renowned schools of Islam thought. Such attempts would be beneficial to strengthen the bonds of unity and brotherhood among the Muslim Ummah.

The state would present a model of welfare of all the citizens without distinction of race or region. The government shall guarantee food, clothing, shelter, education and health facilities for all by providing them opportunity to earn their livelihood. And if anybody is incapable of earning, temporarily or permanently, then state should provide special assistance to all such people. As regard the citizen’s rights. This is ensured that all rights which are in accordance with Islamic law shall be assured by the state. The life, property, honor, religion as well as freedom of worship, freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom of association and equality of opportunity are the fundamental rights of the citizens. And no citizens can be deprived of all such rights during normal circumstances.

The solution proposed regarding the divergent views and personal law of the recognized Muslims schools of thought was that all sects will have complete religious freedom to express religious principles to their particular meanings and their respective laws of jurisprudence. And even the matters related to any specific views must be resolved by the judges of same school of thought. So that no confusion or confrontation may arose in such kind of things. The same principle may be adopted about the matters related to non-Muslim citizens of the state.

Matters related to personal law shall be properly managed according to their own religious code and patterns. The fundamental rights of the non-Muslim citizens should not be less than any Muslim citizens. However the non-Muslim cannot be the head of the state as Pakistan has been created on the basis of religious ideology and majority of the people of Pakistan are Muslims therefore only a Muslim shall be eligible to become the head of the state. As Pakistan is an ideological state so “the head of an ideological state can reasonably be only he who believes in and represents that ideology” (Choudhury, 1988: 95). The administration of the country is fundamentally the duty of the head of the state; however he can delegate any of his authority to any individual or institution. It is the obligation upon the people of an Islamic state to respect and obey the authorities of the state provided that the authorities administer their functions in accordance of Islamic law. According to Quran “*o you who believe: obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those charged with authority from among you*” (An-Nisa,4: 59).

The Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was the first head of the state of very first Islamic state established at Madina. Naturally all the other heads of the Islamic states after Holy Prophet (PBUH) would be considered as his successors. The successors must follow the patterns of their predecessors. That is why Ulema stressed upon the constitution makers that in Pakistan the head of the state will run the administration with mutual consultation “Shura”. Therefore the idea of parliament is quite evident. “*And consult them in the affairs*” (Al-Imran,3:159).

Despotic rulers cannot be imposed on the Muslims; rather the rules should be elected representative. A true representative must act as servant of the people and not their master. Self-sacrifice is the duty of a Muslim head of the state and he should be an example for the people. If any head of the state failed to reflect such qualities the body empowered to elect him shall also have the authority to remove him by majority votes. The head of the state during his period of

government and after that shall be on the level of equality with other citizens and will not be above the law. In this way 22 points did not support the concept of immunity and all citizens including government officials shall be subject to the same laws and jurisdiction of the same courts.

For the integrity and solidarity of the state the religious scholars proposed unanimously in their 22 points that there should be unitary type of government in an Islamic state. And no unit shall be granted permission to split from the center. Religion would act as a binding force and racial, linguistic, regional ethnic and other angularities must be discouraged on the basis of Islamic brotherhood. To follow the religion in letter and spirit no law, in Pakistan was to be considered valid if it is repugnant to the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (PUBH). When the constitution and the laws would be in accordance with the principles of Islam then there would not be any injustice and exploitation in the society and the people will feel satisfaction in the state system.

The religious thought conveyed through these points was very loud and clear. It has sufficient matter to provide the state a strong footings regarding ideology of Pakistan. The Ulema have left no stone unturned to guide the members of the Constituent Assembly. They have shown not only unprecedented unity and harmony but also a great political wisdom. Their utmost desire was not to grab any authority but to pursue that thought which has developed during freedom movement. This was an attempt on their part to create a modern, progressive and democratic Islamic state. It is very unfortunate that these points could not succeed to convince fully the Constituent Assembly and during the course of constitution making, most of the points were not considered with letter and spirit and only few cosmetic means were adopted to accommodate the wishes of the masses and the scholars both. That is why neither state nor society could become truly Islamic.

There is no coherence between theory and practice, claims and actions, wishes and efforts; religion and politics and resources and development, consequently religious extremism, political and economic instability, poverty and ignorance has spread its tentacles throughout Pakistan. ‘Proposed unanimously by the scholars of divergent schools of thought, this 22 points agenda demanded the restructuring of system in the light of Quran and Sunnah and its ultimate target was to integrate the whole community by removing their prejudicial inclinations and all conflicts based on meager worldly observations’ (Syed, 1985: 22).

### **3.2 CONSTITUTIONS OF PAKISTAN AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT**

The primary purpose of the creation of Pakistan was to protect the rights and interests of the Muslims of subcontinent and to promote and Islamic way of life. In pursuit of those objectives the constitution makers, from Muhammad Ali Jinnah to Muhammad Ali Bogra and Muhammad Ali Chaudhary did contribute in the form of first constitution 1956. The religious thought during Pakistan movement had integrated the whole Muslim community of India irrespective of their regional and racial differences. The way this thought was accommodated in the first constitution of the republic could not produce the required results. To establish Islamic Ideology, was the real objective of the state. It is therefore Jinnah ‘was searching for those persons who could be inducted as administrators in the offices of Pakistan Government, who understand the ideology on which it is founded and who uphold to the Islamic law which they required to implement’ (Syed, 1985: 13).

The whole plan was disturbed with the sudden demise of Jinnah on September 11, 1948. After his death much confusion emerged during the course of finalizing the constitution. The status of religion had remained the main point of constitutional debates in the proceedings of the first Constitution Assembly.

Deviating from the religious thought the Assembly endeavored to find the answers of some strange questions raised by the people who were neither serious nor sincere to frame constitution providing a base for religious state. Nature of the questions were of such kind. “Is a constitution based on Islamic principles possible of realization in the twentieth century?” (Chaudhury, 1969:43). The Islamic response to such questions is very clear that Islam is not bound to time and space. Its teachings are updated and can be implemented in any period of time. Allah Almighty himself has recommended it forever. “*and have chosen for you Islam as your religion*” (Al-Maidah,5: 3).

Another question of that time was ‘to what extent religious constitution is compatible with present time democracy and what will be the status of minorities in Pakistan’ (Chaudhury,1969: 43). Perhaps such confusions were only in those minds who have never studied thoroughly the Islamic history. Islam is very much democratic in nature and by no means is it incompatible with democracy. Instead its democracy is far better than the democratic concept of the west. According to western theories ‘politics and religion have no interconnection. Politics deals with logic and worldly affairs while religion is about faith and spirituality’ (Choudhury, 1988:77).

In western thought faith and revelation should have nothing to do with the affairs of the state but Islamic thought emphasizes that religion is complete code of human life and provide guidance in all the walks of life including state and government. The most authentic revelation- the Holy Quran- contains all basic principles of state and politics. Even the democracy is not away from the teachings of the Quran as mentioned in Surrah Ash-Shura “*And who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation*”(42:38). So people of Islamic state can differ with any authority of the state but the matters would be decided in accordance with the Quranic revelations. “*if you differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allah and his messenger*” (An-Nisa,4: 59).

All such forces that intentionally started some confusion during the course of constitution making were obviously insincere with the Islamic cause. These forces tried to follow the model of Turkey. To them religion provide a static way of life and life needs rapid changes. They thought that religion based on changelessness. In actual, their anxiety was that if Pakistan adopts a religious constitution the “Maulvi” will dominate in the state affairs, (Chaudhury, 1969: 55). They did not keep in their memories that Jinnah had emphatically denied the concept of theocratic state to be ruled by religious clergy. In his broadcast address to the people of United States in February 1948 he said ‘Islam has taught us democracy, equality of men and Fairley to everybody’ (Jinnah,1989: 157).

The founder of Pakistan was anxious to create a state based upon religious principles. He wanted to give Islamic state a dynamic interpretation. Establishment of an Islamic state was not only a political slogan during Pakistan movement but it was a genuine demand of the Muslims of subcontinent. And it has originated from the core of their hearts. It was due to this love for religion that neither any political leader nor any political party could dare to disagree with the demand of Islamic state. However during the process of constitution making the term Islamic state remained undefined and every segment of society had its own interpretation regarding the phrase Islamic state.

The religious classes were proposing to adopt the model of early Caliphate of Islam. This concept was confronted by the intelligentsia on the ground that Ulema are looking back to the period of seventh century. So to such people modern legislation would not be possible if early Islamic model was adopted. But the Ulema stressed upon the Universality of Islam that the principles of Quran and Sunnah contains all mechanism for applying law to any situation that may arise. Some other scholars like Maulana Maudoodi, the founder of Jamt-i-Islami, were of the opinion ‘that legislation regarding those matters which are not clearly explained in the Quran or the Sunnah of the Prophet PBUH is possible in an Islamic state, without any fare of stagnation’ (Chaudhary 1969: 48).

Majority of the political leader's were of the opinion that the constitution should be framed keeping in view the democratic practices of the twenty century. They representative bodies were proposed to make the constitution as well as the policy decisions in future. And no special place was accepted for religious theologians. The modern political leaders were referring to Dr. Iqbal's famous work 'the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, and Syed Aneer Ali's book 'The spirit of Islam'. Both the learned authors had proposed in their respective works the need for modern legislation and flexible constitution based on human rights and human duties. Hence the constitution was to be framed keeping in view that Islam believe in democratic and progressive ideals. Under such religious concept the constitution of 1956 was enforced on 23 March 1956.

This constitution was the product of about nine years labour by politicians, religious scholars, lawyers and other segments of society. The Objectives Resolution of 1949 was included in the preamble of the constitution with addition of the reference of the Quaid-i-Azam, that Pakistan would be a democratic state based on Islamic principles of social justice. In this clause democracy and Islamic principles were combined together to remove any misconception regarding democracy and religion. The basic purpose of incorporating this clause was to clear that there should not be any question of incompatibility of Islam and democracy. In the preamble the other clauses were about the Sovereignty of Allah Almighty, independence of judiciary, protection of the rights of the non-Muslims minorities and a resolve to make the Muslims individually and collectively to bring their lives in accordance with the principles laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (PUBH).

Also the principles of democracy, tolerance, freedom, social justice and equality as enunciated by Islam were said to be fully observed. These points of the preamble sought to be adopted under the motivation of religious thought. These were the points if followed with letter and spirit, which could integrate the whole state and society of Pakistan forever. Unfortunately the points of the

preamble remained only a sort of cosmetic and formality rather than a ground norm of Pakistan body polity, so the result was disintegration and disunity.

The other important portion of the constitution, in quest of religious thought, was its part III under the heading 'Directive Principles of State Policy'. In this section various causes related to religious thought and national integration were included. It was stated in Article 24 that 'the state shall Endeavour to strengthen the bonds of unity among Muslim countries. In this way the integration on religious ground was not limited to national level but to the international level. It was stated categorically in Article 25 that the state shall enable the Muslims of the country to order their lives in accordance with the Holy Quran and Sunnah. For this purpose teaching of the Holy Quran would be made compulsory. Also promotion of unity and observance of Islamic moral standards and security of organization of Zakat, Wakfs and mosques. To promote unity among the Muslims of Pakistan the state will reject all kinds of differences and biases based on racial, provincial and sectarian grounds.

In the constitution of 1956 under the title of directive principles of state policy, number of articles and clauses regarding good governance were incorporated to make Pakistan a just and welfare state. From Articles 27 to 30, it was stated on the part of the state to endeavour to promote and protect the genuine rights of the minorities, special care of the backward classes, removal of illiteracy by promoting education, prevention of prostitution, gambling and injurious drugs. Promotion of social and economic wellbeing of the people by preventing the concentration of wealth in few hands and provision of basic necessities of life like food, clothing, shelter, education and medical relief for all.

Elimination of riba(usury) to make the economic matters of the country according to the Islamic system because riba is completely banned in Islam. To make the justice system of Pakistan powerful and independent the judiciary was decided to separate from executive. All the above stated points were no doubt reflecting the religious thought in the affairs of the state which was also a focal

point of the whole freedom movement. Surprisingly these clauses in this particular part III of the constitutions could not satisfy the rigid religious classes as well as few ultra-secularists. The both extremes were unhappy with these clauses. The religious classes due to the reason that these points are only cosmetics and not binding as it has been stated in the same part that these provisions are only guide lines in policy formulations and these shall not be enforceable in any court. The ultra-secularists were taking it as an attempt to make the foundation of the state on conservative footing as they were looking for a secular Turkish model in Pakistan. However, the general public were satisfied with the Islamic character of the constitution.

In addition to preamble and directive principles of state policy there was another part in this constitution under the title of Islamic provisions. These provisions were given in Article 197 and 198 of the constitution. It was laid down that the president shall setup an organization for Islamic research and instruction aimed at reconstruction of a society on true Islamic foundations. This organization through advanced studies will assist the policy making institutions like Parliament to create a Muslim society based on truly Islamic standards. Article 198 was more important and reflects more religious thought as it was laid down here that no law, which is repugnant to the injunctions of Holy Quran and Sunnah, shall be enacted in Pakistan.

Moreover the existing laws shall be brought into conformity with the injunctions of Islam. For this purpose the President shall appoint a commission which will guide the National as well as Provincial legislatures in this regard. However a very lengthy process was laid down in this Article which may take more than six years to enact laws in respect therefore. Hence the appointment of the commission was delayed as long as possible. The President Major-General Iskander Mirza had no interest in Islamic ideology or principles. He decided to keep religion away from the state affairs. As he said himself “we cannot run wild on Islam” (New York Times, February 7, 1955). The constitution had also provided some cosmetics that might be considered as Pakistan links with religion.

For example the name of the country was decided as Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its Head will always be a Muslim.

To the modern and progressive political leaders 1956 constitution contains sufficient material to provide religious base for state system. Although Islam was not declared as the state religion of Pakistan as it has been declared in the constitutions of Saudi Arabia and Iran. The framers of this constitution were thinking themselves quite successful to combine both the Islamic and modern systems. Unfortunately the constitution could not be implemented because the rulers did not show respect to the pursuit of its objectives. That is why the masses become disappointed very soon and the state system seemed to be deteriorated with the passage of time. The unstable political governments could not provide a strong Islamic democratic footing to the state. And resultantly this constitution was abrogated on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958. The Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army General Muhammad Ayub Khan took over power and abrogated the constitution and imposed martial law in the country. In this way the democratic system in Pakistan was suspended and the state began to be governed under martial law regulations.

### **3.2.1 RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND CONSTITUTION OF 1962**

After the enforcement of 1956 constitution, no election could be held till the day of its abrogation. Four prime ministers were changed during two and half years and none of them replaced as a result of the verdict of the people. The Head of the state Iskandar Mirza had no regard for the Islamic principles provided in the constitution as such principles were never institutionalized during his period. People inside the country and abroad were completely confused and disillusioned and as a result the economic development of the country stopped. It was due to such unhappy developments that the constitution was abrogated and the army took over under the leadership of General Ayub Khan in 1958.

After taking over, in his first broadcast speech Gen. Ayub Khan assured the people that he has intervened only to “serve” them and the democracy. The existent form of democracy was not suitable for them. He will soon restore the democracy in new shape that would be easily understandable to the masses and would help them resolving their issues at the gross rout level’ (Morning news, Dacca, 8 October 1958). In the same speech he severely criticized the politicians and their negative role particularly after Quaid-i-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan. Talking about the politicians he said ‘they have divided the people only for their personal gains. The people of Pakistan are now fragmented into provincial, sectarian and racial groups instead of a nation and now they are at daggers drawn against each other over petty issues’ (Ibid).

Ayub Khan’s policy towards Islam was bit different and he was a believer of Islamic modernism. ‘He was interested in such an Islamic model that could bring unity and progress in the society and could help resolving the contemporary problems’ (Rahman, 1985: 44). Ayub Khan was desirous to see Islam as a binding force between the Muslims of two wings of Pakistan. As there was nothing common between the two wings of Pakistan except Islam, so people from both sides should use Islam for integrity and progress. Otherwise Islam would not be useful for them.

He was annoyed with the conflict between religious scholars and other educated classes. Why the educated secular classes are always associated with material and temporal life and why the religious classes are identified only with spirituality and creed’ (Khan, 1967:195). The way to reconciliation was Islamic code because it represents a complete cultural unity. To him ‘Islam should act as a source of advancement’ (Ibid). During framing the constitution of 1962 he considered Islam as a source to provide basic principles and not as a precedent. ‘Any particular form of government had not recommended by Islam but the community has been empowered to design its own outline keeping in view the cotemporary circumstances. However the principles the Quran and Sunnah must be observed during the processes’ (Ibid: 198).

Ayub was very much influenced by the institution of *Ijma* (consensus) provided in religion. For that purpose he was looking interested in establishing an Islamic Advisory Council backed by an Islamic Research Institution. These bodies would guide and assist the legislature that how to make laws in accordance with the principles of Islam. He was afraid that the religious classes might not be satisfied with such arrangements. Because the Ulema wanted complete right over interpretation and decision making in the matters related to religion. In his book (autobiography) he has mentioned those Ulema who were against the idea of creation of Pakistan during Pakistan movement. Though he avoided to say all the opponents as men of weak integrity but some of them were taking Pakistan as the end of their full authority over matters pertaining to religion. With such state of mind he preceded for the new constitution.

Ayub Khan appointed a constitution commission headed by the former Chief Justice, Muhammad Shahab-ud-Din. Justice Shahab was a man of highest integrity and respect in both the wings of Pakistan. Among the major targets of the commissions regarding constitutional proposal were to establish a democratic system according to the circumstances and based on Islamic principles of equality, justice and tolerance. And to consolidate the national unity and integrity. After a lot of work and research the commission recommended a presidential form of government in Pakistan. However many of the political leaders disliked this proposal of the commission as they were in favour of parliamentary form of government. The commission accepted the importance of religion in the political system of Pakistan. Because it was based on Islamic Ideology and Islam is the main bond between East and West Pakistan.

The commission affirmed that Islam is not only pertaining to worship but it is a complete social order also. Thus on the pattern of early days of Islam a model welfare state should be established. Only a real Islamic state can protect the rights of the non-Muslims. So the minorities should have no apprehensions in their minds about an Islamic state. The commission supported the retention of Objectives Resolution and other Islamic clauses of the previous constitution with

certain amendments. Islamic provisions would be influential and effective only if the way of their interpretations, with relevance to Islamic principles, is rational and updated' (Chaudhary 1969: 170).

For this purpose the commission proposed that the Imams and preachers in the religious institutions must be properly trained and they may be employed on a definite pay scale. Therefore, the educational institutions should start courses related to religious studies. And the curricula should be designed in such a way that it covers not only Quran, Hadith and Fiq but also the modern sciences and international issues. The reconstruction of Pakistani society on the ideals of Islam would be possible only through these measures. The constitutional commission presented its report to the president in May 1961. However when the constitution emerged in 1962 it was not completely in accordance with the proposals of the constitutional commissions but differs in certain respects.

Even the very first Article of the late constitution, which laid down that Pakistan would be designated as Islamic republic, was changed and the word Islamic was dropped. Later on it was added through the first constitutional amendment in 1963 after a lot of public pressure. Most of the provisions of the preamble were retained. Sovereignty of Allah was accepted along with the other provisions of the objectives resolution. People were authorized to organize their matters in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Ayub's desire was that people themselves should try to learn the Islamic principles with the help of religious scholars. He wrote in his book 'Allah has blessed the people with brainpower to understand and recognize what was taught in these religious sources. These faculties must be used to regulate the principles of interpretations, if required under the guidance of scholars and experts, (Khan, 1967: 204).

Another important change introduced in the new constitution was regarding the repugnancy clause which was laid down in 1956 constitution in Article 198. Thereafter a certain procedure the parliament has to bring the laws into conformity with the Islamic injunctions. But in new constitution if legislature did

not agree to change any law which is repugnant to Islam then the validity of such law could not be called in question in any court of law. Therefore, the ultimate supremacy of the parliament was imposed even in the matters related to religion.

Ayub Khan was trying to create unity between both wings of Pakistan and also between different regions of West Pakistan. He wanted to integrate the social classes and the urban rural classes as well. 'The unity among various parts of the state could only be possible if the Islamic principles were given the role, through their enlightened and democratic approaches, to reform the society. This would become a ray of hope and courage for the oppressed and poor classes of Pakistan' (Rehman, 1985: 48).

In the constitution of 1962 an advisory council of Islamic Ideology was also introduced under Article 199. The function of this council was to propose recommendations to the ways which would make the Muslims of this state to live in accordance with the principles of Islam. However it was only an advisory body and its advice may or may not be accepted. So its advice was not binding on the President or the legislature. The Islamic Research Institution of the previous constitution was however retained in the new constitution as well.

This constitution of Ayub Khan was severally criticized by the political parties of that time and the Ulema as well. Ayub Khan did not care of that and he was of the opinion that the Ulema wanted complete authority to frame the constitution. And if happened so this would be like handing over the country to Ulema. To Ayub Khan 'authority of religious classes was neither acceptable to him nor to the people of Pakistan because actual power vest in people according to the fundamental principles of democracy' (Khan, 1967: 203-4). The unprecedented development during Ayub era was the introduction of Muslims Family Laws Ordinance. The provisions of this ordinance were beyond all sectarian interpretations. However it was almost unanimously criticized by the religious scholars of various sects. In spite of that the ordinance was letter on

protected by the constitution and the whole society was 'integrated' through such novel legislations.

### **3.2.2 RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND CONSTITUTION OF 1973**

The constitution of 1956 was made by a Constituent Assembly which was elected by the members of the provincial assemblies both in East and West Pakistan. This constitution lasted only for 30 months. The constitution of 1962 was imposed by a military ruler sought to legitimize his government by a system of so called Basic Democracy. Parity was maintained in both the wings of the country. This constitution could work for about seven years and Ayub himself violated this when he called upon the Army Chief to take over. During this second military rule the first general elections were held on the basis of universal adult franchise. As a result of this first general election the East Pakistan was dismembered and became independent state of Bangladesh. In the left over Pakistan Zaulifqar Ali Bhutto came in power and under his government the third constitution of the country was framed by the assembly which had come into existence as a result of first general elections of the country. This constitution was prepared by the representatives of different sections in the National Assembly who showed compromise to attain consensus on the issues of contention.

In his speech, at the time of move the bill to provide a constitution for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the law minister Mr. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada said that "Pakistan shall Insha Allah have a permanent constitution which shall be practical constitution". The Constitution of 1973 like the two earlier constitutions started with the verse 'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent and Merciful. Objectives Resolution was included in the preamble which speaks that Sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty alone. The country is designated as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Article 2 of constitution says that Islam shall be the state religion of the country. The elimination of all forms of exploitation is pledged in Article 3. Article 35 says that the state shall raise the standard of the people by checking the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Unlike the two previous

constitutions, the means of production and distribution are also assured to be prevented in few hands. These provisions reflect Mr. Bhutto's ideology of Islamic socialism.

Fundamental rights are placed in chapter I of Part II. Security of person is assured. Dignity of man is declared inviolable. Freedom of speech, association, movement, profession and trade is guaranteed along with freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions. This chapter of fundamental rights comprising of 20 Articles. Principles of policy are given in chapter 2 of this constitution. These principles are regarded as being subject to the availability of resources. Article 31 says that steps shall be taken to provide a suitable environment to the Muslims of Pakistan so that they can live in accordance with the principles of Islam. For this purpose the teaching of Holy Quran and Islamiyat were made compulsory.

Promotion of unity and proper organization of religious institutions like Zakat, Auqaf and Mosques. It is pledged to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran. Last Article of this chapter focuses on strengthening bonds with Muslims world based on Islamic unity. Other important articles are related to discouragement of parochial and other similar prejudices, participation of women in national life, protection of family, promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils, prevention of prostitution, gambling, drugs and alcoholic liquor and promotion of social and economic well-being of the people by reducing inequality in the earnings and by abolition of *Riba*(Usury) as early as possible.

In part III of the constitution it is stated that only a Muslim can become the president of Pakistan. And the president would take an oath before taking the charge of his office that he believes in oneness of Allah and finality of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) along with other conditions of Islam. This oath adjusts the demand for expression of faith. For the first time it is provided that the Prime Minister of Pakistan should also be a Muslim and he too like the president

will take the oath of loyalty to Islam. Five other articles are also added in this constitution in part 9, under the title of Islamic provisions.

The law minister Mr. Pirzada in his introductory speech claimed that in this Constitution a serious effort has been made to bring the Islamic provisions out of “the cold storage of the principles of policy”. Article 227 says that all prevailing laws shall be revisited to make them in relevance with the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah and no law which is against the spirit of Islamic laws shall be enforced. A Council of Islamic Ideology was constituted under Article 228 of this constitution. The president and the parliament can seek guidance, in the matters related to religious interpretations, from this council of Islamic ideology. The advice of the council will be given proper consideration and importance in process of lawmaking. Later on through an amendment made in 1974, the definition of the Muslims was also added in the constitution by that the Qadiyanis were declared a non-Muslims minority and bracketed along with other minorities.

Few other steps taken during Z.A Bhutto’s regime related to Muslim feelings and culture were included his attempt to unite the Muslim countries. For this purpose the Islamic Summit Conference was held at Lahore in February 1974. Bhutto had become a symbol of Muslims increasing techno-military power since he started nuclear programme of Pakistan and designated it unofficially as Islamic bomb.

Following his policy of Islamic socialism he started social security benefits for the workers and free education for their children. To please the Islamic minded people of Pakistan Bhutto also banned alcohol and announced Friday as the weekly holiday. For the first time in country’s history Mr. Bhutto has successfully managed to bring, though to some extent, the democratic and Islamic sentiments together. This was of course “an unprecedented achievement” (Rehman, 1985: 52). Unlike his predecessors Bhutto agreed to create a Ministry of Religious Affairs. This might have been a very good step if this ministry was involved to collaborate with minister of education to restructure the curricula of

the religious institutions. Such attempts could be fruitful to bridge the gap between the traditional Dars-i-Nizami and modern educational systems. This could be an attempt to integrate the Muslims society. But no ruler of Pakistan has been able to do this.

### **3.3 RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND ZIA-UL-HAQ REGIME**

Bhutto's law minister Mr. Hafeez Pirzada had claimed in his introductory speech at the eve of moving constitutional bill before the assembly in 1973 that the Islamic provisions would be taken out from "cold storage" (Constitution making debates 1973: 103). But most of Islamic provisions remained in 'cold storage' throughout Bhutto's period. It is therefore Mr. Bhutto remained unpopular among the religious circles of the country. The religious loving people always took Mr. Bhutto as a ruler of secular tilt.

When Mr. Bhutto announced general election in 1977, the religio-political parties, exploiting the religious sentiments of the people, made an alliance against Mr. Bhutto to contest in the elections. The name of this alliance was Pakistan National Alliance PNA. PNA leaders promised to implement 'Nizam-i-Mustafa, (Islamic system) in Pakistan after they come to power. The prominent parties included in PNA were, Jamaat-i-islami (JI), Jamiatul-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), Jamiatul-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP), Khaksar Tehrik (KT), Azad Kashmir Muslim Conference (AKMC) And Pir Pagara's Pakistan Muslim League (PML). Despite having divergent ideologies these religious political parties have shown a great compromise and successfully maneuvered to form a grand alliance. Surprisingly 'it was a unique advancement in the background of the political culture of Pakistan' (Mujahid, 1971: 164).

Bhutto was alleged to use government machinery in his election campaign as he was a sitting prime minister of the country that time. Unusual number of peoples party's candidates including Mr. Bhutto were declared elected unopposed. In the elections of 1970 only one candidate was elected unopposed but this time their number were 19 in National Assembly (NA) and 66 in

Provincials Assembly (PA). The PNA charged the government for misusing the administrative machinery for unfair practices. The results were astonishing as PPP won 155 seats of NA and PNA could concede only 36 seats. PNA refused to accept the results with charges that malpractices have been committed. Even the Election Commission (EC) admitted that it had no resources to stop rigging due to the influence of PPP candidates who belong to ruling party.

Bhutto tried his utmost to justify his victory with the arguments that the womenfolk and youth had voted in favour of PPP but PNA could not be convinced and an agitation started throughout the country with a demand of fresh polls under neutral agencies. Many unpleasant and violent incidents took place in this anti-PPP movement. Many people died and wounded at various places in the country in clashes with police. Under such circumstances, the Army Chief General Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial law on July 5<sup>th</sup> 1977 and came to power. During his rule he started a process of Islamization also called Nifaz-i-Nizam-i-Islam. 'The President Zia administration not only expressed its full support to Islamization but also took practical initiatives for its implementation' (Syed 1985: 33).

When Zia-ul-Haq assumed power on July 5 he promised to hold elections within a period of 90 days. Soon the elections were postponed and new date November 1979 was announced. But before this date Bhutto was hanged on 4<sup>th</sup> April 1979 and Zia-ul-Haq decided to continue without any elections. As his own orientation was religious so he succeeded to win the cooperation of certain religious-political parties including JI. 'The JI had always presented itself against military dictatorships. But this time it extended full support and acceptance to Zia's Martial law and rewarded by the General with four high-ranking ministries' (Rehman, 1985: 54).

After that Zia-ul-Haq started a programme of Islamization and took many initiatives to make Pakistan a state practically based on Islamic principles. Actually he was of the opinion that the present election system was un-Islamic

and before holding new elections a complete Islamic system must be implemented. The justification given by Zia regarding his “mission” was that Pakistan and Islam are inseparable from each other and the safeguard and survival of both is an obligation “the military establishment alone was capable of performing” (Jalal, 1991: 319). In this way Zia found a strong religious footing to legitimize his military regime. With help of military and civil bureaucracy Zia succeeded to win over the support of those social groups who were the part of PNA’S movement against Mr. Bhutto. JI, JUI and JUP joined hands with Zia to serve the religion by strengthening the process of Islamization.

This Islamization program of Zia-ul-Haq included establishment of certain institutions and development of some others which already existed under the constitution of 1973. The institutions either established or developed for Islamization included the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII), the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA), the Federal Shariah Court (FSC), the Islamic Research Institute (IRI), the Islamic University (IU) and the Ansari commission (AC). These institutions played an important role for Islamization in general and Islamization of laws and legislation in particular.

The first institution developed during Zia period was CII when it was constituted in 1977 and re constituted in 1981. ‘The objective of its creation was to prepare a team of experts, capable of undertaking the task of Islamization’ (Amin, 1989: 64). In the follow up of the constitutional provision, that the people of Pakistan will become able to arrange their lives with the principles of Islam. The CII was assigned the task to advice the Parliament and Provincial Assemblies regarding the means and ways for such purpose. Another responsibility was to make recommendations to bring the laws, already in practice, into a system based on Islamic injunctions of Quran and Sunnah.

The CII re-examined the laws contained in Pakistan code and recommended amendments in 67 laws in order to bring them in conformity with Islamic teachings. Amendments were also recommended in Muslim personal

laws, laws of insurance, taxation and banking laws and some other miscellaneous laws. However Zia government could enforce only few of them. Zia-ul-Haq also directed the CII to make recommendations for the Islamization of the whole Constitution. As general Zia was unsatisfied with the democratic system provided in the constitution because it based on western democratic model and not on Islamic footings. The CII presented many proposals to improve the justice system in Pakistan. Permanent law commission and Shariah benches in the superior courts and federal Shariah court, prayer arrangements in offices and schools, column of religion in passport and identity cards. CII also recommended that “to allow to those Indian Muslim females (widows and orphans), who cannot earn their living in India, permanent residence in Pakistan” (Ibid: 68). Surprisingly enough that the CII was not allowed publishing its works for the information of the common man.

On the recommendation of CII initially Shariah benches were setup in the superior courts. These benches could not produce the expected results therefore a Federal Shariah Court was established as a specialized court. Ulema were also appointed as judges in this court. The main assignment of FSC was to decide the Shariah petitions to determine whether or not a law was repugnant to the principles of Islam. The performance of FSC has also remained unsatisfactory due to the non-availability of Islamic-oriented judges and the non-cooperative attitude on the part of religious groups.

The other important steps taken by Zia government to Islamization of state and society were Hudood Ordinance in 1979, reform of banking system by introducing profit and loss sharing accounts, enforcement of Zakat and Ushr Ordinance in 1980, establishment of the institution of the Ombudsman (Mohtasib) in 1983, revival of Islamic values, check on anti-Islamic activities of Ahmadis and promotion of religious moral values through educational system and media. When in 1985 the constitution of 1973 was restored Zia asked the members of the National Assembly, to give serious thought to the interconnection between state and religion in Islam, (Chaudhary, 1988: 79).

The N.A. made many amendments in the constitution; the most famous is the 8<sup>th</sup> amendment. By virtue of that the Objective Resolution given in the preamble of the constitution was made the substantive part of the constitution. Article 62 and 63 where the qualification and disqualification of the members of the parliament are given were also amended. And finally just two months before his death he promulgated the Shariah Ordinance on June 15, 1988. The reason behind this development was that he wanted “to convince the people that he was honest in his intention” (Shehab, 1990: 446).

Gen. Zia died in an air crash near Bahawalpur on August 17, 1988. The successive governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif could not contribute towards Islamization of society. In actual the feelings of national integration deteriorated during the post Zia period. Sectarianism, regionalism, provincialism, secularism and extremism have made the whole state and society a hostage of disintegration.

## Chapter. 4

# DETERIORATION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND GROWTH OF COUNTER IDEOLOGIES IN PAKISTAN

Subcontinent is a diverse region having distinct geographical features and multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies. The British colonial rule tried to unify this region but could only bring all regions under the crown to introduce administrative unity. 'The British could not introduce a homogeneous political culture in India, which indeed was capable to bind the people together' (Salik, 1997:19).

The people of different regions have no or little knowledge of their countrymen. But the religious thought behind the freedom struggle had changed the entire phenomenon and the people having distinct regional and cultural inclination bound themselves together for the sake of Islam. It is true that millions of Muslims have been living in sub-continent for centuries. They were in majority in certain regions like Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan while in considerable numbers in others provinces as well. But despite being followers of the same religion they could not become one nation even during the times of Muslim rule in the whole area. They tolerated all the good and bad times during the course of history. But when they felt a serious threat to their religion on the part of bigoted Hindu majority, they became united on common platform to save their religion.

Weather Islam was the single factor as a motivation behind the creation of Pakistan or the socio-economic trouble of the minority Muslims was also a driving force behind the Pakistan movement. No doubt that he ruling British and the majority Hindus have joined hands against the minority Muslims particularly after the war of

Independence 1857. The socio-economic and the religio-political conditions of the Muslims were extremely poor and their persecution on the part of Hindus had no limits. But these considerations were only of secondary importance and the real feeling of insecurity was regarding their faith. One may conclude easily from the words of many Muslim leaders of freedom struggle that the socio-economic and religious considerations were not contradictory to each other instead they complemented each other.

When All India Muslim League was established in 1906, the central point of the speeches of the Muslim delegates was protection of their faith. Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk pointed out in his opening speech 'that presume if the British leave India for good in the coming times, then the government of India would be occupied by the majority Hindus. Then, our life, our possessions, our honour and our faith will all be in excessive risk' (Peerzada, 1969: 4). Although the words life, possessions and honour may be described as material but without these the Muslims would become third class citizens. And how could the people of such status protect their religion. "That is how; one may conclude straightforwardly that the creation of Pakistan was identical to service of Islam." (Salik, 1997:22)

If the motive behind the mass participation in Pakistan movement was socio-economic, even then it was not contradictory to the religious ideology because religion Islam is the only discipline which provides principles and practical guidance in all the walks of life. Islam promotes equality, tolerance, democracy and social justice throughout the land. So if the Muslims of pre-partition India were desirous to up lift their economic and political status, if they wanted justice and fair play and if they wanted to emancipate themselves from all sorts of exploitation, then it was purely a religious behavior. Islam has totally rejected injustice, inequality and dictatorship. So making struggle to promote all such principles for the benefit of mankind is a sacred duty of every Muslim. It was therefore, the Muslims of subcontinent gathered together during the freedom movement to serve this noble cause.

After the war of independence 1857, the Muslims of India were living a very miserable life. Not only the British were hostile but also their own countrymen Hindus were more hostile. One form of their hostility was reflected in Urdu-Hindi controversy of 1867, Hindu reactions towards partition of Bengal in 1905 and atrocities of Congress ministries in 1937. The other form was Hindu extremist movements and organizations like Arya Samaj, Shudi, Sangton and Mahasabha. In all the two types of struggles the hatred and prejudice against the Muslims were based on religious dissimilarity. In such circumstances the Muslims had two options with them. Either to surrender and accept Hindu's hegemony and became subservient to them or to make struggle to get rid of this third-rate citizenship. The former was not tolerable to the followers of Islam so they opted for the latter one.

The religious thought of the main leaders of the Pakistan movement had given full confidence to the Muslims of India. The works of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal and Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah had inculcated in them a religious spirit and they started visualizing a state where they could find opportunity to live in accordance with the principles of Islam. Democracy, social justice and economic wellbeing all are the characteristics of an Islamic welfare state. Quaid-i-Azam's words that 'democracy is in our blood, Pakistan be a people's government and no sympathy for the capitalists but for the poor people' (Peerzada, 1969: 424-25). Jinnah has borrowed all such thoughts from the religion. That was why the people from all over the subcontinent keeping their regional, racial, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, social and even sectarian difference aside, become united under the flag of Muslim League headed by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

When Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution was passed on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940, the Muslims representatives from all the regions, including Muslim majority as well as Muslim minority, actively participated in the event to make it an unprecedented success. This event had projected a strong national integration because the people of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, Baluchistan and Bengal resolved to fight for establishment of a separate Muslim state. That was a man for Bengal, Hussain Shaheed Soharwardi, who proposed a

single state in 1946 under Delhi Resolution, instead of two separate Muslim states. The bond among the divergent ethnic and social group was nothing but Islam.

Everyone was confident enough that no Islamic welfare state can deviate from the principles of democracy, equality and social justice. The words of Jinnah at various occasions were a guarantee from them. That is why they extended their unconditional support in freedom movement. Bad luck of the state as well as of the nation that the founder (father) of Pakistan, who was a guarantor and a man of words, died just after about one year of creation of Pakistan and before real consolidation of the state in to one whole. After his demise Liaquat Ali Khan tried to keep intact the divergent ideas and considerations but he too was assassinated in 1951 during a public meeting.

The vacuum created due to the loss of genuine leadership was filled by well-organized non democratic forces. They deviated from the actual ideological foundation and pushed the country into troubled waters. Not only the religious thought was put aside but also the socio-economic wellbeing and equal distribution of resources were not managed fairly and justly. Consequently negative ideologies started emerging and the real ideology started deteriorating.

Creation of Pakistan was not less than a miracle because it came into being in the areas which were not even completely contiguous geographically. The ethnic and cultural dissimilarities were in abundance. 'It is unusual that state can be steadily established in lands populated by many tribes and groups. The explanations are that in such land there will be a multiplicity of views and predispositions.' (Issawi, 1950: III). However religion is the only force which can overcome all such considerations subject to followed and implemented with letter and spirit. The people might remain united unless they convinced regarding injustice and discrimination. If the state is founded on popular support and the state system fulfil the promises made during the times of struggle even partial fulfilment can prepare the members to fight and to dies for each

other. And if the state system is otherwise then its members may fight against each other.

## **4.1 PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN**

After Second World War many geographical and political changes occurred on the globe. A process of decolonization had started and many new states emerged on the world map. The colonial powers like Britain and France were ready to accept a democratic and secular system in the newly born states. When Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947, it surprised the western nations ‘that the Muslim majority areas of India, had become separated to set up a new state Pakistan with the chief target of defending the benefits of its Muslim citizens and to provide them an opportunity to live according to Islamic mode of life.’ (Sayeed, 1980:1). This religious outlook of Pakistan was a point of great concern for the western people.

Geographically Pakistan was a unique country because of its two wings, East and West Pakistan, divided by more than a thousand miles of Indian Territory. Many observers were taking it as unbearable burden on the cause of national integration. Few “others saw East and West Pakistan as budding separate countries, separated by space, language, culture and unavoidable ends.” (Wilcox, 1970:117). The social patterns in the interior Sindh, Southern Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan were quite different than that of East Bengal. In these areas of West Pakistan ‘every five miles or so was the dynasty of a tribal or religious leader, who preserved a group of malefactors to impose his sway on his poorer fellow citizens.’ (Darling, 1932: 103). Most of those tribal and religious leaders were the loyal to the British masters and hence remained opponents to the cause of independent Pakistan. Majority of them joined Pakistan movement only at the final stage as no other option had left behind to protect their vested interests.

The death of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan during the early years of Pakistan provided an opportunity to all those tribal, religious and feudal to manipulate the political and constitutional authority. With their involvement in the decision making process, the system emerged has nothing to do with the actual objectives of Pakistan.

Rather a clear deviation from the thought of its founding fathers could be seen in the policies adopted at that time. Grievances of injustice and exploitation in East Pakistan had started. The issue of Pukhtonistan and FATA was also indicating about some sort of disintegration. Unrest among the Baluch tribes and some regional voices in Sindh were also giving negative messages to the ideological thoughts. Cultural issues like Bengali-Urdu controversy and Mahajir-local debates had further pushed the country into troubled waters.

Some other types of polarization had also emerged to make the society divide. A state of opposition between, religious and secular, conservatives and liberal, national and provincial, urban and rural, Shias and Sunnis could be seen just after the creation of Pakistan. However the bifurcation of society into extremists and moderates is relatively a new phenomenon that Pakistan is facing since the last two decades.

“Religion has played, and perhaps will continue to play a major role in moulding human consciousness” (Chopra, 1994: 1). The power of religious integration was shown by the Muslims of subcontinent during Khilafat movement launched to support Ottomans of Turkey in their struggle against Allied Forces during World War One. At that time majority of the big landlords of West Pakistani areas were supported by the British government because the worst form of exploitation of the Muslims peasants by the hands of the feudal was tolerated by the rulers. These poor Muslims peasants were helpless but ‘there were the prospects of severe reaction on their part in the name of Islamic unity’ (Sayeed, 1980:8).

Many spiritual leaders being custodian of shrines of well-known Sufis and saints supported by some learned scholars like Allama Iqbal were worried about the decline of Islam in subcontinent. They were also against the supremacy of Muslims politics by the pro-British landowners. When these pro-British landlords tried to come closer to Jinnah during the decade of 30s, Jinnah was well aware of them and always took them as the retainers of the British. And Jinnah’s fear latter come true when due to the role of such pro-British landowners, Muslim league could not perform well in the elections of 1937.

After these elections Jinnah reached to the conclusion that there should be unity among the followers of Islam even in the political field as well. It was therefore he signed an agreement with the pro-British unionist party despite Allama Iqbal's disliking there to. Jinnah clarifies his intentions in his letter to Iqbal. 'I want to pull those [Muslims] up step by step and before making them run I want to be certain they are adept of upright on their own legs.' (Dawn, 25 December, 1955). After this development Jinnah succeeded to make Muslim League stronger and on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 the biggest achievement up till that time came in the credit of Muslim League and Jinnah

After the passage of Lahore or Pakistan Resolution the poor and the middle-class Muslims became convinced that the state based on Islam would improve their standards of life as well. So they took part in Pakistan Movement with great enthusiasm and the election results of 1946 were a sufficient proof of Jinnah's wisdom and people's unity. As Jinnah had a target to get an independent country for the Muslims of India thus he focused more on the solidarity of the Muslims belonging to different ideologies. He attempted to bring together the various ideologies into Islamic ideology.

It was due to this cause that Jinnah asked a religious organization, Jamiatul Ulma-i-Islam to set up its organization in Punjab as well. In this way All India Muslim League was successful to bring the moderated unionists as well as the religious orientations like Peers, Mashaikhs and Ulema under the banner of Islam. It was due to this factor that the masses did vote for all those who associated themselves with Muslim League. The main thought behind this unprecedented support was that 'there would be a government of the Quran in Islamic Pakistan. The devotees of the Muslim League created the only Islamic community and all those who opposed Pakistan could not justly be called the members of that particular community' (Sayyed, 1980:14).

With this specific background when Pakistan came into being in 1947, there had no option left behind except to implement a pure and true Islamic model of government here. Because only Islamic Pakistan might be able to overcome the diversity present in the Muslims of this region. The British had intentionally created strong

feeling of ethnicity, communalism and regionalism in Muslim majority areas to bring them under their imperial administrative system. But Jinnah had changed the entire game plan of the British by uniting all the regional, ethnic and sectarian groups under the umbrella of religion.

That is why the manipulators, seculars and opportunistic leaders could not refrain themselves to join Muslim League. Such leaders started confronting the promise of an Islamic state. They became a source of delay in constitution making by giving arguments in favour of a secular Pakistan. After the death of the Quaid-i-Azam they succeeded to occupy the key positions of decision making. So no real Islamic model of the state could be established. This led to reemergence of ethnic, regional, sectarian and even separatist groups. And the process of disintegration progressed which ultimately resulted in dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971.

#### **4.1.1 DISINTEGRATION OF EAST PAKISTAN**

Being a Muslim majority region East Bengal had played a pivotal role in Pakistan movement. All India Muslim League, which led the entire freedom struggle, was established in Dacca in 1906. The famous Lahore Resolution was presented by a popular Bengali leader Molvi A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq in 1940. Later on in 1946 another Bengali leader Hussain Shaheed Soharwardi presented Delhi Resolution in which he proposed Pakistan would consist of Punjab, NWFP, Baluchistan and East Bengal. In this way those were Bengalis who joined themselves with North West Muslim majority areas to constitute one state of Pakistan.

Despite a lot of cultural differences the main political leaders of Bengal joined All India Muslim League and strengthened Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Impotent Bengali leaders who supported Muslim league for the cause of independence were Nawab Khawaja Habib Ullah of Dacca, Khawaja Nazimuddin, Hussain Shaheed Soharwardi, Tamizuddin Khan, A.K, Fazal ul Haq and M.A.H. Ispahani. All these leaders might have divergent views regarding the internal politics of Bengal but 'most of

the Bengalis have come under the banner of the Muslim League, which was fundamentally controlled by the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, (Wilcox, 1970: 128).

‘Jinnah’s optimistic approach was thinking consistently that the multiplicities of cultures, classes, groups and factions would all be vanished in the Islamic state of Pakistan if definite form of state machinery were built promptly and meticulously’ (Sayeed, 1980: 25). The technique of erection the state operates speedily was that of Islamic social justice. Earlier the religion had played a major role towards social and political integration of the Muslim community in Pakistan movement.

So everyone in the newly built Pakistan was expecting social equality and economic wellbeing on Islamic patterns. But his social justice of Islam was perhaps not acceptable to those opportunists who to secure their own vested interest, had joined Muslim League during the last phase of freedom movement. Jinnah was well aware of such people particularly in the newly established Pakistan. Looking into their intentions Jinnah had to focus on state building rather than on nation building.

National integration was subjected to pursuing religious thought. Due to this factor the nation had integrated for a limited time period of freedom struggle. The people had firm belief in establishment of a state which was to be governed in accordance with the principles of religion. They had complete trust in the words and personality of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. They had forgotten all their mutual differences based on social, ethnic and sectarian grounds. They were so excited to live in an independent Islamic state that millions of Muslim migrated towards Pakistan leaving behind all their material interests.

The biggest migration had also traced its inspiration from the migration of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) for the sake of Islam. Under this motivation they had sacrificed thousands of lives and left their homes for good. Nothing was required except to create a religious order in the newly born country without any unnecessary delay and

compromise. They were convinced that their real emancipation is in establishment of an Islamic order. They had nothing to do with the nomenclature and diction of the constitution but it must be designed under the spirit of Quran and Sunnah.

After the death of Quaid-i-Azam the spirit of Pakistan movement died down rapidly. In the early days of Pakistan people of both the wings were so infused with the spirit of national integration that they would have agreed to any system without inquiring. But this valued time was vanished in hedging and arguing. With the passage of time nationalist spirits began to diminish and narrow-minded interests came to dictate' (Salik, 1997:36).

The main sources of disintegration were unnecessary delay in the constitution making, stagnation of political process and the status of Islam in Pakistan. The policy makers were wasting their energies in finding that "how much Islam should be sprinkled on the otherwise secular constitution to make it tolerable to all quarters." (Ibid). Due to these confusions the issue of distributions of authority ascended between the two wings. Numerically province of East Bengal weighed heavier than the total strength of all units of West Pakistan.

Under the environment of political stagnation few leaders from East Pakistan came forward and started making their own way. The founder party Muslim League had become unpopular in East Pakistan due to its poor performance in managing the state affairs. In pre-partition India, the Hindu majority and the British government constituted the main opposition of the Muslim League. In their presence or under their threat the Muslim League remained united but the situation completely changed after independence as Muslim League had no formal opposition in and even outside the Assembly.

There is a phrase that the weakest person is the one who has no rivals so without any opposition Muslim League did not have the tendency to face any political challenge. Actually the politics of Muslim League was confined only among the top

political elite where common people were excluded. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam Muslim League did lose direct contact with public. This led to increase in the frustration among East Pakistanis and H.S. Soharwardi founded his own political party and to attract the masses it was named as Awami Muslim League. Latter on this party was renamed as Awami League. The word Muslim was dropped from the nomenclature to disassociate it from Muslim League and to attract the masses from minorities and other communities as well.

In his life Quaid-i-Azam had warned many times, against the dangers of provincialism and partisanship for East or West Pakistan. But with his death 'at the time when it was most required to redirect regional and particular distrusts into a constant determination for the collective virtuous' (Williams, 1962:137). This had created a vacuum of real political leadership. The successors of Jinnah 'fixed their devotion, not upon the essentials of the nation, but on struggle for power, influence and the rewards of office.' (Ibid: 136).

H.S. Soharwardi wanted his share of authority so he joined hands with Pir of Manki Sharif from NWFP and established Awami League. Their intention was to become an opposition of Muslim League. Initially Liaquat Ali Khan and then Khawaja Nazimuddin tried to minimize their political influence by focusing more on resolving the issues of East Pakistan. Khawaja Nazimuddin advocated the federal constitution and adoption of Urdu only as a national language to show unity.

The language controversy had its roots in 1948, when Quaid-i-Azam on his visit to East Pakistan had delivered a speech at a public meeting at Dacca on March 21, 1948. He said "without one national language, no state can remain tied up firmly together and operate. Look at the account of other nations. Hence, so far as the state language is concerned, Pakistan's language is going to be Urdu." (Jinnah 1989: 83). In this speech Jinnah has clearly mentioned that Bengali might be the language of this province but the decision was to be made by elected representatives of the people to consolidate the Muslim League party to build up a great and glorious Pakistan.

Under this confidence the leaders of Muslim league from East Pakistan like Nazimuddin and Nurul Amin were interested to make Urdu as national language. In 1951 Khawaja Nazimuddin –The Prime Minister- resolved to make Urdu as a national language. The statement was severely criticized by the leaders of East Pakistan. In February 1952 the students of Dacca came out with their demand for the protection of their language and culture. Unfortunately the issue was mishandled by the provincial government and as a result of police firing seven students were died while more than 20 injured. Many others were arrested. Consequently Khawaja Nazimuddin and Nurul Amin the two weak leaders of the Muslim League party in East Pakistan became unpopular there.

Taking the advantage of the situation leaders like H.S. Soharwardi not only strengthened his Awami League but also propagated his specific ideology and demanded joint electorates and secular politics to win the sympathies of non-Muslims of East Pakistan. He also demanded that Islam in Pakistan should be thought in wider, confederal terms. Khawaja Nazimuddin's weak personality and Nurul Amin's feeble administration had made Muslim League more defenseless and exposed than ever before and the political challengers like Soharwardi, A.K. Fazalul Haq and Bhashni posed a serious political threat. They started demanding complete provincial autonomy.

At the same time situation became very crucial in Punjab when frustrated religious people due to neglect of their religious expectations, started Khatam-i-Nabuwat movement against Qadianis and Martial law was to be imposed in Lahore in 1953. After few months Khawaja Nazimuddin was dismissed as Prime Minister and succeeded by another East Pakistani Muhammad Ali Bogra.

Muhammad Ali Bogra at the time of his appointment was Pakistan's ambassador to United States and had no political base at all. He could not counter the political thrust by the prominent East Pakistani leaders, Soharwardi, Fazalul Haq and Bhashani. In the meantime elections of the Provincial Assemblies were held in 1954. In

these elections Soharwardi, Fazalul Haq and Bhashani made a joint front against Muslim League. In spite of government party, Muslim League could win only 10 seats against 212 of United Front in the house of 309. Nurul Amin, the sitting chief minister was overpowered by a contender of no fame. Resultantly United Front came in power in East Pakistan. But its ministry was soon dismissed by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad after Fazalul Haq's controversial speech.

The politics that had its roots in the people was not allowed to flourish in Pakistan in general and in East Pakistan in particular. At that time all the power game was in the hands of bureaucrats who might be talented but had nothing to do with the real religious ideology of Pakistan movement. Their secular outlook took the country away from pursuance of religious thought that led to disintegration in all the walks of life.

West Pakistani political leaders particularly the landlords with the help of religio-political leaders started propaganda against East Pakistanis that Bengali Muslim leaders were not completely loyal to Pakistan. Due to their demand of complete provincial autonomy, Bengali as national language, promotion of Tagore as a national poet and cultural influences from Hindu ideas, they were suspected as 'mediocre community who required to be refined even more severely. This is a monolithic and an impractical vision of religion' (Syed, 1980: 67). The matter of contention between East and West Pakistan was that of absentee landlordship.

During Pakistan movement Quaid-i-Azam had promised to abolish absentee landlordism in Pakistan. While delivering his address to All India Muslim League in 1943, he had warned the landlords and capitalists. 'Here I would like to give a caution to the landlords and the capitalists who thrived at our cost by a system which is so nasty, which is so wicked and which makes them so self-seeking that it is hard to argue with them. The manipulation of the common people has gone into their clan. They have overlooked the message of Islam' (Ahmed, 1960: 507).

This absentee landlordism was abolished in East Pakistan. Most of the Bengali leaders belonged to middle class. In the second Constituent Assembly of

Pakistan majority of the members from West Pakistan were landlords whereas most of the representatives from East Pakistan were lawyers and retired teachers. It was due to this factor when members of the assembly from East Pakistan tried to pass a bill which might have eliminated absentee landlordism from West Pakistan but the landlords of West Pakistan made their attempt unsuccessful. 'They picked up the services of the religio-political leaders to save their land-holdings by misconstruing the teachings of Islam' (Shehab,1990: 217). Ignoring the real teachings of Islam, those religio-political leaders tried to prove that absentee landlordism is not contradictory to the teachings of Islam.

'Religion of Islam was a possible force to bind the nation but nobody even the advocates of the Islamic system were honest about the execution of the Islamic system' (Ibid). The implementation of Islamic system would have capacity to minimize the grievances between different segments of society. But attempts to manipulate the Islamic thought and religious ideology by the leaders and the constitution makers proved counterproductive and the people in both the wings particularly in East Pakistan became annoyed with any religious slogan.

When the provincial government of Fazalul Haq was dissolved by the central government, despite its representative position. 'The Bengalis had more justification to be doubtful that they had not won freedom when the British India was divided, but instead had tumbled under another form of imperialism' (Ziring, 1980: 49). After such thinking the cultural issues were transformed into a political movement and the voices of complete independence were heard throughout East Pakistan.

The bureaucrat rulers of Pakistan used all their "talent" and tactics to keep the state intact but nobody tried to understand the socio-political problems which were increasing day by day. 'Likewise, whenever the Bengalis tried to register their complaints regarding discriminations and prejudices, they supposed West Pakistani politicians as proposing them not any compensation of their distresses but discourses on Islamic brotherhood and solidarity' (Jawad:1999: 33).

Islam had been the central point and a binding force throughout freedom movement. The Bengali Muslims despite their secular tendencies had adopted and supported the Islamic ideology with the hope that it would help them in resolving all their issues related to social, economic, political and cultural interests. Therefore they fully supported Quaid-i-Azam in his struggle to create an Islamic state. Although the interpretation of Islamic state in both the wings of Pakistan was totally different yet both were convinced that the new state would provide them full protection from all forms of exploitation in all the walks of life.

They had complete and unshakeable trust in Jinnah's personality. This trust remained intact unless Jinnah died in 1948 and his successors 'failed dejectedly in endorsing the shared Pakistani scheme or in adjusting Islam' (Ali,1992: 70). The political leaders, who themselves were deeply divided, were trying to satisfy the people by referring to the feelings of Islamic brotherhood. Their strive was only for personal interests and political power. 'The Bengalis, therefore, assumed that religion was being used by unconfident and biased regimes in pre divided Pakistan to betray the people' (Jawed,1999: 33).

After Quaid's death and till the dismemberment of East Pakistan, there emerged new political leadership, who were not ready to trust any discourse of Islam "not only as a guide to political deed but also as a root of national identity." (Jawed,1999: 34). When Ayub Khan came into power as a result of military coup in October 1958, he used the term "revolution" for his act of take over. Majority of the masses of both wings welcomed Ayub's takeover. "Ayub was considered as the last optimism for a unified Pakistan." (Chaudhary, 1988: 28).

The people had full confidence in the institution of armed forces that they were capable enough to restore Pakistan's true identity. The religious outlook of Pakistan movement placed the armed forces of Pakistan closer to the early armies of Muslims which had always fought for the sake of Islam rather than for worldly gains. 'It

is exciting to note that while the inspiration and morals of the Pakistan armed forces remained religious, their real business and bearings, after independence, fixed to the British arrangements' (Salik, 1997: 65). Such paradox not specific with the armed forces but the whole state system reflected identical dichotomy.

After taken over Ayub Khan clarified his position that 'the Army arrived in politics with great unwillingness but with the completest persuasion that there was no substitute to it except the disintegration and complete destruction of the state' (Shehab, 1990: 121). The acceptance and excitement of the people can be judged by the reaction of a Pakistani abroad over Ayub's take over. The story has been cited by L.F. Rushbrook William, Eastern Services Director with BBC and member of the Editorial staff of The Times, in his book "the state of Pakistan". "A young Pakistani on a course England was staying with us. When he heard on the radio the announcement about President Iskandar Mirza's departure, he jumped from his chair in his excitement ran across the drawing room and embraced me, saying, 'now, you will see that things will go right.'" (Williams, 1962: 184)

Ayub Khan took many initiatives to make his people realize that his 'revolution' would bring the country on right track. Strict action was taken against corrupt and inefficient government officials. Many were dismissed from the services while others were retired compulsory or demoted. The corrupt politicians were also disqualified under PODO and EBDO. Under these orders more than 5000 politicians were debarred from taking part in politics. In 1961 he introduced Family Laws Ordinance and claimed to improve the status of women in society. This ordinance was bitterly opposed by the religious leaders.

Federal Capital was shifted from Karachi to a new constructed city Islamabad near Rawalpindi. Economic reforms were introduced in the form of second five-year plan. Land reforms were also announced. In the electoral process Ayub Khan introduced a unique local government system under the title of Basic Democracy (BD).

The presidential system had been introduced through constitution of 1962. He also defended the country against Indian aggression in 1965 war.

In spite of all such policy measures Ayub Khan remained unsuccessful to win the actual support and sympathies of the people of East Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan had accepted Ayub's coup halfheartedly because of Ayub's West Pakistan character and his ideological predisposition about Bengalis. Ayub had the opportunity to serve in East Pakistan after independence, Ayub wrote a note during political crises in 1954. In that note his remarks about the Bengalis were 'the Bengalis have been and still are under significant Hindu cultural and linguistic influence. As such they have all the embarrassments of oppressed races and have not yet found it promising to regulate emotionally to the necessities of a new born independence, (Khan,1967: 187).

'Later on when he became President, his ultimate attitude and elementary plans towards East Pakistan were prejudiced by the early descriptions' (Sayeed,1980: 75). The frustration of the Bengalis reached its apex when Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of the founder of Pakistan and was acknowledged as "Madar-i-Millat" (the mother of the nation), could not succeed in the presidential elections against Ayub Khan. Ayub was alleged of doing malpractices and rigging in these elections.

India tried to take full advantage of Pakistan's internal situation and their parliament passed the integration bill and converted the state of Jammu and Kashmir into a province of the Indian union. This development eventually led to 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. 'To secure the entire East Pakistan, there were installed only two divisions of the Pakistan Army. This triggered many in East Pakistan to think that their safety was of no prominence to the center.'" (Ahmad,1998: 286). Making the frustration of Bengalis a slogan, Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman, the successor of H.S. Soharwardi' demanded that two separate economic systems should be adopted for both the wings of the country. And soon he presented his six points in 1966 which was basically a demand for more autonomy [Appendix].

Ayub responded to announce the formula a programme for secession in the disguise of autonomy. During that time Indian media widely publicized Mujeeb's formula and incited the people of East Pakistan to join secessionists. The political parties of West-Pakistan rejected this formula. Sheikh Mujeeb declared that these points can be negotiated but "Mujeeb and more than thirty of his comrades were alleged of collaborating with India and more suspiciously with the America, to bring about the separation of East Pakistan" (Jalal, 1991:307). Mujeeb's arrest and trial made him more popular among Bengalis.

Mujeeb also blamed that East Pakistan was being robbed in order to feed West Pakistan. He had demanded a nationwide referendum on six points. 'The list of demands comprising the six points incorporated the reorganization of the state of Pakistan in accordance with the Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940, which visualized Pakistan as a loose confederation of entirely self-governing units' (Ali,1992: 44).

After six points Mujeeb was arrested and released many times. Each time his arrest made him a strong Bengali nationalist leader. After his arrest in Agartala conspiracy case, mass protest movement was started in East Pakistan and Ayub Khan had to withdraw the case but the damage had been done. Few years ago H.S. Soharwardi had also challenged Pakistan ideology with the argument that it "would keep alive within Pakistan the conflict-ridden communal feelings by which the subcontinent was fragmented before the accomplishment of freedom." (Soharwardi, 1957: 425).

Ayub Khan's strategy to consolidate the nation by combining "ideology and economic development aided by the West" (Haqani, 2005: 39), had warped in case of East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujeeb's six points in East Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's resignation, after Ayub signed Tashkent Agreement with India in 1966 where no mention of Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir was made, in West Pakistan brought the masses on roads. After violent demonstrations against his government, Ayub preferred to step down in 1969.

General Yahya Khan, then Army Chief abrogated the Constitution of 1962 and imposed martial law also became president and chief martial law administrative. The Bengalis once again felt deprivation when ‘instead of handing over authority to the speaker of the National Assembly, a Bengali, as mandatory by his own Constitution of 1962, Ayub Khan reverted the nation once again to martial law’ (Haqani, 2005: 50).

Unlike his predecessor, Yahya Khan announced to hold election, open to all political stakeholders. Yahya Khan was hopeful that political parties would maintain “The integrity of Pakistan and glory of Islam” (Ibid:53) and promised to leave after elections. Yahya Khan’s martial law was not very much strict as he permitted political parties and media to function normally if not freely. To win the confidence of East Pakistanis, Yahya took many initiatives like dissolution of one unit, East Pakistanis representation in the assembly in accordance with their numerical strength and elections on the principles of adult franchise system normally known as one man one vote.

He also appealed to the members of the civil society to support him in his endeavor to integrate the nation. The information ministry headed by General Sher Ali extensively propagated Islamic ideology to convey the possibility of Pakistan and Islam in danger. When on the occasion of defense day the message of the president was delivered, it reflected to religious implications. ‘They declared more like great clerics than combatants when they advised the people to re-dedicate themselves to the holy basis of safeguarding the security, cohesion, uprightness of the state and its ideology’ (Siddiqui,1996: 163). Yahya Khan appreciated Sher Ali for his attempts to promote Islamic ideology. In Yahya’s view ‘it was no wrongdoing to expound the religion. Wasn’t it the obligation of every Muslim, specifically one in power, to do so’ (Ibid: 157)

Election campaign was started in January 1970. In East Pakistan Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman, appealed to the masses on the basis of six points while in West Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) headed by Zulifqar Ali Bhutto sought votes with the slogan of “Roti, Kapra aur Makan” (food, clothing and

shelter), in the name of Islamic socialism. Jamaat-e-Islami as a religio-political party campaigned for the protection of Islamic ideology. Jamaat-e-Islami described Awami League as secular and Peoples Party as socialists. It also declared the both against the Islamic thought.

Some other religious leaders, who disagreed with JI's interpretation of Islam, formed their own political parties. JUI and JUP were among those who emerged during this election campaign. Intensified political polarization could be observed between the two wings of Pakistan. And the election results clearly brought out this polarization. Awami League won 160 seats out of 162 and PPP got 81 seats out of 138. Rest of the seats went to all other political parties. Awami League got clear majority not only in East Pakistan but also in overall National Assembly. PPP emerged as majority party of West Pakistan.

The point of concern for the nation was that neither of the two could win a single seat beyond their respective constituency. The country had politically divided in the wake of these first general elections. After the election results, both the parties hardened their stands. "Mujeeb said that the six points were no longer negotiable." (Mujeeb,1972: 36). Bhutto also responded that nothing could move without his support and cooperation. 'Both Mujeeb and Bhutto were greatly unpredictable and motivated persons. Both of them identified how to play upon the people's fresh sentimentalities and grow political investment out of it' (Salik, 1997:109).

Unfortunately due to the uncompromising attitude of the politician the session of the National Assembly could never be convened. This delay in the transfer of power to the chosen representatives of the masses resulted in a call for strike by Mujeeb. The whole administration of East Pakistan became paralyzed and there erupted a civil war. Immediately Mujeeb was arrested on the charge of treason and brought to West Pakistan. An army crackdown had started against Awami League.

As a reaction to this the East Bengal regiment of Pakistan army revolted. Bengali youth trained by India known as "Mukti Bahini (the freedom-fighters) also

made attacks on Pak-Army. India took full advantage of this civil war and invaded East Pakistan on December 1971. The Pakistan army surrendered on December 16, 1971 before Indian command and East Pakistan became an independent and sovereign state of Bangladesh.

The dismemberment of East Pakistan to become Bangladesh was the most tragic event in Pakistan's history. After this humiliating defeat at the hands of traditional enemy Pakistan reduced to half. Its ego-political role had also changed in the region. The country created by Quaid-e-Azam on August 14, 1947 was no more existed on December 16, 1971.

Obviously it was not the failure of religious ideology which emphasized on equality and social justice but it was the failure of political system which was not based upon Islamic thought. 'Frequent mentions about the requirement for Islamic comradeship in the face of Indian conspiracies could not adjust a progression which in 1971 ran to civil war and from there to the creation of the liberated People's Republic of Bangladesh' (Ziring,1980: 49).

Religious thoughts based upon justice on one hand and in sacrifice on the other. Without this national integration would never be possible. The West Pakistan could not do justice while the East Pakistan was lacking the feelings of sacrifice. East Pakistanis took governmental policies as deliberate effort to keep East Pakistan backward and to maintain West Pakistan's supremacy. Religion could integrate the diverse societies only if followed and implemented with letter and spirit. 'Factually speaking though the West Pakistani governance was definitely at fault, the determination to endure a joint Pakistan was also dejectedly absent in East Pakistan, but this was most undoubtedly not an inborn sensitivity. It was an outcome of the established circumstances. (Ahmad,1998: 287)

## 4.2 ETHNICITY AND SUB NATIONALISM IN PAKISTAN

Religion has been and forever it is, a binding force for the Muslims all over the world in general and in Pakistan in particular. Although social and cultural disgrace, political neglect and economic exploitation were the reasons behind creation of Pakistan yet the revival of Islamic state and society too were the very strong factors behind its inception.

That was religion which had bound together all the Muslims of subcontinent irrespective of their cultural, ethnic, regional and sectarian diversities. They had a dream to establish such a state and society where justice and fair play would be meant in the pure Islamic context. They were expecting the spirit of early Caliphate of Islam in this newly established Muslim state. For this very reason they struggled and sacrificed for Pakistan.

Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah was ready to adopt a model which could base on justice and fairplay and which could make Pakistan a strong Islamic welfare state. The ideology of the whole nation was to ‘discover and accept everlasting doctrines and exercises from the history of Islam which produce motivation and ethical strength to resolve our complications.’ (Ahmad,1978: 128).

Islamic religious thought based upon acceptance and implementation of glorious Islamic principles in totality and being selective or partial implementation has neither been appreciated nor required to establish an Islamic state and society. During Pakistan movement the basis of Muslim nationalism was Islamic ideology. But soon after the creation of Pakistan a vacuum created due to the death of Quaid-e-Azam and unnecessary delay in the implementation of Islamic socio-political order.

The ruling elites, the landlords, civil and military bureaucrats were making efforts, consciously or subconsciously to subjugate maximum authority by applying all means fair or otherwise. They wanted to make a secular constitution by sprinkling the essence of Islam to make it acceptable to all quarters.

The expectations of the people were so high due to the image created during Pakistan movement that they demanded instant measures to be adopted to fulfill the promises made at that time. They started complaining of suffering, poverty, sickness and sorrows of their respective regions. They were not contented to the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions of the country. The feeling of suppression and exploitation were rising and the nationalism based on religious ideology was fragmented into number of nationalisms. ‘The harmony confirmed earlier to August 1947 could not be continued. The zones and provinces of Pakistan required to hold their distinctiveness and even though linked together in a shared conviction, they asserted upon emphasizing their more private racial features. (Ziring, 1980:45).

The early managers of the state belonged to the Muslim League party could not employ productive efforts to counter these ethnic and subnational inclinations. Due to these organic thoughts toughness between the center and constituting units had occurred. With the passage of time the cultural issues were highly politicized by the regional parties and posed a serious threat to the national integration. Instead of developing understanding of such issues the government tried to neutralize the emotions by shifting its support from one political party to another.

This manipulation polarized the whole structure and various kinds of problems had created. The ethnicity and sub nationalism in Bengal resulted in dismemberment of East Pakistan and creation of independent Bangladesh. The process of formation of ethnic and subnational ideologies has not ended in rest of the Pakistan despite the irreparable loss of East Pakistan. The counter ideologies in Baluchistan KPK, Sindh and in the tribal areas have posed a serious threat to the existence of Pakistan.

#### **4.2.1 ETHNICITY AND SUBNATIONALISM IN BALUCHISTAN**

Area wise Baluchistan is the biggest province of Pakistan but with reference to population it is the smallest one. There prevails a lot of diversity ethnically in Baluchistan as many of the Baluchi tribes are living in other parts of the country like Karachi and Punjab on the other hand Pukhton tribes are also living in Baluchistan.

Major languages are Baluchi, Brahvi and Pushtu. So within Baluchi nationalism there are tendencies of further sub nationalisms in Baluchistan as well.

Politically most of the areas of Baluchistan are under tribal influence and economically they are underdeveloped. Majority of the population of Baluchistan are extremely poor but their tribal chiefs are financially very strong. The Baluchi and Brahvi areas are under the influence of tribal chiefs while the Pukhtoon areas are conservative and the influence of religious parties like JUI is very strong.

In Pakistani political culture, generally personalities dominate the political scene. Normal political behavior of the people of Pakistan is to depend upon their leaders. This trend in the tribal society of Baluchistan is stronger than elsewhere. This can be concluded in case of Baluchistan that people are neither nationalistic nor ideological but relatively tribal in their socio-political decisions. During the Pakistan movement only few leaders could join Quaid-i-Azam at an early stage. But when Quaid-i-Azam paid personal attention to Baluchistan and visited this area few more people from the urban areas joined him. Mostly these were the tribal leaders who extended their support for independent Pakistan and the masses just followed.

The religious sentiments of the masses of Baluchistan were not as strong as in rest of the Muslims of the subcontinent, towards creation of an Islamic state. However they supported the cause after all they belonged to the same community and were happy if there created a Muslim dominated state. Hindus attitude was obviously before them so they preferred a Muslim state rather becoming subservient to non-Muslims. When under June 3<sup>rd</sup> plan the Shahi Jirga and members of the Quetta municipality were required to decide about the future of Baluchistan, they met and unanimously decided to join a new Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

Baluchistan was not given the status of a complete province till LFO of General Yahya Khan in 1970. Initially it was the part of federation as a state and then in 1955 it was merged into One Unit. When during the period of Yahya Khan, One Unit was dissolved; Baluchistan was given the status of full province. During 1970-71

elections NAP won more seats than JUI. NAP was dominated by Baluch leaders while JUI was under the influence of Pukhtoon conservative candidates.

After dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto became the ruler of left over Pakistan. Bhutto's PPP had not performed well in 1970 elections in Baluchistan so the provincial government was formed by NAP and other regional parties. Bhutto had the information that some powers were trying to create a Greater Azad Baluchistan consisted of "the Baluchistan of Pakistan, Iran and small strip of another country." (Bhutto,1977: 42)

"So he informed the government through a letter and directed to put down this movement." (White paper on Baluchistan, 1974: 10). But the provincial government's performance in this regard was not up to the expectations of Mr. Bhutto. Therefore he removed the Governor, Mir. Ghous Baksh Bizenjo and dismissed Chief minister Sardar Ataullah Khan Mengal on February 14, 1973 and appointed Nawab Akbar Bugti as new Governor of Baluchistan. The result of this was an armed struggle by the tribal people and a guerrilla war began. "The Baloch displeasure was also insincerely encouraged by the tribal sardars to guard their feudal honors by sponsoring direct empathy with the separatist origin. (Mahmood,n.d:343)

Although Baluchistan is underdeveloped yet it is rich in mineral resources like coal, iron, gas and many others. On the other hand its geographical importance is utmost essential for Pakistan's stability and integrity. That is why when Khan of Kalat tried to declare independence in 1947, Pakistan rejected it and annexed it through military action. Brother of Khan was arrested when he revolted against Pakistan in 1950. Again in 1958 just before Ayub Khan took over, army action was taken against Zehri tribes and few were hanged on treason charges. (Harrison ,1996: 28).

This was third time when Mr. Bhutto decided to check Baluch insurgency by army action. "It is in the nature of the nation-state that it concerns anxieties for regional and ethnic independence as provincialism, tribalism and narrow nationalism. The nation-state identifies only one form of nationalism as genuine and that is the

nationalism of the state itself.” (Khan,2005:118-119). As Pakistan’s Nationalism based on religious ideology so there was no space for counter-ideologies. In the military action of 1973, more than three thousand army men and more than five thousand Baloch guerillas were killed’ (Sayeed, 1980: 118)

It was very difficult to handle the issue of Baluchistan because its society was based on local and tribal interest. It was very difficult if not impossible to create equilibrium between the interest of underdeveloped people and their tribal chiefs particularly when most of the area of the province was not fully under state authority. Whenever state had tried to bring these areas under their control a severe resistance was to be faced. In retaliation to military actions Baluchistan’s youth particularly BSO started violent activities against settlers. The situation remained tense during the period of Bhutto but after Zia took over, the measures were taken to normalize the situation. General Zia tried to attract the Baluch nationalists through his emphasis on Islam but they had little attraction in this.

After the fall of Soviet Union (USSR) in Afghanistan the Baluch nationalists remained dormant. After General Musharraf’s military coup in 1999 and his efforts to explore oil and gas in Baluchistan to manage country’s poor economy, ‘here once again radicalized the separatists in Baluchistan.” (Khan,op.cit:124) with the assistance of some anti-Pakistan forces the Baluch nationalists are becoming active once again. Few of their leaders are sitting abroad and patronizing a separatist organization called BLA. The situation has become more aggravated with the killing of Nawab Akbar Bughti in the hands of law enforcement agencies. Zardari and Nawaz Sharif regimes too are unsuccessful to convince the Baluch ethnic and subnational groups to become believers of ideological nationalism based on Islam.

#### **4.2.2 ETHNICITY AND SUBNATIONALISM IN PUKHTOON AREAS**

The quantum of ethnic and subnational feelings in Pukhtoon areas is comparatively low due to the fact perhaps that they have been shareholders in the power

structure of the country. They have always been very strong in the civil and military bureaucracy of Pakistan. Millions of Pukhtoon population has been residing on both sides of Durand Line (Pak-Afghan border) since centuries. The Pakistani territory along the border called FATA while towards east of FATA is located province of Khaiber Pukhton Khawa (KPK) previously called North West Frontier Province (NWFP).

A sizable Pukhtoon population is residing in Baluchistan and Karachi as well. Majority of the Pukhtoons are religiously conservative in their thinking. An interesting feature of this community is that a secular movement Khudai Khidmatgar under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan (Bacha Khan) had also emerged there during the colonial period. In spite of Bacha Khan's pro-congress and secular popularity the people of NWFP decided in favour of Muslim League in elections of 1946 and then in favour of Pakistan through a referendum conducted by the British in 1947 under June 3<sup>rd</sup> Plan.

There were multiple reasons behind Pukhtoon support for Pakistan. The major one was the Islamic ideology. Although Bacha Khan and his brother Dr, Khan Sahib were striving for the success of pro-congress leaders in NWFP and in tribal areas but the Pukhtoon Muslim majority was not ready to come under the influence of Hindus. That is why when Nehru visited these areas, with the assistance of Khan Brothers, in 1946 he was greeted with black flags and anti-congress slogans and there were fears for his life." (Azad, 1959:171). The Muslim league appealed to the people for Islamic unity while congress strategy was based on ethnic feelings. The religious leaders of the region like Pir of Manki Sharif and Pir of Zakori Sharif also supported Muslim League and then in referendum of 1947, without their support the Muslim League would not have been able to succeed.

Here the religious feelings had dominated over ethnic feelings. After this Khan Brothers came up with the idea of independent Pukhtonistan. But soon they realized their failure and "declared that their demand for Pukhtonistan did not mean an independent state but an autonomous province within Pakistan, where Pukhtoons would

have the freedom to live their life according to their social and cultural norms, without the domination of Punjabis.” (Azad, 1988:213).

However after the separation of East Pakistan the demand became alive again when Ajmal Khan Khatak, the secretary general of NAP “demanded that a separate and independent state of Pukhtonistan on the model of Bangladesh be established.” (Ahmad, 1975:85). This might be considered the frustration of NAP when it remained unsuccessful in the provincial elections of 1971 with their ethnic appeal and JUI obtained more seats with their Islamic appeal.

Pukhtoons inclination was clearly towards those parties who have come up with ideological nationalism. In 1970-71 election PML and JUI got maximum seats. The situation remained almost similar in 1977 elections. The politics of Pukhtoons has always been dominated by the nationalist parties like PML and PPP against the sub-nationalists like NAP or ANP. Also dominated by the religio-political parties like JUI and JI in the form of MMA. One of the ethnic demands of Pukhtoons has been accepted by Zardari government of PPP in the form of changing the name of their province NWFP with KPK. The acceptance of this demand is considered no threat to the national integration of Pakistan.

#### **4.2.3 ETHNICITY AND SUBNATIONALISM IN SINDH**

Sindh is one of the most important provinces of Pakistan due to its historical, geographical, economic and political perspective. Historically Pakistan’s national history starts from Sindh because of Muhammad Bin Qasim’s arrival here in 712 AD. By this reference Sindh is also known as “Bab-ul-Islam.” Geographically it is located towards south of the country along the costal line of Arabian Sea, which is the most important sea and regarded as warm waters. Karachi the main city of Sindh as well as of the country an economic hub and the only developed sea port of Pakistan.

Politically not only its city Karachi became the first Federal Capital of the state but also most of the heads of state and government, including Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Bhutto, Benazir, Zardari and Mamnoon Hussain belonged to this province.

Ethnically Sindh has been divided into two main categories. Urban Sindh like Karachi and Hyderabad and rural Sindh consisted of interior regions. The urban Sindh is dominated by Urdu speaking Muhajirs (migrants) and is most developed while the rural Sindh is dominated by Wadairas (feudal lords) but suffering from underdevelopment. "In no other region of Pakistan is the gulf between urban richness and rural poverty as widespread as it is in Sindh." (Khan, 2005: 127)

People of Sindh were on the forefront during Pakistan movement. Quaid-i-Azam himself was a Sindhi by birth. Sindh Muslim League was very much organized and showed more enthusiasm during Pakistan movement than their counterparts. Sindh assembly unanimously described in favour of Pakistan when they were required to make decision of their future under June 3<sup>rd</sup> plan in 1947. The spiritual leaders of Sindh like Pir of Pagara had played very important role to convince Sindhi people to extend their favour for independent Pakistan. The people of Sindh too have supported the cause of Pakistan under the influence of religious ideology. The feelings of ethnic and sub-nationalism, although very weak, emerged after independence because of deviation from creation of a just and fair state order according to the lines of religion.

The roots of ethnics awareness lies in Muslim League's campaign for the separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency. This demand was accommodated under Government of India Act 1935. Since then some of the Sindhi leaders like Allah Bakhsh Soomro had stuck to Sindh nationalist ideology. He remained against the Pakistan movement and also continued to convince other leaders like G.M. Syed not to support of Pakistan with a warning "you will have to face the Punjabi bureaucracy and soldiery, after Pakistan has come into being." (Sayed,1995: 46).

During Pakistan movement the Muslims have focused on religious identity because of the fear of non-Muslim rule "But quickly after independence, regional, ethnic and linguistic characteristics that lay resting among the Muslims were bound to surface." (Khan,op.cit; 137). The creation of One Unit in 1955 was the point when Sindhi felt that their identity might not preserve in the process. The nationalist leaders like G. M. Sayed demanded "self-determination and implied independence of Sindh."(Bhutto,1969: 188).

Sindhis saw One Unit scheme in the favour of Punjab only and an attempt to establish Punjab's domination over other provinces. Promotion of Urdu language in the urban areas particularly in Karachi was also seen as an effort to do away with Sindhi identity' (Ahmad,1998: 74).

Sindhis are more attached with the native language than any other regional languages of Pakistan. In 1958 when Sindhi was replaced by Urdu as a medium of instruction in Karachi particularly, the Sindhi ethnic groups opposed this unequivocally. The ethnic feelings further increased when at the time of construction of Kotri Barrage and then Guddu Barrage lands were allotted to non-Sindhis as well. "From 1958 to 1963, 75 percent of the allottees were non-sindhi." (sayed,1995:146)

Another point related to ethnicity and sub-nationalism with reference to Sindh is the influx of millions of refugees in Sindh. The language of most of the migrants settled in Sindh was Urdu and they were more qualified and skilled. They might be in better position to get jobs in government departments. The Sindhi nationalists had more sympathy with the Hindu community of Sindh as they shared a common language and culture while the migrants share a religious belief only and nothing else.

Sindhi-Mohajir ethnic feelings went on increasing till the time of Mr. Bhutto in 1971. Bhutto regime made conscious efforts to minimize the Sindhi grievances by increasing their quota in civil services. The Sindhi subnational sentiments rose once again when Bhutto was hanged in a doubtful trial during the military rule of Zia-ul-Haq. Zia government is alleged to support Mohajirs to counter Sindhi nationalists.

APMSO was formed in 1978 which was soon converted into MQM. Since then Mohajirs and Sindhis have been locked in bloody ferocity against each other. With the passage of time MQM had emerged as a competitor to PPP and Sindhi nationalists in the national politics. When Benazir Bhutto came into power in 1988, after Zia's death, PPP and MQM did reach a compromise deal. After 1990 elections Nawaz Sharif came into power an army action was also launched against MQM. The second government of PPP also took strong action against MQM in 1995.

During Musharraf regime again MQM became strong. To a greater extent the establishment has remained successful to curb the feelings of ethnicity and sub-nationalism in Sindh. This has been done not to improve just and fair socio-political order of Islam but by bifurcating Sindhi in urban and rural classes. The demand of Sindhu Desh by G.M. Syed and the demand of Jinnah Pur by MQM is not a matter of serious concern for Pakistani establishment.

A determination in the ethnic and subnational tendencies of Sindhi is reflected in 'Pakistan Khape'. (long live Pakistan) doctrine of PPP and conversion of Mohajir Qaumi Movement into Mutahida Qaumi Movement is a positive indicator towards national integration. But the ideologies are being projected by the parties having a secular outlook rather than Islamic. The durability of any secular ideology is always untrustworthy and can become a potential threat for national integration, any time.

## Chapter 5

### ROLE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO UNDERMINE NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN

The world remained stunned. A miracle had happened. The first ideological state had emerged on the map of the world on August 14, 1947 under the leadership of a nationalist Muslim leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah. “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 there.” (Wolpert, 1995: preface). Creation of Pakistan was a setback for all the adversaries like west, Hindus and even for few Muslim countries. Therefore the journey of instability, ethnicity, betrayals, provincialism, sectarianism and narrow nationalism had begun almost immediately. The conspiracy theories revolved around India, America, Russia and Israel from among the non-Muslim world and from the Muslim world Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

References regarding the involvement of these nations in the socio-political affairs of Pakistan due to one reason or the other had become difficult to analyze. With all except India and Israel, Pakistan enjoyed good relations. But these countries in pursuit of their own national interest had created certain problems for Pakistan. That had caused an irreparable damage to Pakistan’s sovereignty and integrity. Dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971, rise of ethnic and subnational movements in Baluchistan, Pukhton areas and Sindh as well as growth of sectarian and extremists groups and organization in various parts of the country have their roots and links abroad. Optimism of Quaid-i-Azam “we shall build up this new greatest Muslim sovereign state in the world with complete unity, discipline and faith” has lost somewhere. All these angularities and considerations have been posing a serious threat to national integration in Pakistan. Greatest misfortune of Pakistan that Quaid-i-Azam, who was competent enough to deal with all such challenges, died in 1948, soon after its creation. And the successors could not repel back these collusions with sagacity and the damage is irreparable.

## 5.1 INDIAN RESPONSE TO THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN

Basis of the creation of Pakistan was Two Nation Theory which described that Hindus and Muslims belong to two different systems of life. Being a distinct nation Muslim have every right to establish their separate homeland, where they could live in accordance with the principals of their faith. The Hindu leaders were not convinced to accept this theory so they exerted all their energies to refute it. Despite using all tactics they could not stop the inception of a Muslim state designated as Pakistan. Dictated by their hegemonic desire, they started a negative propaganda campaign against Pakistan and its leadership to make the both controversial in the eyes of the Muslims. The Indians declared the creation of Pakistan a result of British “traditional policy of divide and rule.”(Williams,1962: 15). They also called Mr. Jinnah a “willing tool” of the British. (Ibid). While saying that they forget ‘Lord Attlee’s disliking of Partition and Jinnah, (Qureshi,1993: 262). They had also ignored the friendship between Nehru and Lady Mountbatten and “between Nehru’s daughter Indra and Mountbatten’s trusted Campbell-Johnson”(Ibid); and the consequent events taken place at the time of division of subcontinent.

When Mountbatten and Hindu leaders could not succeed to obstruct partition, they changed their strategy creating difficulties for the newly born state, as much as they could, aimed at undoing and reunion of India. On one hand they continuously issued biased and demoralizing statements and on the other created bulk of problems difficult to be terminated. Mountbatten’s desire to become a joint Governor General of Both India and Pakistan was not honoured by Quaid-i-Azam for he felt that “since Pakistan was a sovereign state, it must be sovereign in all respect, with its own executive and government.” (Ahmed:1998: 226). Then the nexus of Mountbatten and Congress were bent on not allowing Pakistan to live long. The massacre of Muslim population in the Hindu majority areas and the consequent influx of millions of refugees in Pakistan had badly disturbed the socio-economic and ethno-cultural balance of Pakistan. This was done by demarcation of the boundaries arbitrarily.

Evident injustice was made in the distribution of financial and military assets to make Pakistan unstable in both the areas. Forcible occupation of princely states of

Junagarh, Manavader, Hyderabad and Kashmir was another blow to this infant state. One more outcome of British-Hindu nexus was Radcliff Award and resultant deprivation of canal waters for Pakistan. The subsequent growth of ethnic and subnational ideologies in Pakistan had their roots in these initial problems of Pakistan. Dismemberment of East Pakistan, the local-Mahajir issue in various parts of the country, particularly in Karachi, the disputes related to share of water among the provinces and the increasing sectarian divide, all caused by the Indian aspiration to undo Pakistan. Indian intentions might be judged from the statements of their leaders even before the implementation of partition plan. A Hindu leader Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukherjee stated in 1946 "If the British rule is reserved after a compulsory division of India, who will avert the free state of Hindustan from re-establishing its power over the entire Indian Territory." (Madhok, 1946: 66)

Occupation of Junagarh and Kashmir as well as pushing millions of refugees towards Pakistan was aimed at re-unification of India. Sardar Patel an extremist leader of Hindus uttered "Give Jinnah his state..... It would not survive anyway. In five years, the Muslim League would be knocking at their doors begging India's re-unification." (Collins, 1975: 119). "The source of this wishful thinking was not that the Muslims would suffer pains of parting and would desire to be taken back into the loving arms of mother India. The anticipation was based on the firm point that all that was humanly conceivable to make the existence of Pakistan difficult had been done." (Qureshi, 1993: 264). Hindus eagerness and apathy had reached to the extent that they were inciting and preparing the extremists to fight for this cause. In spite of handing over a "truncated and mouth-eaten Pakistan" to the Muslims, the Hindus were ready to dissolve Pakistan into the unquiet stomach of mother India. The statement of so called liberal Hindu leader from Punjab in this context was "I am not among the demoralized; therefore I am convinced that division of India is a momentary measure. In spite of this the thirty crores of Hindus must be ready to lay down their lives for the re-unification of India and Pakistan." (Amir-ud-Din, n.d: 21).

Indian ambitions were strongly refuted by Jinnah in an unequivocal tone when a question was asked by Duncan Hooper, correspondent of Reuter on October 25, 1947, regarding basis of firm and friendly relations between India and Pakistan. Jinnah's answer was 'It is very ill-fated that strong propaganda has been going on ..... That it is

simply a momentary insanity on the part of the Muslim leaders that has brought about this 'recession', that Pakistan will have to come into the union as penitent, repentant, earing son ..... I want to make it rather clear that Pakistan will never submit and never come to an agreement in any shape or method to any legitimate union between two independent countries ..... Pakistan has come to stay and will stay [InshaAllah].” (Jinnah, 1989: 82-83) [Appendix]

The early tension with Afghanistan on various issues like Durand Line, Pukhtonistan and Afghan opposition in the United Nations Organization, when Pakistan was trying to seek admission in the international community as a member of UNO, was not of its alone but Indian hands to provoke Afghanistan could not be disassociated. A top Hindu leader Raja Mahendra Pratap wrote in Daily 'Vir Bharat' on December 20, 1950 “our nation cannot make any advancement unless Pakistan is finished off..... I would, therefore, advice the government of India to join hands with Afghanistan and finish off Pakistan as quickly as possible.” (Amir-ud-Din,op.cit). Even Gandhi who was the biggest preacher of non-violence and peace could not hide his inner desire of aggression against Pakistan. On December 26, 1947, he maintained “although I have always been against the wars but if other means fail to achieve justice from Pakistan, we will have no other choice but to wage a war against Pakistan.” (Ibid: 23)

After these unbecoming behaviors on the part of Hindu leaders there is no doubt in the minds of majority of Pakistanis that Indian hand was and it is still there in each and every distress that Pakistan have been facing since the time of its birth. These hegemonic designs that pushed Pakistan into wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971. The followers of Kutalya's doctrine had always treated neighbouring Pakistan as an enemy state with which the desire for peace would be only a lip service and a camouflage. This mind set has been the corner stone of Indian policy towards Pakistan since the day one. Talking about this aggressiveness of Hindu leaders Nirad C. Choudhary wrote “ Sardar Patel who was then considered as the strongman of India, even went to the extent of announcing on one occasion that if India were so intent she could sweep up to Peshawar.” (Chaudhary, 1965: 107)

Indian anti-Pakistan mind set did not change with growing dejection caused by India, particularly separation of East Pakistan in 1971; rather it has been advanced with

the passage of time. “Anybody who visits the new India today will notice that the controversy out of which Pakistan initially emerged has never died down indeed. It is still alive.” (Williams,1962: 15). Offensive statements flared up on the part of some Indian leaders at the time when it made its nuclear tests in May 1998. Long way back in 1974 India had actually been nuclearized when she carried out its first nuclear test. But after this test India did not claim that it could become a nuclear state rather it was presented to the world as a ‘peaceful nuclear explosion’. India went on projecting itself as a peace-loving nation. But when in 1998 a series of nuclear tests had been carried out “the Indian leadership made antagonistic, though unfathomable, statements frightening that Pakistan would have to ‘adjust’ its position of Kashmir and that it should be dealt with vehemently in the new situation of an altered strategic balance in the region.” (Aziz,n.d:126).

The Indian interior minister L.K.Advani started issuing threats and “vowed to end the Pakistani menace.” (Asian Age, 19 May,1998). Another BJP minister Mr. Khurana warned Pakistan and said that India “was prepared to fight another war with Pakistan. [it] should tell us the place and time and we are ready.” (Asian Age, 22 May,1998). With such illustrations Pakistan was compelled to carry out its nuclear tests just to safeguard its national security and integrity.

A big misfortune of Pakistan is that India is not alone in making endeavors to destabilize Pakistan but western powers, particularly America and Britain too, have put all their weight towards Indian side and had contributed in disturbing the balance of power in the region. In other words they have created “not balance of power but balance of terror.” (Tamimi, 2010: 247). The western nations applied their global strategy in South Asia by promoting India as a mightiest power of the region. So they projected Indian leadership and democracy through diplomacy and propaganda. America, because of its influential role in Pakistan, had exercised its pressure upon Pakistan “to enter into some kind of confederation with India.” (Qureshi, 1993: 265).

In addition to America and West, Russia had also played its role to destabilize Pakistan. Just before India-Pakistan war in 1971, it had signed a “friendship treaty” with Russia (USSR) and then this friendship was concluded in the dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971. One must look into the arrogance level of then Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indra Gandhi on their historical “triumph” against Pakistan. She remarked “we have

taken the revenge of one thousand years from the Muslims and we have drowned the two nation theory into the Bay of Bengal.” (Talo-i-Islam, 1981). Contempt and negation of Two Nation Theory has become the central theme of Indian political and military leadership since the dismemberment of East Pakistan.

It has been projected at every level that creation of Pakistan was a brand of religious intolerance and still it is and will remain in future as well, (Tamimi,2010: 208). At the conversion of East Pakistan into Bangladesh, Frank Moreas, the editor of Indian Express wrote ‘the only common link between two Pakistans is Islam. The present situation has verified that how pathetic this link was. With the ‘revolution’ in the East Bengal that source of religion and theocracy has eliminated on which Islamic Pakistan was oriented. Bangladesh has dispersed this image into the air, ( Moreas,1971: 146). Indian quest for elimination of Pakistan and complete domination over South Asia is not finished yet rather its level is ascending with the passage of time. When few leaders of Pakistani ethnic groups visited India in year 2000, Mr. Sadarshan, the Chief of RSS came up with the idea that India should take initiative to get advantage from growing unrest and distrust among the Mohajirs, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pashtoons of Pakistan. Being an aggressor Pakistan wants to destroy us. The only remedy available to this evil is fragmentation of Pakistan. (Tamimi,op.cit: 260-261).

## **5.2 FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND ETHNICITY IN NWFP(KPK)**

India, America and Russia have contributed towards growth of ethnic feelings in East Pakistan which concluded with the dismemberment of it and creation of Bangladesh. However the rise in ethnicity in Baluchistan and Pukhton areas is not fed by India and West only but the role of ‘Brotherly’ Afghanistan and Iran is also not second to none. From the very beginning these two neighbouring Muslim states got involved in issues related to ethnicity in Pakistan. The Pukhtons ethnic and subnational demand of independent Pukhtonistan had a strong footing in Afghanistan, when in 1947 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the leader of Khudai Khidmatgar Party, with the incitement of India and Russia, could not succeed to restrict NWFP’s accession with Pakistan, then he “proclaimed political and ethnic ties with Afghanistan and started declaring provincial grievances stressing the ethnic diversity of the people of NWFP.” (Qasir,1991: 25).

Afghanistan was not happy at all with the creation of Pakistan. Its main concern was about the Durand Line which was not redressed by the British, in accordance with the wishes of Afghanistan. In relation to this they created a maneuver that to protect and preserve the Pukhton identity an independent Pukhtonistan should be established for the Pukhton people living in NWFP and Baluchistan. “When the British held a referendum in the North-West Frontier Province to decide with which state the province would join – Pakistan or India – the Afghan government insisted upon the British to allow the Pukhtons two additional adoptions, namely annexation with Afghanistan or joining a sovereign state of Pukhtonistan”(Sayyed,1980: 122). Afghanistan had instigated many times the people of tribal areas to rise against Pakistan. In 1955 when one unit scheme was implemented in Pakistan, Afghanistan reacted by an attack on Pakistan’s Embassy in Kabul. “The Afghan government declared 31<sup>st</sup> August as Pukhtonistan day, and celebrated it condemning Pakistan.” (Rabbani,2006: 351). The ethnic issue shrunken when Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and millions of Afghans entered in Pakistan as refugees, a defecto Pukhtonistan came into existence which turned off the political and dangerously enthused movement for Pukhtonistan.” (Ibid: 433).

The reasons behind failure of India and Afghanistan in their endeavors to destabilize Pakistan by instigating issues based on ethnicity, might be due to the presence of Pukhtoons in considerable numbers in the civil and military institutions of Pakistan. Ayub Khan, Yahiya Khan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan all belonged to NWFP. Another related factor may be, the prospects of Pukhtoon’s investment and trade towards Punjab which is relatively better developed due to geographical reasons. Millions of Pukhtoons had also accommodated themselves in the first capital of Pakistan-Karachi which is also an industrial hub of the country. That is why Pukhtoons have given up the idea of independent Pukhtonistan. From Pakistan’s point of view “The real threat, perhaps, was not Pukhtoon nationalism but the sustenance it was getting from India and Afghanistan.” (Khan,2005: 100).

### **5.3 FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND ETHNICITY IN BALUCHISTAN**

The involvement of foreign countries in Baluchistan is much more than in any other region of the country. The reason is obviously its geo-strategic and geo-economic

importance. Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan, in terms of area, having common borders with Afghanistan and Iran. There is a long coastal line towards South of Baluchistan. Its coastal area is very near to Gulf States which are enriched in oil. Gwadar has the maximum potential of becoming an international sea port. The mineral resources of Baluchistan are also in abundance and may be a source of attraction not only for those whose intentions are malafied but also for those who are the friends of Pakistan. So both enemies and friends have played their role towards promoting ethnic and subnational ideologies in Baluchistan.

Being a tribal society the socio-political situation of Baluchistan is entirely different than that of rest of the units. In the pre-partition period neither Congress nor Muslim League had strong footing in Baluchistan. However Quaid-i-Azam with the help of few tribal leaders made it possible to annex Baluchistan with Pakistan. But Khan of Kalat was not convinced to join Pakistan so a resistance by Khan's Brother had been seen after Pakistan tried to establish its writ in the state. Most of the time neighbouring Afghanistan became the hideout of Baluch hard liners. An important military operation was carried out against the Baluch nationalists during Bhutto's rule in 1973. The reason of this operation was attempts on the part of some Baluch leaders for its secession from Pakistan and to create a 'Greater Baluchistan'. What convinced Mr. Bhutto to launch a military action against Baluchistan was his visit to Iran. Mr. Bhutto was shown there a map of Greater Baluchistan, which might include Baluchistan of Pakistan and Iran and some parts of Afghanistan. "This irredentist movement was being supported by a number of foreign countries." (Bhutto,1977: 42). Bhutto had the anxiety that if this movement was not put down steadfastly, it might "affect our relations with foreign power, particularly with friendly neighbouring countries." (White Paper on Baluchistan, 1974:10).

Few weeks before the military action the government had recovered an enormous quantity of weapons form Iraqi Embassy which was to be used by the Baluch separatists for split-up of Baluchistan. Being the common members of SEATO and CENTO, Pakistan and Iran both were considered in the American camp. And in the cold war environment Soviet Union was not happy with Shah of Iran and Pakistan. This is why USSR was behind this hoard of arms in the Iraqi Embassy as Iraq was aligned towards

USSR at that time. “The Shah of Iran was very subtle to the nationalist inclinations in Iranian Baluchistan as well as the Soviet Union’s backing for nationalist groups.” (Khan,2005: 118). So on the demand of Shah of Iran, as alleged by NAP leader Wali Khan in his statement in the supreme court of Pakistan, when he had challenged the dismissal of his party’s government in Baluchistan. He charged in the national assembly and then in his written declaration in the Supreme Court that “Mr. Bhutto was hesitant to set up the NAP government in the province because Shahinshah of Iran had expressed his disapproval” (Sayeed,1980: 115-116). Another Baluch leader ‘senator Abdul Hayee Baloch also told the author of book ‘Politics of Identity, Mr.Adeel Khan in 1977 that “the shah of Iran was one of the most important factors in the Baluchistan crises.” (Khan, 2005: 126).

Although some part of Afghanistan was also included in the proposed map of Greater Baluchistan yet Afghanistan was supporting the Baluch guerrillas in 1973. One of the guerrilla leader Mir Hazar Khan established his base camp in Southern Afghanistan and threatened Pakistan that he will take help from other nations as Bengalis did during their separation movement.’ (Sayeed,1980: 118). During this operation, United States, being Iran’s biggest supporter and annoyed with Soviet support for Baluch nationalists through Iraq, had also come forward and provided Pakistan combat helicopters in addition to financial aid US\$ 200 million through Iran.” (Harrison,1996: 298). After Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan, many countries of the West and US with the further assistance of European Economic Commission, Japan and Arab States introduced a special development programme in Baluchistan.” (Noman,1990: 202).

After Islamic revolution in Iran and with the end of cold war, the dynamics of foreign involvement had changed. But a more drastic change had come after US led war against terrorism in the aftermath of September II attacks on US. The potential resources of oil and gas in the Central Asian Republics and it’s geographically land locked status have increased the geo-economic and geo-strategic importance of Pakistan n general and of Baluchistan in particular. That is why the new competitors after cold war, America and China, both are looking very much interested in Baluchistan. American interest is in “construction of oil pipelines from Central Asia through Afghanistan to Pakistan.” (Ejaz,

2007: 116 ). While China is looking for an access to the warm waters of Arabian Sea through Pakistan. America persuaded its policy by initiating a war against Taliban and insured the presence in Afghanistan. China has invested in Gwadar to develop it up to the level of strategically important sea port.

Thus the situation in Baluchistan seems to be converted into a tug of war between major powers of the world. And the Baluch leaders are well aware of the importance of their land. This fact has given an impetus to the national and ethnic feelings of Baluch people. When General Pervez Musharraf initiated several mega projects in Baluchistan, a reaction has been seen on the part of nationalist leaders. Particularly tribal Sardars belong to Bugti, Marri and Maingal tribes started insurgency and the federal government has to install military once again in province. After the killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti, many young Baluch leaders emerged on the scene, like Brahamdakh Bugti and Harbiyar Murri who escaped to foreign lands and started a campaign against Pakistan under the banner of Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA). Many international actors, particularly India is investing in BLA. In year 2013 BLA launched attacks on many important installation of strategic importance. Quaid-i-Azam residency Ziarat was also attacked and completely destroyed by the militants of secessionist organizations. Whether it is India or anyone else, they are not involved in Baluchistan not for the betterment of the province “but for their own interests. The benefits of the Baluch and imperialists can never overlap.” (Rabbani, 2006: 439).

#### **5.4 FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN**

Religious extremism with number of facets, sometimes sectarianism and on the other Talibanism, have posed a great threat to both state and society of Pakistan. With the passage of time particularly after Soviet invasion and consequent Jihad in Afghanistan has nourished it up to the extent that these so called Jihadi elements have organized themselves to implement their agenda of extremism. They have very shrewed leadership, trained fighters and motivated followers spreaded through out of country. They are capable enough to launch arms attacks not only on their opponents but on very sensitive installations like, GHQ, Mehran Naval Base, Kamra Air Base, Karachi and Peshawar Air ports and number of other places of such importance also. They are not doing all this with

their own resources but with the financial, technical and psychological assistance of many foreign elements and government as well. The confronting ideologies of Iran and Saudi Arabia have found a battlefield in Pakistan to test their abilities through proxy war. Most of the Sunni oriented groups have their links in Saudi Arabia while the Shias are closely attached with Iran. The other religious extremists have their tentacles spreaded throughout the world. The great powers are using them to further their won vested interests in the region and to destabilized the state of Pakistan, which is not only have its foundation on religious ideology but also as a nuclear power is unacceptable to many sitting abroad.

What an irony that the country created on the basics of religious thought is being fragmented in the name of religion. If on one hand this religion has been a source of unity for majority of the people of Pakistan then on the other the same is being exploited by those who want to prove that no integration is possible on the basics of religion. Religion to them is only a private affair of the people and has nothing to do with the state system. Unfortunately the failure of the state to implement a just and fair order in accordance with the teachings of Islam and absence of democratic norms have provided an ideal culture for the mushroom growth of such fanatics who in their own sense are trying to impose Islamic order in the country by eliminating those who are responsible for this failure. Their directionless sentiments have been successfully channelized by the foreign countries just to punish the people who claim that religion is still a binding force and a sole source of national integration in Pakistan.

In conjunction with domestic anti-state elements, foreign actors have played their operative role towards promoting religious extremism in Pakistan, occasionally directly and otherwise. There are plentiful chances of external involvement in sectarian incidents in Pakistan to weaken this Muslim nuclear state. Almost all the extremist organizations, functioning in Pakistan, get financial assistance from one or another foreign country, and those states backing such organizations for their own benefits. "At the operational level, extremists do come from sectarian and Jihadi groups. But their architects are somewhere else" ([www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org)).

With the active foreign money and sustenance, sectarian organizations thrived in developing petty religious variances into bloody conflicts. Members of Deobandi and Shia sects, who had been living in a fraternal atmosphere for centuries, started killing each other in Pakistan and those who do not have such budding for self-destruction, stand upset by liberal and conservative forces denying living with one another. “ The Shia-Deobandi/Ahle Hadith encounter is in some ways a proxy war between Saudi Arabia and Iran” (www.crisisgroup.org)

The associations of Deoband and Ahle Hadith receive much of their funding from charity organizations of Arab countries while the Shia institutions get their funding from Iran, (Khan, 1999: 77). The flow of unrestrained distant money to both sects has permitted them to construct spacious religious institutions with living facilities. And the ultimate outcome of this funding is the eruptions of extremist activities. Religious fanaticism began since anti-Qadiyani movement in early 50's, but intensified after 1979 due to Islamic Revolution in Iran, and Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. Prior to these regional episodes, the issue of violence in Pakistan had been mainly restricted to infrequent sectarian clashes between the majority Sunnis and the minority Shias. After military rule of Zia ul Haq the whole perception on violence in Pakistan began to change, “Zia crossed the Rubicon after accepting with the reassurance of the United States, millions of dollars in Saudi money” (www.jamestown.org). This money was used to establish Madrasahs in NWFP, Baluchistan, Karachi, Islamabad and Southern Punjab. “Kuwait and Libya also contributed. Iraq, under Saddam, actively sponsored anti-Iranian Sunni organizations” (www.crisisgroup.org)

“It is an open secret in Pakistan that most of the resources used in recruiting hired activists from the streets and madrasahs by the confrontational sectarian groups come from their foreign patrons”(Ahmad,1998: 114). The main leadership of the radical Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, was made up of persons who have battled against Soviets in Afghanistan. During Nawaz Sharif's second government Pakistan issued a warning to ruling Taliban command demanding that it cease protecting and training sectarian terrorists. The then Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif told in a press conference that “Our government has solid proof that the sectarian killers receive training in Afghanistan.”

(Mir, 1999: 66). Nawaz Sharif also reinforced the allegation and said “We have made it clear to the Taliban that this is not acceptable to Pakistan” (Ibid)

Possibly due to this very purpose, the D.G. Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), Lt. Gen. Khawaja Zia ud Din Butt, was especially sent to Kandahar by Nawaz Sharif in 1999 to demand that the Taliban administration instantly close down its camps where LeJ activists were being indoctrinated and trained. ‘Although Taliban officials never recognized the charges and used to refute the presence of LeJ radicals in their land yet they interfered when LeJ got bifurcated into Riaz Basra and Qari Asad groups, (Rana,2004: 206)

In the meantime, October 12, 1999, Army Chief General Pervez Musharraf, after deposing Nawaz Sharif, became the Chief Executive of Pakistan. A ban has been imposed on Deobandi LeJ and Shia SMP, but targeted killings persisted. Islamabad appealed to Taliban supreme Leader Mullah Omar to oust the militants to Pakistan but the Taliban remained unconcerned. Musharraf administration imposed a ban on TJP and SSP as well as the Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad. A crackdown was launched against band organizations. The law enforcement agencies, however, could not succeed to arrest even a single militant leader during the operation, (Abbas, 2002: 24).

The conspiracy theory began to float that foreign agencies had organized the sectarian killings in an attempt to undermine the government and to disrupt a possible Islamic insurgency in Pakistan. The arguments go that the west is scared of the nuclear Pakistan and it wishes to disgrace the Muslim forces in the country by encouraging sectarianism. “While discussing the role of external powers in Pakistan’s sectarian violence, the secreted hand of the Indian intelligence agencies also cannot be ruled out” (Ahmad,1998: 115). A JUI leader, Maulana Ajmal Qadri, was convinced that the Indian intelligence agency RAW was guilty of the outbreak of sectarian assaults in Pakistan, (www.crisisgroup.org). Some circles describe the ethnic and sectarian violence in the South Asia as the fourth India-Pakistan war. This war is being fought not on the borders and not by their systematic armed forces, but in their cities and by their intelligence agencies.

Acts of religious extremism in Pakistan on the part of Shia community or SMP are generally interconnected with the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979 under Imam Khomeini. “Some militant Shia groups are said to have received informal sponsorship from Tehran. Similarly, Sunni militants are said to be vigorously getting Saudi support to contest Shia belligerency” (Mahmood, n.d: 346). Number of Deobandi organizations used to allege Imamia Students Organization (ISO)’s connections with Imam Khomeini’s revolutionary movement. Some ISO members had met Imam Khomeini when he was in Paris. Latter Imam Khomeini sent a message to the Shias of Pakistan. “I appreciate the sentiments of sons of Islam and my expectations of them are that they will also liberate their country of imperialism” (Rana ,2004: 419).

During Iran-Iraq war many ISO members went to Iran for its support. On the other hand the Arab world got afraid of Iran and decided to upkeep the anti-Shia sentiments in Pakistan. In this way Pakistan had become a host of a proxy war between Saudi Arabia and Iran. The anti-Iran Arab states started providing monetary and political backing to the main Sunni organizations. ‘Ahle Hadith sect was, infect, the first one to launch an anti-Shia campaign in Punjab after the Islamic revolution in Iran, denouncing the revolution and Khomeini as enemy of Islam’ (Ahmad, 1998: 111). A renowned Ahle Hadith scholar, Allama Ehsan Elahi Zaheer, wrote a devastating account of the Shia sect in 1980. “The book was translated into Arabic and English and was widely circulated by the Saudi government all over the Islamic world” (Ibid).

After September 11 incident and the consequent attack on Afghanistan and Al-Qaida by American led forces, Pakistan once again became a basecamp for those foreigners who were anxious to fight against America. Already number of Uzbeks, Tajiks and Chechens has been living in tribal areas of Pakistan since Afghan Jihad. Now many others have joined them to combat with US led forces. The military government of Musharraf preferred to join hands with America and the fallout that Pakistan has to face is religious extremism, militancy and terrorism. These militants have launched successful attempts on number of places of strategic importance including GHQ Rawalpindi.

Due to the terrorist attacks on the part of foreign militants thousands of Pakistani, civilians and soldiers both, have been killed. The worst form of this extremism is suicidal attacks at public places which caused a heavy damage to life and property. It is awful that

the terrorists are attracting some wanton youth who are ready to die for their “noble cause”. “The most dangerous part is that they can allure the law, befool the young, hoodwink the questioner and over the skeptic in the garb of divine authority” (Javaid, 2010: 159).

## Chapter -6

### ‘RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN’ PAKISTAN

The basis of religious thought in Islam is the revealed knowledge whether in the form of Holy Quran or Hadith of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H). The Holy Quran is the word of Allah and He Himself has preserved it forever. While the hadith is also a kind of revelation reached to the people through Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). “*Nor does he speak of (his own) desire. It is only a Revelation revealed.*” (An-Najm,53:3-4)

Rest of the sources is only attempts on the part of Ummah to understand, follow and implement the basic sources with letter and spirit. According to Islamic thought religion is not only the system of faith and worship rather it is a complete way of life providing clear guidance in all the walks of life. It does not deal only with this world but with the world after death as well. “The Muslims, by and large, has a more solid approach than the non-Muslims, both to the reality of worldly presence and the delights of the hereafter.” (Gunther, 1939: 443).

The overall mode of the Islamic thought is humanitarian because Quran addresses the man in general and the Muslims in particular. Islam is a system which is basically designed to safeguard the due rights of the individuals and the society as well. Like other societies of the world Islam has its own ethical, legal, economic and political system. The origin of all systems of Islam is in the Divine Revelation. ‘The Revelation resolute the norms and basic thoughts of religious law in Islam.’ (Hassan,1982: xiii)

The purpose and scope of modern laws are different to some extent from Qur’anic concept. Modern laws are generally framed by some authority of the state to govern the religious, political, economic and social matters of a nation. Modern laws generally do not cover the individual’s moral character. Morality is only prevalent moderately in the form of societal protocols and customs and it is applied through local institutions. But if majority of the society members decide to change the social and moral behavior and tend to adopt something immoral then this would become acceptable to that particular society.

Such changes have been accrued and adopted in most of the developed countries of Europe and America, on the other hand Islamic thought is based upon the Holy Quran and its laws encompasses rules of human behavior in all the walks of life to ensure the success of man in the worldly life and in the Hereafter.

This is the fundamental duty of the Islamic state to enforce the Quranic Laws. The management of individual's conduct is the responsibility of the Muslim society in the light of Islamic teachings. Individual's character in Islam is based on his relationship to the God Almighty and to the fellowmen of the society. Thus Muslim society is bound to enforce the regulations regarding moral behavior in accordance with the divine commandments. The message of the Quran in general is to follow the thoughts of the Revelation for self-welfare as well as for the wellbeing of the other members of society. Islamic law or Shariah provides a dignified concept of law and moral code which has the tendency to become the foundation of universal laws.

The foremost Islamic state and society was established by the Prophet of Islam Muhammad (P.B.U.H) at Madina about 1435 years ago (according to Hijrah calendar). His first priority was to introduce a religion of such ability which would transform the proselytes into a completely changed outlook, thoughts and values. Such 'radical modification must have also been brought about without any sources or methods employed by other wise-heads, or social groups.' (Nadvi,1984: 3). A true Muslim character is free from all kinds of poetic and philosophical dialogues and from rewards of esteem and position. Followers of Islam "are distinguished from followers of other religions by its proselytizing activism." (Gunther,1939: 443).

The change in the character and moral behavior under the guidance of Prophetic way must be symptomatic of God's will. Such people own a true consciousness of their Creator, sincerity of determination and thought of deliverance and dedication. The purpose of the appointment of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) according to the Holy Quran is *"He it is Who has sent forth among the unlettered ones a messenger from among them, to recite His verses to them, to purify them and to teach them the Book and the wisdom, though before that they were in error manifest."* (Al-Jumuah, 62: 2)

The Islamic thought dictates upon the Muslims to submit and follow the injunction of the religion completely and without any doubt. For the believers of Islam deviation of any kind and its quantum is strictly prohibited as it does not reflect a true Muslim character. *“But Allah has endeared to you belief decking it fair in your hearts and He has made hateful to you unbelief, wrong-doing and disobedience.”* (Al-Hujurat,49: 7). Under this thought the Prophet (P.B.U.H) brought about a change in the moral standards and character of his companions. Such changes in the moral behavior had converted each and every comrade of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) into a complete guide and leader and made them ‘proficient of converting the whole state or a nation to his faith through his power of character and righteous conduct’ (Nadvi,1984: 5).

The establishment of a just and fair state system and a society based upon high moral standards by the Prophet of Islam was a message to the entire humanity that his followers would be able to create an ideal society by introducing such orders aimed at bringing ‘their contemporaries to instruct an alive awareness of Allah Almighty on a scale broader than the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had himself attained.’ (Ibid)

Islamic thought is unprecedented in a way that Allah Almighty has blessed this religion with Final Prophet (P.B.U.H) and Final Book and has passed a verdict of its completion and preservation through His Holy Book the Quran. The moral behavior, political leadership and methodology applied by the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) in pursuance of his objectives is unmatched and unique and no other leader, conqueror had ever possessed qualities alike. The way adopted by him to make the decisions was different rather contrary to the methods adopted by all worldly-minded leaders with ultimate goal to establish their dynastic rule. The history of all the big nations of past is full of such rulers who strived mostly for the occupation of a position of prosperity so that they and their generations may enjoy the privileges for a long time. Contrary to this the Prophet (P.B.U.H) of Islam had never constituted a structure where he and his family and progeny as well, could live a life of ease and prosperity. Instead he required his decedents to lead a life of self-sacrifice, hardship and austerity. They were allowed to reach to any position on their own abilities and not by the reason of their relationship with the Prophet (P.B.U.H).

Islamic thought has been recorded by Allah Almighty in such a way that has made this verdict unblemished and matchless. This is the guide book fully protected by Allah Almighty Himself. Even the worst enemies of Islam could not find any alterations in it since the time it was revealed to the Prophet (P.B.U.H). Its commandments and characteristics are permanent to be retained forever. Its teachings can bring man closer to Allah Almighty. It is enlightened with true spirituality and its sole focus is on the absolute oneness of Allah. This last and unchanged revelation is presented, to the end of the time, for the deliverance of the people. The earlier scriptures, although they too were from Allah Almighty, could not be retained due to multiple factors. Some of the religious writings were lost due to the enemy invasions or these were altered by their own followers. In this way some writings were lost forever by the negligence of thoughtless trustees. But Quran is free from all such worthlessness and interpolation. *“Lo: We, even We revealed the Reminder, and surely We are its Guardian.”* (Al-Hijir,15: 9)

Belief in oneness of Allah Almighty and in the absolute finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is the basic ingredients of Islamic faith and these are the actual determinants of national integration. *“Truly, the cohesion of the followers of Islam, shield against variety of creeds and disruptive forces and the guarantee of their own spiritual power lie in the recognition of Muhammad’s definiteness of Prophethood.”* (Nadvi;1976). All Muslims do have firm belief in the above said principles but why they are so divided and disintegrated? What make them enemy of each other? And what is missing in the minds of the Muslims regarding religious thought?

The purpose of creation of man has been elaborated by Allah Almighty at various places in the Holy Quran. The simplest verse to understand this topic is *“And I (Allah) created not the Jinn and mankind except that they should worship me (Alone).”* (Adh-Dharyat,51: 56). Worship of Allah alone is the foremost duty of every Muslim. But the concept of worship is not limited as it is taken in general sense. Religion is not only praying all the time keeping oneself aloof from the worldly affairs. But it is also regarding fulfillment of the obligations towards other human beings. Religion in practicing terms may be divided into two parts, Rights of Allah and Rights of the people. Both the parts corroborate each other. *“The fact of the matter is that civility, politeness*

and good manners contain half of the religion and conceivably the better half at that.” (Ghaznavi,n.d: 1)

Islamic teachings are based upon better relationship between the members of the society. So social relationship has been given much importance in Islam. Islam has strongly recommended propagating saluting each other. “*Whenever you are saluted, return the compliments with greater warmth or at least reciprocate equally.*” (An-Nisa,4: 86). ‘Whenever we say salaam to any other Muslim, we are in actual praying for him that may you be blessed with bodily, mental and spiritual comfort’ (Ghaznavi, n.d:3). Therefore social solidarity is equally important in Islam besides prayers and other obligations.

If the Muslims are following the spirit of Islam then they will try to create a balance among all his actions and performances. If the deeds and actions are in pursuance of religious thought then everything on the part of the doer will be considered worship of Allah Almighty. And because of the possessor of discretionary powers, human beings are accountable to Allah Almighty. Muslims have been advised by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) “work for the affairs of the world as if you are going to live forever but work for the hereafter as if you will die tomorrow.” (Kemal,1992: 226). In this way sincerity of effort is a prerequisite to be a true Muslim.

The creation of Pakistan was based on sincerity of effort by the true Muslims like Dr. Allama Iqbal and M.A. Jinnah. Iqbal who had a great insight saw a dream to establish a Muslim state in subcontinent that could bring the religion out of stagnation. He wanted to see Islam a living force as it is in reality. The main objective if the religion is to bind the people together “Religion itself is derived from the word religio which means to bind. It binds man to the truth.” (Nasar,1999: 15).

Through religion man is liable to surrender himself before Allah Almighty with complete submission. But this phenomenon is mostly based on metaphysical concepts. The “discovery” of Allah Almighty is the ultimate target of the religion. But before this discovery man is bound to come into the fold of “faith”, then by initiating a “thought” process he can move towards his ultimate goal of discovery. In his famous work “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.”(Iqbal:1987: 188). Iqbal has divided

human religious life into three stages – faith, thought and discovery. To initiate the religious thought towards discovery Iqbal had given the idea of an Islamic state for the faithful of subcontinent.

Although majority of the faithful of India had no sense of Iqbal's philosophy of religious thought but all of them have struggled intentionally or unintentionally to initiate a thought process leading to discovery during Pakistan movement. Keeping aside the knowledge and unknowing tendencies of the people of subcontinent, one may conclude that in the form of independent Muslim state, the Muslims of this region were striving for the renaissance of Muslim glory. They successfully reached to the starting point under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah but failed to take a start in the right direction. The religious thought which has become the foundation of ideology of Pakistan, was dispersed somewhere and the state was surrounded by the dark clouds of political unrest, economic instability, social disorder, ethnic and subnational trends, and sectarian violence, international conspiracies, bad governance and polarization in the name of politics or religion.

‘As long as religion remains an issue of belief, it cannot be a cause of violence because all religions even at the fundamental level endorse harmony and desire their followers to respect the self-esteem of all human beings’ (Spotlight on Regional Affairs, July 2005 : 35). Compassion for the enemy is fundamental principle of Christianity, empathy is the teaching of Buddhist, Hindus claim unity of all souls and Islam is fully derived from peace and kindness. So the basis of all the religions of the world is peace, harmony and respect for humanity. But the behaviour of the followers of all the religions is in contrast to the teaching of their respective religions.

Human greed, jealousy, hatred and arrogance are few of the reasons that have converted normal societies into violent societies. The feeling of hatred and jealousy are not only prevailing between the followers of different faiths but among the followers of the same faith also. Muslims are the most affected community since the last few centuries. Contrary to their fundamental principles and the practical examples of their Prophet's times and then the period of early Caliphate, they are subjected to disintegration everywhere including Pakistan. They are looking combatant to each other

on minor political and economic issues. Their conflicts are not under the influence of the religion but sometimes under the influence of religiosity and religious leaders.

The Muslims from all over the world may have the desire to get united but their realization is only up to a lip service and no practical effort has been seen anywhere in the Muslim world. Muslims have completely forgotten the unity among the Muslims, despite having different origins, cultures and orientations, during the times of Muhammad (PBUH) and his immediate successors. The factor of that time that had converted the diversity into similarity was establishment of an Islamic state. The social and political outlook of the Makkani and the Madinan Muslims was totally different from each other, but there emerged an unprecedented unity between the two not only in the presence of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) but also after him during the periods of Rightly Guided Caliphate.

The reason of acceptance of Makkani leaders by the people of Madina was ‘ chiefly because they understood that their material benefits were best served by the persistence of the political institution recognized by Muhammad (PBUH) and that, for this Makkani leadership was indispensable’ (Watt, 1961 : 88). It means that strong institution and consistency in policy is utmost required to establish a just and fair political system. Secondly this is the basic responsibility of the state authority to protect the material interests of the people. When Muhammad (PBUH) and his immediate successors insured this, they remained successful in national integration.

During the period of early Caliphate not only there was complete unity between the people of Makka and Madina but the people of other territories like nomadic tribes, people of Yemen and Persian Gulf, were also bound into one nation. The chronic and deep rooted differences were converted into brotherhood due to the “Satisfactory character of the new body politic” (Watt, 1961 : 88). Iqbal and Jinnah during Pakistan movement had tried to revive the pattern with similar spirit but with new dimensions. The people of diverse ideologies, cultures, nationalities, languages and sects have come close to each other under the banner of Islam and Muslim League. Punjabis, Sarakis, Bengalis, Pukhtoons, Sindhis, Baluchis, Kashmiris, members of the urban rural and tribal

societies, Shias and Sunnis in spite of their distinct and diverse interests and affiliations have merged into one nation just because they all belonged to same religion. And they were sure that this religion will provide them a satisfactory system and environment and protection of legitimate interest.

Hence religious thought does not negate the material benefits of the people rather it guarantee the basic needs of the people. If a state system fail to deliver that which has been promised to be delivered then the members of such system would start comparing their life and system with the people belonging to other contemporary life and systems. And if any time they feel that their system is not just and fair instead it is based on exploitation and manipulation, then the bonds of unity would never be able to exist and the process of disintegration would start.

Religion has given equal importance to the matters related to faith as offering prayers, fasting in Ramadan, paying Zakat and performing Hajj as well as matters related to basic needs, social justice, rule of law, protection of life, property and honour. Islam does not require its followers to become only monks or hermits rather a true Muslim always act like an all-rounder. He should be a good trader, an excellent ruler, a fair administrator, a competent leader, an honest manager, a responsible citizen and above all a good human being. Islam has created all such qualities among the citizens by creating a just and fair society in the shape of Islamic state. So this is Islamic state that can insure security of life, property and honour.

The citizens of an Islamic state can never feel deprivation while comparing themselves with their neighbours and beyond. That was the main socio-economic change which Islam has brought about in an extremely disintegrated and violent society and transformed it into well integrated, prosperous and peaceful society. ‘The material features which led to the beginning of the Islamic state were varied in their explicit nature; at once it was proven, it fulfilled these ultimate needs to a pre-eminent degree equated with any other body-politic in the area’ (Watt, 1961: 89).

The emergence of sub-national, ethnic and extremist ideologies in Pakistan, after it had become independent on the basis of one point agenda of Islamic state, is the

direct consequence of neglect and deviation from that basic concept. The people had kept aside their personal and regional considerations and exerted every ounce of their energy for the establishment of an independent Islamic state. They had sacrificed their lives and properties for the sake of Islamic state. They were expecting an environment, free from all kinds of exploitation and frustration. They were anxious to follow the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah with a peaceful state of mind. Obviously their expectations were based on the concept that only Islamic state can provide them opportunity and environment to make their lives successful in this world life and in the Hereafter, they tolerated all kinds of hardships, because “*Verily, along with every hardship is relief*”. (Ash-Sharh, 94 : 5-6).

But what happened after Pakistan came into being, their hopes, expectations and inspirations all went to waste when they saw injustice, inequality, exploitation, manipulation, unrest, misery, disgrace, inelegance, mismanagement and incompetence, prevailing all around. They reacted with mushroom growth of counter ideologies, sometimes in the name of language and culture and sometimes in the name of sect and province. The linguistic, ethnic, provincial and sectarian issues fully sieged the whole state and society. The ultimate result of all these angularities and considerations was dismemberment of East Pakistan, ethnic riots in Karachi, sectarian killings throughout the country and polarization of the society into moderate and extremists. The unique integration of 1947 was subverted easily by the state and non-state actors sitting within and abroad.

No serious attempts have been made in Pakistan, on the part of intelligentsia, to check this rapid decay of national integration. No genuine thinker or philosopher had every emerged on the scene after Iqbal, who could hold the responsibility of reconstruction of all brands of thoughts including religious and legal. There are only few voices that could show a tendency towards reformation and renaissance but the level of their acceptance is much below the mark. Hence they could only contribute towards further disintegration rather than integration. In the atmosphere of trust deficit no one is ready to acknowledge and appreciate the ideas of such reformers and scholars who could only put their influence on a particular group or class.

The sincerity of such thinkers and scholars cannot be called in question but their achievements are too little to bring about a considerable change in the society. Among these voices the prominent are Maulana Sayyed Abul Ala Maudoodi, Fazl-ur-Rahman, Muhammad Khalid Masood, Riffat Hassan, Justice Dr. Javed Iqbal and Javed Ahmad Ghamidi. The contribution of above mentioned reformist thinkers have been acknowledged by the Muslims as well as by the western scholars. ‘They all approve that the advent of Muslim modernist reformers in Indo-Pakistani Sub-continent was a significant episode with far-reaching magnitudes’ (Hassan, 2009 : 159).

Maulana Maudoodi was the founder chief of Jamaat-i-Islami. A learned scholar of 20<sup>th</sup> century who left some impact on the minds of thousands of his followers. He had some association with ‘Allama Muhammad Iqbal to work for the revival of Islamic law, (Jameelah, 1978 “ 261). Maulana Maudoodi was not supporter of Pakistan movement due to his fear that ‘Muslim League leaders were not capable to set up a real Islami state’ (Maudoodi, 1970 : 49). However unlike his contemporaries – Abul Kalam Azad and Hussain Ahmad Madani – he preferred to live in Pakistan after the partition of Sub-continent.

Maulana Maudoodi demanded and struggled for the implementation of a genuine Islamic Constitution in Pakistan. He was an active member of that Ulema Committee who presented 22 points in 1951. He is also the author of his six-volume Urdu commentary of the Holy Quran by the title of “Tafhim-ul-Quran”. Later on it was translated into many other languages also. Through this he proved the absolute superiority of the Islamic way of life over all others. He also provide “How the Islamic sentences for crimes are both more anthropological and more operative than any man made law” (Jameelah, 1978 : 278).

Through his writings he has also rejected Sir Syed’s and Ghulam Ahmad Parvez’s view point regarding Hadith. As regard foreign policy Maulana’s view was strong relationship among the Muslim countries and Muslim world should be self-sufficient militarily. “He declared Islam as the only religion, adept of integrating all races into one whole, which can assist as the basis for a world state and bring about

durable justice and universal harmony, (Ibid: 88). He was a strong believer of national integration on the basis of religion. He laid down the foundation of his party on non-ethnic, non-regional and non-sectarian grounds. Such integration on the basis of religion can bring, the Muslims, “about their much esteemed renaissance”. (Maudoodi, 1967 : 45).

Maulana was a critic of socialism and thought this against Islamic belief. Islam is meant to do everything to attain the pleasure of Allah Almighty by following the way of Prophet (PBUH). But socialism rejects the existence of God and Prophethood. During 1970 election Maulana has predicted the disintegration of Pakistan due to increasing sentiments of regionalism. Maulan’s contributions towards understanding Islam and Islamic state as well as towards national integration should be acknowledged at all levels.

Another reformer of Pakistan’s history was Fazal-ur-Rahman. He has also been considered an influential thinker of Pakistan. He studied Islamic law from his father Maulana Shehab-ud-Din. He received his education from Punjab University, Lahore and Oxford University London. After teaching in various international educational institutions he served as advisor to Ayub Khan. His main work is related to religious law. According to him laws in the Muslim world have not been derived from the true spirit of the Quran. In many cases particularly laws have been made on the basis of analogical reasoning (Qiyas), which “was not perfected to the requisite degree”. (Rahman, 1982 : 2). He propagated the philosophy and methodology of Islamic law in a way that meaning of the Quran should be understood keeping in view the historical context. (Ibid : 6). His main emphasis was on “Ijtihad”, which according to him is ‘the struggle to comprehend the sense of a pertinent text or pattern in the past comprising a rule, and to modify that rule by encompassing, confining or otherwise adjusting it in such a way that a new condition can be incorporated under it by a new resolution’ (Ibid : 7-8).

He was a believer of democratic principle in Islam but he also explained further that there might be various forms of democracy depending upon the widespread socio-political circumstances’ (Rahman, 1967 : 207). Therefore establishment of modern democratic institutions were not against the principle of Islamic democracy. However he

had the view that in the contemporary Muslim world, due to un-educated and under-developed societies, it is difficult to introduce true democracies. His view point on interest of bank accounts was that it is not un-Islamic for being different from “Riba” (Usury). He was also the architect of family laws introduced during Ayub Khan’s period. He remained a controversial personality throughout his stay in Pakistan because of his reformist ideas. Therefore he had to leave the country after mass agitation against him in 1968.

Dr. Muhammad Khalid Masud is another reformer in Pakistan. Who is a scholar of Islamic Studies. He remained associated with Islamic Research Institute for a long time. He was also appointed Chairman of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) during Musharraf period. His main work is related to those issues of law for which there are no precedents in Islamic history therefore it is difficult to resolve them within the framework of classical Muslim law. He is the supporter of inductive reasoning (Maslaha). Masud “views the Quran and the Hadith as basic Islamic text. He does not consider the Quran a book of laws but acknowledges its normative character”. (Hassan, 2009 : 174). On the other hand he proposes that Hadith should also be recompiled in chronological order to avoid repetition. Masud’s view point regarding present forms of democracies in the entire world, that they are not compatible to Islam because present democracies do not ascribe any room and value to the common man as an individual (Masud, 2004, <http://www.maruf.org/frames/Articles/article-3.htm>). As a Chairman of CII, he has also struggled for the amendments in Hudood Ordinance enforced during Zia regime.

Javed Ahmad Ghamidi is another reformist thinker in contemporary Pakistan. Initially he remained affiliated with J.I. leaders like Amin Ahsan Islahi and Maulana Maudoodi. However his point of view regarding establishment of Islamic state is different than that of JI. To him establishment of Islamic order is not the basic obligation. He is patronizing a chain of schools with the aim to prepare youth with highly qualified in modern disciplines with sufficient knowledge of their religion and culture.

He was a member of CII during Musharraf government. According to his point of view the Holy Quran compiled and arranged by the Prophet (PBUH) under divine

guidance “Possesses nazm (coherence) at both the structural and thematic level, (Ifikhar, 2004 : 54). His political theory also supports democracy of such type which develops social order and political organization in the form of a just and fair government. “To be successful in this aim, persons need heavenly assistance. For Muslims this guidance is provided by the Quran and the Sunnah”. (Hassan, 209 : 178).

One thing is quite evident from the study of these reformist thinkers that from Iqbal to Ghamidi, every person had to face a lot of criticism by the contemporary scholars with conservative ideas. All these thinkers might not true completely in their respective approaches, but at least they have tried to reconstruct the religious thought in Islam. Their endeavours should be considered as attempts on their part to “go back to Quran and go forward with Ijtihad” (Iqbal, 1962 : 148). Beyond their failure or success, ‘they have enthused new thinking on current issues and confirmed that Islam is a dynamic religion, in order to build modern, just, accelerative looking and life upholding Muslim cultures’ (Hassan, 2009 : 161).

Islam was the main factor which integrated all the Muslims during Pakistan movement and made the creation of Pakistan possible. But what an irony that this is the area that has been widely exploited and abused by the religio-political leaders and organizations, the military dictators and the extremists to further their agenda of domination over state system. The misuse of religion can be seen in many forms and manifestations. The religious parties use Islam as a slogan to influence their voters. In Pakistan’s political history JI, JUI, JUP, PAT, TNFJ, SSP, PST, MMA and many others have always used Islamic sentiments of the simpleton to go through with their political interest.

The military rulers like Yahya Khan and particularly Zia-ul-Haq used this to seek legitimacy and extension in their rule. The extremists used this to motivate their ignorant followers against socialism, capitalism and secularism. They decided to launch a “Jihad” against all such forces whether present abroad or inside the country. Their approach is based on “do or die” principle. Thus they are ever ready to commit all type of attacks including suicidal attacks against their adversaries. On other hand the secular

forces taking the advantage of extremist's irrational and implausible approaches start abusing the religion with heart desires interpretations. The endeavours to misuse the religion by the religio-political parties, the rulers and the extremists has always strengthened the anti-religion and secular forces in their attempts to distort the religious background of freedom movement "*Verily, it is not the eyes that grow blind, but it is the hearts which are in the breasts that grow blind*" (Al-Hajj, 22 : 46).

Pakistan has become a victim of two extremes - the religious and the secular. Both the extremes are not very much clear in their respective ideologies because their political stances are subject to change with the changing situations. Neither of the both could ever succeed to present a systematic workable approach to the target, "They have never developed solid plans in any areas concerning national life". (Jan, 2003 : 214).

As far as the policies of religious parties are concerned, they are busy in political maneuvering and getting portfolios in various governments. In the race of power politics they may go to any extent even establish a new faction after breaking away from the parent body. They will try to convince their voters that they are more sincere towards establishment of Islamic system in the country. Not only the clergy, but the so called Muslim reformers have also developed personal interests. "They are ready to defend their stakes and go to any length to justify their point of view" (Jan, 2003 : 215).

In Pakistan's political culture neither secular rulers like Ayub Khan nor religious ruler like Zia-ul-Haq nor the combination of the two like Musharraf – MMA (Mutahida Majlis-i-Amal but jeeringly called Mullah Military Alliance) could succeed to win the goodwill of the people. Majority of the people do believe that religious parties use Islam for votes through which they intend to implement their own specific version of Islam. Particularly the masses get annoyed with the violent religious groups in the shape of LeJ and Taliban.

The golden principle of moderation widely propagated by Quran and Hadith are not being followed by any revivalists. Consequently no real Islamic system has taken roots in Muslim countries. Not even in Iran and Saudi Arabia, who are considered the champions of their respective Islamic model, a genuine religious thought process has

emerged to bring about a solid change in the society. Similarly Pakistan is lacking in developing a system through constitutional means to provide the Muslims of this state an optimism that our struggle is for implementation of Islamic thought and our ultimate target is to create a justice based welfare state. All Pakistani's want to live their lives in accordance with the Islamic principles if provided an opportunity to live so. If a genuine religious thought prevail to exist in Pakistan then all the extremes whether religious or secular would automatically disappear.

God Almighty, through the revelations in the form of Quran introduced Islam as the most perfect, the universal and the final religion. Islam lays a special emphasis upon its followers to promote brotherhood, fraternity and equality. Islam has combined the spiritual or religious side and the worldly side together. 'On the spiritual or religious side Islam had been completed, but on the mundane or worldly side, the state in Islam was not a finished product, as the community was to keep on evolving under a legal imperative'. (Jan, 2003 : 240). The Muslims as well as the non-Muslims must try to understand that Allah, Who is the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful, has not made any laws which may cause pain to His creatures. Instead He wants from human being to, live under certain order. There should be peace and justice in the society so that the people may worship Him without any fear of pauperism, exploitation and lawlessness. "Allah has only one global and universal rule for making one prosperous that is hard work (Ahmad, 2004 : 99).

## Chapter -7

### CONCLUSION

Pakistan came into existence on the basis of unprecedented unity demonstrated by the Muslims of Sub-continent for the purpose of creation of an Islamic welfare state. The idea was initiated by Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal and persuaded by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah till the time of successful culmination, “Pakistan movement was not a spontaneous reaction of any political, economic or constitutional intricacy rather it had its origin in a strong religious vision” (Tamimi, 2008 : 353). Pakistan movement was fundamentally a religious struggle and it was consequent upon the historical realities of the Sub-continent.

Sincere and self-motivated leadership was utmost required to materialize the concept of a Muslim state for the Muslims of South Asia. Such leadership who could make the Muslims unite for this noble cause. Once the Muslims became united, their separate identity and nationhood would automatically be acknowledged. If the Muslims succeeded to maintain the integration, then a genuine Islamic state might be emerged in this region. The Muslims of South Asia found their leaders of caliber and competency- Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah-. The challenge before the leadership was to find irrefutable source which could unite the Muslims for their ultimate objective. There existed an extensive diversity among the Muslims of South Asia. They were fragmented into castes, sects, races, regions and cultures. Nothing, except religion, was common among the followers of Islam. Hence religion was the only factor that could develop into a thought for national integration.

Strongly inspired by the religious thought, leadership and the people both did reach the destination in 1947 in the shape of Pakistan. The quantum of sacrifices reached beyond calculations but the nation remained intact and bore the entire catastrophe with restraint and utmost endurance. The sufferers included all sects, races and denomination. But the spirit reflected at that time was purely religious. The people struggled for religion; they sacrificed and endured the consequences just for religion. The natives welcomed the refugees with the same spirit as seen during the times of Prophet’s (PBUH)

migration from Makkah to Madina. The feelings of Islamic brotherhood, harmony and preference were at its apex. Religion had bound the nation into one whole and they were anxious to see their dreams – an Islamic state – to be cherished without fail.

But as Byron writes “I had a dream, which was not all a dream, ([www.pretry.foundation.org/poem/173081](http://www.pretry.foundation.org/poem/173081)), similarly the dream of Islamic state and society in accordance with the true spirit of Islam is yet an ongoing process. The unnecessary delay, whether justified or not, in implementation of Islamic system had badly shaken the foundations of the country. The people’s will and sentiments have not been channelized in a proper direction. The policies introduced by the so-called popular leadership as well as by the civil and military establishment neither could fill the vacuum nor could check the rapid deterioration in the fundamental thought process.

A status quo had continued to prevail even after becoming independent. The imperialist style of administration was sustained by the nexus of feudal and civil-military bureaucracy. Resultantly the entire direction of religious thought had changed into a personal thought. And no personal thought had ever been capable to act as a source of integration. That is why new ideologies like ethnicity, regionalism, sectarianism and narrow nationalism began to emerge. Dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971, secessionist movements in Baluchistan and some demands of loose confederation, instead of strong federation from other regions of the state put a big question mark on ideological orientation of Pakistan.

The secular extremists completely refuted the Islamic basis of Pakistan while the religious extremists projected a theocratic model. Each of these factions wanted to impose their respective mind set upon rest of the millions of Pakistanis. “A broad classification leaves us with two extremes: Mullas and “Moderates”, with many shades on each sides” (Jan, 2003 : 213). The religious leaders have their influence at the gross root level. They are always in a position to exploit and manipulate the religious tendencies of the people due to their retained desire of the Islamic state based on Shariah or Islamic law.

The secular and so-called liberals have a strong backing of the western thoughts. They have no understanding of the ground realities in the society of Pakistan. Their liberal and democratic models are based, in one way or the other, on the negation of religion from the state affairs. On the other hand they too are unsuccessful to present a viable state system compatible with the needs and wishes of the people of Pakistan. They generally talk of a state system based on a lie wishful thinking. They are failed to “understand that democratic values are concealed in Islamic thought if one wants to look for them, and that it would be more natural and organic for the Muslim world to develop existing liberal practices from its own sources than to import them wholesale from alien philosophies” (Fuller, 2002 : 52).

Islamic system of statecraft based on democratic principles of consultations. There is a clear concept of elections and parliament. However this election and parliament may not resemble with the western democratic systems. Islam has its own distinct features which make it totally independent religion. It cannot be compelled to borrow any idea or ism from outside. It is complete in all respects by the verdict of Allah Almighty. Muslims have been ordered by their Lord to follow this religion in totality and being selective is not any option available for the followers of Islam, “*O you who believe! Enter perfectly in Islam*” (Al-Baqarah,2 : 208). It is obvious from this Quranic verse that Islam wants perfection from its followers regarding adoption and implementation of Allah’s commandments.

Being selective or to intermix religion with any other systems is strictly disallowed in Islam because no religion of the world is at par with Islam. Islam has superseded all the previous religions. “*Truly, the religion with Allah is Islam*” (Al-Imran,3 : 19). “*And whoever seeks a religion other than Islam, it will never be accepted of him*”. (Al-Imran,3 : 85). If the Muslims are holders of the most perfect religion of the world then why they are so divided and so dejected? The reason seems to be obvious that the Muslims are unsuccessful to make their religion updated and practicable with the changing, native and global, geo-political and socio-economic circumstances. To secure the genuineness of the religion no Islamic research institutions, with the exception of

some half-hearted attempts, has been established to bring the religious teaching out of stagnation.

The revival and renaissance is only possible by making Islam as a dynamic religion, that in actual it is, through ‘reconstruction of religious thoughts’. During the times of the Prophet (PBUH), the updating and reconstruction of the religious thought was done by Allah Almighty Himself, when He abrogated the laws enunciated in earlier revealed Books and repealed some of the Quranic Verses, under the principle of “*Naskh*” (Annulment). Secondly the Holy Prophet (PBUH) provided a lot of further explanation of the Quranic Verses through “Hadith”. (Prophet’s Sayings), which is also a revealed knowledge but not included in the Quranic text.

Later on the religious thought had been updated and reconstructed by the companions of the Prophet PBUH and their successor religious scholars. The main system introduced for this purpose was “*Fiqh*” (Jurisprudence). The basis of jurisprudence was also Divine Revelation in the form of Quran and Hadith but the emerging issues were also resolved through other sources of Islamic knowledge i.e., “*Ijma*” (Consensus of opinion of the competent persons), “*Qiyas*” (Analogical deductions) and “*Ijtihad*” (Independent interpretation). Even the companions of the Prophet PBUH used all these sources while making decisions regarding “The points on which the Quranic injunctions were either silent or unclear” (Hassan, 1982 : 16). All the above mentioned sources were, primarily, attempts on the part of believers to make the Word of God understand and none of these were the out of the domain of Islamic injunctions as Allah Himself has said in the Holy Quran. “*Do they not then think in the Quran*”(Muhammad,47: 24)

This recommendation of the Quran is not restricted only to the legal matters but in wider terms cover all aspects of human life, namely, social, political, theological, legal and economic. However no religion of the world, particularly, Islam allows its followers to make interpretations on the basis of self will. In an Islamic system one of the institutions responsible for *Ijtihad* is the Parliament. Any such interpretation must be carried out in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah. But “not everything that is

approved by the Parliament would itself become part of the religion because delegating too much authority would invest sovereignty of Parliament instead of God Almighty” (Jan, 2003 : 196).

None of the Parliaments in Pakistan’s history was competent enough to make decisions on the basis of personal interpretations because the state structure was based on western democratic model instead of Islamic model of democracy. Although attempts were made within as well as outside the parliament to make all legislation within the boundaries of Quran and Sunnah but all such attempts were neutralized by landed aristocracy. Mostly the constitutions and the laws have been made to safeguard the interests of the upper classes and ruling elites rather than to protect the rights of the masses. The preamble of the constitution, the chapters of fundamental rights, the directive principles of state policy and Islamic provisions were added just as cosmetics to disguise a secular constitution under the garb of Islam. In ordinary circumstances these chapters preamble, fundamental rights, principles of policy etc., of the constitutions do not affect the lives of poor and under-privileged majority of Pakistanis.

The people’s dream of an Islamic welfare state, where they would be able to get freedom, equality and justice, was destroyed by systems of exploitation, (Ali, 1992 : 122). Consequently the oppressed, disgruntled and downtrodden classes of the society under the influence of selfish and opportunistic leaders have lost confidence in the state institutions. This trust deficit has given birth to sub-national and counter ideologies which caused a serious damage to national integration.

Since the people of Pakistan, both the rulers and the subjects, do not completely aware of their duty, they lack the effort to understand the religion. They are unable to differentiate between good and bad. Half-hearted attempts to implement Islamic order have further worsened the situation. Alongside ethnic and regional groups, the conservatives and liberals have bifurcated the society into new formats. The fundamentalists believe that keeping beard, wearing specific dress and carrying on “*Jihad*” (Holy War) against the non-believers is total Islam. While the so called liberals and seculars go to the extreme position by saying that Shariah (Islamic Law) would

amount to violation of human rights. The religio-political parties of Pakistan who are the biggest advocates of Shariah do not have capable researchers and well-equipped team of persons with socio-economic, geo-political and scientific knowledge as well as insight. Whenever they have come in power, though in some measures, they could not address the prevailing issues of the society. The model presented by them is not distinct, practically, than that of other political parties.

In the prevailing circumstances neither secular nor religious parties can resolve the issues of disharmony, sectarian divide, ethnic consideration and disintegration due to the mutual differences amongst themselves. The only way forward is to follow the commandments of Allah and his Messenger by creating a just and peaceful society as envisaged by our forefathers and millions of Muslims of Sub-continent. Mere slogan of implementation of Shariah without a system can not help the Muslims of Pakistan to become one community. The religious thought not the religiosity can bind the Muslims into one nationhood as it had bound earlier during Pakistan movement. If religion is the world of innermost then it must make the people unite. Because human heart is positioning in the innermost which is, according to spiritual theory, the place where God Almighty used to live.

And the God Almighty never wants fragmentation and disintegration among Muslims. As He says in the Holy Quran, “*And hold fast all together by the Rope (Islam) and be not divided among yourselves*”. ( Al-Imran,3 : 103). Islam is the most favoured religion of God Almighty. With us, it is a Trust of God and His Messenger (PBUH). The religion binds the Muslims into brotherhood. This bonding among believers has gone through several iterations, starting from Prophet Adam to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). According to Prophet’s teachings “A believer to another believer is like a building whose different parts enforce each other” (Khan, 1982 : 34).

This is the responsibility of the scholars to project and propagate the need for integration among the Muslims. They should work together, keeping aside their petty issues, for the collective benefit of the nation. They must avoid exaggeration, not only in the matters of their particular sect but also in the matters refer to Allah Almighty, (Shah,

2007 : 12). Allah says in the Quran “*Do not exceed the limits in your religion*” (An-Nisa,4 : 171).