

## Pakistan and its raison d'être - generic Islamic Concept of its Evolution

\* Abdullah Khan

### Abstract

*Pakistan is an ideological country carved out of the Indian sub-continent with the avowed purpose of providing a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims where they would lead their lives according to their religion, customs, traditions and aspirations. The Indian Muslims claimed that they were a different nation and a distinct society and this difference did not lie in their geography, rivers and mountains rather it was present in their history, culture, religion, and worldview; in short it lay in their moral consciousness and their sense of belonging. Against this backdrop, the raison d'etre of Pakistan has not been properly appreciated; rather it has been subjected, from time to time to criticism and aspersions either willfully or through, bias or prejudice. The purpose of this paper is to adumbrate the philosophical and ideological moorings of Pakistan. Pakistan is an ideological country carved out of the Indian sub-continent with the avowed purpose of providing a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims where they would lead their lives according to their religion, customs, traditions and aspirations. The Indian Muslims claimed that they were a different nation and a distinct society and this difference did not lie in their geography, rivers and mountains rather it was present in their history, culture, religion, and worldview; in short it lay in their moral consciousness and their sense of belonging. Against this backdrop, the raison d'etre of Pakistan has not been properly appreciated; rather it has been subjected, from time to time to criticism and aspersions either willfully or through, bias or prejudice. The purpose of this paper is to adumbrate the philosophical and ideological moorings of Pakistan.*

### Background

In the annals of the world, the story of the emergence of Pakistan is *sui generis*. Pakistan is the only ideological state of the world, which owes its existence to a religious ideology. While browsing through the pages of history it will be hard to come across a nation or state claiming separation in the name of religion. The founding fathers of Pakistan succeeded in the Himalayan task of inventing a country primarily because of their appeal to the religious sensibilities of the people. The élan and excitement that came to be seen during the

---

\* Associate Professor, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar

struggle for Pakistan especially after the passage of the Pakistan Resolution in 1940, was amazing and without a peer in the comity of nations. At one point in time Islam and Pakistan became synonymous, coterminous and concomitant; in fact both seemed the two sides of the same coin as it were. The architects of Pakistan stretched the ideological frontiers of Pakistan to the seventh century when the holy Prophet emigrated from Makkah to Madina and established an Islamic state there<sup>1</sup>. Then there was the Muslim rule in India for a period of more or less one thousand years. In these pre-modern and medieval times there was no problem with the two communities i.e. Hindus and Muslims living side by side in peace. The non-Muslims enjoyed the generous rule of the Muslim monarchs and occupied important positions. Unlike the Muslim conquerors, the British did not consider India as their homeland and ruled her only in as much as they could exploit its resources. Towards the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Mughal Empire sunk into degeneration due to the incompetence and lethargy of the later Mughals coupled with their inability to espouse and patronize modern knowledge and technology.

Consequently, the Mughals were supplanted by the British. For the next one and a half-century the inhabitants of India groaned under the British rule. The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a rapid increase in revolts against the British rule. As a result of these revolts, when the signs of their departure became imminent, Muslim leaders such as Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1938) who were aware of the implications of parliamentary democracy emphasized on the need of a separate country for Muslims in order to preserve their culture and identity on the one hand, and safeguard their social, political and economic rights and interests on the other. The secessionist tendencies and proclivities of the Muslims were hastened by the belligerent attitude of the British and the high handedness of the majority community i.e. the Hindus. In circumstances like these the Muslim community had to seek shelter under the cover of Islam. They received an able lieutenant and a fervent exponent of their cause in the person of Jinnah. Among other things, Jinnah was a constitutionalist who was aware of the fact that in a democratic set up the Muslims would always be at the mercy of the Hindus<sup>2</sup>, hence his insistence on the creation of Pakistan. But for Pakistan, the Muslim community would have submerged in the Hindu ocean, so it was feared.

## The Ideology of Pakistan

As stated above, the creation of Pakistan was a unique phenomenon for the simple reason that it is the first ideological state of the world. It is true that there are two other ideological countries in the world such as the former Soviet Union and the state of Israel.<sup>3</sup> As regards the first country, it was based on the atheistic ideology of Communism and as of 1991 the country died a natural death due to the failure of that ideology. As for the state of Israel, it was based on the ideology of political Zionism and the concept of Jewish racism. Despite its Jewish overtones and its relationship with Judaism, the ideology of Zionism was essentially secular and today according to a survey carried out by the Newsweek 90% of the people of Israel are agnostic i.e. not sure about the existence of God. On the other hand, the ideology of Pakistan is based on Islam. The most important aspect of this ideology is the belief in the existence and sovereignty of God. Sovereignty of God means accepting God as the sole arbiter in all matters, that is, social, political and economic. Other salient features of the ideology of Pakistan are: brotherhood of man, concept of social justice, equality before law, condemnation of usury and hoarding; getting rich through fraudulent ways and that also at the expense of others and the like. These ideals have been taken from the Quran and incorporated into the constitution of Pakistan.

Perhaps at this point in time it will be appropriate to explain the term ideology itself. In simple jargon, ideology means a view of the world, an outlook of life and on life. Just as without having an aim in life, a person cannot achieve any progress worth its name, in the same way a nation without an ideology will lead nowhere. The ideology of Pakistan is a part of the universal ideology of Islam. This ideology is not something static or fixed rather it has got the elasticity and adaptability to the vagaries of time and space. The fact that the Islamic polity has survived during the past 1400 years or so despite heavy odds and tremendous challenges is a great testimony to this.

The founder of Pakistan namely Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah once remarked that Pakistan came into being the same day when the first Hindu became a Muslim<sup>4</sup>. This statement epitomizes the ideology of Pakistan. In the same way another luminary of the idea of Pakistan, namely, Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani who played a pivotal role in the passage of the Objectives Resolution which became a preamble to the three constitutions of Pakistan, analogized the creation of Pakistan to the Holy Prophet's historical emigration from Makkah to Madina and the establishment of an Islamic state there<sup>5</sup>. He maintained that the Pakistan that came into being on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 was a replica of the primordial Pakistan that had been established by the Holy Prophet at Madina.

The establishment of Pakistan as an ideological state has not received a just treatment from the western as well Indian writers. For most of the western writers Pakistan constitutes a dilemma. These writers are of the opinion that the founding fathers of Pakistan intended to create a secular state which was, later, hijacked by the Islamic forces. As a case in point, Kenneth Cragg, author of *Counsel in Contemporary Islam* remarked that references to the Quran in the speeches of Jinnah were as infrequent as the number of black sheep in an English meadow.<sup>6</sup> Nothing could be farther from the truth. Similarly, Prof. M. Mujeeb, author of the *Indian Muslims* was of the opinion that the creation of Pakistan was not justifiable on historical grounds.

### **Mujaddid Alf-i Thani**

The historians of Pakistan take the history of Pakistan to the times of Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi popularly known as Mujaddid Alf -i Thani (1564-1624). Sarhindi witnessed the eras of the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jehangir. The emperor Akbar partly in order to appease his non-Muslim subjects and make his rule acceptable to them and partly due to his peculiar eclectic, restive and philosophical bent of mind, introduced a new religion called the Deen-i-Ilahi (Divine Faith). This was intended to wield India on secular and nationalist lines. The policies and approach of Akbar to unite India on secular lines could be analogized to the agenda and programme of the Indian National Congress, which came into being several centuries later. On the other hand, the struggle of Sarhindi against the heterodoxies of Akbar and his call for the revival of Islam and the attendant reassertion of Islamic identity could be equated to the struggle for Pakistan. Secondly, by criticizing the ontological monism of Sheikh Muhyuddin Ibn al-Arabi, the thirteenth century Spanish philosopher and mystic, and suggesting instead the phenomenological monism, Sarhindi struck a different note and pointed to the separate destiny and distinct politico-religious consciousness of the Indian Muslim society. Sarhindi tried to keep the record straight at a time when the eclectic and syncretic ideas of Akbar reigned supreme. It is in this sense that Sarhindi has been dubbed as one of the pioneers of the two nation theory.

### **Shah Waliullah of Delhi**

The reform movement of Mujaddid-i-Alf-Thani was carried out by his sons and disciples until the emergence of Shah Waliullah of Delhi (1703-1762) more or less a century later. Whereas Sarhindi was a product of the era of Muslim political ascendancy, Shah Waliullah appeared on the firmament of Muslim India at a time when the star of the Muslim political fortune was on decline. He was born four years before the death of the last great Mughal emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir (the world Capturer) (d.1707) whom the poet-philosopher of Pakistan

described as the last arrow in the Muslim quiver. Shah Waliullah witnessed the era of ten puppet Mughal emperors who came and went in quick succession.<sup>7</sup> He exhorted the Muslim princes to abjure luxury and work for the amelioration of their subjects. He likened the Muslim princes of his day to the kings of the Persian and Roman empires of the bygone ages. These empires perished, he said, because the rulers had sunk deeply in luxuries. Furthermore, in order to meet their expenses they had levied heavy taxes upon their subjects. He admonished the Mughal princes of his day that if they annoyed their subjects with heavy taxation, then their lot would not be different from the rulers of the ancient Roman and Persian empires. In his will Shah Waliullah advised the Indian Muslims that they should consider themselves as travelers sojourning in a foreign land.<sup>8</sup> Waliullah could see with his own eyes that the magnificent edifice of the Mughal Empire was going to crumble. But since he did not have much hope in the later Mughals, he spoke directly to the Muslim masses. In the absence of a strong central government or authority, the Muslim masses were supposed to take the charge of their affairs into their own hands and bring about a renewal or regeneration of the Muslim society. Prior to his death, Shah Waliullah invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to invade India and save the Muslim community from the tyranny and depredations of the Marhataas, Jats and Sikhs.<sup>9</sup> But the invitation to Ahmad Shah Abdali was accompanied by a proviso or condition, namely, that he should not repeat what Nadir Shah had done before him. Nadir Shah's invasion of India in 1739 had left the country devastated, plundered and ransacked. Rather Ahmad Shah was supposed to come to India to save the Muslims from the tyranny and depredations of the non-Muslim forces such as the Marhataas, Jats and Sikhs.<sup>10</sup> Following the advice of Shah Waliullah, Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India in 1761 and uprooted the Jats and Marhataas in the third battle of Panipat.<sup>11</sup> Next year Shah Waliullah died with conviction and peace of mind accrued as it must have been to him that he had done his part of the duty.

Shah Waliullah accentuated the political consciousness of the Indian Muslims and infused a new spirit and dimension into the body politic of the Muslim community. He wrote fifty books on various topics and thus paved the way for the renaissance of Indian Muslim society. The poet-philosopher of Pakistan, Dr. Iqbal said about Shah Waliullah:

"The first Indian Muslim who found a new spirit in him was Shah Waliullah of Delhi".<sup>12</sup>

The programme of Shah Waliullah was continued by his sons and disciples. The elder son of Shah Waliullah, namely Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz issued a fatwa in 1803 that India had ceased to be Dar-ul-Islam (the abode of Islam) and it had become Dar-ul-Harb (the abode of the

enemy). The ramifications of this fatwa were twofold. It implied that either the Indian Muslims should rise in armed rebellion against the British or if that was not possible then they should immigrate to the nearest Muslim country.<sup>13</sup> In the subsequent years both these alternatives were put to use.

### **Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed**

In the post-Waliullah period the mantle of armed resistance or Jihad fell on the shoulders of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed of Rai Bareli (1786-1831) who was born 24 years after the death of Shah Waliullah.<sup>14</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed was a disciple and student of Shah Abdul Aziz. The latter initiated him into his Sufi order, bestowed upon him his staff and robe and permitted him to embark upon Jihad against the Sikhs.<sup>15</sup> This took place in 1820. It was a time when the Punjab was under the Sikh rule and the story of the depredations of the Sikhs was on the lips of everyone. Initially, the Jihad movement was against the Sikhs. However, it was a question of priorities for the Sayyid.<sup>16</sup> Both the Sikhs and the British were the foes of Muslims; however, the Sikhs constituted a lesser foe and after their elimination, the Sayyid thought he would be free to deal with the bigger foe i.e. the British.

The Jihad movement of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed was the forerunner or precursor of the Pakistan Movement. It was the first organized movement of the Muslims after their political downfall and its purpose was to arrest the political decline of the Muslim community. Though this movement did not achieve enough success, nevertheless, it harnessed the political consciousness of the Indian Muslims and provided them a rallying point or forum. The successors of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed gave considerable trouble to the British. This is borne out by the fact that in the battle of Ambela which was fought in the year 1863, the British had to dispatch 60,000 soldiers in order to combat the Mujahideen.<sup>17</sup> The resistance of the Mujahideen against the British virtually continued till the departure of the British in 1947.

### **Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan**

The most prominent person who appeared among the Indian Muslims after Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) who is generally considered as the father of the two-nation theory in later years.

Sir Sayyid appeared at a time when the Muslim community was in a deep crisis. The abortive uprising of 1857 left them in a dilapidated and demoralized condition. Since the British held the Muslims responsible for the uprising, a hell of terror and persecution had been let loose on the inhabitants of India in general and the Muslims in particular. At this juncture Sir Sayyid took upon himself the dual task of criticizing the British government on the one hand and trying to

pacify the Muslims with a view to wean them from the uprising on the other. He was audacious enough to tell the British government that their wrong policies contributed to the uprising. He tried to analyze the malaise of the Indian Muslims and came to the conclusion that the cause of their socio-economic backwardness was the lack of modern education. Henceforth, he became a great exponent of Muslim education. As a person having a practical and pragmatic bent of mind, Sir Sayyid considered the British too powerful to be confronted with traditional means such as the ones which the Muslims possessed. The superiority of the West and her ability to rule India was because of the great strides that the West had made in the field of knowledge and new technology. It was only through education, he argued, that the Indian Muslims could learn the techniques of the West and thus come to grips with the foreign rulers. Therefore, he advised the Indian Muslims to accept the British Weltanschauung and gain maximum benefit out of it. For the purpose of Muslim education, he established Aligarh College which was later transformed into Aligarh Muslim University.

In terms of politics, Sir Sayyid started his career with being the protagonist of composite nationalism. In this respect he likened India to a bride having two beautiful eyes one representing Muslims and the other representing Hindus.<sup>18</sup> However, with the passage of time, the gulf between the two communities became yawning. For instance, in 1867 the Hindus started agitation against the Urdu language to be replaced by Hindi in courts and offices. Since Urdu was the mother tongue of Indian Muslims and it represented the Muslim culture, therefore, an attack on Urdu was construed an attack on Islam itself. The Hindi-Urdu controversy was the first manifestation of the fact that the interests of the two communities were not identical. The second point of divergence between the two communities came to surface at the time of the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 when Sir Sayyid advised the Muslims to keep away from it.<sup>19</sup> Sir Sayyid was the first Muslim leader who visualized the significance of parliamentary democracy and its implications for the Muslims. Parliamentary democracy, he argued, demanded active participation in the governmental decision making and since Muslims were in a minority and also lacked effective political organization, they would always remain subservient to the Hindus. India was more of a continent than a country where people of diverse religions and cultures lived. It was not possible for these people to live together in peace as their world view was different, their interest collided and they could not be united on any point. The soundness of the approach of Sir Sayyid was obvious from the fact that those Muslims who were in the front row in the battle for Pakistan were the graduates of the

Aligarh Muslim University. The establishment of the ALL India Muslim League in 1906 was a logical conclusion and corollary of the political philosophy of Sir Sayyid.

The objectives of all India Muslim League were to establish a forum or institution that will safeguard the interests of the Muslims. Bengal was partitioned in 1905 for administrative reasons. Since this partition entailed some benefits for the Muslims, the Hindus made a hue and cry against it. This constituted yet another point of divergence between the Hindus and Muslims.<sup>20</sup>

### **Allama Iqbal**

The seeds of Muslim separatism sowed by Sir Sayyid were taken to logical conclusion by Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) who has been rightly called the *muşawwir* or architect of the idea of Pakistan. Iqbal appeared on the political firmament of India at a time when the Muslim community was in a state of somnolence. By virtue of his poetry, he goaded and galvanized the Indian Muslims to action and instilled in their bosoms a desire or craving for freedom. Among other things, the poetry of Iqbal was tinged with politics and the parables and imageries that he employed were intended to realize political purposes. For example, Iqbal's concept of *khudi* or selfhood was intended to enable the Indian Muslims to develop self-respect and to tear apart the chains of slavery. Similarly he preached the concept of dynamism which was intended to realize the same objective. In one of his verses he said that a Hindu who was awake in his temple was better than a Muslim who was asleep in the mosque.

Dr. Iqbal's involvement in the idea of Pakistan was a direct result of his philosophical thought, which was so powerfully and beautifully expressed in poetry. But Iqbal was also a serious student of Islamic history. As a case in point; he said that at moments of crisis it was Islam that came to the rescue of the Indian Muslims and not the vice versa<sup>21</sup>. The implications of this statement were obvious. When Islam was in danger in Spain, the Muslims could not do anything to save it. On the other hand, when the identity and existence of Muslims was in danger in India, they could save themselves by making an appeal to Islam and it was precisely what the Muslim leaders did.

Iqbal was in favour of the reconstruction and reinterpretation of Islam, which would be tantamount to its renaissance. Since this kind of reconstruction was not possible in a secular country like India, therefore, he emphasized upon the creation of a separate country for Muslims which could serve as a laboratory for the introduction of Islamic way of life. Similarly, on another occasion he said that after thoroughly going through Islamic history he had come to the conclusion that if *shari'ah* law was implemented, then at least everyone would have the guarantee of a decent living.



On the basis of the philosophical moorings of Iqbal, he suggested the idea of a separate homeland for Muslims in his presidential address at Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League. On this occasion he made that historical statement which later became the foundation stone of Pakistan. He said:

"I would like to see the Punjab, the North West frontier province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire, the consolidation of a north Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North West India."<sup>22</sup>

### **Quaid-i Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah**

The person who translated the vision of Iqbal into reality was Muhammad Ali Jinnah whom the Indian Muslims called the Quaid-i-Azam (the great Leader). Jinnah was a coolheaded lawyer and logician who took the battle of Pakistan to success with amazing adroitness and diplomacy.

Like most of the Muslim leaders he started his political journey from the platform of the Indian National Congress. At one point in time Jinnah was dubbed the "ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim unity."<sup>23</sup> The occasion was the Lucknow pact of 1916 in which Hindus and Muslim had almost reached an agreement. The betrayal of Hindus against Muslims at the occasion of the partition of Bengal had already been alluded to. Another betrayal came in 1928 on the occasion of the Nehru report in 1928 in which the members of the committee refused the right of separate electorate to Muslims. This right had been granted to them in the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909.

In the beginning of his career, Jinnah had been described as an Indian first and a Muslim latter. However, the belligerent attitude of the Indian National Congress caused a metamorphosis in his outlook and he dubbed himself as a Muslim first and an Indian latter. The Indian National Congress claimed to be the representative of all communities of India including Muslims, for, this organization had nationalist Muslims such as Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad and others. During the debates between Jinnah and Azad on the issue as to who represented the Indian Muslims, Jinnah argued that no doubt Azad was an Indian Muslim, but he was not a representative of the Muslims of India.

### **The Khilafat Movement**

For a short while during the First World War, when Turkey, the custodian of the last seat of caliphate, came under threat, Hindus and Muslims became very close to each other and an extraordinary co-operation was seen between the two communities. The élan and hullabaloo was so great that Mahatma Gandhi would address Hindus

and Muslims from the pulpit of the Royal Mosque at Delhi. During this time Gandhi received much political dividend from this purely Islamic movement and became so popular that some Indian writers such as Karandekar lament the participation of Gandhi in the Khilafat movement, for, it only intensified the political consciousness of the Indian Muslims and in the long run contributed to the secessionist tendencies among the Muslims. The Quaid-i-Azam being a practical and pragmatic politician did not lend support to the Khilafat movement. He was too cool headed a person to be attracted by the emotional frenzy of the Khilafat Movement.<sup>24</sup>

In the years 1930 through 1932 three round table conferences were held in London to discover a workable constitution for the future India. The failure of these conferences left the Quaid dejected and he decided to stay on in England. It was through the efforts of Dr. Iqbal that the Quaid was persuaded to return to India and provide leadership to the Muslim community. In a letter to Jinnah, Iqbal wrote in 1937:

"You are the only Muslim in India today, whom the people of Islam have a right to look upon as a safe guide through the storm that is coming to North West India."<sup>25</sup>

After the failure of the RTCs in 1930-32, some Muslim students from India under the leadership of Chaudhary Rahmat Ali, a postgraduate student at Cambridge University organized the Pakistan National Movement in January 1933. This group published in 1933 a pamphlet *Now or Never* in which Pakistan was mentioned for the first time. The name was of a composite origin derived from the names of regions situated in India and Asia such as Punjab, Afghanistan (NWFP), Kashmir, Iran, Sindh, Takharistan and Baluchistan.

### **Lahore Resolution**

On March 22, 1940 the Muslim League under Jinnah's guidance passed the Pakistan resolution. It stated:

"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, nor acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions, which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority, as in the north Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign"<sup>26</sup>

The remaining seven years i.e. from the passage of the Pakistan resolution till 1947 were devoted to the cause of Pakistan with such a frenzy and religious fervour the match of which could be hardly found in history. During this frenzy Islam and Pakistan became synonymous; they were the two sides of the same coin. This fact is borne out by a letter of the Khan of Qalat, which he wrote, to Jinnah. In this letter, he said:

"Today the hope of eighty million Musalmans of India are centred in you and it is the desire of every one of us that God, the Almighty, may bestow you with sound health and long successful life devoted to the cause of Islam."<sup>27</sup>

It was the desire of Britain as well as the leaders of the Indian National Congress that somehow the unity of India should be kept intact. Gandhi equated the partition of India to the vivisection of the cow; Patel analogized it to the "cutting of the baby into two halves"<sup>28</sup>. But Jinnah was adamant. He maintained that democratic set up was not possible in India. If anything, this kind of setup will put the minority at the mercy of the majority.

The Quaid pleaded the case of Indian Muslims so admirably that one of his biographers, namely, Hector Bolitho had to say that had there been 200 Gandhis and Azads in the Muslim League and only one Jinnah in the congress, India would not have been partitioned. He contradicted Gandhi for saying that the Muslims were only a bunch of converts. Far from this, Jinnah argued that Muslims were a nation by any definition of the term. In an article, which he contributed to *Time and Tide*, an independent British weekly, he said that Hinduism and Islam were two distinct and separate civilizations. Similarly, on the occasion of the Lahore resolution in March 1940, Jinnah said that the idea that Muslims and Hindus could ever evolve a common nationality was an idle dream. He said:

"The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concept on life and of life is different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other; 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. Muslims 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".<sup>29</sup>

In 1946 the Cabinet Mission Plan was dispatched to India as a last-ditch attempt by British cabinet ministers to preserve the unity of India. Jinnah told the members of this mission that he would accept a united India provided it contained two separate constitution making bodies, one for Muslims and the other for Hindus. This condition was next to demanding the impossible and for this reason this last effort of the British and the Hindus failed culminating in the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947.

The ideal of Pakistan gave a new life, a new fervor, and a new hope to Muslims. The masses were ready to stake their lives to achieve that ideal. It had become a question of life and death for them. No sacrifices were considered great. In a period of seven years since the adoption of Pakistan resolution at the Lahore session of the All India Muslim League, Pakistan emerged as a sovereign and independent Muslim state on the map of the world. The creation of Pakistan was considered not only a great success of Muslims but also of Islam.<sup>30</sup>

### **Post 1947 Problems and Prospects**

The new country had been achieved with grand expectations and aspirations. It was supposed to be the first ideological state of the world wherein Muslims would order their lives according to the teachings of Islam. The founding fathers of Pakistan were aware of the unique character of the new country.

However, as things turned out, the country was beset by a multiplicity of problems. The party, which was responsible for the creation of Pakistan went into oblivion and was divided into numerous insignificant factions. The nascent country was beset by a plethora of problems. The first and foremost was the survival of the country itself. The death of the Quaid-i-Azam, the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, the problem of the refugees, the issue of the division of assets with India, the anti-Ahmadiya riots of 1953, and a host of other problems haunted the new country. The ideological moorings- of the country further obfuscated the situation.

Would Pakistan be an Islamic state or a Muslim state? Would it be run

by Islamic *Sharia* or Islamic principles? Would it practice democracy, theocracy, Theo-democracy or nomocracy? These questions bothered and bewildered the early leaders and theoreticians of Pakistan. Rural masses and the bulk of the '*Ulama* were at variance with a small westernized urban class. In the seven years from Liaquat Ali Khan's murder in 1951, seven federal ministries were changed. Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the constituent assemblies ostensibly for failing to produce a constitution.

The issue of the relationship of Islam with Pakistan was obfuscated by the vested interests. The founder of the Nation was dubbed as a secular person who wanted the establishment of a secular state. Nothing could be farther from the truth. That the Quaid wanted Pakistan to be a Muslim state is obvious, from his several speeches and statements, though obviously he was not in favour of a theocratic state which is against the spirit of Islam. While speaking on a resolution before the council of the Muslim League held in Karachi in December 1947, he said:

“Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim state based on Islamic ideas. It is not going to be an ecclesiastic state. In Islam there is no discrimination as for as citizenship is concerned.”<sup>31</sup>

Two more passages from his numerous statements will further clarify the issue. He 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. 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”.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly, the first prime minister of Pakistan namely Liaquat Ali Khan while introducing the Objectives Resolution before the constituent Assembly, on March”. 1949 at Karachi said:

“The state is not to play the part of a mutual observer, wherein the Muslims may be merely free to profess and practice their religion, because such an attitude on the part of the state would be the very negation of the ideals which prompted the demand of Pakistan and it is these ideals which should be the corner- stone of the state which we want to build. The state will create such conditions as are conducive to the building up of a truly Islamic society, which means

that the state will have to play a positive part in this effort".<sup>33</sup>

This statement of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan is an eye-opener to those who believe that the founding fathers wanted to establish a secular state in Pakistan.

### Conclusion

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to highlight the ideological moorings of Pakistan. The fact that Pakistan's emergence was a miracle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century hardly needs any emphasis. The battle for Pakistan was won despite heavy odds and opposition that came from all sides. However, unlike the Indian Nation Congress which is still effective and powerful despite factions, the party that was responsible for the creation of Pakistan, namely, the All India Muslim League, could not maintain its initial élan and frenzy for a long time and as a result it got disintegrated immediately after the creation of Pakistan. The integrity and sturdiness of character that was exhibited by the architect of Pakistan could not be seen among his successors. With the absence of sincere leadership and a strong political leadership, Pakistan could not experience political stability. The tug of war that was prevalent among its politicians contributed to the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 and currently the country faces formidable challenges such as militancy and secessionist tendencies in Baluchistan. However, despite the multiplicity of problems, Pakistan is still the leader of the Muslim world which looks at her for guidance and inspiration. It is the only nuclear power in the Muslim world and *Mutatis mutandis*, it has got the capability to become one of the Asian tigers.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Prof. M. Anwar-ul-Hasan Sherkoti (ed), *Khuthat-i-Usmani* 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Lahore: Nazar Sons Publishers, 1972), p. 189

<sup>2</sup> I. H. Qureshi, *The Struggle For Pakistan*, (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1997), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Ian Steppens, *Pakistan Old Country/New Nation* (Middlesex, England Penguin Books, 1964), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> M. Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Studies*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lahore: The Caravar Book House, 2001), p. 17; Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, NWFP edition, March 2005.

<sup>5</sup> *Khutbat-i-Usmani*, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Cragg, *Counsels in Contemporary Islam*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p. 27.

- <sup>7</sup> Mawlana Ubayd Allah Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahreek* (Lahore: al Mahmood Academy, n.d.), p. 27.
- <sup>8</sup> Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, (Queers University, Kingston, Ontario: 1966), p. 11.
- <sup>9</sup> Abu Salman Shah Jihapuri, *Tahrikat-i Milli* (Karachi: al-Makhzan Printers, n.d.), p. 10; I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub continent (610-1947) A Brief Historical Analysis*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Karachi: Maarif, 1977), p. 204; Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Tahreek-Dawat wa Azimat*, Vol. 5 (Karachi: Majlis Nashriyat-Islam, 1984), p. 315. Abdali was not a newcomer to India. According to Nadwi, he had been born at Multan. Furthermore, prior to Shah Waliullah's invitation, he had visited India six times, *ibid.* p.313.
- <sup>10</sup> Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, "Shah Waliullah Dehlavi And Indian Politics in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century" *Islamic Culture, (Hyderabad (Deccan), December, 1951), pp. 144,145*; I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent 610-947*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Karachi: Maarif Ltd., 1977), p. 204.
- <sup>11</sup> Sh. A. Rashid, *A Short History of Pakistan*, Book Three (Karachi University of Karachi, 1967), p. 151.
- <sup>12</sup> Allama M Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of religious Thought In Islam*, (Lahore: Shaikh M. Ashraf, 1960), p. 97.
- <sup>13</sup> John L Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 85.
- <sup>14</sup> Freeland Abbot, *Islam and Pakistan*, (New York: Cornell university Press, 1968), p. 88.
- <sup>15</sup> I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community Of The Indo-Pakistan Sub continent*, p. 223.
- <sup>16</sup> Freeland Abbot, p. 88.
- <sup>17</sup> W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, (Lahore: Premier Book House, 1974), p. 14.
- <sup>18</sup> Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1980), p. 209.
- <sup>19</sup> C.W. Troll, "Ahmad Khan Sir Sayyid" *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Ed. Mircea Eliade, Vol. 1, p. 156.
- <sup>20</sup> Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the West*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 133.
- <sup>21</sup> K. K. Aziz (Ed.) *Prelude to Pakistan 1930-1940* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1992), p. 127.

<sup>22</sup> I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan sub-Continent*, p. 340; Titus T. Murray, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Agency, 1990), p. 102.

<sup>23</sup> S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1990), p. 354.

<sup>24</sup> S M Ikram, p. 362.

<sup>25</sup> Sharif-ul-Mujahid, *The Poet of the East*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1961), p.32, S. M. Ikram, p. 370.

<sup>26</sup> Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, (Lahore: People's Publishing House, 1980), p. 256.

<sup>27</sup> Rizwan Ahmad (Ed.) *The Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, (Karachi: East And West Publishing Company, 1976), p. 154.

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Hanif Shahid (Ed.) *The Quaid-i-Azam On Important Issues*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1989), p. 24

<sup>29</sup> I. H. Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, pp. 110, 111.

<sup>30</sup> W.C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, New York: Mentor Book 1957), p. 215.

<sup>31</sup> Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Why Pakistan?* 2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition, (Lahore Islamic Book Service, 1978), p. xiii

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> W.C Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, p. 217fn.