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PAPER 17



**CHALLENGE OF IDENTITY AND
GOVERNANCE
QUAID'S VISION: THE WAY FORWARD**



Islamabad Policy Research Institute

**CHALLENGE OF IDENTITY AND GOVERNANCE
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BY

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ACRONYMS

AIML	All-India Muslim League
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
D-8	Developing Eight
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
INC	Indian National Congress
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MNA	Member National Assembly
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NRPs	Non-Resident Pakistanis
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan Peoples' Party
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
TTP	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
UN	United Nations
UP	Uttar Pradesh
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The purpose of this treatise is to put in correct perspective the guidelines given by the founding fathers, especially Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah so as to dispel: one, the current misgivings about identity; and second, check the national drift due to poor governance in Pakistan. Like many other developing countries there is a polarization in Pakistan between traditionalists and modernists with their different worldviews which need to be harmonized. Improvement in governance is the other dire need of the country. This issue was reflected in a letter the author received from General Mirza Aslam Beg (ret'd), former Army Chief.¹ He raises the point that there are hardly 30 percent people who have received education in religious as well as worldly subjects and who deserve to be called "true Pakistanis." The greatest challenge to Pakistan, in his view, is how to increase the percentage from 30 to 60 or 70 so that the ideological foundation of Pakistan is strengthened. Secondly, he also mentions corruption, inefficiency and terrorism eating away at the roots of democracy in the country. This is a serious reflection on the country's governance.

The goal of having an educated class comprising 60 to 70 percent Pakistanis can be achieved if (1) the decision of the 1972 national education policy for compulsory education up to secondary level, and (2) integration of madrassa/religious teaching with the mainstream education is implemented with due seriousness as a national task. The need for this was realized as early as the year of Pakistan's inception in the Report of All Pakistan Educational Conference held on November 27-December 1, 1947 in Karachi. The right type of religious education would lead to enlightenment and national unity and not bigotry and sectarian-mindedness. For instance, the founder of Pakistan did consider the ideological basis of Pakistan but he would not interpret Islam in "a strait-jacket of a narrow-minded sectarian definition, instead of a liberal enlightened view of this great religion."²

This being an area of national concern, the government cannot take a back seat in performing its duty and must assume the role of an effective organizer and regulator of the country's education policy that

¹ English version at Appendix 1.

² S. M. Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam and Education* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1995), xlvii.

has to address among other issues the removal of class barrier between the English and Urdu medium students, a goal that the 1970 education policy required together with the achievement of one hundred percent literacy. There can be no two opinions on the plain truth that the future of the nation — its identity and governance — is dependent on education.

The non-implementation of education policies and failure to achieve their goals — hundred percent literacy, access to education for all, and integration of madrassa education with the mainstream education system — is a reflection on governance and has resulted in the growth of three streams of people: ultra-religious, ultra secularists and moderates. C. Christine Fair,³ a US scholar, concludes in one of her essays: “It is entirely possible that two Pakistanis will exist in an uneasy and unstable equilibrium with each other. On one hand will be the Pakistan of forward looking modernizing Pakistanis, who want to free the state of its reliance on dangerous proxies. On the other hand will be the Pakistan of those who view Islam and Islamism as the only meaningful antidote to the various pressures bearing on the state and its politics.”⁴ Stephen P. Cohen,⁵ another American expert on South Asia, asked: “whether it is too late to re-invent Pakistan and what paths, besides the restoration of Jinnah’s liberal idea of Pakistan, are possible for a Pakistan that is now immersed in identity and governance crisis.”⁶

It is, therefore, high time we set our house in order. It is imperative that the national education policies should be implemented vigorously so that there is no polarization and conflict between modernists and traditionalists, no confusion or dichotomy in the thinking of our intelligentsia about the Islamic identity of the state. Secondly, there is a need to attain higher standards in science and technology. Although there is a quantum jump from a solitary university in 1947 to over 130 universities and degree awarding institutions today, qualitatively they are far below the standard and ranking among the top universities of the world. In the highly competitive globalised world of

³ Dr. C. Christine Fair is an Assistant Professor in the Center for Peace and Security Studies, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

⁴ Dr. Christine Fair, “Addressing Fundamental Changes,” in *The Future of Pakistan*, ed. Stephen P. Cohen et al (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 105.

⁵ Dr Stephen P, Cohen is a Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Former ACDIS Director and Professor Emeritus, Political Science and History and author of several books including *The Future of Pakistan*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 293.

today, Pakistan has to move forward as a modern progressive welfare nation-state rooted in Islamic principles as visualized by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, who had warned: “Education is a matter of life and death to our nation. The world is moving so fast that if you do not educate yourselves you will be not only completely left behind but will be finished up.”⁷

The prevailing corruption, inefficiency and terrorism are actually a reflection on governance. The recipe for solving this crucial problem is available in the vision of the Quaid and the guidelines he gave to realize it. This is the main concern of this paper.

I am grateful to Lieutenant General Kamal Mateenuddin, HI (M), former Director-General, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad and Dr. M. Naeem Qureshi, former Professor, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for reviewing the paper and giving useful suggestions. I owe my thanks to Mr. Mushir Anwar for editing the text and Mr. Khalid Hussain Chandio for reviewing the footnotes and preparing the index. However, the responsibility for the views expressed and flaws is entirely mine.

March 23, 2013

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⁷ Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam and Education*, xxviii.

INTRODUCTION

The Islamic ideology is enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan, but the moot point is whether the state should be modeled on the pattern of mediaeval Islam or it should be a modern nation-state rooted in Islam. A US scholar, C. Christine Fair, concludes in one of her essays: It is entirely possible that two Pakistans will exist in an uneasy and unstable equilibrium with each other. On one hand will be the Pakistan of forward looking modernizing Pakistanis, who want to free the state of its reliance on dangerous proxies. On the other hand will be the Pakistan of those who view Islam and Islamism as the only meaningful antidote to the various pressures bearing on the state and its politics.”⁸

The identity of a state has socio-cultural and political contexts. Ideology deals with “the beliefs, notions and theories growing out of fundamental assumptions held by the members of a group; beliefs, sometimes the member makes a conscious effort to acquire the right kind of idea, more often he accepts them unconsciously.”⁹ “The ideology of a nation always reflects the state of a people’s mind, their notions, hopes, aspirations, ideals or objectives and subsisting will to realize them. The worth of any ideology depends on the extent of a people’s dedication to it and not on its rational or scientific demonstration.”¹⁰

Although the Constitution of Pakistan requires the legislators “to preserve the Islamic Ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan,”¹¹ the nation’s views on the identity of Pakistan are divided. To some the pattern of government which the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had in mind was a “secular democratic government.”¹² On the other hand, its identity is said to be firmly founded on Islam.¹³ This treatise is not an attempt to debate what is the consensus on ideology and identity of Pakistan, but to see how Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, amongst others, thought of a separate Muslim state and what led Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to spearhead the movement for Pakistan, as a marker to find the way forward in the future.

⁸ Christine Fair, “Addressing Fundamental Changes,” 105.

⁹ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1979), 25.

¹⁰ Javid Iqbal, *Ideology of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1971), 1.

¹¹ Oath of office given in the “Third Schedule,” *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973*.

¹² Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, 29.

¹³ A. H. Dani, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan* (Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University, 1981), 206.

Genesis

The establishment of Pakistan in 1947 was an “unprecedented cyclonic revolution,” said Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. It was unprecedented because a new country was born in the teeth of stiff opposition from all quarters, especially the Indian National Congress (INC) dominated by Caste Hindus, who were set to rule over the entire subcontinent on the basis of their permanent commanding majority in a parliamentary democratic system. Even, a prominent section of Muslims including the main religious party Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind opposed it. And, above all, the British government had rejected any scheme of division of British India and wanted it and its armed forces to remain united so that their global defence against the Soviet Russia was not weakened or disturbed. It was a cyclonic revolution because the All-India Muslim League (AIML) demand made in 1940 was nowhere near acceptance, and the British Prime Minister Clement Richard Attlee, in his letter of March 18, 1947, had directed Mountbatten, the Viceroy of India, that it was the definite policy of Britain to keep India a united country and a member of the British Commonwealth. But two weeks had not passed when the climate suddenly changed. Civil war erupted in the strategic region of the Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa — the home of the bulk of the soldiers — upon rejection of the installation of the Muslim League Ministry in Lahore. Fear of the disintegration of the Armed Forces on communal lines, of declaration of jihad that Muslim tribes of the Northwest and Afghanistan could join, and the likelihood of Soviet Russia jumping in to fish in the troubled warm waters of the Arabian Sea forced the colonial power to reverse its earlier resolve and hurriedly agree to the division of the subcontinent. Even the Indian National Congress had to swallow this bitter pill. This indeed was cyclonic happening. Yet, there was an intense effort to retain the Indian Army united under a Supreme Commander and a joint Governor-General, which proposal was firmly rejected by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah.¹⁴

However, the underlying and deep rooted factors for the division were that the South Asian Subcontinent consists of four geographical units: the Indus basin in the northwest, the Gangetic basin in the north, the Padma-Meghna delta region in the northeast and the Deccan plateau in the south.¹⁵ These regions depict cultural differences and diversities. The Gangetic basin in the centre is self-centred, while the Padma-Meghna delta is closer to the monsoonic region of Southeast Asia. The open gates of the Indus basin region

¹⁴ For details see Noor-ul-Haq, Chapter VII, “Military Question and the Establishment of Pakistan,” in *Making of Pakistan: Military Perspective* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), 162-186.

¹⁵ Muhammad Rafique Afzal, ed., *The Case for Pakistan* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1979), xxv.

have “determined an outlook of life conditioned by factors affecting human movements in Asia.”¹⁶ Thus we see a different reaction of the Indus basin and Delta regions in contrast to the Gangetic basin in accepting Buddhism, Islam and Pakistan.

Of the several waves of people moving into South Asia, the most dominant group had been the Muslims from Arabia, Iran and Turkistan who brought “the people of this land face to face with the main historical currents of Asia” and had kept alive “cultural pattern peculiar to them.”¹⁷ Even when they spread into different areas, their culture continued to remain distinct from the rest of the people inhabiting the same region. “The homogeneity of the historical culture of the Muslims is the great heritage that has come down to us,” and it is one of the factors that binds the people together,¹⁸ and worked for the separate entity of Pakistan.

Culturally, therefore, the Hindus and Muslims always represented two different civilizations and cultures. “The basic ingredient of Hindu society was the steel-frame of the caste system and the institution of untouchability,” while Muslims believed in the “equality of men”, which is a basic tenet of their faith.¹⁹ The disconnect between Hindu civilization and Muslim civilization was another factor calling for separate entity of Pakistan.

Historically, the ancient and mediaeval periods of the subcontinent are a “record of warring kingdoms constantly fighting with each other, every strong power trying to establish an empire for itself.”²⁰ It was only under the Maurias, Guptas, the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals that through conquest and military force a good deal of unification of India was achieved. On the same pattern the British conquered the subcontinent and placed it under one administration which could work only if backed by superior military force. As a colony “India was never united or divided — it was a British possession.”²¹ Logically, after the departure of the colonial power, the temporary unity of the subcontinent should cease to exist.

Since the establishment of the British rule, it was visualized that after their departure India might be divided into a number of independent states, but British rulers and their Hindu and Muslim subjects, viewed the prospects from different angles. As early as 1858, the British administrators appreciated that the unity imposed by them was a facade and that whenever they would

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹⁹ Ibid., xxvii.

²⁰ Prof. M. Tahir Jamil, “The Myth of Akhand Hindustan,” *Dawn*, February 25, 1945.

²¹ Jinnah told the British Council delegation, April 4, 1946. See Nicholas Mansergh and E. W. R. Lumby, eds., *The Transfer of Power 1942-47* (later abbreviated as TP), vol. VI (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1970), 123.

leave India it would again split into independent states as was the case before their arrival.²² It has been alleged that the British purposefully declared Indians as one nation so as to exploit the conflict this would generate among the various peoples, especially between the Hindus and Muslims as the majority and minority communities and they “opened a flood of such stupendous propaganda that the question came to be regarded as a real problem.”²³ Although Hindu-Muslim differences did exist but these were exploited and exaggerated under British rule making both communities increasingly conscious of their separate entities.

Hindus generally welcomed the idea of “India [as] a nation” because they conceived in it their hegemony over the entire Indian subcontinent on the strength of their superior number under democratic norms. This was in spite of men like Bhai Parmanand,²⁴ who among Hindus did not agree with the idea. They, along with Muslims, felt that although they could unite against the British they could not do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines.²⁵

As for the Muslims, their primary aim was to oust the British colonial masters who had ended Muslim supremacy in the subcontinent. In their struggle against the British the Muslims divided themselves into two main groups. To use the terminology expounded by the universal historian Professor Arnold Joseph Toynbee, the first were the “Herodians” like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who favoured equipping the Muslims with the weapon of the enemy and the second were the “Zealots,” such as the majority of the Ulema and religious parties, who clung to their past. The latter decided to cooperate with the Indian National Congress (INC) and all others whom they thought would help in overthrowing the foreign yoke. When the departure of the foreign masters became imminent, the separate identities of both Hindus and Muslims were asserted.

Following the rise of nationalist movements among Hindus and Muslims, several proposals for self-governing units in India came to light. According to Dr. K.K. Aziz, a well known writer, as many as 170 such ideas and proposals were made during 1858-1940.²⁶ He maintains:

In 1858 the Muslims of India ceased to be the rulers, and became a problem. During the next 82 years this problem and the means of solving it determined the course of Indian politics. Several constitutional devices and arrangements were tried, and a

²² Afzal, *The Case*, xi-xii.

²³ Khaliqzaman cited in Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League*, vol. II (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970), 342.

²⁴ Afzal, *The Case*, xiii and footnote.

²⁵ Lala Lajpat Rai, a Mahasabha leader wrote to C. R. Das, around 1925, quoted by Jinnah, Pirzada, *Foundations*, vol. II, 335-6.

²⁶ K.K. Aziz, *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, volume I (Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd., 1987), xiii.

series of reforms were enacted. Political parties were established to watch over Muslim interests, which claimed safeguards, separate electorates, weighted representation, quota in the public services and preservation of religious liberties and cultural values. Most of these demands were conceded. Yet, in the end, all shields and concessions failed to secure their future, and, in March 1940, the Muslim League was forced to adopt the partition of India as its goal – belatedly, reluctantly, half-heartedly.²⁷

The creation of a separate state of Pakistan had become inevitable owing to geographical, historical, cultural and political factors as well as due to consciousness of separate Hindu-Muslim identities and civilizations. After the end of the colonial rule the artificial political unity could not sustain specially due to the failure of the AIML's efforts to secure the future of Muslim minority under the majority caste Hindu government to be set up.

However, after its establishment in 1947, Pakistan is now at cross-roads, whether the country should adopt the system of governance prevalent in the developed world or should it revert to the past Muslim rule in India? Should Pakistan be a theocracy or a secular state? Should it be an Islamic caliphate or a modern democratic state? The conflict of ideas makes Pakistanis a vibrant nation provided, as a civilized people, they welcome dialogue, are not divided and amicably arrive at a solution with consensus. If they remain intolerant of others and use violent methods, the country would be lead to anarchy. This treatise would, therefore, focus on the identity of Pakistan and, secondly, discuss governance issues in the light of the vision of the founding fathers, especially Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah.

Vision of Founding Fathers (Iqbal and Jinnah)

Several visionary leaders contributed towards the emergence of Pakistan, but Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), the philosopher-guide, and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), the founder, are most prominent. Iqbal was the one who showed his concern about the plight of Indian Muslims and diagnosed the causes of their inactivity, dormant state and defective understanding of Islamic values and morality. He thought that the underlying causes of the degeneration of Muslims all over the world were *mulukiat* (kingship), *mullaiyat* (priesthood) and *khanqahiyat* (monasticism). His concern was reflected in his poetry, especially in *Bang-i-Dara*, which sought to rekindle among Muslims pride in their glorious past. His collection *Ramooz* pertains to

²⁷ Ibid., xiii.

the reconstruction of *millat*, which is “the basis of Iqbal’s social and political philosophy.”²⁸

Iqbal remained a keen observer of the political upheavals of his time, such as, the Punjab tragedy (1919), the Khilafat movement (1919-24) and its non-cooperation programme (1919-22), and the troubles of the helpless Ottoman Turks. And, yet, in his *Tulu-i-Islam* (1924) he expresses his optimism about the re-awakening of the Muslim world. According to Iqbal:

Secularism in Turkey did not mean abandoning Islam. It was so understood because it was seen in the European framework of the separation of Church and State. The idea of separation of Church and State is not alien to Islam. The difference between the European and Islamic framework of separation is that in Islam it is a division of functions, while in Europe it signified metaphysical dualism of the material and spiritual worlds as opposed to Islam that from the very beginning was a civil society with laws civil in their nature though believed to be revelation in origin.²⁹

In the modern era, in Iqbal’s opinion, the Caliphate or Imamate can be vested in a body of persons or an elected assembly.³⁰ He says: “The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam.”³¹ And “the truth is that among the Muslim nations of today, Turkey alone has shaken off its dogmatic slumber, and attained to self-consciousness. She alone has claimed her right intellectual freedom; she alone has passed from the ideal to the real — a transition which entails keen intellectual and moral struggle.”³²

But it was at Allahabad in December 1930 that, while presiding over the annual session of AIML, he delivered a thought-provoking presidential address which is considered a landmark in the genesis of Pakistan. The crucial passage in his address was the solution to the communal problem in India: “I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province [now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa], Sind and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the

²⁸ Riffat Hassan, *An Iqbal Primer: An Introduction to Iqbal’s Philosophy* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1979), 104-05.

²⁹ Iqbal cited in Muhammad Khalid Masud, “Islam and Democracy in Pakistan,” in *Islam and State: Practice and Perceptions in Pakistan and the Contemporary Muslim World*, eds. Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri et al., (Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2012), 34.

³⁰ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1986), 124.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

³² *Ibid.*, 128.

formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.”³³ He did not, however, specifically mention about the destiny of the Muslim majority region in North-East India.

Elaborating his demand, Iqbal said that the “Muslim State [is] in the best interest of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit.” And in conclusion of his address he advised Muslims: “Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however direct on material ends in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit, matter is diversity; spirit is light, life and unity.”³⁴

The greatest contribution of Iqbal to the genesis of Pakistan, however, was his “talent of persuasion that marked him as the founding father of Pakistan.”³⁵ Apart from Iqbal’s philosophical writings and talks which may have influenced the intelligentsia, Muslim masses were attracted and inspired by Iqbal’s motivating verses recited at public meetings of the AIML. In fact, one of the aims of his poetry was “rousing the Muslim nation from the stupor that had befallen it with the passage of time.”³⁶ After arousing self-consciousness and self-respect among the Muslims through his writings, he practically participated in politics during the last twelve years (1926-1938) of his life.

Towards the end of his life, Iqbal acted as a philosopher-guide to Jinnah. On May 28, 1937, he wrote to him: “After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this system of law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. ...Don’t you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived?”³⁷ Again, on June 21, 1937, he urged upon Jinnah: “You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the

³³ Parveen Feroze Hassan, *The Political Philosophy of Iqbal* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1970), 332.

³⁴ *Iqbal’s address to the 25th Session of the AIML, Allahabad, December 29, 1930* (Islamabad: Ministry of Information, n.d.), conclusion.

³⁵ Freeland Abbot, “View of Democracy and the West,” in Hafeez Malik, 174.

³⁶ S. A Rahman, “Iqbal and Art,” *Shabeen*, vol. XXIX, no. 1, Iqbal No. (Peshawar: Air Headquarters, 1978): 35.

³⁷ S. A. Vahid, *Introduction to Iqbal* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), 48.

storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India.”³⁸

Iqbal was not communalist; he was concerned about the “spiritual emancipation of the individual.”³⁹ What is more important is that Iqbal stood for a self-governing “consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state” in the subcontinent. To him Islam is a dynamic religion and he saw mobility in the laws of *shariat*. Iqbal prefers *Ijtihadi* (evolutionary) Islam over *Taqleedi* (dogmatic) Islam.⁴⁰

As to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, his vision would be better understood if his personality was dispassionately studied. He started as an Indian nationalist, but Muslim interests remained close to his heart forever. For instance, in his speech at the Indian National Congress (INC) session (1906), Jinnah referred to the 1894 decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against the creation of religious endowments in favour of one’s family and descendents as a cause of “great disturbance among the Muhammadan community.” He demanded an impartial enquiry so that “our law is what we say and if that is so, we say that you should set it right.”⁴¹ As an Indian nationalist he was convinced that Muslims would benefit from the INC platform in schemes of education, Indianization of civil services and the defence forces, and the self-governance of India. For these objectives he waged a constitutional struggle.

Ever since his election in 1909 to the Imperial Legislative Council of the Governor-General, he had been representing the Bombay Muslims.⁴² In 1911, he introduced and then piloted successfully the Musalman Waqf Validating Bill in the Council,⁴³ which was the very first bill passed on the motion of a private member. In 1912, he criticized the Special Marriage Amendment Bill as opposed to Mohammadan Law.⁴⁴ In 1913, he joined AIML, but only after it had declared “self-government” as its goal and, which, according to him, would promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

Later, in 1916, he was elected as the President AIML. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was the crowning victory of Jinnah’s untiring efforts to bring the INC and the AIML to agree to a common programme. For this Hindu-Muslim unity and Congress-League cooperation, “Jinnah had to endure cynical

³⁸ Ibid., 49.

³⁹ Iqbal, *Reconstruction*, 179.

⁴⁰ Iqbal, “The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam,” *Reconstruction*, 116-142.

⁴¹ Report of 22nd INC held at Calcutta on December 26-29, 1906 (Calcutta 1907), 68-69.

⁴² Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation* (Karachi: 1981), 514-15.

⁴³ Ibid., 515.

⁴⁴ See proceedings of the Council of Governor-General India (Calcutta: 1912), 603.

and violent opposition, from extremists in both Congress and the League, also from those few Britons who still believed in the motto “Divide and Rule”.⁴⁵

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah kept the membership of the INC until 1920 when he walked out of their Nagpur session on the acceptance of Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement. As he had predicted, the movement became violent. Especially disturbing was the Moplahs (descendants of Arab sailors) riots in Malabar (August, 1921) in which no less than 10, 000 lives were lost,⁴⁶ and the Chauri-Chaura incident in the District of Gorakhpur in United Provinces (UP) in February 1922, when twenty-two policemen were killed. Gandhi had to call off the movement and admitted that the call for civil disobedience was a “Himalayan blunder.”

Jinnah rightly accused Gandhi for turning the Congress into an instrument to revive Hinduism.⁴⁷ He did not spare the government as well and always spoke his mind. Muslims’ interest always remained uppermost in his mind whether it was the demand for the separation of Sind from Bombay, introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan, or the question of representation of Muslims in the central and provincial legislatures. These demands were also included in the Delhi Proposals of 1927.

In 1928, Jinnah presented the Muslim viewpoint on the future constitution of India at the All Parties National Convention at Calcutta under the chairmanship of Pundit Motilal Nehru. His efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity received a great setback when the constitutional proposals known as “Nehru Report” (1928) formulated by the Convention ignored League’s proposals. To meet the strong desire of the Congress and Hindus, Jinnah went to the extent of ignoring the main Muslim requirement for separate electorates. He proposed for the acceptance of only three Muslim demands: (1) one-third Muslim representation at the Centre; (2) reservation of Muslim seats in the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of population for ten years; and (3) vesting of residue powers with the provinces. Instead of appreciating the efforts for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, he was ridiculed in that Hindu-dominated body. Despite all this, he made a “conciliatory” and “persuasive” appeal to the Convention: “What we want is that Hindus and Muslims should march together until our object is obtained. Therefore, it is essential that you must get not only the Muslim League but the Musalmans of India. ...Do you want or do you not want the Muslim India to go along with you? ...Minorities cannot

⁴⁵ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah Creator of Pakistan* (London: Allies Book Corporation, 1954), 63.

⁴⁶ W. R. Smith, *Nationalism and Reforms in India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), 316.

⁴⁷ Jamiluddin Ahmad, *Some Speeches and Writing of Mr. Jinnah* (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1947)77.

give anything to the majority. It is, therefore, no use asking me not to press for what you call these small points. ...If they are small points, why not concede? It is up to the majority, and majority alone can give.”⁴⁸ The intransigence of the INC led him to part company with his former party.

In 1930-31, Jinnah represented Muslims in the Round Table Conferences where he presented Muslims’ point of view.⁴⁹ Since 1934, when he became the leader of the united Muslim League, he tirelessly worked “to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India,”⁵⁰ in the subcontinent. By 1940, Jinnah lost all hope to safeguard his co-religionists’ interests in a Hindu dominated India. The answer he found was in the partition of the subcontinent into Muslim India and Hindu India. The Indian nationalist, who was earlier acclaimed as an “ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity” was now branded as a “communalist.” The protection of Muslims, at least in their majority areas, from the onslaught of brute Caste Hindu majority was the sole purpose of Jinnah. And he believed in constitutional methods to achieve his objective.

Jinnah sincerely believed in Hindu-Muslim unity but on the basis of equality. He was aptly described as an Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity by Gopal Krishna Gokhale,⁵¹ a moderate Hindu leader of the subcontinent and Sarojini Naido⁵² who later became the Governor of Uttar Pradesh in India. The subcontinent is inhabited by different communities and nations. Of these Caste Hindus were in overall majority, but Muslims formed about one-fourth of the population, and had a majority concentration in the northeast and northwest of the subcontinent. The difference between Jinnah and the leaders of the majority was that whereas the former wanted unity on the basis of equality, the latter were adamant in ensuring permanent domination of the majority nation over the others in a democratic dispensation. In the caste-ridden mentality of South Asians it would have meant the acceptance of the status of an outcast. That status was not acceptable to Jinnah.

After its victory in the 1936 provincial elections, the Congress refused to associate and share power with the League; it did not agree to the AIML’s minimum constitutional safeguards; and certain policies of their ministers led Muslims to think that to most of the Hindu members of the Congress, “Indian nationalism” meant “Hindu nationalism” in which Muslims could have the status of a subordinate people without their own identity. The INC was

⁴⁸ Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam*, 109-110.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 171-5.

⁵⁰ This was one of the objectives of the AIML as laid down in its inaugural session held in 1906. See Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, vol. I (Karachi: 1969), 6.

⁵¹ Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah Creator of Pakistan*, 55.

⁵² Sarojini Naido, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity* (Madras: Ganesh, 1918).

working to obtain independence or dominion status without satisfying Muslim aspirations for self-rule and “present its own terms to the minorities for whom the only option would then be to live in perpetual mental torture.”⁵³ For instance, the INC’s agenda, to the dislike of Muslims, included replacement of Urdu language by Hindi, singing of *bande mataram* (a hymn to Hindu Goddess Durga) in schools and inclusion of its first two verses in the Indian national anthem, banning of cow slaughter, etcetera. The logical outcome of such a mindset was the parting of ways, the “two-nation theory” and the historic Lahore Resolution of March 24, 1940.

Jinnah, for the first time on January 1, 1940, categorically told Gandhi that an Indian nation did not exist.⁵⁴ He pronounced the “two-nation theory” and demanded Pakistan on its basis. Accordingly, on March 24, the AIML passed a resolution⁵⁵ that no constitutional plan would be acceptable to Muslims unless designed on the basic principle of demarcating geographically contiguous areas in which the Muslims were numerically in a majority, as in the northwestern and northeastern zones of India, to constitute an autonomous and sovereign homeland for Muslims. The ambiguity whether Pakistan would consist of one or more states was removed in the Legislators Convention Resolution of 1946.⁵⁶ Secondly, it required mandatory safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of minorities in both the Hindu and Muslim parts of India.

However, the demand for an independent Muslim state or states was bitterly opposed by almost all sections of the Hindus, the nationalist Muslims and the British Government. To Gandhi it was “a sin which he would not commit.”⁵⁷ Lord Leopold S. Amery, the British Secretary of State for India, considered the break-up of India as “a most disastrous solution.”⁵⁸ Lord Linlithgow, the British Governor-General and Viceroy of India, lamented that the INC had done a “very serious damage to the prospects of Indian unity.”⁵⁹ Jinnah, however, considered that the essence of Pakistan scheme was “to live and let live.”⁶⁰

⁵³ Lord Wavell, C-in-C India to War Office, telegram, August 23, 1942, IOR: L/WS/1243, f.312.

⁵⁴ “Jinnah to Gandhi, January 1, 1940,” in *Pakistan Movement Historic Documents*, ed. G. Allana (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1967), 169-71.

⁵⁵ See Appendix 3.

⁵⁶ See Appendix 4.

⁵⁷ Gandhi’s interview with Cabinet Delegation, April 13, 1946, IOR: L/P&J/5/37, 66-8.

⁵⁸ “Amery to Linlithgow, April 24, 1940,” *Linlithgow Collection*, IOR: MSS. Eur. F.125/9, 111.

⁵⁹ “Linlithgow to Zetland, April 11, 1940,” *ibid.* 110.

⁶⁰ Herbert L. Mathews, *New York Times*, October 4, 1942.

Fault Lines

The history of Pakistan is beset with several challenges. Initially, after the establishment of Pakistan, there was no federal government, no secretariat and no central bank. Militarily also the country was almost defenceless⁶¹ and Indian policies were calculated to stifle the new state. For instance, Pakistan was denied its due share in the division of assets. It had to start from the scratch. Literacy did not exist beyond five percent⁶² and the capability to develop the infrastructure was limited. The country needed time to build and nurture state institutions which could serve democratic governance. The leadership void that the demise of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah (1948), and later the assassination of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan (1951) created weakened prospects of effective governance. Appointments to high political offices exposed the severe paucity of able men.⁶³ On top of all this, communal riots across the border were driving an unprecedented influx of refugees. The inter-state migration peaked to more than twelve million and the killings alone to about one million human beings across the Pakistan-India border.

The initial difficulties were tided over mostly by the patriotic zeal and zest of an incorruptible leadership and bureaucracy. During the next six decades, the nation also overcame fully or partially several challenges: it has fought wars, faced natural calamities, confronted terrorists, dealt with security issues, established institutions, framed a constitution, and progressed in education, industries, agriculture, and service sectors, transforming the state from an under developed to a developing middle income group country. Yet the fault lines of differences over national identity and inept and weak governance have persisted without being dealt with effectively. Such issues as religious and ethnic violence, national solidarity, security, political stability, economic development, universal education and acquisition of science and technology need immediate attention. With a view to meeting these challenges and addressing the fault lines, there is a need for a comprehensive national strategy which should define the aims and objectives of the state.

A workable strategy is essential to promote vital national interests, which comprise national unity, good governance, political stability, security and sound economy. The achievement of these ends would boil down to a visible improvement in the welfare of the people, moral values of the society and decline in religious extremism, ethnic nationalism and militancy. The long

⁶¹ Noor ul Haq, "Governance and Democracy in Pakistan," *IPRI Journal*, vol. X, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 2; "Thus was at first only a paper army gradually took shape," says Stephen P. Cohen, *The Pakistan Army* (New Delhi: Himalayan Books, 1984), 17.

⁶² The overall literacy in West Pakistan was about five percent. Government of Pakistan, *Census of Pakistan 1951*, vol. 1 (Karachi: Census Publications, n.d.) 77.

⁶³ Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999), 34.

neglected problem of giving priority to achieving excellence in general education, science and technology, ensuring energy sufficiency and water and food availability for the rising needs of a growing population are all issues related to the governance theme which once streamlined would strengthen the country's territorial integrity, as well as its defence muscle and national sovereignty. But for this to happen, the critical need would be for an honest, sincere and competent leadership to emerge from a stable democratic set up. Could Pakistan look forward to having such a leadership?■

CHAPTER I

IDENTITY ISSUES

Constitutional View

The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was presided over by Jogendra Nath Mandal (a non-Muslim), who was temporarily elected as the first Chairman on August 10, 1947. The next day, on August 11, 1947, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was unanimously elected President. The Assembly had to frame a constitution for the country and also act as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. The Indian Independence Act 1947 had provided that till such time the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan had framed a constitution for the country, Pakistan would be governed in accordance with the Government of India Act 1935 or as near to it as may be authorized by the Government of Pakistan.

Among the several difficulties in framing a constitution, besides the adoption of national language, there were two major issues. The first was that the country had two parts separated by about 1000 miles of foreign territory. Out of the five provinces, only one was in the eastern wing. The eastern wing had a population of about 42 million as against 34 million of all the remaining provinces of the western wing. There was a perception that under a democratic dispensation the eastern wing having about ten million more people would rule over the western wing. This was not acceptable to the western wing which with four provinces was territorially more than five and a half time larger with a total area of 803940 sq km as against the single province of the eastern wing with a total area of 144000 sq km.

Secondly, whether Pakistan was to be a modern nation-state or an Islamic religious state was the second major issue whose settlement stood in the way of constitution making. A study of Jinnah's speeches reveals that, apart from the Muslims' separateness from the Hindus, though there are references to the preservation of the religious and cultural life of Muslims, he was against a theocratic or religious state. He considered Islam compatible with democracy and representative government, where all citizens, irrespective of their caste, colour, or creed would enjoy equal rights.

The 1956 Constitution of Pakistan found a compromise solution. It gave an Islamic character to the constitution but retained all the characteristics of a modern secular nation-state. It was an attempt to resolve the conflict between religion and secularism by evolving a workable balance. The Objectives Resolution passed by the Assembly in 1949, which had emphasized the Islamic guideline, was added as a preamble to the Constitution, not as an operative part. The country was named the "Islamic Republic" and its

president was to be a Muslim. Several articles were inserted for the “promotion of Islamic principles,” such as “organisation for Islamic research instructions,” and that no law repugnant to the injunctions of Quran and Sunnah would be enacted. The rest of the constitution was secular in nature: it was laid down that “Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of the fundamental rights to be void.”

The second constitution promulgated in 1962 retained the Objectives Resolution as a preamble and initially named the country as the “Republic of Pakistan” but, when objections were raised by the religious right, the name was changed to “Islamic Republic.” Fundamental rights were guaranteed. But to satisfy the religious right, “Islamic provisions” were added that no law repugnant to Islam will be enacted. Two institutions, the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology and Islamic Research Institute, were created towards that end.

The current Constitution, which was promulgated in 1973, has made a fundamental departure from the earlier constitutions to satisfy the religious right. Islam was declared “the state religion” of Pakistan and what is more significant the Objectives Resolution was made a substantive part of the Constitution. The president and the prime minister both are required to be Muslims and their oaths of offices were changed to include a phrase that “I will strive to preserve the Islamic ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan”. Some other “Islamic” provisions were repeated, such as, Islamic way of life is to be promoted, “All existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the injunction of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah” but this would not be applicable to the personal laws of non-Muslims.

The Constitution of 1973, if compared with the earlier Constitutions of 1956 and 1962, has not only a definite tilt towards conservatism but such provisions as denying the right to become president or prime minister of Pakistan to non-Muslim citizens are in violation of the Lahore Resolution passed by the AIML and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah’s repeated commitments that all people, irrespective of their caste, colour or creed, would be treated as equal citizens of the state of Pakistan.

Differences

The religious identity is of importance to Muslims in Pakistan which motivated them to found a new homeland. The Constitution of Pakistan prescribes that Islam is the ideology of Pakistan. The question that arises here concerns the Islamic model that Pakistan should adopt. There is the Saudi model, an Iranian model and a Taliban model in Afghanistan. The Iranian model is based on theocracy. The Saudi model is based on hereditary monarchy. The Taliban model is steeped in mediaeval orthodoxy and obscurantism which is not

compatible with modern day changes and developments. Perhaps, the majority of Pakistanis would not prefer any of these models. What should be done? The people should aim at moral and material progress in the light of the principles enunciated in Quran and Sunnah. The direction and guidelines given by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah are in consonance with this objective. The members of the Legislative Assembly of Pakistan (1947-58) were mostly associates of Quaid-i-Azam. The 1956 Constitution of Pakistan framed by them presented a synthesis of Islamic principles and the demands of the modern post-colonial world that accorded equal rights to all citizens as enunciated in the United Nations' charter. The sociology of the territories composing Pakistan has a rich history of pluralism, but since the Afghan insurgency against Soviet occupation during eighties a marked rise in religious intolerance, extremism and radicalization has been visible. During 2011-12, there were politically and ethnically motivated killings almost every day in Karachi. Similarly, Sunni extremists were killing Shia Hazaras in Balochistan. During 2011, over 2500 civilians and 670 law enforcement personnel died in terror related incidents.⁶⁴ In fact, after the establishment of Pakistan, there was a need to evolve a national identity out of the diverse ethnic, linguistic, sociological and religious stock of the populace. Instead, a controversy has been raging over the question of national identity, which needs to be resolved.

The main question is whether Pakistan should be a theocracy or a sort of secular state. This follows from the debate whether the founding fathers' emphasis on the two-nation theory as the basis of Pakistan was motivated politically or religiously. What was Jinnah's and the AIML's vision of Pakistan? It is contended that "for Jinnah the two-nation theory was a strategic need, not an ideological compulsion."⁶⁵ On the other hand, there is a view that the basis of Pakistan is religion alone. But religion itself has not proved to be a strong enough glue to bind and keep people together. There is a whole gamut of factors which unite people and lend them a national identity. What caused the subcontinent to divide was not only religion but a mix of political, economic, socio-cultural, and territorial factors:

Political

Initially, the AIML worked for Muslim interests within a united India. The immediate reason for demanding separation leading to the passage of the Lahore Resolution of 1940 was that the INC, after winning the 1937 provincial elections, would not share power with the AIML unless it agreed to forego its separate identity as a political party. This was something the AIML

⁶⁴ *Dawn*, August 1, 2012.

⁶⁵ I. A. Rehman, "From Unity to Disunity," *Dawn*, August 13, 2012.

could not do without abandoning its claim to be the sole representative of Muslims.⁶⁶ This was not acceptable to the AIML.

Economic

Pakistan was created as a place where an economically marginalized minority could improve its lot and enjoy a position of economic independence.⁶⁷

Socio-Cultural

The Muslims were opposed to a united India Constitution with a quasi-federal structure, for it would have meant their socio-cultural surrender to Hindu Raj which a united India in the form of *Akband Bharat* was conceived to be and which the Muslim society, with its different civilization, culture, and social structure of life,⁶⁸ feared.

Territorial

The main plank on which the Muslim community based its struggle was the territorial independence of Muslim majority areas. This meant self-rule over the territory in which Muslims had a majority.⁶⁹

The majority of the religious parties had opposed Pakistan on their claim that there was no concept of a nation-state in Islam and such a system would not be based on Islam. The Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, the main party of religious scholars, had aligned itself with the INC. They opposed the establishment of Pakistan and were against Jinnah whom they regarded as someone who did not personify Islamic values.

After independence, they began to oppose the government of Pakistan and preached for making Pakistan an Islamic state. They argued that Pakistan was demanded and obtained in the name of Islam. Therefore, the state should be ideological having no secular attributes. Since this demand came from the same section of people who had opposed the creation of Pakistan, an impression was created that it was in reality an anti-state demand. To counter this stand of the religious right, the liberal sections argued that the Quaid wanted Pakistan to be a modern secular state and not a religious state or theocracy. As a barrister, the Quaid was conversant with Muslim law, which he did not think approved theocracy.

The Quaid's vision of Pakistan can be gleaned from a reference to his speeches right from the Lahore Resolution of 1940 till his demise in 1948. On

⁶⁶ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, 6-7.

⁶⁷ Muhammad Munir, "Days to Remember," *Pakistan Times*, June 23, 1964.

⁶⁸ Jamiluddin Ahmad, *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, 380.

⁶⁹ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, 35.

a number of occasions, Quaid-i-Azam spoke of the higher values of Islam and expressed his intention to introduce them in Pakistan. During his presidential address at the historic session of All-India Muslim League at Lahore, in 1940, he said:

I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim Law, and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable [in United India]. Surely, it is the flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India, as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society vis-à-vis that of Hinduism to characterise [differences] as mere superstition. ...Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State. ...We wish our people to develop to their fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best, and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people.⁷⁰

In his concluding remarks at the Karachi session (1943) of the League, he asked: “What was it that kept the Muslims united as one man and what was the bedrock and sheet anchor of the community?” “Islam” he said and added “It is the great book, the Quran that is the sheet anchor of Muslim India. I am sure that as we go on and on there will be more and more of oneness – one God, one Book, one *Qiblah*, one Prophet and one Nation.”⁷¹

Replying to a toast at a lunch given by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice Chancellor, Muslim University Aligarh on March 8, 1944, Quaid-i-Azam remarked: “Pakistan was not the product of the conduct or misconduct of the Hindus. ...Tracing the history of the beginning of Islam in India, he proved that Pakistan started the moment the first non-Muslim was converted to Islam in India long before the Muslims established their rule. As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam, he was outcast not only religiously but also socially, culturally and economically. As for the Muslim, it was a duty imposed on him by Islam not to merge his identity and individuality in an alien society. Throughout the ages Hindus remained Hindus and Muslims had remained Muslims and they had not merged their entities – that was the basis for Pakistan.”⁷²

Giving the definition of the Muslim nation, in one of his letters to Mr. Gandhi, in 1944, he wrote: “We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, languages and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own

⁷⁰ Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, vol. II, 335-39.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 481.

⁷² Jamiluddin, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, 380.

distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation.”⁷³ However it can be argued that Jinnah, as an advocate of the two-nation theory, had given a sweeping statement, as there can be no uniformity in the vast territories of the subcontinent and, even in Pakistan, differences can be noted in provincial and local languages and literature, names and nomenclature, dress and dietary habits. In 1945, in his Eid-ul-Fitr message, he exhorted that Islam is a complete code of life for Muslims and said:

Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslims — a religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal and penal code. It regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life, from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body, from the rights of all to those of each individual, from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life hereafter, and our Prophet has enjoined that every Musalman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore, Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collectively and individually.⁷⁴

The same year in a message to NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Students Federation he said: “Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim ideology, which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope, others will share with us.”⁷⁵ Again, in a speech at Peshawar on November 21, 1945, he said: “Our religion, our culture and our Islamic ideals are our driving force to achieve independence. The League stood for carving out states in India where Muslims were in numerical majority to rule there under Islamic law.”⁷⁶ Lest Jinnah may be misunderstood about his perception of identity of Pakistan, he, while speaking at the Muslim Legislators’ Convention in Delhi in April 1946, emphatically declared: “What are we fighting for? What are we aiming at? It is not theocracy, nor for a theocratic state.”⁷⁷

After independence, Quaid-i-Azam, as the first Governor-General of Pakistan, repeated similar ideas. Addressing his biggest public meeting in the

⁷³ Jamiluddin, *Historic Documents of the Freedom Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1970), 453.

⁷⁴ Jamiluddin, “Pakistan as Quaid Visualised,” in *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Founder of Pakistan*, ed. Professor Ziauddin (Karachi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1976), 94.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁷⁶ Jamiluddin, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, vol. II, 386, quoted in Dani, *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan*, 22.

⁷⁷ Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, vol. II, 523.

political history of Lahore on October 30, 1947, he said: “All I require of you now is that everyone of us whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without.”⁷⁸ Similarly, in his speech at *Sibi Durbar* on February 14, 1948 he said: “It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that “our decision in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations.”⁷⁹ Again, he expressed his resolve in a broadcast on February 19, 1948: “We follow the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad (May peace be on him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in right, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it,”⁸⁰ he again emphasized.

In a speech at the public reception at Chittagong on March 26, 1948, he explained: “Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of men. ... Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of men — these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this subcontinent.” He then advised the audience that

the sooner we adjust ourselves to new forces, the sooner our mind’s eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our state and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our state.⁸¹

Speaking to the Tribal Jirga at Government House Peshawar in April 1948, he said: “We Musalmans believe in one God, one Book, the Holy Quran and one Prophet. So we must stand united as one Nation.”⁸² He was very clear in his mind of a united Muslim nation and the kind of state he wished to

⁷⁸ M. Rafique Afzal, *Speeches and Statements of Quaid-i-Azam* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1980), 448.

⁷⁹ *Quaid-i-Azam’s Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-1948* (Karachi: Pakistan Publishers, n.d.), 58.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 103-4.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 132.

establish. As can be seen from these different speeches the trend of his thinking on the relationship of Islam and the state exhibited strong emphasis on the higher and eternal values and principles of Islam, which are universal in nature — such as equality and dignity of man, justice, fair play and the community’s welfare — on which the structure of the new state was to be raised. But being essentially a politician committed to democratic values he did not impose any constitutional scheme of his own on the nation. He only hinted at the broad principles that he expected to be enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan. He said:

I do not know what the ultimate shape of the constitution is going to be but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. We are inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state — to be governed by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims — Hindus, Christians and Parsis — but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizen and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.⁸³

Quaid’s philosopher-guide, Dr. Iqbal (1877-1938), who had given the idea of consolidation of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sind, Balochistan and the Punjab into a single state, tried to understand and explain “the meaning of Islam as a message to humanity.”⁸⁴ In his view Islamic law was capable of evolution.⁸⁵ Accordingly, his son, Dr. Javid Iqbal, a former Judge of Lahore High Court, explained that “secularism is an integral part of Islam and it is for this reason that the Islamic State assimilates the qualities of an ideal ‘Secular State’.”⁸⁶

Quaid-i-Azam was not a religious scholar but he was not ignorant of Islam or lacking faith in its values and principles either. He was well conversant with the liberal interpretation of Islam and Islamic Law having been associated for long with such eminent scholars as Iqbal. Justice M. B. Ahmad, a former Secretary to the Government of Pakistan (1947-48) is of the opinion that Jinnah “was not of a religious mind in the beginning of his life” but in the later period when Ahmad had the chance to observe him closely he

⁸³ Broadcast to the people of the United States, February 1948, *ibid.*, 67.

⁸⁴ Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 8.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 163-80.

⁸⁶ Javid Iqbal, *Ideology of Pakistan* (Lahore: Ferozesons Ltd., 1959.), 4.

found him believing in Islam as “the only force that could make Pakistan strong and flourishing.”⁸⁷

But the struggle for Pakistan was due to the urge of a religious minority, the Muslims, for security, equality and identity in a Hindu majority subcontinent. They were not prepared to accept the dominance of the majority community. They wanted equality of status. When they felt that it was not possible in a united subcontinent, they demanded a separate sovereign state. That struggle, to achieve equality in the subcontinent, continues even now after the establishment of Pakistan. The generation that participated in the Pakistan movement was convinced that the establishment of Pakistan would save them from the political, economic and administrative domination of the Hindu majority.

The Quaid, as a proponent of his Two-Nation theory, wanted Pakistan to be a modern Muslim “nation-state” which would follow the Islamic law, Islamic socialism, Islamic ideals and principles of justice, equality and fair play. The AIML which demanded and piloted the movement for Pakistan perceived it as an egalitarian, modern, democratic Islamic nation-state but not a theocracy or a religious state. Liaquat Ali Khan, former General Secretary of the AIML, the political heir of Quaid-i-Azam and the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, had stated in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan that “the Muslim League has only fulfilled half of its mission, the other half of its mission is to convert Pakistan into a laboratory where we could experiment upon the principles of Islam to enable us to make a contribution to the peace and progress of mankind.”⁸⁸

On one side, Professor Saeeduddin Ahmad Dar thinks that the ideology of Pakistan, has “culminated in the form of Objectives Resolution (1949)” and that the basis of Pakistani “nationhood is neither territorial, nor racial, linguistic and ethnic.”⁸⁹ Although he is partially correct, he ignores the fact that Pakistan was demanded to be established on a specified territory, and there was emphasis on Urdu as the national language of Pakistan vis-à-vis Hindi which is the national language of India.

On the other, Farzana Shaikh in her work *Making Sense of Pakistan* states that Pakistan’s “problematic and contested relationship with Islam...has most decisively frustrated its quest for a coherent national identity” and the country seeks to project an identity founded on reconciling Islam’s universalist

⁸⁷ M. B. Ahmad, “Without Prejudice, Fear or Favour,” in *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Founder of Pakistan*, 80.

⁸⁸ Debates, vol. V: no. 5, 96 (12 March 1949), Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah*, 277.

⁸⁹ Prof. Saeeduddin Ahmad Dar, *Ideology of Pakistan* (Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1992), 1

message with respect for the rich diversity of its peoples.”⁹⁰ Sharif al Mujahid rationalizes the ideology when he says: “the Pakistanis seek to strive for the optimal concretization of the Islamic value system in the individual and collective life, that their collective endeavours are directed all the time towards canalizing their national life.”⁹¹

However, there should be no ambivalence as to the religious disposition of the society and that Pakistan is envisaged through a liberal and progressive interpretation of Islam. Khurshid Ahmad of the Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, says: “Islam is not a rigid, monolithic system. It has built-in possibilities of change to face new challenges.”⁹² Justice Javid Iqbal states that Pakistan is an ideological state and can survive only so long as its ideological integrity is maintained. He seems convinced that this ideology is “the foundation of the concept of our nationhood”. He says that it is the source of our national, political, economic, cultural, religious and moral values and their expression. He adds that the educated Muslims involved in the struggle of Pakistan, were conscious that “the ideology which unified the scattered Muslims of the Indian subcontinent and goaded them on to securing Pakistan, was founded on a viewpoint of Islam as a broad, liberal, assimilative and dynamic way of life, which new altered conditions of modern life”. He laments that the “anti-ideological forces which were vanquished at the time of the creation of Pakistan, regained strength and threatened to dissolve Pakistan.”⁹³

Finally, one may agree with Professor A. H. Dani when he says that “the western idea of nation is hardly compatible with Islamic traditions but, within the context of Islam, nation-state is acceptable as a response to the challenges of modern time. It is this necessity which welded the Muslims of the subcontinent into a nation, but only after having realized that their nationalism as well as patriotism cannot but be rooted in, and inspired by Islam.”⁹⁴ Thus Pakistan is not a religious state as understood in the West, but a “nation-state” whose nationalism is rooted in and inspired by Islam. “No one can separate Islam from Pakistan” said Pakistan Army Chief, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, and added: “Pakistan was to become an ideal Islamic welfare state that would showcase how Islam’s golden principles can form the basis for a

⁹⁰ Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), 209, 211-14.

⁹¹ Sharif al Mujahid, *Ideology of Pakistan* (Rawalpindi: Services Book Club, 2003), 137.

⁹² Khurshid Ahmad, “Secularism and Islam: Essence and Implications,” in *Pakistan between Secularism and Islam*, ed. Tarik Jan, et al (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2012), 48.

⁹³ Javid Iqbal, *Ideology of Pakistan*, prologue, i-iii.

⁹⁴ Dani, *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan*, 206.

modern and tolerant society.”⁹⁵ Along with “Muslim identity as rooted in the common history of South Asia,”⁹⁶ Pakistan has broadly evolved its distinct national identity in terms of language, dress, food, etcetera, which may have local variations, but is distinct from other countries.

Although Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is variously interpreted, it is certain that he was against “theocracy” but advocated Islamic principles, and without using the terminology of “secularism” he was for equal right for all citizens. He wanted to establish a modern, progressive welfare nation-state for Muslims which would follow higher and eternal ideals, values and principles of Islam, such as equality and dignity of man, justice, fair play and the community’s welfare, and where all citizens irrespective of their caste, colour or creed will enjoy equal rights.

Extremism

The rise of extremism in Pakistan can be traced to the Islamisation process that commenced with the Objectives Resolution 1949⁹⁷ and was first demonstrated in the anti-Ahmadia riots of 1953 in Lahore that were mainly sponsored by Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Pakistan.⁹⁸ The political parties in the Punjab supported the movement to gain popularity. Later, religiously inspired laws were passed by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1974 acceding to the demand of the clergy to declare Ahmadias as non-Muslims. Bhutto’s action was a political gimmick and a matter of expediency as he did not believe in what he was doing. In the wake of the religious upsurge Bhutto’s appeasement of the clergy had ultimately toppled him, and President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq saw his chance and utilized that to advance his Islamisation agenda.

These developments led a section of the people on the path of religious extremism, radicalism and terrorism, besides other contributory factors, such as persisting ideological contradictions, sectarianism, uneven development, backwardness, social injustice, and foreign interference. After the separation of East Pakistan in 1971, there was a perception that the secular and selfish policies of various governments in Pakistan denying justice to East Pakistan had resulted in its separation. Later, the Afghan Jihad, initiated in 1979 and fought in the name of Islam, fueled the forces of religious extremism. Radicalization of a vulnerable section of the society that is seen today is the

⁹⁵ Address of Pakistan’s Chief of Army Staff, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, on the 65th anniversary of the independence day of Pakistan, August 14, 2012.

⁹⁶ Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan*, 209.

⁹⁷ Objectives Resolution 1949 at Appendix 6.

⁹⁸ Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam was established in 1931 in India. Anti-Ahmadia riots in the Punjab were supported by political parties. See Report of the Court of Inquiry constituted under the Punjab Act II of 1954 to enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953, 51.

result of a deliberate policy being pursued by decision makers in tandem with the religious orthodoxy. The policy was successful because the “process of change and evolution of thought was being blocked by the religious clergy”, says an imminent Islamic scholar, Dr. Khalid Masud.⁹⁹

Poverty has played no small role in this phenomenon. The poor are readily available for recruitment to militant and “jihadi” organizations. “It was not religious indoctrination alone that was driving the poor to take up arms, but the desperation of their circumstances”, says Professor Usman Mustafa, who also adds that the “vast economic disparity between the poor majority and the rich minority was behind radicalization.”¹⁰⁰ Amir Rana, Director of a think tank, says that in Pakistan “as many as 104 organized bodies are promoting radicalism” and has cited financial and ideological constraints in countering radicalization.

These radical individuals and groups also resort to acts of violence and terrorism. They have bombed both civil and military individuals and institutions causing thousands of civil and military casualties. However, when these militants attempted to physically dominate and establish their government in the Swat region, they were dealt with effectively by the Pakistan Army with the support of the nation at their back. In any case, the bulk of Pakistanis, in spite of a wave of religiosity creeping in, are the followers of the founders — Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Dr. Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah — who were all liberal interpreters of the religion. Propagated with will and purpose their ideas can be helpful in waging a successful fight against extremism and radicalism.

Although Pakistanis are a moderate nation, a study of the youth in elite Universities of Pakistan conducted by Ayesha Siddiqa with the support of Heinrich-Bolt-Stiftung has concluded that the youth “respond to popular opinions expressed through the media or on the basis of inherited bias. This set of respondents followed a conservative thought pattern that may be construed by some as bordering on radicalism. ...The problem, therefore, is absence of intelligent thinking and an alternative narrative discourse in the society which would allow the youth to think ‘out of the box’.”¹⁰¹ Farzana Sheikh in her work *Making Sense of Pakistan* believes that a major shift de-linking politics from religiosity would be required as was envisioned by the founding

⁹⁹ Dr Khalid Masud, Director General of the Islamic Research Institute of the International Islamic University, Islamabad, said in a seminar titled “Deradicalisation of the Vulnerable Segments of Society,” *Daily Times* (Lahore), February 23, 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Professor Usman Mustafa of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), *Daily Times* (Lahore), February 23, 2012.

¹⁰¹ Ayesha Siddiqa, “Red Hot Chilli Peppers Islam - Is the Youth in Elite Universities in Pakistan Radical?,” abstract available on internet.

father Mohammad Ali Jinnah, if extremist and radicalist individual and groups are to be suppressed.¹⁰²

Minority Rights

Pakistani Muslims are still suffering from their minority syndrome which refuses to go away, says I. A. Rehman. He explains that “In 1947 the concept of the Muslim nation in India was superseded by the reality of the Pakistani nation that included non-Muslims and Muslims both. However, the post-independence leaders of the Muslim League, the people who formed governments and a vengeful and vindictive clergy resolutely refused to accept this change and chose to stress division of the Pakistani people on religious grounds.”¹⁰³

A US State Department report released on July 30, 2012 stated that the Constitution of Pakistan and other laws and policies restrict religious freedom and “some government practices limited freedom of religion, particularly for religious minorities. So much so that the individuals who criticized blasphemy laws or demanded their reform to address the grievances of minorities were killed.”¹⁰⁴ The notable examples of 2011 are the killing of the Governor of the Punjab, Salman Taseer, and the Federal Minister of Minority Affairs, Shahbaz Bhatti.

Pakistan inherited the civil and criminal laws from the British. Under the Islamisation policy of General Zia-ul-Haq’s government, certain controversial laws, such as the Hudood Ordinance and Blasphemy Laws were promulgated. These laws have enhanced the maximum punishment for adultery, theft, drinking alcohol, blasphemy and also made the evidence for *zina* (rape) more stringent. But, at the same time, old punishments under the normal civil and criminal law and the Evidence Act remain intact, and all religious communities enjoy the personal laws applicable to their respective religion.

The criminal law prohibits and punishes blasphemy and the maximum punishment is up to death, but no judicial execution of a person guilty of the offence has taken place. Several sections of Pakistan’s Criminal Code forbid damaging or defiling a place of worship or a sacred object; outraging religious feelings; defiling the Quran; defaming Holy Prophet Mohammad, but it is a requirement that the offence should be a consequence of the accused person’s intent. Defiling the Quran merits imprisonment for life and defaming the Holy Prophet would merit death with or without a fine. The trial for defaming the Holy Prophet is required to be heard by a Muslim District and Sessions Judge.

¹⁰² Farzana Sheikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan*.

¹⁰³ I. A. Rehman, “From a Minority to a Nation,” *Dawn*, March 23, 2012.

¹⁰⁴ *Dawn* (Islamabad), July 31, 2012.

In awarding punishment of execution or cutting off the hand and foot on opposite sides of those who fight against Allah and his Messenger, verse 34 of Surat-ul-Maidah of the Quran is being ignored which says “save those who repent before ye overpower them. For know that Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.” This verse creates an exception in favour of those who repent before they are overpowered, that is, those who cease fighting against Allah and his Messenger and repent.¹⁰⁵

Some Muslim scholars, such as Jawaid Ghamdi of Pakistan, argue that capital punishment in Islam could be given only to a person who is guilty of homicide, i.e., killing somebody deliberately, or to a person who is guilty of *fitna* (spreading disorder and conflict in the society). General Zia, promulgated these ordinances, considering them “Islamic but some of them were not” according to some scholars. There is also a consensus that most of the cases registered for blasphemy are motivated for personal reasons and to harass opposing parties including members of minority communities. This law is opposed by all liberal forces in the country and needs to be modified to address the concerns of the people including minorities.

A regional conference on the “Rights of Religious Minorities in South Asia: Learning from Mutual Experiences” was organized by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute(IPRI)in collaboration with Hanns Seidal Foundation Germany, at Islamabad on July 3-4, 2012. Scholars and human rights activists from Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka shared their experiences and formulated recommendations to address the problems of the minorities. These were: educate our younger generation for minority rights; government intervention is necessary to guarantee minority rights; religious plurality should be promoted by repealing or amending laws and official procedures directed against minority communities; laws against hate speech should be strictly implemented; defending minority rights should be considered non-negotiable; and the United Nations should have a mechanism to monitor the violation of minority rights in some countries, etcetera.

The minority speakers from Pakistan complained that the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan required that no non-Muslim could become the Prime Minister and the President of Pakistan. Was that compatible with the commitment given in the AIML’s Lahore Resolution (1940), and the assurance given by the father of the nation, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. About minorities the Lahore Resolution reads: “adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them”.

¹⁰⁵ *Quran*, 5: 34; Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, xix-xx.

Throughout his life Jinnah had been a sincere and consistent advocate of the rights of minorities.¹⁰⁶ Before independence, he was fighting for the liberty and equality of Muslims who were a minority in India. He defended the Pakistan scheme by saying that it was aimed at giving rights to both the Muslims and the Hindus wherever they were in a minority. He expressed the hope that “after the present tension created by the ambition of one community dominating over the other and establishing supremacy over all the rest is ceased, we shall find better understanding and goodwill created all around.”¹⁰⁷

While fighting for a separate homeland on the basis of his two-nation theory, Jinnah was never oblivious of the fate of would be minorities in Pakistan. In his speech at Aligarh on November 2, 1941, Jinnah referred to an ex-Home Minister of INC Mr Munshi, who had said: “The State under the Pakistan scheme would not be a civil government responsible to a composite legislature consisting of all communities but a religious state pledged to rule according to the teachings of religion; thus by implication excluding all others not following that religion from a share in that government. One crore and thirteen lakhs of Sikhs and Hindus would constitute a minority under the protection of the religious state of the Muslims. These Hindus and Sikhs would be on sufferance in the Punjab and would be foreigners in Hindustan,” he said.¹⁰⁸ While refuting Munshi’s statement, the Quaid retorted that this was meant to incite Sikhs and Hindus. Telling that it would be a religious state, excluding them from all power, is entirely untrue.¹⁰⁹ The Quaid added that untouchability belonged to Munshi’s religion and philosophy. “Islam stands for justice, equality, fair play, toleration and even generosity to non-Muslims who may be under our protection. They are all like brothers to us and would be the citizens of the State.”¹¹⁰ He repeated his assurance again and again. In an interview to the *Daily Worker* on October 5, 1944 he said: “The Pakistan Government will have the sanction of the mass of the population of Pakistan and will function with the will and sanction of the entire body of people in Pakistan, irrespective of caste and creed.”¹¹¹ In another interview to Reuter’s correspondent in 1946 he said: “The new state would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty resting in the people and the members of the new

¹⁰⁶ Jamiludin Ahmad, “Pakistan as Quaid Visualised,” in *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Founder of Pakistan*, 101.

¹⁰⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi), July 12, 1942.

¹⁰⁸ Quaid-i-Azam Papers, Accession No. 172, *Pakistan, The Muslim Charter: Speech by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Aligarh: Shakir Hussain Khan, Secretary Muslim University Union, n.d.), 11.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Quaid-i-Azam Papers, Accession No. 302, *Fifty Facts about Pakistan*, issued by Muslim India Information Centre, 3 Grosvenor Gardens (London: SW1, n.d.), 4.

nation having equal rights of citizenship regardless of their religion, caste or creed.”¹¹²

Referring to the criticism about the status of minorities in Pakistan he clarified that it would be “entirely untrue” to say that Pakistan would be a “religious state” where the minorities would be excluded from all power. He pointed out that Islam stood for “justice, equality, fair play, toleration and even generosity to non-Muslims” who might be under Muslim protection. He said that they were like brothers and would be citizens of the state.¹¹³ Later, in 1946, elaborating the same point Jinnah categorically asserted that the plan for Pakistan called for a popular representative government in which every person “no matter what his caste, colour or creed, would have equal rights.”¹¹⁴

The views of certain religious leaders and scholars (Dr. Asrar Ahmad for instance), who would like to treat minorities as second class citizens, are contrary to the views of the Quaid. The insight into the reasons why the AIML passed the Lahore Resolution can be found in the address of Quaid-i-Azam made before the introduction of the resolution.¹¹⁵

A former Chief Justice of Pakistan, Muhammad Munir, is of the view that “Quaid-i-Azam was confident that the non-Muslims would willingly accept the citizenship of the new State, as it was to be founded on principles which nobody, whether a Muslim or non-Muslim, could deny.”¹¹⁶ This view is supported by Quaid-i-Azam’s presidential address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, on August 11, 1947, when he said:

Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrible disaster. ... Now what shall we do? ... If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you make. I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community — because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, also Bengalees, Madrasis, and so on — will vanish. Indeed, if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the

¹¹² Munir, *Jinnah to Zia*, 29.

¹¹³ *Pakistan, The Muslim Charter: Speech by Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah*, NAP: QAP: F-172.

¹¹⁴ “Jinnah’s Press Conference of November 14, 1946,” *Dawn*, November 15, 1946.

¹¹⁵ Jinnah’s Lahore Address at Appendix 2.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long long ago. ...Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the state. As you know... in England...Roman Catholics and Protestants [who in the past persecuted each other] do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.¹¹⁷

As for minorities in Pakistan, the concluding portion of his presidential address is so clearly and precisely worded that it seems that the two nations — Hindus and Muslim — would politically cease to exist in course of time both in India and Pakistan, and in that eventuality, logically speaking, it would be the end of the two-nation theory and of the partition. But if we take into account the historical perspective in which the above speech was made, it would appear that there is no contradiction between Quaid-i-Azam's two-nation theory propounded during 1940-47 and his concept of one nation in Pakistan enunciated during 1947-48. In fact, after partition of the subcontinent into two independent states in 1947, the concept of two-nations (i.e. Hindus and Muslims) was replaced by "Indian nation" and "Pakistani nation", which composed of both Muslims and non-Muslims, and both communities should enjoy equal rights as citizens of India or of Pakistan.

Again, he repeated the same theme about minorities when he said: "They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be in all respects the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed. They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt, along with it goes the obligation of citizenship. Therefore the minorities have their responsibilities also and they will play their part in the affairs of the state and owe true allegiance, they need have no apprehension of any kind."¹¹⁸ In reply to an address of welcome presented to him by the Parsi community in Karachi on February 3, 1948, he said: "Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste or creed. Pakistan which symbolizes the aspirations

¹¹⁷ *Quaid-i-Azam's Speeches as Governor-General*, 8-9.

¹¹⁸ Jamiluddin, "Pakistan as Quaid Visualized," 101.

of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian subcontinent cannot be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders.”¹¹⁹

However, Quaid-i-Azam’s address of August 11, 1947 should also be read in the context of the then prevalent political situation when communal riots in the subcontinent were at their peak.¹²⁰ Quaid-i-Azam, the upholder of the cause of “liberty, equality and fraternity” must have been horrified by the harrowing tales of savagery that the two communities exhibited against each other. This partly explains his anxiety to create a climate of freedom and security for them. Professor A. H. Dani asserts that the said speech of the Quaid is “construed by some to reflect secular ideas of the Quaid. But such a notion is not warranted by the context which speaks of giving equal rights to the citizens of Pakistan.”¹²¹ This speech is said to be in the tradition of the holy Prophet (PBUH) who after his arrival in Madina had given a somewhat similar charter of freedom to the Christians of Najran.¹²² ■

¹¹⁹ *Quaid-i-Azam’s Speeches as Governor-General*, 50; Waheeduzzaman, “Quaid-i-Azam’s Vision of Pakistan,” in *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan*, ed. A.H. Dani, 235-41.

¹²⁰ Waheeduzzaman, *The Quest of Identity*, 235-41.

¹²¹ Dani, *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan*, 25.

¹²² Waheeduzzaman, *The Quest of Identity*, 235-41; Amir Ali, *The Spirit of Islam* (London: Universal Paperbacks, n.d.), 271-3.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNANCE ISSUES

If you saw Jinnah in your dream and asked him if this is his Pakistan, his reply would definitely be that this is not the Pakistan for which he struggled,” says Sardar Ataullah Mengal, former Chief Minister of Balochistan and founder of Balochistan National Party.¹²³

National Solidarity

“Pakistan, though a deeply troubled state, is also a tough one,” writes a US researcher on Pakistan, Anatol Lieven in his work *Pakistan: A Hard Country*.¹²⁴ There are the issues of governance, such as economic development, religious and ethnic communalism, tribalism, poverty, corruption, proliferation of weapons, poor state of law and order, protecting the life and property of the people and improving the quality of their life. Besides, there is polarization between modernists and the traditionalists, between the liberals and the orthodoxy. Paradoxically, on the one hand the country produces broad minded individuals such as academics and technocrats who compete successfully with the rest of the world, on the other fundamentalists and extremists’ rampage is seen across the country. The example of Pakistan’s sole Nobel Laureate, Dr. Abdus Salam, is cited who was not allowed to address students in a university, just because he was an Ahmadi. If a person belonging to Ahmadi community uses Islamic salutation “Assalam-u-Alaikum” (peace be upon you), he is prosecuted but if a non-Muslim foreigner uses the same expression it is appreciated. “Such contradictions expose the hypocrisy rampant in Pakistani society today”, says Irfan Hussain.¹²⁵ The name of religion is being exploited by certain leaders and misinterpreted by some others to promote their interests and there seems general reluctance to criticize and condemn them, thus suppressing the expression of progressive ideas.

Quaid-i-Azam, in a public meeting at Dacca on March 21, 1948, had advised: “you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a Nation, for God’s sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is

¹²³ Sardar Ataullah Mengal, *Dawn* (Supplement), August 14, 2012.

¹²⁴ Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books, 2011), 477.

¹²⁵ Irfan Husain, *Fatal Faultlines: Pakistan, Islam and the West* (New Delhi: HarperCollins Publishers, 2012), 95-96.

sectionalism — Shia, Sunni, etc.” Again, in a broadcast speech from Radio Pakistan, Dacca, a week later, he uttered the prophetic words: “Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity we, as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve. If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, etc., first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate.”¹²⁶ This calls for inculcating a sense of Pakistani nationalism in the people and promotion of what may be called *Pakistaniat* among them, which, apart from conscious efforts, will itself evolve if there is a national education curricula, uniform economic development, good governance and social justice.

However, the ethnic consciousness, religious extremism and intolerance began soon after the creation of Pakistan by some religious parties and political leaders to establish their own leadership. Secondly, the absence of well-established national political parties and democratic institutions provided space to narrow ethnic and religious groups and parties. In the absence of wider democratic support, the political, ethnic and sectarian parties developed their militant wings. Certain parties started collecting *bhatta* (tax) in Karachi from civilian businessmen.

All this was against the tolerant and progressive concept of the founding fathers of Pakistan. Before independence, Muslims presented a united front to safeguard themselves against the majority of caste Hindus. After independence, when there was no challenge and fear of the majority community, Muslims grew more conscious of their sectarian and regional identity variations.

The parochial approach of certain parties is in line with earlier generation of Muslim rulers, leaders and elites who used religion and ethnicity to strengthen their leadership and advance their political objectives and interests. It is also in line with the situation of mediaeval Europe when they were fighting among themselves on narrow religious and other grounds. However, with the separation of Bangladesh, it becomes obvious that religion alone is not a sufficient guarantor of national and federal unity. It is too weak a factor to be able to withstand the forces of sectarianism, ethnicity and the divide that is caused by economic disparity, differences in language and socio-cultural traditions particularly when these translate into disproportionate quantum of representation in the governing institutions.

Nevertheless, Pakistanis are a nation having a country with safe borders, a national language and national dress, calendar, holidays, and heroes, and there is no irredentist threat. They have demonstrated remarkable national unity during wars and natural calamities like the 2005 earthquake and the 2010 floods. Yet there are several irritants.

¹²⁶ *Quaid-i-Azam's Speeches as Governor-General*, 109.

The differences in ethnicity, religious extremism, sectarianism and terrorism are a concern for the country. These along with poverty, injustice, inequality and deprivation are promoting radicalization, polarization and a culture of intolerance in Pakistan, as indicated by the assassination of the Governor of the Punjab Salman Taseer and Federal Minister Shahbaz Bhatti in 2011 for their liberal ideas, or the sectarian killings of Hazaras in Quetta (2012) or in Shia dominated Abbas Town Karachi (2013).

The Afghan war commencing in 1978 promoted trans-border migration and the massive influx of Afghan refugees into Pakistan introduced a gun culture in the country. The Iranian revolution in 1979 unleashed a wave of sectarianism in the country though it would be hard to find a logical link for this as also to dismiss allegations of funding from outside that is said to be a proxy war in which the two sectarian groups are involved. The transnational terrorist groups' fight against the occupation forces and the government in Afghanistan also spread to Pakistan. They oppose Pakistan for its ties with the Afghan government and its role in the "war on terror" as an ally of the United States.

Jihadism that was initially sparked by the Kashmiris' struggle for independence later developed manifold when it was entrenched in the war against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The non-resolution of Kashmir dispute has resulted in Indo-Pak wars and is perpetuating a culture of defiance and violence. "Jihadis" have become so emboldened that they are targeting those who oppose them including the security forces in Pakistan. This is because of their radicalism, gun culture, relaxation in enforcement of rule of law and weakening of the writ of the government in certain areas, as well as the possibility of external hand in the mischief.

Democratic Stability

Pakistan and India emerged as independent democratic nation-states in August 1947, inheriting the same constitution (i.e., Government of India Act 1935), the same system of civil administration, defence services and judicial structure. But, unlike India, governance in Pakistan has been changing hands, alternating between civilian democratic governments and military-dominated autocratic or partially democratic governments.¹²⁷ After several pitfalls, Pakistan has reached a stage where it seems that the people at large, its vibrant middle class, the civil society, the intelligentsia and the media are convinced that the supremacy of

¹²⁷ Civil supremacy (1947-58); military supremacy (1958-71); civil supremacy (1971-78); military supremacy (1978-88); civil supremacy (1988-99); military supremacy (1999-2008); and civil supremacy (2008 onwards). It may be added that "some of the military dominated regimes were very liberal in their outlook, or tried to be (notably Musharraf) whereas some of the civilian governments were quite abusive of their authority" (notably Ghulam Muhammad).

the constitution, strengthening of state institutions, independence of judiciary, and the rule of law are necessary to meet the challenge of ensuring Pakistan as a stable modern democratic state.

It is encouraging that the emergent middle class and civil society is not likely to settle for an undemocratic and corrupt system. They will use “connectivity, information and the internet to drive a peaceful revolution that brings Pakistan up to its true potential.”

In the past, there were a number of factors corroding the substance of governance and weakening state institutions. One, the first general elections in the country should have been held in 1951, i.e., five years after the previous elections in 1946, but this could not happen till as late as 1970. Second, the framing of the constitution was delayed for almost nine years (1947-1956). Third, the country needed time to build and nurture the state institutions which could sustain democratic governance. Fourth, the leadership void was created by the early demise of Jinnah and Liaquat. Fifth, there was the tussle between the eastern and western wings for share in power on top of economic issues such as poverty and scarcity of essential goods.

Sixth, there was conflict over the identity and ideology of the state. Due to lack of competent and visionary political leadership, and the fact that Muslims constituted 97 percent of the population of the country, the conservative religious leaders, partly due to their conviction and partly owing to their parochial interests, campaigned for the establishment of a religio-political system strictly based on al-Quran and Sunnah.¹²⁸ They were skeptical of the politico-social development of modern times and western political institutions and forms of government. Their concept of divine orthodoxy clashed with the democratic culture. The adoption of a religious guideline for constitution making gave rise to sectarianism resulting in violent disputation, especially by Sunnis and Shias, the two major sects. These rivalries fostered reliance on the security forces for maintenance of law and order, which eroded the supremacy of democratic institutions in governance.

Seventh, “for any healthy constitutional and political system to function smoothly, strong and well-entrenched political parties are essential” which were absent.¹²⁹ Instead of cooperation and mutual accommodation there was

¹²⁸ “The field of medieval political theory has already been subjected to intensive investigation by Von Kremer, Arnold, Sherwani, Rosenthal, Hamidullah, Tyan and others, and movements of modernism in contemporary Muslim world have also been extensively surveyed by scholars such as Smith, Gibb, Adams and Aziz Ahmad.” Manzooruddin Ahmed, *Islamic Political System in the Modern Age: Theory and Practice* (Karachi: Royal Book Coy, 1983); Justice Hamoodur Rehman, *Islamic Concept of State* (Karachi: Begum Aisha Bawany Waqf, 1978).

¹²⁹ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 852.

ceaseless infighting. For instance, as early as 1953, a clash between the leadership of the Punjab and the central government led to the imposition of Martial Law in Lahore, the provincial capital.¹³⁰ Even as late as 1988-99, the decade of civil supremacy, the fight between Pakistan Muslim League (PML) and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led to repeated dissolution of national and provincial assemblies and dismissal of prime ministers and their cabinets.¹³¹ Finally, it ended with the military takeover in 1999.

Eighth, feudalism and feudal leadership was one of the main factors responsible for the weakness of the political parties and the supremacy of the bureaucracy. Pakistan being an agricultural country, its landed aristocracy, irrespective of its capability, dominated the political, social and economic life. Their conduct could have been less harmful to governance had they had any discipline. G. Ahmad, the Interior Secretary had written to the Prime Minister in 1952 that the "party discipline" of the Muslim League, the ruling party, had decayed. Instead of making policy and explaining it in public, they were "focused on securing the personal and familial material advantage and... 'exploiting the supposed grievances of the electorate.' ... The politicians should stop treating the state as a 'source of personal patronage' and should take their policy-making role seriously.' Politicians are talking of an Islamic state as a 'convenient device to keep themselves in power.' They are banking on reactionary forces which may lead the country to 'primitive levels.'"¹³²

¹³⁰ Punjab Chief Minister Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana and Prime Minister of Pakistan Khawaja Nazimuddin, both belonging to PML, were at logger-heads. Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan*, 52.

¹³¹ The conflict between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan (1988-1993) and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990) resulted in the dissolution of the National Assembly and the dismissal of the Prime Minister and his cabinet on August 6, 1990. Again differences and confrontation between Ishaq and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (1990-1993) made both of them to resign on July 18, 1993. The differences between President Farooq Leghari (1993-1997) and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (1993-1996) ended with the dissolution of the National Assembly and dismissal of the government on November 5, 1996. Thereafter, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (1997-1999), in a bid to become a powerful ruler, is discredited for an assault on the Supreme Court (Hamid Khan, 827), declaring a state of emergency in 1998, allowing establishment of military courts for trial of civilians, amending the Constitution taking away the discretionary powers of the President, preventing the floor-crossing in the assemblies, and introducing the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment Bill which was "apparently a blatant attempt by Nawaz to introduce dictatorship in the country in the name of Islam" (Hamid Khan, 929). Finally, on October 12, 1999, he sacked the Chief of the Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf while he was officially visiting Sri Lanka. This resulted in a *coup d'etat* and dismissal of Nawaz Sharif. (Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 219-249).

¹³² Letter dated March 14, 1952 from G. Ahmad, Secretary Interior to Prime Minister, cited by Ilhan Niaz, "Advising the State, Bureaucratic Leadership and the Crisis of

Ninth, since the birth of Pakistan the “bureaucratic elite became more assertive, steadily increasing their power at the expense of the political elite.”¹³³ This was because of weak political parties and their incompetent leadership. After 1972, due to induction of lateral entrants and patronage based administration, the quality of bureaucracy deteriorated. In 1982, Syed Ijlal Haider Zaidi, Secretary Establishment, wrote that Pakistan’s “bloated, inefficient, poorly paid and politicized bureaucracy” had acquired several habits of a “predatory and mediaeval state apparatus.” Pakistan’s bureaucracy therefore had stopped advising the political leadership because of “negative” reaction and “victimization or marginalization” of the civil servants. “The political class relishes the opportunity to humiliate government servants publically and to play to the media gallery from the safety of the Public Accounts Committee or the parliamentary bodies.”¹³⁴ All this contributed to the derailment of democracy thrice in the history of Pakistan. In order to have civil supremacy, the civil service is in need of reform. To enhance their quality and capability, “human element: incentives, professionalization, mobility, leadership and teamwork” is required.¹³⁵ They should be competent, honest and should have security of service.

Tenth, Pakistan’s rating among the corrupt countries by the Transparency International. Corruption¹³⁶ in bureaucracy and among political leaders poses a grave threat to good democratic governance. As an antidote, accountability and transparency are necessary. It is a challenge to the people to reject those leaders and political parties which indulge in corruption and nepotism.

Eleventh, the persistence of external and internal threats to its security converted Pakistan into a security state which affected the country’s march towards democracy.

Twelfth, another threat to democratic government comes from inflation and unprecedented rise in prices of daily needs, which adds to poverty and social disequilibrium.¹³⁷

Governance in Pakistan,1952-2000, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 21, 1 (2011): 41-53.

¹³³ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 878.

¹³⁴ Niaz, “Advising the State, Bureaucratic Leadership,” 45-53.

¹³⁵ Nadeem Ul Haque, *Why Civil Service Reforms Do Not Work* (Islamabad: PIDE, 2007), 26.

¹³⁶ Pakistan is ranked 134th with 2.5 score out of 182 countries surveyed by Transparency International in 2011; Pakistan suffers corruption, violence and lack of accountability and transparency, which have also been termed as fault lines in Indian democracy. G. Rana Chandhra Reddy, *Fault Lines in Indian Democracy* (New: Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2007), ix-x.

¹³⁷ Among the main challenges for Asia Pacific region, poverty, disengagement of the military from political economy, the professionalism of political parties, human

Thirteenth, the latest and most serious threat comes from activities of terrorist outfits, especially in FATA, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Karachi and Balochistan, which has made certain areas in the country an insecure place to carry on the normal business of life. This menace has scared away foreign investment and stalled economic progress.

Counterweighing the above grim factors one may find tokens of inherent strength in Pakistan's democratic governance. First, the Pakistan movement envisaged a democratic country with a federal structure. In all Constitutions of Pakistan (of 1956, 1962 and 1973) the objectives of governance, in the words of Dr. Ainslie T. Embree, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University, are: democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam, giving Muslims freedom to live their lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam, but with minorities having full freedom to profess their own religions.¹³⁸ Second, even when democratic rule was suspended by the armed forces, the military rulers always promised to restore democratic governance. Third, Islam lays emphasis on the concept of *Shura*, i.e., consultation among people, which is the essence of democratic culture. Fourth, there is an age-old tradition of *Jirga* or *Panchayat*, i.e., an assembly of elders, to settle issues and disputes involving two or more than two persons. Thus, both religion and tradition advocate the concept of consultation in decision-making through an assembly of people, which is the essence of democracy.

Fifth, the country is on the path towards achieving full literacy and higher standard of education in important disciplines. This is strengthening the civil society in ensuring the prevalence of democratic culture at the lower and higher levels of governance. In addition, a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are playing an active role in the field of education and contributing to the growth of a vibrant civil society and good governance.

Sixth, since 2003, Pakistan's economy had been growing by more than 6.5 percent per year except for 2007-08 and onwards when the growth declined to 4.1 percent and thereafter to about 2-3 percent. The decline is partly due to global economic recession and partly to disturbed conditions internally caused by the "war against terror". The per capita income in 2008-09 was US\$ 1046.00, which had nearly doubled as compared to the previous decade.¹³⁹ Hopefully, the current phase of slow growth would soon be over with increased revenues from stricter tax laws and financial discipline,

rights, human resource development and press freedom have been highlighted. Heraldo Munoz, ed., *Democracy Rising: Assessing the Global Changes* (New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited, 2006).

¹³⁸ Ainslie T. Embree, Foreword, Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan*, viii.

¹³⁹ "Growth in Pakistan," World Bank, <http://go.worldbank.org/QTEHWNS5Q70>; *Economic Survey of Pakistan 2008-09*; "The State of the Economy of Pakistan," *IPRI Factfile*, vol. XI, no. 7 (July 2009).

increased remittances of Pakistanis working abroad and external support from aid giving agencies.

Seventh, the country had faced numerous problems and was “hijacked soon after independence by the ruling classes belonging to feudalists, senior bureaucrats, incompetent politicians and ambitious military generals who transformed it into an elitist system.”¹⁴⁰ It was visualized that the people of Pakistan may “either remain under the feudal stranglehold for ever or gain direct access to political and economic rights by freeing our political culture from the exploitative elitist and feudal political structures.”¹⁴¹ The latter scenario seems being materialized. Unlike past assemblies, at present almost half of the new members of the legislative assemblies (2008-13 and onwards) were young and educated. All stake holders seem desirous to establish the supremacy of the parliament.

Eighth, the politicians have hopefully learnt some lessons from their past mistakes and are more mature politically. A consensus politics seems to have taken root in the country. In the past, the constant infighting amongst political parties had often led to interference and take over by the armed forces. Now a culture of reconciliation, accommodation and dialogue is emerging.

Ninth, the print and electronic media has become vibrant and independent. A responsible media educates the masses, keeps them well informed, raises political consciousness and thus promotes democratic values and norms. Currently, dozens of newspapers and journals, and more than fifty television channels are operating. With the help of media, the unprecedented country-wide lawyer’s movement throughout the country during 2007-2008 and exceptionally large voter turnout in 2013 general elections had demonstrated the strength of political activism and the people’s urge for the rule of law and independence of judiciary.

Tenth, the supremacy of parliament was fully demonstrated when President Pervez Musharraf resigned on August 18, 2008 after being threatened with impeachment by the Parliament. In the past, exploiting the confrontation between main political parties (especially PPP and PML), the civilian elected President Ishaq (1988-93) had dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies twice,¹⁴² and later civilian President Leghari (1993-1997) had dismissed the elected Assemblies.¹⁴³ However, in 1998, President

¹⁴⁰ Javid Husain, “Public welfare and democracy,” *Dawn* (Islamabad), June 18, 2007.

¹⁴¹ Shamshad Ahmad Khan, “Primacy of Democracy in Pakistan,” *Dawn* (Islamabad), August 5, 2006.

¹⁴² President Ishaq dismissed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990) and Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (1990-1993).

¹⁴³ President Ishaq dismissed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (1993-1996) in November 1996.

Musharraf, a military ruler, could not do the same because of the changed political environment.

Eleventh, the Constitution of Pakistan of 1973 provides for a politico-legal framework of parliamentary democracy and a federal form of government with guarantees in respect of freedom of expression and religion and free and fair elections, etcetera. It has withstood long periods of military rule and has sustained democracy. It guarantees the continuation of democratic governance in the country. Twelfth, whereas general elections were not held for a quarter century (1947-1970) after the birth of Pakistan, these are now being held regularly since 1970.¹⁴⁴

Thirteenth, the external as well as internal forces that had sustained authoritarianism have retreated. It is hoped that the congenial atmosphere thus created would strengthen political parties and political institutions, which, in turn, would further promote and strengthen the cause of democratic governance and democratic values. “Turkey is now a role model for other Islamic societies striving to accommodate democracy, civil liberties, the rule of law, an open economy, pluralism and religion.”¹⁴⁵ The government in Turkey is having its roots in Islam, is committed to democracy, free enterprise and good relations with others. Similarly, Malaysia is another success story. They see Islam as a religion of peace and moderation. Hard and soft power is used against perpetrators of violence and militancy to suppress and win them over. Pakistan can benefit from their stance and experience.

To sum up, it is the political leadership and political parties which can ensure permanence of democratic governance. The prospects are, however, not dismal as sometimes portrayed. Already, the literacy rate in Pakistan has increased to more than fifty five percent.¹⁴⁶ Efforts are afoot to improve the standard of higher education. The economic growth and industrialization has given birth to a vocal urban society and a middle class, which is growing, and gradually lessening the influence of the feudal class. The vibrant electronic and

¹⁴⁴ Whereas indirect elections were held on February 1960 and January 2, 1965 by General Ayub, and General Zia held non-party elections on February 25, 1985, direct elections to national and provincial assemblies based on adult franchise were held on December 7, 1970 under General Yahya, on March 1977 under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on 16-19 November 1988 and again on August 6, 1990 and October 6, 1993 under President Ishaq, on February 3, 1997 under President Leghari, and on October 10, 2002 and February 18, 2008 under General Musharraf, and on May 11, 2013 under civilian democratic dispensation under President Zardari..

¹⁴⁵ Chris Patten, “Turkey and the Future of Europe” (Project Syndicate, March 31, 2011) *IPRI Digest*, vol. 4, no. 65(April 1, 2011); <http://www.project-syndicate.org> (accessed January 5, 2013).

¹⁴⁶ Ministry of Education, Academy of Education Planning and Management, 2005 census revealed that the literacy rate by age group 10+ was 54.5 percent during 2005-06. The literacy rate should have increased by now, i.e., 2011-12.

print media are an effective check on government's behaviour and in educating the masses. Elections are being held regularly, representative political leadership and political parties are getting stronger and peaceful modes of transfer of power appear to be becoming the norm. The military is supporting democratic process and is submitting to the peoples' power and will and democratic governance. The democratic process is progressing and, hopefully, will not be obstructed and derailed, as was the case in the past. Democracy requires well established political parties, which have to perform well; there should be consensus amongst them on national issues and consistency in national policies.

Civil Military Relations

One of the accepted norms in a democratic set-up is healthy civil-military relationship based on overall control of the military by an elected civilian government. This has not been the case in the past in Pakistan. Here, control over governance has oscillated between the two — a decade of civilian supremacy followed by a decade of military rule. The reasons for this periodic shuffling are to be found in incompetent political leadership, weak political parties and institutions, rising power of civil-military bureaucracy, serious security threats to the country and frequent use of military in aid of civil power.

Soon after independence there was a leadership void. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation and the first Governor-General, died just one year after the establishment of Pakistan and his right hand lieutenant, Liaquat Ali Khan, who was the first Prime Minister, was assassinated in 1951. About the rest, the Quaid had ruefully remarked that "he had false coins in his pocket."¹⁴⁷ Initially, several of the ministers in the cabinet were not elected politicians but bureaucrats such as A.M. Malik, Ghulam Muhammad and Zafarullah Khan.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, in 1954, there were as many as nine members of the Prime Minister's cabinet, who did not have a seat in the Parliament, including General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army.¹⁴⁹ "The cabinet and other high political appointments [held by bureaucrats] reflected a paucity of talent among the politicians."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 853.

¹⁴⁸ I.H. Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan Book Four: Alien Rule and the Rise of Muslim Nationalism* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1967), 229-30. Jinnah's first cabinet included A.M. Malik, who was a medical practitioner, Finance Minister Ghulam Muhammad was a former civil servant, and Foreign Minister Zafarullah Khan was a lawyer. They had practically no political following.

¹⁴⁹ In 1954, besides the Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad, who was a bureaucrat, the cabinet had nine members who did not have a seat in the Assembly, i.e., Iskandr Mirza, M.A.H. Ispahani, H. Rahimtoola, Col Abid Hussain

As against the Indian example, where the constitution of the country was framed within two years of independence in 1949, Pakistan took nine years to finalize its first constitution in 1956. The delay in framing the constitution allowed the Governor-General to continue his authoritarian rule for seven long years (1947-56), when the country in its early life needed healthy democratic traditions. In addition, since the first general elections in the country, which were due in the year 1951, were held twenty years late in 1970, it further strengthened the non-democratic and authoritarian tendencies providing space to civil and military bureaucracies to assume a dominant position in governance.

“For any healthy constitutional and political system to function smoothly, strong and well-entrenched political parties are essential. ...Unfortunately, political parties in Pakistan have failed to develop into strong vehicles of national political will.”¹⁵¹ The All-India Muslim League, which had piloted the movement for Pakistan during 1940-47, was not a well-organized political party. Most of its leaders belonged to areas which became part of the Indian Union and as such had no political base in Pakistan. Of those who belonged to areas in Pakistan, most belonged to feudal and landowning classes and were thus by their very nature inimical to a democratic polity. Their incompetence and constant wrangling for power, instead of cooperation and mutual accommodation, led to ceaseless infighting. For instance, as early as 1953, a clash between the leadership of the Punjab and the central government led to the imposition of Martial Law in Lahore, the provincial capital,¹⁵² and later during the decade of civil supremacy (1988-99), the fight between the PML and PPP resulted in repeated dissolution of national and provincial assemblies and dismissal of prime ministers and their cabinets even by civilian Presidents.¹⁵³ Finally, it ended with the peaceful military takeover in 1999.

Pakistan, like India, had inherited governing institutions established by the British, but there was a difference. While India got its institutions intact, Pakistan had to start from the scratch. There was no established parliament, no civil secretariat, no supreme court, no central bank and no organized armed forces. There was a paucity of competent parliamentarians. The proportion of the Indian Civil Service officers who opted for Pakistan was small. The same was true of the higher judiciary. However, unlike other institutions, the

Shah, Sardar Mumtaz Ali, Ghulam Ali Talpur, Dr. Khan Sahib. Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy and General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

¹⁵⁰ Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97*, 34.

¹⁵¹ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 852.

¹⁵² Punjab Chief Minister Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana and Prime Minister of Pakistan Khawaja Nazimuddin, both belonging to PML, were at logger-heads. Hamid Yusuf, *Pakistan: A Study of Political Developments 1947-97*, 52.

¹⁵³ Niaz, “Advising the State, Bureaucratic Leadership.”

proportion of Muslims in the Indian Army was comparatively substantial, i.e., 33 percent. This is also one of the reasons why the armed forces of Pakistan assumed greater importance right in the beginning and were better established than other institutions of the state.

Pakistan had scarce basic infrastructure at its inception. But the low level of literacy, which was about five percent,¹⁵⁴ made the task of nation building more difficult. The country needed a competent and determined leadership to build and nurture democratic institutions. But such a leadership was hard to come by in a rural society in which the political, social and economic life was dominated by the landed aristocracy. The feudal leadership of political parties was not capable of dealing with the multifarious problems faced by the country. It depended heavily on the civil and military bureaucracy.¹⁵⁵

As a result, the bureaucratic elite became disproportionately assertive, steadily increasing their power at the expense of the political elite.¹⁵⁶ For instance, a civil bureaucrat Governor-General of Pakistan, Ghulam Muhammad (1951-55), dissolved the National Assembly in 1954 and the Federal Court unjustly justified and validated his unconstitutional act on the basis of the “law of necessity.”¹⁵⁷ Another President of Pakistan from the civil bureaucracy, Iskander Mirza (1956-1958), relied on the military for the state’s integrity when the PML President, Qayyum Khan, threatened direct action and the Khan of Kalat declared his secession from Pakistan in 1958. In order to deal with the disturbed situation, Mirza took the extreme step of abrogating the Constitution, dissolving the legislative assemblies, dismissing the central and provincial governments, banning all political parties and postponing general elections indefinitely. He promulgated Martial Law and appointed General Ayub as the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), who in turn removed Iskander Mirza on October 27, 1958 and himself became the President. Thus began the era of military dominated governance. After seven years of instability (1951-58), in which as many as seven prime ministers rose and fell, the military regime put the country on the path of economic and political stability.¹⁵⁸ According to Advocate Hamid Khan, the author of

¹⁵⁴ The overall literacy in West Pakistan was hardly five percent. Government of Pakistan, *Census of Pakistan 1951*, vol. 1 (Karachi: Census Publications, n.d.), 77

¹⁵⁵ Even after six decades of the establishment of Pakistan, Iftikhar Hussain, Minister of Information, NWFP was blaming “feudal, capitalist and tribal systems” responsible for “all social ills and backwardness.” *Dawn* (Islamabad), August 24, 2008.

¹⁵⁶ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 878.

¹⁵⁷ For details see Allan McGrath, *The Destruction of Pakistan’s Democracy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁵⁸ After assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan on October 16, 1951, Khawaja Nazimuddin (1951-53), Muhammad Ali Bogra (1953-55), Chaudhry

Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, “Ayub’s term of office [1958-69] was the golden era for the bureaucracy, which exercised its powers, unbridled by any political interference.”¹⁵⁹

Again, after the restoration of democratic governance during 1988-99, the civilian bureaucrat President Ishaq Khan (1988-1993), prematurely dissolved the National Assembly and dismissed the elected Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, and her Cabinet on August 6, 1990. Later on April 18, 1993 he dismissed another elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, his cabinet and the National Assembly. His successor President Farooq Leghari (1993-1997), a bureaucrat turned politician, also dismissed the elected National Assembly together with the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, and her cabinet on November 5, 1996. Thus, during 1988-1999, four democratically elected governments¹⁶⁰ were replaced on charges of corruption, inefficiency, security risk, and etcetera. The civil-military bureaucracy had dominated governance owing to the inherent weakness of political parties and their incompetent leadership, resulting in the derailment of democracy in 1958, 1977 and 1999.

It is indeed a sad commentary on the elected members of the first Legislature/Constituent Assembly of Pakistan that they could not find a suitable head of state from among their own ranks during 1951-58. All of them came from the civil bureaucracy and thereafter from the military.¹⁶¹ The civil-military bureaucracy did not have a favourable opinion about the competence of political leaders and often took decisions without consulting them. This adversely affected their training, development and growth in the field of governance. The inability to control the anti-Ahmadi movement in the Punjab in 1953 was blamed on an inept political leadership. To rescue the city of Lahore where Ahmadis were in a “virtual state of siege” and their properties were being “burned or looted,” Major-General Azam Khan, the Area Commander, was ordered by the Defence Secretary, to impose martial law in Lahore. It received the general approval of the people. It was claimed and demonstrated that the civil-military bureaucracy “would not let politicians or religious ideologues lead the country to anarchy.”¹⁶² The imposition of Martial

Muhammad Ali (1955-56), Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy (1956-57), I.I. Chundrigar, and Feroz Khan Noon (1957-58) became Prime Ministers.

¹⁵⁹ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 345.

¹⁶⁰ Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto (1988-90), Mian Nawaz Sharif (1990-93), Benazir Bhutto (1993-96), and Mian Nawaz Sharif (1996-99).

¹⁶¹ During 61 years (1947-2008) of existence of Pakistan, civil bureaucrats or military generals governed the country for as long as 45 years. These were: Mr. Ghulam Muhammad (1951-55); Mr. Iskander Mirza (1955-58); General Muhammad Ayub Khan (1958-69); General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan (1969-71); General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1978-88); Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan (1988-93); and General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008).

¹⁶² Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 120.

Law in Lahore and its acceptance by the people laid down the foundation of military supremacy and served as the initial rehearsal for recurring imposition of Martial Law in the country. The superior courts provided the necessary legitimacy to these unconstitutional acts.

The persistence of external and internal threats to its security converted Pakistan into a security state. The security of Pakistan was threatened externally from its bigger eastern neighbour and internally from communism,¹⁶³ religious extremism, ethnic ambitions, and, since September 11, 2001, terrorism. The first internal threat came to surface through the Socialist-inspired Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case (1951), the Anti-Qadiani Movement (1953) by religious parties, and declaration of secession by the ruler of the state of Kalat (1958). The external threat to the country's security came from Indo-Pak wars and border clashes a number of times (i.e., during 1947-48, 1951, 1965, 1971, 1984, 1999, and 2002). Ari Fleischer, a US White House spokesman, commenting on December 20, 2002, about the 2002 situation between India and Pakistan said: "...the tension reached alarming level...As a result of the intervention of the President, the Secretary of State, and numerous leaders around the world including [Russian] President [Vladimir] Putin and [British] Prime Minister [Tony] Blair, there is now a markedly diminished point of tension."¹⁶⁴

Unlike India, the Army in Pakistan from the very beginning remained involved in civil administration. In 1947, it was the Army which was asked to establish the civil secretariat in Karachi. They vacated their barracks, renovated them to house the secretariat and the staff which was coming from New Delhi. It was the Army which largely contributed in safeguarding the movement of several refugee convoys carrying millions of people from East Punjab as well as establishing camps for them at Lahore. After the Indian Army had moved into the state of Jammu and Kashmir, General Sir Douglas Gracey, the British Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army, had refused the orders of the Governor-General of Pakistan to send the Pakistani forces into Kashmir. Earlier, without informing the Government of Pakistan, General Gracey had leaked out to General Sir Robert Lockhart, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, about the movement of Pakistani tribals into the state of Jammu and Kashmir. However, certain native commanders and units had later moved into Kashmir to check the advance of the Indian Army mostly in border areas nearer Pakistan and helped the local population in repulsing or restraining the Indian forces from vast areas which now form the state of Azad Kashmir. In addition, the army was frequently called in aid of civil

¹⁶³ The Communist Party of Pakistan was banned in 1950s mainly because of own conservative leadership.

¹⁶⁴ *Dawn* (Islamabad), December 21, 2008. Also see Noor ul Haq, "Indian Quest for Hegemony," *IPRI Journal*, vol. III, no. 2 (2003): 21-48.

authorities in all natural disasters, disturbances, emergencies and other civil functions.¹⁶⁵

Presently, however, the situation is different. Pakistan's political leadership is comparatively more mature and trained. Political parties are better established. The concept of National Security Council having the Services Chiefs as its members has now become redundant and overtaken by the Defence Committee of the National Assembly. This Committee comprising seventeen Members of National Assembly (MNAs): is required to oversee the "defence and affiliated sectors" and "to identify Pakistan's core defence objectives to enable the country to meet its defence needs and targets." Whenever required, Parliament is briefed on security matters by the Service Chiefs and decisions are taken through consensus. The military enjoys autonomy in its internal affairs which ensures its healthy relations with the civil authority. These are witnessed in the nation's fight against terror in the country, especially in South Waziristan and Swat during 2009, where there was full civil-military cooperation.

Economic Development

Pakistan had a poor economic start but thanks to the resilience and dedication of its people it managed to tide over all odds and belie gloomy forecasts about its survival. By the 1960s it had become a model of economic development through its five-year plans. South Korea followed Pakistan's second five-year plan and has been transformed into a developed country. But the growth of Pakistan's economy was stalled right when it was turning to be a stable trend, by Indo-Pak wars, secession of the eastern wing, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's policy of nationalization, and later the vortex of the Afghan conflict into which Pakistan could not help being sucked into. For the last ten years or so its partnership in the "war on terror" has cost the economy incalculable losses and the country its peace and stability.

Yet, Pakistan's economic potential is there to be exploited. Besides its strategic location, diverse agricultural produce, food self-sufficiency and abundant mineral resources, the country has a large exportable human reserve. Millions of Pakistanis are working and living in countries of the Middle East and the West and are a major source of foreign exchange earnings. The industrial sector is manufacturing and exporting defence equipment, textiles, sports and surgical goods. But "governance failures" have resulted in a "doubling of per capita public debt, record high fiscal deficits, persistent double-digit inflation, sharply growing power shortfalls, and depleting foreign

¹⁶⁵ For instance, the democratic government of PML under Nawaz Sharif asked the military to establish military courts to decide civil cases and monitor the billing of electricity.

exchange reserves.”¹⁶⁶ The economic growth has come down to an average of 3 percent per annum and the budget deficit touching 8.5 percent of the GDP in 2011-12.¹⁶⁷ At present, Pakistan’s economy is not in a good shape. The public debt has increased to Rs 12,392 trillion at the end of June 2012.¹⁶⁸ “Until some years ago, the general belief was that while the poor in Pakistan suffered in myriad ways, not many went without food. ... We now have official recognition of hunger in the country. According to the Ministry of National Food Security and Research, about 50 percent of the country’s population is food insecure.”¹⁶⁹

During 2012-2013 the desired economic targets in economic growth, foreign and local investment, savings, exports, imports, revenue generation, tax to GDP ratio, fiscal deficit, and inflation could not be met. The issue of trade imbalance and current account deficit is worsening on account of external debt repayments, and huge import bill on oil, fertilizers etcetera.

However, as per *Pakistan’s Economic Survey 2011-12*, there are some positive signs too despite slowdown of economy all over the world and unprecedented floods in Southern Pakistan. The country was able to maintain its exports and remittances had doubled to about \$ 13 billion from \$ 6.2 billion in 2008. Similarly, the Federal Board of Revenue had shown a collection of Rs 1445 billion resulting in a growth of 24 percent. Agriculture has also performed better with a growth of 3.1 percent. Other sectors of the economy were showing improving trends. GDP growth is close to three percent and per capita income has increased to \$ 1372. The State Bank of Pakistan lowered the discount rate to 12 percent in 2011-12 and again slashed it to 10.5 percent in 2012-13 in line with the inflationary trend in the country. And Government was able to allocate only 4.5 percent of GDP to social and poverty related expenditures.

National Security

National security is a prime function of governance. All instruments of national power are employed to achieve national cohesion, territorial integrity, political stability and human prosperity that are all integral aspects of security. The survival of the state which rests on economic security, energy security, environmental security, water security, food security is ensured by making use of diplomacy, political power, intelligence services, effective armed forces etcetera. National security has been defined as “an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure

¹⁶⁶ Editorial, *Dawn*, August 27, 2012.

¹⁶⁷ Ashfaq H. Khan, “Economy in 2012-13,” *News International*, August 28, 2012.

¹⁶⁸ *Dawn*, August 25, 2012.

¹⁶⁹ Editorial, *Dawn* (Islamabad), March 24, 2012.

and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might.”¹⁷⁰ Addressing the Fourteenth National Security Workshop on January 4, 2013, at National Defence University, Islamabad, Prime Minister Raja Parvez Ashraf had observed that political stability was critically linked to national security.¹⁷¹

Pakistan has all along been facing the challenge to its national security – both traditional and non-traditional. The traditional security threat emanated from its eastern neighbour while multiple non-traditional threats have cropped up due to a complex mix of internal factors. The objective of the internal and external opposing forces is to destabilize and weaken the country. Why does Pakistan face this persistent existential threat to its security on its eastern borders? The basic reason is that the British colonial Government and the INC were against the division of the subcontinent and the creation of Pakistan. The British needed a united India for their global defence¹⁷² and the Caste Hindu dominated Congress felt that the division would mean cutting “mother India” into two, which according to Mahatama Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was a “sin.” The struggle of the AIML had forced both of them to concede Pakistan, but they had hoped that it would not last long. This was reported by the British Viceroy in India, Lord Mountbatten, in the following words: “It had become clear that the Muslim League would resort to arms if Pakistan in some form were not conceded. In the face of this threat, the Congress leaders had modified their former attitude; indeed, they were now inclined to feel that it would be to their advantage to be relieved of responsibility for the provinces that would form Pakistan, while at the same time they were confident that those provinces [i.e. Pakistan] would ultimately have to seek reunion with the remainder of India.”¹⁷³

After conceding Pakistan, the British Viceroy was adamant on denying separate armed forces to Pakistan. This would have amounted to denying Pakistan its right to its own defence. The mouthpiece of AIML policy, *Pakistan Times* had written that “The Armed Forces are the main sanction, besides the will of the people, behind any established government and no government can be called truly sovereign if it does not wholly control these tangible instruments of its sovereignty.”¹⁷⁴ Accordingly, the AIML decided that Pakistan must have its own Army which may, in the first instance, consist of say 70 percent Muslims and 30 percent non-Muslims under its own

¹⁷⁰ Report of National Defence College of India 1996, cited by Dr M. S. Shafique, “How to Achieve Water Security,” *Dawn*, December 17, 2012.

¹⁷¹ “Military Urged to Redefine Doctrine,” *Dawn*, January 5, 2013.

¹⁷² Noor ul Haq, *Making of Pakistan: The Military Perspective* (Islamabad: Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), 162-186.

¹⁷³ Minutes of 25th Meeting of India and Burma Committee, Mayu 19, 1947, Mountbatten Papers, IOR: MSS. F.200/247.

¹⁷⁴ Editorial, *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), April 16, 1947.

Commander-in-Chief. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah had “resolved that they would not take over the reins of Government in Pakistan unless they had an Army on the spot, and under their control” and which was predominantly Muslim.¹⁷⁵ This should be obvious that the armed forces are the ultimate guarantors of the sovereignty of a state. Contrary to the explicit wishes of the British Viceroy and the implicit desire of the Congress, the Muslim League insisted and did acquire its separate armed forces, which, with the resolve of the people of Pakistan, have made the defence of the country invincible.

Pakistan’s security faced its earliest threat in October 1947 when the Indian Army occupied the state of Jammu and Kashmir that, geographically and demographically, should have been its part.¹⁷⁶ That was just the beginning as the unresolved dispute has sent the two countries to war a number of times and sparked major and minor border clashes – in 1947-48, 1951, 1965, 1971, 1984, 1999, and 2002. Apart from three major (1947-48, 1965 and 1971) and two minor (1965 and 1999) wars fought with India, the military suppressed the rebellion of Kalat (1948 and 1958), conducted the successful Operation *Rab-i-Rast* (2009) in Malakand Division and *Rab-i-Nejuat* (2007) in South Waziristan and has been continuously committed in fighting terrorism.

For the last three decades, owing to insurgency and war in Afghanistan and particularly since the events of September 11, new threats have emerged to national security in the shape of extremism, radicalism and terrorism. These are a direct consequence of the Afghan war and are affecting law and order, economy and progress of the country. The Indian presence in Afghanistan that may be seen as encirclement of Pakistan encourages the terrorists who are targeting the state’s symbols and institutions and inflicting casualties on both security forces and civilians. The terrorists’ immediate purpose is to harm Pakistan because firstly it is an ally and helping foreign forces fighting “freedom fighters” in Afghanistan; and, second it is not following the

¹⁷⁵ Ismay to Mountbatten, June 20, 1947, *Transfer of Power*, XI, 534.

¹⁷⁶ All the rulers of Princely states were told “You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible” (British Indian Viceroy’s address to the Chamber of Princes, July 25, 1947). “Keeping in view the geographical conditions, 80% Muslim majority ... the passage of the important rivers of the Punjab through the State, the language, cultural, racial and economic connection of the people and the proximity of the borders of the State with Pakistan ... the Jammu and Kashmir State should accede to Pakistan” (Resolution of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, July 19, 1947). The accession “of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the peoples expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations” (UNSC Resolution (S/3779) of January 24, 1957). Also see Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London: 1949), 157-58; Alastair Lamb, *Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute* (Hertford, 1997); A. H. Suhrawardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir* (Lahore, 1983), 203.

terrorists' brand of Islam. They have coined a slogan *shariat ya shahadat* i.e., either "Islamic system or martyrdom." Talking to *BBC*, a spokesman of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) "vowed to continue attacks against Pakistan, even if the US leaves Afghanistan, till the implementation of the Islamic system in the country."¹⁷⁷

The military with the people's and the elected government's support is successfully combating the non-state actors. Yet there is considerable confusion with regard to the whole hearted commitment of the politicians and political parties in this war against terrorism. In fact "one is hard pressed to find any contribution or any role played by Parliamentary committees in any major security decision taken by the country. Both Parliament and the Government do not seem prepared to be in the forefront of defining what constitutes a national security strategy of Pakistan in dealing with this war that has no end in sight."¹⁷⁸ This is because political considerations are based on personal factors, party interests, and inability or reluctance to face the challenges. In addition, there is a growing perception that corruption in governance is also "breeding violence and terrorism,"¹⁷⁹ which adversely affects the security of the country. There is also some substance in the statement that there is "increased un-governability, inability of the border customs to control the illegal influx of goods, and the tendency of the judges to favour such phenomena as the Lal Masjid in Islamabad."¹⁸⁰ Therefore, a suitable and effective anti-terrorist legislation is needed so that terrorists are not able to escape punishment from the courts.

The armed forces were trained to fight conventional warfare to defend the international borders. They were not trained and equipped to fight internally against extremism, radicalism and terrorism. The army has recently redefined its military doctrine to combat non-state actors against whom it is fighting for the last ten years. The army alone cannot succeed in this asymmetrical warfare. "No military action can succeed alone. Political will and support of the people are critical to its success," said the Prime Minister.¹⁸¹ The Army cannot succeed "unless sustainable socio-economic growth, political sovereignty and stability, rule of law, food security, stable state institutions and technological advances are attained."¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ *Express Tribune* (Islamabad), May 27, 2011.

¹⁷⁸ Performance of the Parliamentary Committee of Defence and National Security during the first 3 years of the 13th National Assembly of Pakistan (March 15, 2008 – March 15, 2011 [Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT), 2011].

¹⁷⁹ *Dawn* (Islamabad), February 28, 2011.

¹⁸⁰ *News International* (Islamabad), July 11, 2010.

¹⁸¹ "Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf," *Dawn*, January 5, 2013.

¹⁸² Prime Minister cited by Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, *Weekly Pulse*, January 11-18, 2013.

The process of national development and growth can be subverted anytime in the absence of adequate security as was demonstrated in the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990. It is always a disciplined and well trained defence force which in the last resort ensures a country's security. But military buildup at the cost of domestic development stagnates economic growth and results in breakdown as happened in the case of the USSR in 1991. The current internal and external threats to Pakistan's security are mostly the spillover effect of the US and NATO's war against al Qaeda, and insurgency and terrorism in Afghanistan.

Now, efforts are also being made to destabilize Pakistan, weaken and discredit its armed forces. The intelligence agencies, including the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), which work as the "eyes and ears" of the armed forces, are being targeted and maligned with a view to making these agencies ineffective and thus making the armed forces less effective to defend the country, its assets and eventually its sovereign status.

Presently, Pakistan is facing what has come to be called as "fourth generation warfare" through the inimical forces within the country. Referring to this conflict a researcher of an Indian think tank writes: "If these incidents and developments suggest a weakening of the Pakistani military structure, it could be the beginning of the endgame in Pakistan's troubled polity. If the Army withers away then a fragmentation of Pakistan into a 'Lebanonized' state would become inevitable."¹⁸³ This assessment does not only speak of the Indian mindset but also underlines the armed forces crucial place in the country's solidarity and territorial integrity. Although Pakistan should endeavour to have brotherly, cordial and mutually beneficial relations with neighbouring countries, regional states and the great powers, it should ever remain prepared and vigilant to meet any challenge to its security. ■

¹⁸³ P.K. Upadhyay, *Pakistan: Beginning of the endgame?* (New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, June 17, 2011).

Chapter III

The Way Forward

Presently, Pakistan is confronted with the evils of extremism and terrorism. What is extremism and terrorism? A person who does not listen to others and believes that his ideas and opinions are final and cannot be reconciled is an extremist. A person who uses violence and physical force to impose his opinion and ideas on others is a terrorist. The terrorists in certain parts especially the FATA are well equipped, trained and organized and are targeting both soft and hard targets. The law enforcement agencies including the armed forces are fighting a war against them and suffering innumerable casualties. The government is correctly following a strategy of three-pronged action — dialogue, development and deterrence — against them. The challenge can be successfully met if there is improved intelligence gathering, investigation and law enforcement agencies are better equipped, trained and authorized for actions against them.

In addition, the civil society and all others should work for the preservation of national integrity and stability. All Pakistanis irrespective of their ethnicity, cast, colour and creed should be integrated into one nation. Similarly, there should be harmony amongst various institutions of the state, i.e. legislature, executive, judiciary, civil and military bureaucracy. This is necessary not only for good governance and internal security but also to meet external threats. General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, the Chief of the Army Staff, while stressing upon national unity has said: “Any effort to create divisions between important institutions of the country was not in national interest ... this is an effort to drive wedge between the army, different organs of the state and more seriously, the people of Pakistan whose support the army has always considered vital for its operations against terrorists.”¹⁸⁴

The report, “A Vision for Building a Better Future” released on May 20, 2011 by the Asia Society Pakistan 2020 Study Group, identifies the challenges faced by Pakistan. These include terrorism, religious extremism, underdevelopment and political instability, which can be met through “policies aimed at promoting sustainable constitutional democracy, credible and effective rule of law and law enforcement, a significant expansion and improvement of the education and health sectors and a peaceful resolution of the conflict” with neighbours. Another report “Stabilising Pakistan through Police Reform”, written by Asia Society’s independent Commission on Pakistan Police Reform released on July 23, 2012, concludes that Pakistan’s

¹⁸⁴ Sajjad Shaukat, “Pakistan: Survival through Unity,” posted on internet on June 19, 2011.

efforts to combat crime and terrorist activities are being “outpaced by the innovation and agility of criminal networks and terrorist organizations.” In order to combat crime and terrorist activities, there is a requirement for “comprehensive reform of the legal framework governing police action, the police force as an institution, Pakistan’s law enforcement strategy, and interagency and international coordination.” Presently, according to the report, “a lack of resources, poor training, insufficient and outmoded equipment, and political manipulation pose difficulties to the police force as it works to maintain law and order.”

Maleeha Lodhi, a former diplomat, rightly feels that “as long as there is a patronage-based political system in Pakistan that provides no incentive for improving governance, things will not change for the better.”¹⁸⁵ However, there can be change for the better through dedicated, capable and competent governance and the way forward is to follow and get inspiration from the ideas and vision of the founding fathers, especially Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Governance

Governance means “the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented. ... Good governance has eight major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law.”¹⁸⁶ The people of Pakistan want good governance. “To survive, Pakistan has no option but to change for the better. The anachronistic political system must give way to a modern and effective system of governance. ... Our crisis is rooted in our intellectual bankruptcy and lack of vision” says an eminent bureaucrat Tasneem Ahmad Siddiqui, in his work *Towards Good Governance*.¹⁸⁷

Quaid-i-Azam had given a broad outline for governance in Pakistan. His emphasis was on people’s government and democracy, which embodied the essential principles of Islam, i.e., equality, justice and fair play, but rejected theocracy. He was for Islamic socialism, but against communism. He wanted an egalitarian Islamic state but not autocracy. He spoke for the first time on the subject as the President of the All-India Muslim League in his presidential address at the Delhi session of the party in April 1943. He said:

¹⁸⁵ Dr Maleeha Lodhi said at the launch of her book “Pakistan beyond the Crisis State,” *Express Tribune* (Islamabad), May 21, 2011.

¹⁸⁶ M.G. Ramakant Rao, *Good Governance: Modern Global and Regional Perspectives* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2008), 6-8.

¹⁸⁷ Tasneem Ahmad Siddiqui, *Towards Good Governance* (Islamabad: Oxford University Press, 2009), 210.

We learned democracy 1300 years ago. ...I have no doubt in my mind that a large body of us visualizes Pakistan as a people's government. ...Let us first agree that there should be two Indias. Then the constitution making body will be elected by some system from the people, and it is the people who will choose their representatives to go to the constitution making body. ... You will select your representatives to the constitution making body. You may not know your power; you may not know how to use it. This would be your fault. But I am sure that democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries are not functioning. But thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim League efforts. It will be a people's government.¹⁸⁸

The address was in response to the demand of a section of the Muslim Leaguers who, before the opening of the session, had proposed that the Muslim League should declare that the future constitution of Pakistan should be based on the Quran.¹⁸⁹ Later, in an interview to a foreign correspondent in November 1945 he said that Pakistan would be a democracy and a Muslim state and that Muslims are "a people who believe in and act on the basic principle of equality of manhood and fraternity."¹⁹⁰

After independence, while addressing the Sibi Durbar, in February 14, 1948, he said: "I have one underlying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that 'our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations'."¹⁹¹

The same month, in a broadcast talk on Pakistan to the people of United States of America, he said: "The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan."¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League*, 415 and 424.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 440.

¹⁹⁰ Jamiluddin, "Pakistan as Quaid Visualised," 98.

¹⁹¹ *Quaid-i-Azam Speeches as Governor-General*, 58.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 67.

Quaid-i-Azam was in favour of a federal government. This is reflected in the wordings of the Lahore Resolution of 1940 which states that “the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”¹⁹³ Later in an interview to the Associated Press of America on November 8, 1945, he said: “The theory of Pakistan guarantees that federated units of the National Government would have all the autonomy that you will find in the constitutions of the United States of America, Canada and Australia. But certain vital powers will remain vested in the Central Government, such as the monetary system, national defence and other federal responsibilities. Each federal state or province would have its own legislature, executive and judicial systems, each of the three branches of government being constitutionally separate.”¹⁹⁴ The devolution of power to provinces under the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution is a step in that direction.

In fact, Quaid-i-Azam laid great emphasis on various aspects of governance. He himself was a paragon of honesty and integrity and was particularly concerned about the following facets of governance, which need to be understood fully and implemented vigorously:

Law and Order

He told the members of the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan that “the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.” This needs special attention immediately.

The remedy lies in implementing the laws and ensuring the writ of government in all parts of the country by improving the capacity of law enforcement agencies. The society has to be de-weaponised. Hate material of any kind should be proscribed, defaulting printing presses should be closed, and propagation of hatred from the pulpit or the political platform, through print or electronic media should be made a punishable crime and dealt with under anti-terrorist laws.

Corruption

“One of the biggest curses...is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so”, said the Quaid.¹⁹⁵ As against his desire for honesty, the curse of corruption is persisting. Before the government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

¹⁹³ Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League*, 341.

¹⁹⁴ Javid Iqbal, “The Legacy of Quaid-i-Azam,” 218.

¹⁹⁵ *Speeches*, 7.

(1971-1977) corruption was a serious problem. By the time he was overthrown, it had become a way of life, which flourished under later rulers: “so great was the level of corruption that it would be declared an industry.”¹⁹⁶ According to Transparency International, there was an estimated corruption of Rs 8500 billion in four years during Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani’s governance (2008-2012).¹⁹⁷

Nepotism and Jobbery

Quaid-i-Azam warned: “This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear on me.”¹⁹⁸

Equal Treatment to All

Quaid-i-Azam directed: “Every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations...”¹⁹⁹

Justice and Impartiality

“I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any ...prejudice or ill-will ...partiality and favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality,” said the Quaid.²⁰⁰

Reorientation of Attitude

On March 25, 1948, Quaid-i-Azam had reminded the officers corps of the civil services to re-orientate their attitude because gone were the days when the “country was ruled by the bureaucracy”. Pakistan Government was “responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices.” The officers of the government have to do their duty as “servants” and also make the people feel that they [officers] were their “servants and friends”. They should also maintain the “highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fair play.” Secondly, as civil servants, they should not be concerned with any political party, should not accept the pressure from leaders and politicians and should be loyal to the government in power. Again, on April 1948, he told civil officers: “The first thing that I want to tell you is this, that

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 255-261.

¹⁹⁷ *Jang* (Rawalpindi), February 5, 2012.

¹⁹⁸ *Speeches*, 7.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 9.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 10.

you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly.”²⁰¹ But this is not being followed. There is undue political interference in the working of bureaucracy. This has led to corrupting it and “arbitrary dismissals, appointments and transfers” have “reduced the higher bureaucracy to a quasi-mediaeval instrument.”²⁰² This needs to be corrected.

Setting an Example

In an address to a combined gathering of both Civil and Military (Naval, Army and Air Force) Officers, on October 11, 1947, the Quaid had thrown a challenge to them when he said: “God has given us a great opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new state; let it not be said that we did not prove equal to the task.” He further advised them: “You have to infuse a new spirit in your men by precept and by example. You have to make them feel that they are working for a cause and that the cause is worth every sacrifice that they may be called upon to make.”²⁰³

Selfless Devotion to Duty

While addressing the officers and men of a military regiment in Malir on February 21, 1948, Quaid said: “With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve.”²⁰⁴

Unity, Discipline and Faith

Quaid-i-Azam while addressing the nation on Radio Pakistan Lahore on October 30, 1947 said: “While the horizon is beset with dark clouds, let me appeal to you and give this message to the people of Pakistan. Create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task, with courage and hope, and we shall do it. Are we down-hearted? Certainly not. The history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination. So march on notwithstanding obstructions, obstacles and interference; and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 [now 180] million people with a grim determination and with a great civilization and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you

²⁰¹ Ibid., 99-100 and 127.

²⁰² Ilhan Niaz, *The Culture of Power and Governance of Pakistan 1947-2008* (Islamabad: Oxford University Press, 2010), 116, 196.

²⁰³ *Speeches*, 24.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 63.

to work, work and work; and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our motto: Unity, Discipline and Faith.”²⁰⁵

Almighty Allah has ordained unity; in it lies strength. Discipline trains citizens in obedience to laws and authority. No organization, society or nation can function without discipline. If there is no discipline, anarchy and destruction would prevail. Islam enjoins discipline and abhors indiscipline. Faith inspires for serious and responsible action; and if the nation wishes to survive, it should have faith in its destiny. It was the miracle of these principles that Pakistan came into being in 1947; the same unity was demonstrated by the nation during Indo-Pak wars, and natural calamities such as the unprecedented earthquake in 2005 and floods in 2010. If we continue to adhere to the motto, Pakistan is bound to ascend the pinnacle of strength and prosperity. The need for “Unity, Discipline and Faith” will ever remain paramount.

Foreign Policy

In foreign relations Pakistan should have “friendship towards all and malice towards none,” a policy of “live and let live” and non-interference in each other’s affairs, said the Quaid. He further added: “There is nothing that we desire more than to live in peace and let others live in peace and develop our country according to our own lights without outside interference and improve the lot of the common man.”²⁰⁶

Again, laying down the principles of foreign policy in February 1948, Quaid-i-Azam said: “Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principles of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world.”²⁰⁷

He stood for the most cordial relations with Pakistan’s neighbours and desired to build up a special relationship with the Muslim world whereby they can have unity of thought and action. In an Eid message to Muslim countries, he proposed: “It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world.”²⁰⁸ Similarly, in unison with all other countries he wished to play a role in establishing “peace and prosperity in the present distracted world.”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Ibid.,34.

²⁰⁶ Ilhan Niaz, *The Culture of Power and Governance of Pakistan*, 64.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 67.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 166.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 43.

The world has changed after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1989. In the global power politics, a multi-polar world is emerging. It is time that Pakistan revisited its foreign policy. Pakistan should get out of the Cold War syndrome. It should get out from the framework of a security state, so that it could concentrate on human resource development. Its borders with neighbours should be as peaceful as for instance, US-Canada borders. There should be friction free relations with all countries, especially the immediate neighbours.

Without abandoning the cause of UN supervised plebiscite in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and territorial sovereignty of Pakistan, the relations with India should be normalized. The grant of MFN status to each other is a step in the right direction. But transit facilities across Pakistan to India should be linked with the progress on settlement of disputes. As for our western neighbours, President Hamid Karazai had remarked that both Afghanistan and Pakistan are twins. Every effort needs to be made to live like brothers. Similarly, our relations with Iran and northern Central Asian neighbours should be cordial. But it is not enough to be a Muslim country. Other factors that dictate state to state relations should also be taken into account. The test of diplomacy comes when a country is caught in the conflict between two friendly or neighbouring countries. In such a situation, Pakistan should play the conciliatory role of a friendly mediator, if possible.

The strategic objectives of the United States in Asia seem to be containment of Chinese, Russian and Iranian influence. For this purpose, besides their "Asia pivot" they have entered into strategic partnership with India and Afghanistan and also need Pakistan. Pakistan's relation with the United States or China should not be viewed with suspicion by others. It is not against anyone.

It must be ensured that all foreign citizens entering Pakistan legally should be protected and they should feel safe and secure. The reason why China and some other countries have transformed themselves from an underdeveloped to a developed country is because internally they have no law and order problem and in external relations they have pursued peaceful relations with other countries, have avoided conflict and, without compromising on territorial integrity, have not involved themselves in warfare. Pakistan should benefit from their experience.

Economic Policy

Quaid-i-Azam was not an economist but his ideas on the subject can be deduced from the Muslim League resolutions passed with his consent or based on his utterances. For instance, as far back as 1937, the Lucknow Session of the AIML under his leadership laid down the following economic objectives

for a state which point to his concern for the poor and weaker sections of society and the protection of the rights of the working class against exploitation by landlords, capitalists and industrialists etcetera. A close look at his following agenda reflects his model of an egalitarian and welfare economy:

To fix working hours for factory workers; to fix minimum wages; to improve the housing and hygienic condition of the labourers and make provision for slum clearance; to reduce rural and urban debts and abolish usury; to grant a moratorium with regard to all debts, whether decreed or otherwise, till proper legislation has been enacted; to secure legislation for exemption of houses from attachment or sale in execution of decrees; to obtain security of tenure and fixation of fair rents and revenue; to abolish forced labour; to undertake rural uplift work; to encourage cottage industries and small indigenous industries both in rural and urban areas; to encourage the use of *swadeshi* articles...; to establish an industrial board for the development of industries and the prevention of exploitation by middlemen; to devise means for the relief of unemployment.²¹⁰

His objectives are as valid today as they were 75 years ago, which work out the concept of a welfare state.

In 1945, while giving an interview to a foreign press representative on November 8, he gave in broad outline the economic policy of Pakistan. He said: “there would be ample revenues from equitable taxation levied in a manner consistent with social justice to finance good government and allow us to have a state as good as any in the world and better than many sovereign countries on the map of the world.”²¹¹ However, the present managers of Pakistan’s economy have failed to generate enough revenues and do not effectively deal with the tax evasion by the powerful elite.

When questioned about the industrial policy in the same interview, he replied: “...in these modern days essential key industries ought to be controlled and managed by the state. That applies to certain public utilities. But what is a key industry and what is a utility service are matters for the law-makers to say, not for me.”²¹²

After independence, while addressing the workers of the Pakistan movement on October 11, 1948, he explained that one of the objectives of Pakistan was that “principles of Islamic social justice could find fair play.”²¹³ In a similar vein, in a speech at Chittagong on March 26, 1948, he said that “Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic

²¹⁰ Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League*, 280.

²¹¹ Jamiluddin, “Pakistan as Quaid Visualised,” 98.

²¹² Javid Iqbal, “The Legacy of Quaid-i-Azam,” 219.

²¹³ Jamiluddin, “Pakistan as Quaid Visualised,” 97.

socialism.”²¹⁴ By “socialism” perhaps he meant a welfare state based on principles of Islamic justice, not communism, certainly. He is reported to have told the Punjab Muslim Students Federation in Lahore on March 19, 1948, “I warn the communists to keep their hands off Muslims. ...Islam is their guide and complete code of life. They do not want any ‘isms’.”

Finally, in his last public address, on the occasion of the inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948, he clearly laid down his economic objectives and economic system for Pakistan. According to him, there was no room for capitalism in an Islamic society. It would be worth quoting his words:

I shall watch with keenness the work of your research organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary it is largely responsible for the World Wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind.²¹⁵

Quaid-i-Azam had thus thrown a great challenge to our economists and governments to replace the existing Western economic system by a just and equitable economic order based on the economic mission of Islam which is “the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind.”

The country should, therefore, adopt austerity measures and an austere way of life to rationalize expenditure, but should spend more on human resource development, education and health sectors. This is possible through augmenting and mobilizing additional resources by broadening the tax base and carrying out tax reforms so that the present tax-to-GDP ratio can be substantially enhanced. This is possible if taxation department is serious in the collection of taxes and controlling tax evasion.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 96.

²¹⁵ *Quaid-i-Azam Speeches as Governor General*, 160-61.

Besides, the infrastructure and law and order situation must be improved so as to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In order to minimize corruption, the perpetrators should be given exemplary punishments as in China. Last of all, overpopulation — a ticking bomb — has to be checked and the birth rate need to be brought down from about two to one percent. The best case scenario, according to an imminent Indian journalist M.J. Akbar, demands “social and economic reforms: land re-distribution, high economic growth which can facilitate rapid redistribution of national wealth.” He recommends Keynesian Economics which demands active government intervention in the marketplace and monetary policy for ensuring economic growth and stability requiring “low skill-jobs and artisan products; secular, gender-equal education, health care and infrastructure, with democracy as a non-negotiable necessity...”²¹⁶ Macroeconomic stability can be achieved by “bringing about power sector reforms, restructuring state-owned enterprises, documentation of the economy through reformed general sales tax, and conversion of non-targeted subsidies.”²¹⁷

To meet the rising energy demand of the country and overcome present shortages, Pakistan would need urgent recourse to alternative sources like coal, wind and solar power besides adding to traditional sources of hydel power through construction of dams etcetera.

South Asians are the biggest diasporas after the Chinese, and Pakistani diasporas is too large to be ignored. It runs into millions of people who are either Pakistani citizens or of Pakistani origin. They include: Pakistani citizens who are staying abroad for employment or for business for an uncertain period, such as those working especially in the Middle Eastern countries; persons of Pakistani origin who are born outside Pakistan; and persons of Pakistani origin who are not citizens of Pakistan and living overseas since three or four generations. They are spread all over the world in all continents. Most of them have migrated in post-colonial period after independence in 1947. They live and work in other countries for earning better wages, better education and quality of life. They are mostly residing in the US, UK, Canada, Saudi Arabia and Gulf region. They consist of doctors, engineers, professors, businessmen, workers and labourers.

In case they have acquired citizenship of other countries, Pakistan is granting them dual citizenship, if permitted by the countries of their residence. They are being granted a limited form of dual citizenship, by issuing special identity cards which exempts them from acquiring visa for Pakistan; allows them to acquire and own immovable property in Pakistan, allows them to open and maintain ordinary rupee or foreign currency, current, savings, or

²¹⁶ M. J. Akbar, *Tinderbox – The Past and Future of Pakistan* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 2011), 307.

²¹⁷ Tahir Dhindsa, *Sustainable Policy Economic Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 5-6(May-June 2012).

fixed deposit bank accounts in Pakistan, allows them to invest in stock exchange and securities in Pakistan, and also allows them to repatriate their own money, income and proceeds from selling their immovable property, within permissible limits.

In addition, following the example of India, Pakistan should celebrate a Day devoted to non-resident Pakistanis (NRPs), preferably on March 23 or any other suitable date each year. On such a day, the Ministry for Overseas Pakistanis should award merit certificates or shields to those NRPs who have in any way excelled and contributed to Pakistan's economy or enhanced its image and prestige.

For the younger generation, the Ministry of Overseas Pakistanis should prepare CDs depicting Pakistan's history, culture, development, requirements, etc. These should be provided to them at a nominal cost. Short lectures on Pakistan Studies may be organized. Pakistan can invite the youth, provide subsidized air fare and extend local hospitality. Pakistani embassies should make every effort to solve their genuine problems. They are a valuable asset. They are ambassadors of Pakistan at no cost to the country. Their remittances amount to over thirteen billion US dollars per annum and are a great source to support the national economy.

Priority Areas in Policy

Lastly, Pakistan has to re-evaluate its national priorities in overall policy. The present policies have been criticized in the media. For instance, it is argued that "the cost of these policies has been high: low agricultural productivity, fragmented and uncompetitive textile industry, incompetent and inefficient security, an apathetic populace and a weak and vulnerable economy without sustainable growth prospects. While so far the casualties have been the democratic process and economic development, any further delay in addressing the core issues may hurt more than just democracy and development. It may imperil the future of the state of Pakistan."²¹⁸ These are somewhat pessimistic comments, but our policy makers must give top priority to economy and learn lessons from other countries such as China, Brazil, Malaysia or South Korea.

The Commission on Growth and Development in their Growth Report identified the following ingredients that, "if used in the right country-specific recipe, can deliver growth and help lift populations out of poverty" In 2008, their Growth Report, identified five "policy ingredients of thirteen economies that experienced an average of seven percent growth a year for at least 25 years since 1950." These were:

²¹⁸ M. Yousaf Nazar, "Introduction," *The Gathering Storm: Pakistan, Political Economy of a Security State* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2008).

First and most important, all of these countries were engaged with the global economy, importing technology and knowledge from the rest of the world and exporting goods to the global market. Second, the high growth countries ran relatively stable and predictable macroeconomic policies. Third, they had high saving and investment rates. Fourth, they depended on a well-managed market system that provided proper price signals and relatively clear property rights that gave outsiders an incentive to invest. And finally, most of these countries had strong political foundations.²¹⁹

There is therefore need to put our own house in order first. Apart from political stability, protection of public assets, the security of life and property as well as welfare of citizens should be the foremost priority and responsibility of the state. To achieve it, Pakistan would need to have a sound economy, besides maintaining law and order and ensuring a culture of tolerance by suppressing and eliminating as far as possible the extremism and violence.

Defence Policy

Quaid-i-Azam “was a firm believer in strong defence which he regarded as a bulwark against aggression and, therefore, a service to the cause of peace.” In his address to the officers and men of “HMPS Dilawar” on 23rd January 1948, he said:

While giving the fullest support to the principles of the United Nations Charter, we cannot afford to neglect our defence. However strong the United Nations Organisation might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and defenceless in this imperfect world invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak, and, therefore, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves as strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us.

He further stressed the need for “faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty” and advised: “Every one of you has an important role to play in strengthening the defence of the country and your watchwords should be

²¹⁹ Dr Kamal Monnoo, Chairperson, Conference on “Brazil-Pakistan Relations: Challenges and Opportunities,” organized by Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) in collaboration with the Embassy of Brazil at Brazilian Embassy, Islamabad, October 10, 2012.

faith, discipline and self-sacrifice. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and self-devotion to duty for it is no life that matters but the courage, fortitude and determination you bring to it.”²²⁰ At Nowshera (Pakhtunkhwa), on April 13, 1948, he addressed the officers and men of Armoured Corps Centre saying: “Pakistan depends on you and puts her faith in you as defenders of your country. Be worthy of her.”²²¹

It is, therefore, imperative that armed forces should be well equipped, well trained and well disciplined, well-motivated and second to none in the world. To meet any possible external threat, minimum deterrent measures and defence preparedness is necessary so that no one has the temptation to threaten the country.

To meet internal threats, especially terrorism, there is a need that the menace should be dealt with politically, economically, psychologically and legally. There is a need to develop a national counterterrorism force specially trained to deal with these elements through a wide-spread network of intelligence using suitable weapons and equipment to effectively neutralize them.

As for overall national security, the Defence Committee of the Parliament headed by the Prime Minister is the highest forum. During a meeting on August 17, 2011, the Prime Minister is reported to have said that “We need to clearly identify the threat posed by terrorism including the underlying factors such as ideological and motivational, funding, weapon supply, training, organisational support for terrorist groups and those aiding and abetting the terrorists.”²²² His words need to be followed by concrete actions so as to meet the menace of terrorism successfully. The non-traditional security threats are faced by several countries and Pakistan is no exception. The Prime Minister had rightly observed that “the forces of doom and gloom thrive in an environment of chaos, uncertainty and instability.”²²³ This is caused in the absence of security to life and property, economic security, health security, environmental security, food security, water security, energy security, political security, cyber security etcetera. These factors have serious impact on the economy and security of a country and are required to be considered dispassionately and dealt with through careful planning, execution and management by formulating a national security policy.

²²⁰ *Speeches*, 47.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

²²² *Express Tribune* (Islamabad), August 18, 2011.

²²³ “Prime Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf,” *Dawn* (Islamabad), January 5, 2013.

Gender Policy

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah was particularly concerned about raising the standard of Muslim women, because one “cannot expect a woman who is herself ignorant to bring up her children properly,” he said.²²⁴ He wanted their full participation in politics. Exclusive women sessions were organized under his patronage and women delegations were invited to the sessions of the All-India Muslim League.²²⁵

In one of his pre-independence speeches he reminded his audience that “no nation could rise to height of glory” unless their women were “side by side” with them. He reminded Muslims that they were “victims of customs” in denying education to women and restricting them within the boundaries of their houses. At the same time he was against imitation of the “evils of western life” and requested Muslims to raise the stature of women in accordance with the “Islamic ideals and standards.”²²⁶ In short, the Quaid did whatever he could to let women perform their useful role in the regeneration of Muslims of the subcontinent and in the development of Pakistan.

The traditionalists and extremists in the northwest Pakistan are against women acquiring education beyond primary stage and are against their role outside their homes. They are sticking to their age-old culture by exploiting religion wrongfully. These extremists have burnt dozens of girls’ educational institutions to discourage women from going to educational institutions. Malala Yousufzai, the 14 year old girl and the icon, who advocated the cause of girl’s education and criticized Taliban’s attacks on girl’s schools, was shot in the head and seriously wounded on October 9, 2012 in Swat.²²⁷ On the other hand women in most of Pakistan are getting higher education and working in all vocations, including the Police, the Army and the Air Force. Although in a male dominated society, gender equality throughout Pakistan is a tall order but is achievable. The extremists need to be convinced that education for all men and women without discrimination is the requirement of Islam,

Education Policy

Education for all is essential for change and progress. Education is an investment in human resources. The future of the country depends on education but the allocation of funds of about two percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is far from satisfactory. Realizing the drawbacks of the

²²⁴ Speech at Aligarh, March 10, 1944, cited in M.A.H. Ispahani, “On Quaid-i-Azam,” in *M.A. Jinnah*, ed. Prof Ziauddin, 55.

²²⁵ Begum Shaista Ikramullah, “Quaid-i-Azam’s Attitude to Women in Politics,” *Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan*, 253-55.

²²⁶ Speech at Aligarh March 10, 1944, cited by Ispahani, “On Quaid-i-Azam,” 55.

²²⁷ *Dawn* (Islamabad), October 10, 2012.

colonial education policy prevalent in the subcontinent, the vision for education was initially conceived and outlined by the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. Later, a number of education policies were framed and introduced from time to time. The main objective of all policies has been to achieve literacy, lay emphasis on scientific, technical and professional education, and to have quality education for both men and women at all levels.

Quaid-i-Azam, from the very beginning of his political life, was supporting the cause of education for all Indians, irrespective of their ethnicity, caste or creed.²²⁸ His keen involvement in education is highlighted by the generous gifts bequeathed by him to a number of educational institutions all over the subcontinent, such as, Anjuman-i-Islam School Bombay, University of Bombay, Arabic College Delhi, Muslim University Aligarh, Islamia College Peshawar, and Sind Madrassatul Islam, Karachi.²²⁹ During 1940-47, after the passage of Lahore Resolution and before independence, Quaid-i-Azam especially advised Muslims to acquire knowledge and laid particular emphasis on female education. The salient features of his advice were:

General Awareness

At the First Session of the Balochistan Muslim Students Federation held at Islamia High School, Quetta, on July 4, 1943, he advised the Muslim nation to keep themselves “abreast of the developments and the ups and downs of the world and taking interest in the internal and external politics.”

Female Education

Addressing a meeting at Muslim University, Aligarh, on March 10, 1944, the Quaid stated that “it is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the house as prisoners. I do not mean that we should

²²⁸ Quaid-i-Azam’s official political career started when he was elected to Bombay Corporation on 10 March 1904. On 12 April 1905, he supported a resolution tantamount to remonstrate the British Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, for his bias against Gokhale over Universities Validating Bill. (Sharif al Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam and His Times: A Compendium, Vol. I, 1876-1937* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1990), 7. On 23 March 1910, Quaid-i-Azam displayed his keen and farsighted interest in technical education and its value when, as a member of the Indian Legislative Council, he spoke effectively in support of the Resolution moved by Rao Bahadur R.N. Mudholkar on elementary compulsory education, and technical education in the country stressing the need for the establishment of a Polytechnic College, *Ibid.*, 12.

²²⁹ Mujahid, *Quaid-i-Azam and His Times*, 12; S.M. Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam and Education*, 1-6.

imitate the evils of western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards.”²³⁰

Islamic Ideals

Quaid, in a message dated June 12, 1945, for the 1945 annual session of the Muslim Students Federation, NWFP(now KP), advised the students to “not only achieve our freedom but be able to maintain it and live according to Islamic ideals and principles.”²³¹

Character Building

Addressing the 1946 annual convocation of Islamia College, Lahore, on 24 March 1946, he said: “Character means a bundle of virtues, the highest sense of honour and integrity and that you will not sell your principles for anything in the world however tempting it may be. These are the characteristics which go to make a nation. When a test comes, a crisis comes, if you live up to these virtues, no one on the surface of the earth can defeat you.”²³²

After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, he reiterated his emphasis on character building, in addition to the right type of education, scientific, technical and professional education, as well as students’ duty to the state.²³³

Right Type of Education

In his message to the first All-Pakistan Educational Conference on November 27 – December 1, 1947, Quaid-i-Azam said: “the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over emphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our education policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.”²³⁴

²³⁰ Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Students and Pakistan Movement, Selected Documents (1937-47), vol. ii*, 175-78; Jamil-u-Din Ahmad, *Speeches and writing of Mr. Jinnah. vol. ii* (Lahore: Sh Muhammad Ashraf, 1964-68), 15-18, cited in Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam and Education*, 337.

²³¹ NIHCR: Shamsul Hasan Collection, Students II, 57-58.

²³² Yusufi, *Rare Speeches*, 171-72 quoting *Eastern Times*, March 25, 1946, cited by Zaman, *Quaid-i-Azam and Education*, 415.

²³³ Message to All Pakistan Education Conference in 1947, *Quaid-i-Azam Speeches as Governor-General 1947-48* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), 36-37.

²³⁴ Ibid.

Scientific, Technical and Professional Education

Again, in his message to the All-Pakistan Educational Conference 1947, he emphasized that “there is immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up our economic life, and we should see that our people undertake scientific, commerce, trade and, particularly, well-planned industries. But do not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction. ... and we have to see that they are fully qualified or equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan.”²³⁵

Duty to the State

Addressing the students of Islamia College, Peshawar, on April 12, 1948, Jinnah said:

Now that we have achieved our national goal, you will expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be; namely one of the greatest States in the world. ... The duties required of you are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background. You must devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State. You must learn to obey for only then you can learn to command. In your criticism of the Government you must learn to be constructive. ... Our duty to the State comes first; our duty to our province, to our district, to our town and to our village and ourselves comes next. Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World.²³⁶

Successive governments since independence have paid attention to this important area of nation building and devised education policies (Appendix 7) with ambitious short and long term goals. However, it is a sad commentary on the performance of various governments that none of their policies could be fully implemented and their goals have generally not been achieved. For instance, the integration of madrasa education with the mainstream demanded in 1947, the removal of class barrier between English and Urdu medium schools required in 1970, free and universal education up to secondary level desired in 1972, the demand for gender parity and bridging the gap between rural and urban areas, and above all the achievement of one

²³⁵ Ibid., 36-37.

²³⁶ *Quaid-i-Azam Speeches*, 114-118.

hundred percent literacy stressed from the beginning are goals that await their fulfillment. The existing gender, geographic and economic disparities and inequalities in our education system is affecting the homogeneous progress and growth of the country and need to be removed. The literacy is about 56 percent but tertiary education is only about four percent. Although there is a quantum jump from a solitary university in 1947 to more than 130 universities and degree awarding institutions at present, qualitatively they are far from their ranking among the top universities of the world.

The existing streams of education, i.e. English medium, Urdu medium, Cambridge education, general education, madrassa education etc., have to be managed into one national stream. The inequalities in access to quality education, which are widespread at present, should be removed so that all eligible citizens could acquire higher education on merit and be able to have access to higher positions and profitable vocations.

Education is the basic requirement for national growth. It is the right of every citizen, and the responsibility of the state to educate its citizens irrespective of their financial position. Governance should cater for educating the people who would determine the direction and identity of the nation. Its slow progress in Pakistan has also affected the growth of democratic institutions and kept anachronistic traditions and feudal culture entrenched that together have obstructed progress and growth of the country. Universal education with uniform syllabi is the insurance for national integration and unity. It has to be given the highest priority in the national scheme of things. ■

PART IV

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Pakistani nation has shown extraordinary resilience in overcoming serious challenges like the unprecedented earthquake of 2005 and devastating floods of 2010. It has defended itself in three major and two minor wars with a much larger neighbour. It is the sole nuclear power of the Muslim world. Geographically, it has some of the tallest mountains of the universe and is so strategically located that it could provide a rail/road link between South Asia, West Asia, Central Asia and China. Its Gwadar port is right on the mouth of the strategic Gulf of Oman through which most of the oil passes to outside world. It is one of the largest providers of peace keeping troops to the United Nations. Besides UN, it is a member of SAARC, ECO, D-8 and enjoys observer status in SCO. It has successfully fought and subdued terrorist forces in Malakand Division and South Waziristan. It has been engaged in the global war against terror since 2001 and up till 2012 has suffered about 4000 security and 40,000 civilian casualties in addition to colossal economic losses. Yet it is generally maligned by a section of hostile media and its image is distorted as a backward den of terrorism and extremism.

In fact, there are a microscopic percentage of people, i.e. the so-called Taliban, who have drifted towards extremism being promoted in the name of *jihad*. The critical question and challenge, therefore, according to Professor Stephen P. Cohen, a renowned South Asia expert, are “whether it is too late to re-invent Pakistan and what paths, besides the restoration of Jinnah’s liberal idea of Pakistan, are possible for a Pakistan that is now immersed in identity and governance crisis.”²³⁷ There seems no need to re-invent Pakistan but there is a definite requirement to have clarity about its identity and efficiency in governance.

The controversy regarding the identity of Pakistan, whether it is a religious state or a modern nation-state has been generated and supported by conflicting interpretation of the thought process of the founding fathers, especially Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. It can be set straight if a reference is made to the *raison d’être* of the country. Besides Islam, political, economic, socio-cultural, territorial and secular reasons were also the motivating factors. Secondly, there should be no doubt that Islam rejects theocracy and accepts all praiseworthy aspects of secularism, i.e., non-discrimination as enshrined in Meesaq-e-Madina and such moral values as equality, justice, fair play, progress

²³⁷ Cohen, *Pakistan*, 293.

and development. Thirdly, there should be no disagreement that the true perception of the identity and good governance lies in the directions and guidelines given by Quaid-i-Azam, who was the undisputed leader of the majority of Muslims of the subcontinent and whom Iqbal had accepted as “the only Muslim in India ... whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance.” A study of his personality, as well as views and guidelines given by him bring out the following:

Mission

Quaid’s mission was to obtain freedom for the people of the subcontinent irrespective of their caste or creed, and at the same time, advocate and safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims, who were a minority in the subcontinent.

Modus Operandi

His education and environment had moulded him into a liberal, democrat, nationalist and a constitutionalist. He mainly counted on methods of persuasion, argument and debate, and not agitation and violence.

Islam

He was not a religious scholar, but he was not ignorant of Islam or Islamic jurisprudence or lacking faith in the principles of Islam. There is sufficient evidence to show that he was for an Islamic basis for Pakistan. He thought of Islam as a “complete code” and considered Pakistan as synonymous to “Muslim ideology” and as a “bulwark of Islam”. Islam, he thought, was a message for humanity and it represented justice, equality, fair play, toleration and brotherhood. The motto of the French Revolution “equality, liberty and fraternity” was regarded by him as the fundamental principle of Islam, which assimilate the best attributes of a secular state.

Theocracy

He rejected theocracy because Islam does not sanction priesthood.

Unity

He did not encourage ethnic divisions and believed in the unity of Pakistani nation. He advocated that the people should think as Muslims [if they are Muslims] and Pakistanis first, and Sindhi, Balochi, Pushtun and Punjabi etcetera afterwards.

Democracy

He stood for democracy and constitutionalism. He was convinced that Islam and its idealism had taught democracy to Muslims.

Governance

He stated that the guiding principle for him as the Governor-General would be no “prejudice and ill-will” or in other words no “partiality or favouritism.”

Law and Order

According to him, “the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.”

Corruption

“One of the biggest curses...is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand,” he said.

Nepotism

He wanted that one of the great evils “the evil of nepotism [i.e. giving unfair advantages to own family when in a position of power] and jobbery...must be crushed relentlessly.”

Black-marketing

He considered that black-marketing is a “monster” and a “colossal crime against society.”

Economic System

Though he was not an economist, he insisted on increased production, equitable distribution of wealth, nationalization of key industries and utility services, and a social programme to enable the masses to enjoy the fruits of economic enterprise. He disapproved the economic system of the Western capitalism as it has failed to do justice between man and man and eradicate friction from the international field. He was against all isms and his “Islamic socialism,” in practical and pragmatic manifestation, implies socio-economic justice to everyone. To him, the economic mission of Islam, which should be the aim of all governments, Islamic or otherwise, is “the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind.”

Minorities

He wanted minorities in Pakistan to be the citizens of the state with equal rights in the true spirit of prophetic tradition and modern liberalism. He directed that the grievance of minorities, if any, must be addressed dispassionately.

Women

He was convinced that no nation could rise to the height of glory without active participation of their womenfolk. He encouraged women to play their positive role in the development of Pakistan. This would be possible if there is gender equality without any discrimination against women.

Bureaucracy

He considered that the role of the civil services was to serve the people honestly and sincerely. They should not be concerned with political parties and should resist any pressure from leaders and politicians and be loyal to the government in power. The de-politicization of the bureaucracy, as per the direction of Quaid-i-Azam, would be possible if they are not politically victimized and their induction is on merit, they have security of service and that their postings and transfers are managed under a transparent system by a non-political board of senior most bureaucrats and not by politicians.

Defence

He believed in a strong defence as an effective tool against aggression. The armed forces should be well equipped, well trained, well disciplined, well motivated and second to none in the world. In one of his address to officers and men he said: "Pakistan depends on you and puts her faith in you as defenders of your country. Be worthy of her."

Foreign Relations

His foreign policy required to have closest relation with neighbours²³⁸ on the basis of equality, respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in their internal affairs. He wished to unite the Muslim world in thought and action so that their voice is heard; and he wanted to collaborate with all countries of the world with a view to ensuring security, peace and prosperity.

²³⁸ Pakistan's immediate neighbours are Iran, Afghanistan, China and India and extended neighbours include countries in West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia and South East Asia.

Education

The Quaid had realized that the future of the country as a united and progressive nation depended on its education policy. He advocated that education should build up the character of the nation and contribute towards its economic growth. This would be possible through universal education and the acquisition of science and technology to compete with the developed world.

Progress and Dynamism

In short, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah wanted Pakistan to be a modern progressive welfare nation-state based on the moral values and the dynamic principles of Islam.

Summing Up

To sum up, Pakistan is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic state. It is a Muslim state, a nation-state, a territorial state, and a modern state, all at the same time. Since Muslims are about 97 percent of its population, its nationalism is rooted in the basic, essential and egalitarian principles of Islam; and it accepts and enforces all human rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter and all praiseworthy aspects of a secular and modern state.

All efforts should be made to ensure that, without any ambiguity, all Pakistanis (Muslims and non-Muslims, all sectarian and ethnic communities and all people living in different regions) are “one nation”. Political scientists and religious leaders have to respond to the challenges of modern times and not be led away by narrow interpretations of ethnic and religious sectarianism. There should be no dispute about Pakistan’s national identity, which apart from geographical, cultural and historical factors, is also rooted in the values and principles of Islam.

Similarly, as for governance, it is essential that there should be justice, meritocracy and no partiality. The government must be responsible for protecting the life and property of the people and improving the quality of their life. Good governance is the panacea for eradication of all ills.

Allama Iqbal advises Muslims to “rise above sectional interests and private ambitions”; and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah forcefully asserts that if “every one of you no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.”²³⁹ This is possible if the political leadership rises to the occasion and responds positively to tackle all problems

²³⁹ *Quaid-i-Azam Speeches as Governor-General*, 8-9.

and makes a deliberate effort to enlighten the nation through print, electronic and social media as well as formal education.■

Appendix 1**General Mirza Aslam Beg's Letter (English Translation)**

General Mirza Aslam Beg
Chairman [FRIENDS]
19 February 1911
Assalam-u-Alaikum

Last month, I wrote an article "Our National Dilemma" about our national ideology which was published in various newspapers and magazines. I have been waiting that intellectuals would comment and give suggestions as to how the national dilemma can be tackled. Ironically, not even a single Pakistani bothered, not even to criticize me over my transgression. That's why, I am directly addressing you for guidance (Annex A).

The dilemma is that the ideological basis of Pakistan, over which this country was founded, seems to be weakening. Quoting Allama Iqbal:

Masjid to banadi shab bher mein iman ki hararat walon ne
Mun apna purana papi hei, burson se namazi bun na saka.
(The mosque was built in a moment by the passionate men of faith
But being an old sinner, I could not become a worshipper.)

Regards,
Sd/-
General Mirza Aslam Beg

Dr. Brig Noor ul Haq,
IPRI, Islamabad.

Annex A to Appendix 1**Our National Dilemma**

General Mirza Aslam Beg
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The biggest dilemma of Pakistani nation is contradiction in their thought and action, i.e., saying and doing. We call ourselves Muslims, but most of us are not truly Muslims. More than 70 percent Pakistanis cannot read Quran and are unaware how to worship. Consequently, when the people belonged to the same percentage become the rulers of the nation, their practices, character and approach is different from the Islamic Pakistan. For the same reason, secularism is getting popular in the country. National values are getting degraded and all sorts of evil practices are on the rise. We all claim that Pakistan is a citadel of Islam but in fact, the foundation of this fortress seems hollow and cracks in the walls of the fort are quite visible. How to control such a dangerous situation? How to incline the Pakistani nation not only towards worldly but also religious education? How can the fort of the state be made strong enough to strengthen its foundations on the basic ideology of Pakistan? Otherwise, we have to adopt the secular system like Bangladesh to fulfill the aspiration of the majority.

The constitution of Pakistan determines the ideology of the nation. It can be inferred like, “A democratic system whose foundation rests on the basic principles of Quran and Sunnah.” This ideology shapes or influences the thinking — political, social, ideological — and practical life of the Pakistani nation. It comprises of two parts. One is the governmental pattern which is deduced from the current democratic governance setting and second one is “Islamic ideology” which regulates the dispensation of justice, as well as moral and national matters.

On October 22, 1939, Quaid-i-Azam while addressing the All-India Muslim League Council clearly expressed his faith and ideology by saying, “Muslims! I have seen a lot and enjoyed richness, fame and all sort of comforts. Now the only wish of my life is to see independent and dignified Muslims. I also desire that at the time of death I should be satisfied that my conscience and God testify that Jinnah has not done treason and dishonesty with Islam and also performed his due share for the independence, unity and welfare of Muslims. I am not demanding any appreciation and reward from you people. I wish that at the time of death, my heart, my faith and my conscience testify that ‘Jinnah! You have performed your duty for the wellbeing of Islam. And my God would say that, Jinnah you undoubtedly were

born Muslim, lived like a Muslim and died like a Muslim while upholding the flag of Islam during the dominance of the infidelity’.”

After this explanation, Quaid-e-Azam clearly gave instructions regarding the structure of the ideology of life. Some of the points are as under:

In August 1947, while addressing the First Legislative Assembly of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam said, “Irrespective of your religion, caste or creed, one basic principle should be kept in mind that we all are equal citizens of one country. If we follow this approach, then you will see that discrimination between the Muslim and Hindu would be diminished not only on the basis of religion but also in terms of personal faith and political association as well.”

On February 14, 1948 while addressing a convention in Sibbi, Quaid said, “Our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam.”

On February 21, 1948, in Malir Cantt., he said, “Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of manhood in your own native soil. Brotherhood, equality and unity are basic ingredients of our religion, civilization and culture.”

In Chittagong, on March 26, 1948, he said, “Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of man. Such principles would be implemented in the way they were implemented thirteen hundred years before.”

In spite of such an elaborated explanation, after a period of one quarter of a century, the Pakistani nation has drawn out its aim of life, and democratic system came into being. The Pakistani nation had gone through various ups and downs because of this experience and, till to date, no such system has been established which can be called a true democracy. Constant military intervention and poor performance of the short term democratic governments have created distrust in the democratic system. The current democratic regime is fortunate in a way that those who worked against democracy have retreated. For instance, now America cannot formulate or change its own government because the US military would not support the evil designs, if any, of political leadership. The opposition who always looks towards such changes is now pursuing the charter of democracy. Our supreme courts have achieved their due status and discarded the “doctrine of necessity”. Such a favourable situation has not been obtained by any of the governments so far to provide the nation — a good, clean and justice based governmental system. Unfortunately, corruption, inefficiency and terrorism are eating away the roots of that system. If these challenges are not addressed then the nation would no longer trust the democracy and its demand of any other alternative would be justified.

Islamic ideology is an integral part of our national ideology but sadly enough we have never protected it. Protection is possible through knowledge

and action. However, 42 percent of Pakistani population is illiterate and out of remaining 58 percent 25 percent population is devoid of religious education. It means that 70 percent of the population has no religious education and only 30 percent population is acquainted with both worldly and religious education. That 30 percent population should be able to be called as true Pakistanis. According to a 1990 military survey, the percentage of the inducted officers and soldiers in the Pakistani army is also the same in terms of religious education. For the same reason, the demand of secular system by the majority of our population, i.e., 70 percent, is justified when it has no linkage with religion. Why have we reached to such situation and who is responsible for such deterioration? Whether we are responsible for this situation, whether we do not give religious education to our children only because it is no more in fashion? Similarly, in our schools religious education is also not given importance because they also have nominal link with religion. Five percent Pakistanis who get education from religious madrassas and dar-ul-uloom are getting alienated from national, political and social mainstream. This alienation is giving birth to sense of deprivation among that cadre and they are trying to mould the minor issues into the protesting form for attention seeking. Paradoxically speaking, majority of the Pakistani nation has no knowledge and consciousness of its ideology of life. Similarly, it fails to adopt any strategy for the protection and integrity of the ideology. Consequently, Pakistan is suffering from social, political and ideological crisis.

Vigilant and upright nations recognize their ideology of life. They know how to safeguard their values. The living example is of the Afghani nation who has been giving great sacrifices for its ideology of life for the last 30 years. When, in 2001, America attacked Afghanistan, we sent a message to Mulla Umar, "If you will once again start the war, then it would be disastrous. That's why it would be better to support the American plan of rebuilding and democratic governance. In the same realm, being in majority, democratic government will be yours and likewise 'decision-making will be yours as well.'" The reply we got is as under:

"We have decided that we will fight. Our war will continue till the foreign armies will be defeated. When we will have freedom then we will decide freely in free environment. The Afghan nation will not adopt the American plan as it does not match with our national customs and religious values. We will fight and with the blessing of Allah we will get back our freedom."

The Afghan nation has practised what it decided. It is a practical example of the promise of the Almighty Allah. "So lose not heart. Nor fall into despair: For ye must gain mastery if ye are true in Faith. If a wound hath touched you, be sure a similar wound hath touched the others" (*Quran*, 3:139-140). You will remain dominant. If you have received a wound then those

people have been also wounded.” And at another place, “Soon will their multitude be put to flight, and they will show their backs” (*Quran*, 54: 45).

In Pakistan, there are hardly 30 percent people who have both worldly and religious education and are able to be called as true Pakistanis. How can this ratio of 30 percent be taken up to the 60 or 70 percent? This is the real challenge for Pakistan. Otherwise, we do not deserve the right to be called as an Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Appendix 2**Presidential Address of Mohammad Ali Jinnah
to the 27th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League
at Lahore on March 22-24, 1940**

We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organise Muslim Leagues all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established provincial leagues in every province. The next point is that in every bye-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single bye-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent percent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organising the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes, even under Purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were: (1) to organise provincial and district women's sub-committees under the provincial and district Muslim Leagues: (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League: (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness — because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember your children will not have much to worry about: (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression to Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in the central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the central federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935.

I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of central federal government. In creating that [state of] mind in the British Government, the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding.

After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the present Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet the Viceroy never thought of me. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted, and then I concluded that the answer was the "All-India Muslim League" whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received, because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organising ourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that the Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake, and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody, whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live forever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom of all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus — and slavery of Musalmans and other minorities.

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly the experiences of the past 2 1/2 years of provincial constitution in the Congress-governed provinces. We have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people, but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed him. Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces.

I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentleman's agreement between the Congress and the Government to such an extent that although we cried [ourselves] hoarse, week in and week out, the Governors were supine and the Governor-General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities, and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help, and that gentleman's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thank Heaven, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. Their bluff was called off [was called]. So far so good. I therefore appeal to you, in all [the] seriousness that I can command, to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard, and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves [such] that you may be able to defend yourselves, That is all that I want to urge.

Now, what is our position with regard to [a] future constitution? It is that as soon as circumstances permit, or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined de novo and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, 'I have made the declaration. The Congress said, "No, no. We want another kind of declaration.

You must declare now and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests."

Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask [a] ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly. Apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this Assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge subcontinent except those matters which may be germane to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities.

We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear, and if so to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: First, give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back. Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Musalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer, the Hindu majority would do it; and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or the Gandhi's "Ahinsa"? Can we trust them anymore? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based, affecting 90 million of Musalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still, that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders — each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalachariar, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorates. That is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress organisation. (Laughter) Babu Rajendra Prasad, on the other hand, only a few days ago said, “Oh, what more do the Musalmans want?” I will read to you his words. Referring to the minority question, he says: “If Britain would concede our right of self-determination, surely all these differences would disappear.” How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

“But so long as Britain remains and holds power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution would be framed not by the Congress alone but by representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates, though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religion and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future constitution of India, and not this or that party. What better guarantees can the minorities have?”

So according to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, and religions, and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March, 1940.

And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March, 1940. He says: “To me, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike. I cannot be frivolous” — but I think he is frivolous — “I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother.” The only difference is this that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote. (Laughter) “I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket.” I do not know really what to say of this latest offer of his. “There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so today.” Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims today? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen? “I do not read all that appears in the Urdu Press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj.” Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years. “You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight. I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly.”

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims

say they cannot accept; which, the Muslims say, means three to one; about which the Musalmans say that they will never be able, in that way by the counting of head, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends; and therefore this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Musalmans at all! He says, "I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly" — mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes" — he is first forcing us to come to that Assembly, and then says — "declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims, then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Quran and I have also studied something of that holy Book." (Laughter)

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Musalmans; and if they do not agree then he will give up all hopes, but even then he will agree with us. (Laughter) Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real genuine desire, if there existed any, to come to a settlement with the Musalmans? (Voices of no, no.) Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree, and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, "I am a Hindu. Congress has solid Hindu backing"? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalman. (Hear, hear and applause.) I am right and I hope and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has the solid backing of the Musalmans of India (Hear, hear.) Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Musalmans? Why this declaration of non-cooperation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Musalmans agree or they do not agree? (Hear, hear.) Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people, and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans? (Hear, hear and applause.) This [is] all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points. At any rate, we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of [the] future constitution of India should be examined *de novo*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was — I had better quote that — I will not put it in my own words: This is the reply that was sent to us on the

23rd of December. “My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty’s Government on October the 13th last does not exclude — Mark the words — “does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.” (Hear, hear.)

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are: (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty’s Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent (Hear, hear, and applause.) and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back (Hear, hear) unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, but, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 million of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Musalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Musalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not, after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength; and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Musalmans of India will resist it. (Hear, hear and applause.) And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable, national demands, of the Arabs. Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours. (Laughter) We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine. (Hear, hear.)

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and in fact language does not justify it if there is any misapprehension or apprehension, that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim power. (Hear, hear.) Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider

his letter of the 23rd of December, having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February; and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration. Ladies and Gentlemen, that is where we stand after the War and up to the 3rd of February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it, and you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest with [are interested in the] problem of India's future Constitution; and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear: it has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority, and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want?" "What else do the minorities want?" just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Musalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country where the Musalmans are in a majority, such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind, and Banchistan.

Now the question is, what is the solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Musalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views, and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C. R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 12 or 15 years ago, and that letter has been produced in a book recently published by one Indra Prakash, and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabite, said. But before I read his letter it is plain from [it] that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are a Hindu. (Laughter) The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one [about] which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Muhammadan leaders in the non-cooperation movement I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

“You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew. There is no finer Muhammadan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader over-ride the Quran? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic law is incorrect. I think his reading is quite incorrect.”

“And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines.”

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right; but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about eighteen months ago, there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said fifteen years ago that we cannot do so — viz., rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy, according to Congress, is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further:

“What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores [70 million] of Musalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hordes of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible.” (Laughter)

“I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Quran and Hadis? The leaders cannot over-ride them. Are we then doomed? I hope not. I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty.”

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me, taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of [the] cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the London Times, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote that “Undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation.” (So according to the London Times the only difficulties are superstitions). These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social, and political have been euphemised as mere “superstitions.” But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the subcontinent of India, as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society vis-à-vis that of Hinduism, to characterise them as mere “superstitions.” Notwithstanding [a] thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes. What the unitary government of India for one hundred fifty years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the subcontinent by various nationalities, except by means of armed force behind it.

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character, but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans, but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure [the] peace and happiness of the people of this subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into “autonomous national states.” There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand, the rivalry, and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country, will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities, by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslim and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in

the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders; and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality; and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of more of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature[s]. They neither intermarry nor inter-dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects [perspectives?] on life, and of life, are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episode[s]. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent, and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the subcontinent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. [The] Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as seven or eight sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government, when we know that the history of the last twelve hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during these ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up, with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under the Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after one hundred fifty years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu Raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years, and any repetition of such a

government must lead to civil war and [the] raising of private armies, as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to [the] Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not they must emigrate.

Musalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even today, according to the British map of India, out of eleven provinces, four provinces where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-cooperate and prepare for civil disobedience. Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory, and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social, and political life, in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands [that we find], and [the] vital interest[s] of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find, an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us, to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have said and I have been saying, and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League Office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world has been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly, and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely, and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation, and consolidate the Musalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam.

organise the people economically, socially, educationally, and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody. (Cheers)

Address by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah at Lahore Session of Muslim League, March, 1940 (Islamabad: Directorate of Films and Publishing, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1983), 5-23; Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, vol. i (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1952), 159-81; <http://rupeenews.com/2008/03/presidential-address-by-muhammad-ali-jinnah-to-the-muslim-league/>

Appendix 3**The Lahore Resolution 1940**

Text of Resolution passed at the 27th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore on March 22-24, 1940

Resolution No. 1

“While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th & 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and the 3rd of February, 1940 on the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939 made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty’s Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslims in India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of (British) India should be grouped to constitute ‘independent states’ in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Muslims are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

The Session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs, and such other matters as may be necessary.”

Proposed by - The Hon'ble Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Haque, Premier of Bengal

Seconded by - Choudhari Khaliqzaman Saheb, M.L.A. (U.P.)

Supported by- Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Central)

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (N.W.F. Province)

Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A. (Centrl)

K.B. Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, M.L.C. (Behar)

Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan Saheb, President of Balochistan Provincial Muslim League

Abdul Hameed Khan Saheb, M.L.A. (Madras)

I.I. Chundrigar Saheb, M.L.A. (Bombay)

Syed AbdurRauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A. (C.P.)

Dr. Muhammad Alam, M.L.A. (Punjab)

Syed Zakir Ali Saheb (U.P.)

Begum Sahiba Maulana Mohammad Ali

Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri (U.P.)

(Carried unanimously)

(Note: The Lahore resolution was moved by Moulvi Abul Kasem Fazlul Haq of Bengal on March 23, and was actually adopted on March 24, but officially March 23 is considered the date of its adoption. In 1941, it became part of the Muslim League's Constitution. In 1946, as per Muslim League Legislator's Convention held on April 9, a decision was taken to struggle for one state for the Muslims.)

Appendix 4**Muslim League Legislators' Convention
Delhi, April 9, 1946**

In April 1946 Quaid-i-Azam called the Convention of all those persons, who had been elected members of the provincial and central legislatures on Muslim League ticket in 1945-46 elections at Delhi. More than five hundred members had attended that Convention. Concentrating on the Pakistan problem and arguing for its establishment, Quaid-i-Azam made his speech to forecast dire consequences for the Muslims of India under the Hindu majority government after the British. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy moved the main resolution, which demanded “a sovereign independent state, comprising Bengal and Assam in the northeast zone and the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sindh and Balochistan in the northwest zone”. It affirmed that “the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for united India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose”.

Before the Convention concluded, each and every member of the Central and Provincial Assemblies solemnly took the following oath: “I do hereby solemnly declare my firm conviction that the safety and security, the salvation and destiny of the Muslim nation inhabiting the Subcontinent of India lie only in the achievement of Pakistan, which is the only equitable, honourable and just solution of the constitutional problem and which will bring peace, freedom and prosperity to the various nationalities and communities of this great subcontinent. I most solemnly affirm that I shall willingly and unflinchingly carry out all the directions & instructions, which may be issued by the All-India Muslim League in pursuance of any movement that may be launched by it for the attainment of the cherished national goal of Pakistan. Believing as I do in the righteousness and the justice of my cause, I pledge to undergo any danger, trial or sacrifice, which may be demanded of me.”

<http://storyofpakistan.com/muslim-league-legislators-convention/>

AIML Legislators' Convention Resolution Delhi, 9 April 1946

Having failed to solve the Indian problem, the British government sent a Cabinet Mission (May 1946) with a plan for the constitutional future of India consisting of a three layer structure for the long term and an interim arrangement to be activated after the adherence of the parties to the overall plan. The Cabinet Mission firmly rejected the partition demand. Reaction to the plan was complex but in August 1946, Quaid-i-Azam ordered the day of 'Direct Action' by the July Convention of All-India Muslim League. Earlier in April 1946, the AIML Legislature had passed the following resolution at Delhi:

“Whereas in this vast subcontinent of India hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies, and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma and philosophy, which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system, resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically. Whereas the Hindu caste system is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for;

Whereas different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures, social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals; and whereas after centuries they still remain two distinct major nations.

Whereas soon after the introduction by the British of the policy of setting-up political institutions in India on the lines of Western democracies based on majority rule, which meant that the majority of one nation or society could impose its will on the majority of the other nation or society in spite of their opposition, as was amply demonstrated during the two and a half years regime of Congress Governments in the Hindu majority provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935, when the Muslims were subjected to untold harassment and opposition as a result of which they were convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of the so-called safeguards provided in the constitution and in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors and were driven to the irresistible conclusion that in a United Indian Federation, if established, the Muslims even in majority provinces would meet with no better fate, and their rights and interests could never be adequately protected against the perpetual Hindu majority at the Centre;

Whereas the Muslims are convinced that with a view to saving Muslim India from the domination of the Hindus, and in order to afford them full scope to develop themselves according to their genius, it is necessary to constitute a sovereign independent State comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East zone and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Balochistan in the North-West zone;

This Convention of the Muslim League legislators of India, Central and Provincial, after careful consideration hereby declares that the Muslim nation will never submit to any constitution for a united India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set-up for the purpose, and that any formula decided by the British Government for transferring power from the British to the peoples of India which does not conform to the following just, equitable principles, calculated to maintain internal peace and solution of the Indian problem:

that the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Balochistan in the north-west of India, namely, Pakistan zones where the Muslims are a dominant majority be constituted into a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay; that two separate constitution-making bodies be set-up by peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions; that the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the All-India Muslim League resolution passed on March 23, 1940, at Lahore; that the acceptance of the Muslim league demand of Pakistan and its implementation without delay are the sine qua non for the Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an interim Government at the Centre.

This Convention further emphatically declares that any attempt to impose a constitution on a united India basis or to force any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence.”

(Note: The resolution was moved by the late Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, then Chief Minister of Bengal.)

Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, ed., *Historic Documents of the Muslim Freedom Movement* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1970), 491-3, http://pakstudies.8m.com/aiml_legislators.html

Appendix 5

**Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Inaugural Presidential
Address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan
on August 11, 1947**

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me — the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer — by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and [thank them for] their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this subcontinent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty subcontinent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regard to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and you have got all the powers. It therefore places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering — I do not say that other countries are free from it, but I think our condition is much worse — is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand, and I hope

that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed, or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent, and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil -- the evil of nepotism and jobbery. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery [=corrupt employment practices], nepotism, or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Whenever I will find that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it; but in my judgement there was no other solution, and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a united India could never have worked, and in my judgement it would have led us to terrific disaster. Maybe that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially

of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste, or creed, is first, second, and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit, and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community — because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on — will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence, and but for this we would have been free people long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State. The people of England in [the] course of time had to face the realities of the situation, and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country; and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are all members of the Nation.

Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time; and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will; in other words, partiality or favouritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.

I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.

Quaid-i-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947-1948
(Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.), 6-10; G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement Historical Documents* (Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi), 407-411.

Appendix 6**The Objectives Resolution 1949**

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan;

Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to [freely]²⁴⁰ profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;

Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Wherein the independence of the Judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.

²⁴⁰ The word “freely” was added in the 1956 Constitution.

Notes:

1. The original Objectives Resolution was passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on March 12, 1949. “It was unfortunate that there was a division on the Resolution along communal lines.” [Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, 2nd edition (Karachi: Oxford Paperbacks, 2009), 59-63.]
2. The Resolution was incorporated as a “Preamble” in all the three Constitutions of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. (The first Constitution of Pakistan was enacted on February 29, 1956, the second Constitution of Pakistan on March 1, 1962 and the third Constitution of Pakistan was enacted on April 12, 1973.)
3. Following portion has been added at the end of the Resolution in the 1973 Constitution:

“NOW, THEREFORE, we, the people of Pakistan,
Conscious of our responsibility before Almighty Allah and men;
Cognisant of the sacrifices made by the people in the cause of Pakistan;
Faithful to the declaration made by the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, that Pakistan would be a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice;
Dedicated to the preservation of democracy achieved by the unremitting struggle of the people against oppression and tyranny;
Inspired by the resolve to protect our national and political unity and solidarity by creating an egalitarian society through a new order;
Do hereby, through our representatives in the National Assembly, adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.”
4. The Resolution was made a substantive part of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 by the Revival of Constitution of 1973 Order, 1985 (P.O.No.14 of 1985), with effect from March 2, 1985.

Appendix 7

Salient Features of National Education Policies (1947-2012)

Some of the landmark policies in the history of educational development are: Report of the All Pakistan Education Conference (1947); Report of the Second Education Conference (1951); Report of the Commission on National Education (1959); Report of the Commission on Student Problem and Welfare (1966); The New Education Policy (1970); The Education Policy (1972-80); National Education Policy (1978); National Education Policy (1992); National Education Policy (1998-2010).

Each policy highlighted its aims and objectives and discussed the various facets of education – literacy, non-formal, elementary, secondary, technical, vocational, special, higher and physical education; sports and military training, medium of instruction, textbooks, teachers' training and their service conditions, education for women, religious education and Islam, national unity, financing and private sector in education. The goals were set high but were not unachievable had priority been given to education in the overall national policy. There was no monitoring. Except for the 1947 and 1951 conferences and the 1959 report on National Education, the rest of the efforts were tainted by "politico-ideological considerations."²⁴¹ The salient features of these policies are briefly the following:²⁴²

1) *Literacy and Non-Formal Education.* The 1947 conference recognized illiteracy as a major problem and called for Adult Literacy Campaign and for provision of non-formal education in provincial languages. Subsequent policies continued to focus on this problem. The 1970 policy recognized that 90 percent of illiterates live in the rural areas and 10 percent in the urban areas. The 1972 policy proposed the establishment of a National Literacy Corps. The 1978 policy proposed opening of 10,000 literacy centres. The 1992 policy estimated literacy around 34 percent which was the lowest in the region and aimed to achieve 100 percent universal primary education by 2002. The 1998 policy estimated literacy level at 48.9 percent, 50 percent males and 27 percent females. It emphasized the need for massive non-formal education and

²⁴¹ Javed Hasan Aly, "Education in Pakistan – A White Paper, 2006."

²⁴² Ibid., 77-86; Parveen Shahid, *Comparative Analysis of Education Policies* (Islamabad: Academy of Educational Planning and Management, 1985); Government of Pakistan, *Report of the Commission on National Education* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1961); Government of Pakistan, *The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan* (Islamabad: 1970); Government of Pakistan, *The Education Policy 1972-78* (Islamabad: 1972); Government of Pakistan, *National Education Policy, Salient Features* (Islamabad: 1978); Ministry of Education, *Education Policy 1992: Presentation by the Education Minister* (Islamabad: 1992); Government of Pakistan, *National Education Policy 1998-2010* (Islamabad: 1998).

launched a Quranic Literacy Programme, a National Literacy Programme and the National Literacy Movement. The literacy goal to be achieved was 70 percent by 2010.²⁴³ The present literacy rate is estimated at above 55 percent. The growing gulf between the rural and urban areas in education level needs to be bridged.

2) *Primary/Secondary Education.* Under the 1947 policy, there was a promise for free and compulsory primary education up to Class V to be extended to class VIII. The 1959 commission targeted five years' compulsory schooling in 10 and compulsory universal schooling in 15 years. The 1972 Education Policy announced "free and universal education up to Class X for all children throughout the country." Article 37(b) of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 directs that "the State shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period." The 1979 policy criticized the Western model and laid emphasis on Mosque schools. Although, international donors are helpful in the promotion of primary and secondary education, the goal for free and compulsory education up to secondary level for all children throughout the country as laid down in 1972 policy and the Constitution of Pakistan is yet to be achieved.

3) *Higher Education.* Higher and university education was initially required to produce an "elite class" that in its turn will determine the national goals. The 1959 report recommended promotion in services on merit and not seniority. It recommended a three year bachelor's degree course. The 1966 commission created a Vice Chancellors Committee and linked promotion of faculty to research and publications. The 1970 policy created centres of excellence in Universities. The 1972 policy observed that 80 percent of students were in arts and recommended a 10 percent annual increase on the science side. It established an Open University for distant and informal learning. It also created the University Grants Commission, now renamed Higher Education Commission, for overall coordination and supervision. Higher education need not be confined to the elite class, as the 1947 conference desired but must be opened to all in the interest of research and achieving international standards.

4) *Technical, Vocational and Special Education.* The 1947 conference established a Council of Technical Education and proposed modernization of technical and vocational schools to meet the economic needs of the country. The 1959 commission called for integration of technical/vocational and general education at secondary level. The 1966 commission called for the revival and revitalization of councils of technical education. The 1970 policy proposed that 60 percent students who leave elementary schools should be given the

²⁴³ Government of Pakistan, *National Education Policy 1998-2010* (Islamabad: University Grants Commission, 1958), 21.

opportunity to join the vocational/technical schools, and provincial governments should provide scholarships to 75 percent students who join these institutions. The 1972 policy introduced a three years' diploma course and an additional year's course for a B. Tech degree. Secondly, it gave attention to handicapped children and a Handicapped Children's Committee was added to the provincial Education Council. The 1978 policy continued with the theme of 1972 policy but laid greater emphasis on the education of handicapped children and teachers training institutes for the deaf, dumb and blind were opened. The 1992 policy introduced compulsory computer education at all levels for vocational/technical education. The 1998 policy criticized the poor state of technical/vocational education and called for strengthening and expansion of 194 existing vocational institutes in the provinces. The Musharraf government also emphasized scientific and technical education and proposed opening of university campuses with affiliation to foreign universities. This would facilitate obtaining foreign degrees from well known universities while studying in Pakistan. This proposal is yet to make any tangible headway though in the private sector some universities bearing foreign names have been functioning for some years.

5) *Medium of Instruction*. In 1947, Urdu was introduced as a compulsory subject and growth of provincial languages was stressed. The question of the medium of instruction at primary school level was left to the provinces to decide. The 1970 policy pointed out the class barrier that the division of English and Urdu medium schools were creating and suggested to make education equitable for all. The 1972 education policy adopted a muted policy on this issue. The constitutional position in this respect is that people having a distinct language, script or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and, subject to law, establish institutions for that purpose. The 1978 policy called for strengthening Urdu as the national language and as a medium of instruction up to secondary level, which meant elimination of English medium schools up to that level. This policy did not succeed and English medium schools persist²⁴⁴ as well as the class barrier situation that allows the elite to monopolize power to the disadvantage of the common man.

6) *Curriculum, Syllabi and Textbooks*. Revision and modernization of syllabi and textbooks has been an ongoing process. For secondary and tertiary levels expert committees to write textbooks were recommended. The 1959 commission called for ensuring the production of suitable quality textbooks. The 1966 commission asked for updating the curriculum and Textbook

²⁴⁴ Tahir Andrabi et al., "Religious School Enrolment in Pakistan: A Look at the Data," *World Bank*, February 2005, http://econ.worldbank.org/files/41363_wps3521.pdf (accessed February 9, 2013).

Boards were required to prepare and publish textbooks. The 1970 policy proposed standardization of syllabi and textbooks at national level and proposed to establish Bureaus of Curriculum Development in the provinces. The 1972 policy promised free reading material and textbooks at elementary level, and, like 1970 policy, called for strengthening the National Curriculum Bureau and Curriculum Centres in the provinces. The 1998 policy made Quranic principles and Islamic practices an integral part of the curricula, and stressed upon upgrading higher education to international standards. There is a need to make social sciences books more interesting to discourage rote-learning.

7) *Private Education*. Three phases can be observed with regard to the growth of private sector education:

- i) Phase 1 (1947-66). Initially, the 1947 conference considered education at all levels a government responsibility but, realizing the economic constraints, encouraged private elementary education. The 1951 conference and 1959 commission welcomed the opening of private schools.
- ii) Phase 2 (1966-78). The 1966 commission objected to commercialization of quality education in private schools and the 1970 policy considered private schools a problem because of their exorbitant fees, underpaid teachers and some other irregularities. The 1972 policy nationalized all private educational institutions.
- iii) Phase 3 (1978-to date). Reversing the 1972 policy, the 1978 policy opened the door to schools in the private sector. The 1992 policy encouraged private education, as it called for “promoting education industry in the private sector” and granted plots and interest free loans for opening private schools. The 1998 policy also encouraged privatization and supported denationalization of nationalized institutions. The concept of public-private partnership was developed which has benefitted educational prospects. The access to private institutions should be based on merit so that the poor may also enter these expensive centres of learning. In fact their education must be subsidized by the government.

8) *Madrassa Education*. In 1947, there was an emphasis on universal principles of Islam, but any notion of a theocratic state was dispelled. It called for bringing religious/madrassa education in line with the mainstream system. The 1959 education policy made religious education compulsory from Class I to VIII and optional thereafter. The 1970 policy made religious education compulsory up to Class X. They listed the existence of 700 madrassa schools in Pakistan (then West Pakistan). Commitment to the ideology of Pakistan and Islamic principles was adopted as the educational system’s aim for the first

time in the 1978 policy. It announced opening of 5000 mosque schools and gave recognition to Madrassa *Sanads*. The 1998 policy made Islamiyat compulsory from Class I to BA/B. Sc and professional colleges. Quran was taught from Class VI to XII with translation. It may be noted here that contrary to the exaggerated reports in international media, the students enrolled in madrassas are only about 2.8 percent²⁴⁵ of all enrolment in the country and there is little evidence of any significant increase. The present policy wants madrassas and other schools to incorporate human rights, population management, hygiene and disease prevention, and environment and sports in their curriculum.

9) *Teacher Training and Service Conditions*. Right from the 1947 conference, there was emphasis on teachers' training and a promise to give adequate salaries to school teachers. They announced establishment of first rate Teachers Training Institutes for women teachers of nursery and primary classes. The policies of 1951, 1959, and 1966 further promoted the theme of 1947 conference. The 1970 policy criticized the bureaucratic control of the education department as a serious obstacle to the recruitment of quality teachers at all levels. The 1972 policy had a pro-teacher bias. It announced grade 17 and above for college/university teachers and also improved grades for school teachers. The policy proposed creation of Education Councils at district, provincial, federal and institutional levels and promoted their democratization through input from elected representatives, MNAs and MPA. It created the Academy of Educational Planning and Management which is doing commendable work. The 1978 policy strongly urged that teachers at all levels must possess and demonstrate firm commitment to the ideology of Pakistan. The 1992 policy proposed stronger Islamic religious component in the teachers training curricula. The 1998 policy continued to emphasize teachers' education along Islamic and ideological lines. The Academy of Educational Planning and Management was tasked to offer short and long term courses to improve the professional skills of teachers.

10) *Gender and Education*. To facilitate girls' education, the 1947 conference allowed coeducation at elementary level, but called for separate girls and boys schools at secondary level. In adult literacy, 50 percent funds went to women literacy centres and industrial homes were recommended for their vocational training. The 1970 policy felt that the reason why only 20 percent girls were enrolled at primary level was coeducation and proposed opening more

²⁴⁵ Government of Pakistan, *National Education Census Highlights* (Islamabad: Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2006); Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Bureau of Educational Planning and Management and Central Bureau of Education, *Pakistan Education Statistics 1947-48 to 1972-73* (Islamabad: n.d.); and Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Economic Surveys*.

separate schools. The 1972 policy found that only 30 percent female teachers were available for primary schools and that number needed to be increased. The 1978 policy asserted that in an Islamic society male and female education should be separate at all levels. Two women universities were proposed for the first time. It claimed that by 1992 universal primary female education would be achieved. The 1998 policy focused on enhancing the quality of primary school female teachers and proposed that in the newly established schools 70 percent female teachers should be enrolled for both girls' and boys' schools. Although there is progress in female education, yet according to "Education for All Global Monitoring Report", Pakistan is among the bottom 10 countries in terms of female education.²⁴⁶ However, at present, there are 130 chartered universities/degree awarding institutions, in public and private sectors. Of these ten are women universities. This is an encouraging sign, but greater efforts are required to achieve gender parity.

11) *Financing Education.* The share of education in Gross National [product (GNP) was less than one percent in the early years of Pakistan before 1960 and is stagnating at about two percent of GNP at present. This shows the low priority given to education. Since education determines the future of a country, the allocation of funds should be generous but not less than four percent of GNP.

²⁴⁶ Editorial "Tough Climb Ahead," *Dawn* (Islamabad), November 12, 2012.

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