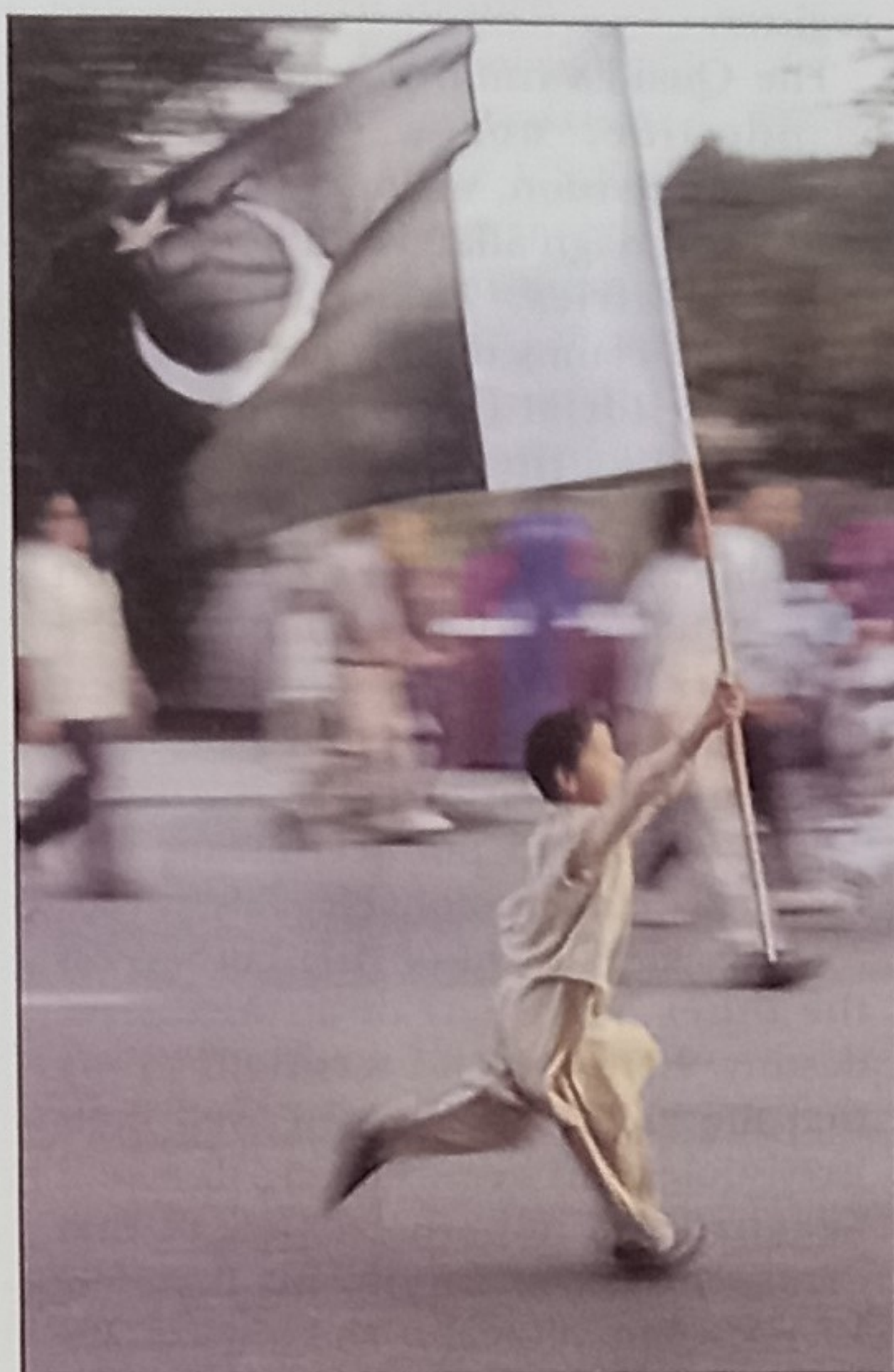


*'If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Qur'an, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours ... Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task ... You only have to develop the spirit of the Mujahids. You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory. All I require of you now is that everyone ... must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all ... in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without ... Islam enjoins on every Mussulman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed.'*

— Muhammad Ali Jinnah, speech at a rally at the University Stadium, Lahore, 30 October 1947.

**T**WENTY-THIRD March 1940 was an historic date in contemporary Muslim history when the All India Muslim League set forth the Muslim demand for the establishment of a sovereign, independent and Islamic country of their own. Muslims formed the majority in at least six provinces in the North-West and North-East of the sub-continent. They were 100-million strong and a separate nation too by any definition of the term. 'We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitude and ambitions,' as the Muslim League leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1874-1948) was to tell his Hindu counterpart, M K (Mahatma) Gandhi (d.1948). 'In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life.' Islam was the *raison d'être* of Muslim nationhood and Muslim nationhood was the *raison d'être* of Pakistan.

The alternative for Muslims was to acquiesce in perpetual serfdom in a polity dominated by an inbuilt and permanent majority. This was not a



**Flying the flag and hoping for a better future**

mere theoretical apprehension; Muslims had already had a pretty good experience of 'Hindu raj' when the Congress ministries were given limited autonomy to rule (1937-1939) six Hindu majority provinces. They inaugurated a virtual *Kulturkampf* and Muslims observed a day of deliverance as soon as they quit.

The subsequent history of post-independence India – constitutionally secular but practically 'Hindu' – and the fate of Muslims as well as the non-Brahminical 'low' castes have undoubtedly confirmed the prudence of the truly great leader, Quaid-i-Azam, that Jinnah proved to be.

Jinnah had taken up the leadership of the All India Muslim League in March 1934 at a time when Muslim India was in total disarray, but in less than five years he had turned the League into a political force to be reckoned with. And neither the Hindu-dominated Indian National Congress nor the British could ignore it. What came to be known as

## 'Greatest Muslim State'! And 'a bulwark of Islam'

Pakistan Resolution was adopted on 23 March 1940 and Pakistan itself emerged on the world map on 14 August 1947 – the empowering night of 27th Ramadan 1366.

Pakistan was not meant to be just another country which had won independence after the end of the First World War. It was another vision, away from the narrow divide of territorial nationalism. It was a deliberate and fully thought out attempt to reclaim and restore the perennial vision of an Islamic Ummah which had been impaired by colonial intervention. This much was understood not only by its proponents but also by discerning others. The very next day after the Pakistan resolution was adopted, Lord Zetland, secretary of state for India, wrote to the British viceroy in New Delhi, Lord Linlithgow, putting on record his apprehension in the event Pakistan became a reality.

'[T]he Call of Islam is one which transcends the bounds of country,' wrote Lord Zetland. 'It may have lost some force as a result of the abolition of Caliphate by Mustafa Kamal Pasha, but it still has a very considerable appeal as witness for example *Jinnah's insistence on our giving undertaking that Indian troops should never be employed against any Muslim state, and the solicitude which he has constantly expressed for the Arabs of Palestine* (emphasis added).'

Lord Zetland could not then 'help thinking if [a] separate Muslim state did indeed come into existence in India, as now contemplated by the All India Muslim League, the day would come when they might find the temptation to join an Islamic Commonwealth of nations well nigh irresistible.'

The colonial official was not wrong, though unreasonably apprehensive about Pakistan. However, it did explain why not only the Hindus but also the British were so religiously opposed to a separate Muslim state, and when eventually Mountbatten (d.1979) conceded the demand, he did so with such venom and unfairness as to try make sure that Pakistan did not survive long after its birth.

PAKISTAN

However, Pakistan was both liberation and destiny: liberation from the tyranny of a 'holy' and caste dictatorship as well as the natural destiny of a Muslim people. As Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) had put it most eloquently: 'Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny.'<sup>3</sup>

There never was any doubt or ambiguity about that Destiny – 'Islamic, Muslim rule, as a sovereign independent State'<sup>4</sup> as Quaid-i-Azam was to declare time and time again both before and after the achievement of Pakistan. He said it loud and clear without ever being shy or apologetic about it.

When the last Indian Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten recommended to him the example of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1542-1605), he replied:

'The tolerance and goodwill that the great Emperor showed to all non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet (peace be upon him) not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised.'

Pakistan was not just another Muslim state. 'Pakistan is the premier Islamic state and the fifth largest in the world,' Jinnah said in a radio broadcast (February 1948), addressed specifically to the people of the United States. He added further that despite the 'terrible trials and tribulations' the country has had to endure, 'Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.'

That was also a strategic foreign policy statement. Pakistan did try to keep it in view, at least in the first few years after independence. Pakistan lent material and moral support to all efforts for freedom or decolonisation, all the way from Algeria and Tunisia to Libya, Sudan and Somalia or Indonesia and Palestine.

A pro-freedom and pro-Muslim world foreign policy required a complementary task for the defence forces as well. Eleven days before Pakistan had gained independence, Jinnah informally met senior Muslim officers of the then British Indian armed forces who had opted to serve in

Pakistan. His message to them was short and clear: 'Now it is for you to build Pakistan as the greatest Muslim State of the world.'<sup>4</sup>

Present at the meeting, where the Quaid-i-Azam had laid down the task for the Pakistani armed forces, were all the three British service chiefs as well as the future chiefs of the Indian army. Perhaps, that is why he had found it necessary to spell out his strategic vision of Pakistan for everyone to hear and register.

The Quaid's vision was not secret or clandestine, nor was it a quasi imperialist vision, wishing to interfere in the sovereign affairs of other nations and countries. Pakistan laid no territorial claims on any country. The only territorial concern it had was caused by the Indian military occupation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and New Delhi's reneging on its own 'solemn' undertaking to let the Kashmiri people self-determine their future whether to accede to India or Pakistan. But that question was to be resolved through political means and recourse to international legality.

The establishment of Pakistan was on the other hand part of an historical destiny. Lord Zetland was right to say that the movement seemed 'well nigh irresistible', but he was wrong to take a negative and imperialist view of this emergence. Contrary to his fears an Islamic commonwealth had a necessary and integral role in the peace and stability of world order. The unilateral order in which the world has since slipped – and in which even the former British superpower has to play second fiddle to an upstart and imperious regime - and the resulting global chaos and conflict is a loud, if also bloody, testimony to the state of anarchy and insecurity that has come to haunt both the powerful and disempowered alike. It is a transient phase nevertheless because those who live by the empire also die by the empire.

Pakistan is, however, conceived as a middle of the road 'third bloc' country, neither communist nor capitalist, based on the model of polity and governance exemplified by the second caliph, Syedna 'Umar<sup>6</sup>, as Jinnah told a young Muslim League politician, Shaukat Hayat Khan (d.1998). This was as early as March 1943.<sup>7</sup>

Jinnah had gone on to add: 'Pakistan would be a base where we will be able to train and bring up Muslim intellectuals, educationists, economists, scientists, doctors, engineers, technicians etc. who will work to bring

about Islamic renaissance.'

'Faithful to the declaration made by the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah,' on 12 March 1949, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan duly incorporated that vision into the Objectives Resolution of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The resolution laid down 'the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order' wherein, among others, 'the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed'.

That was the founding vision of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for which hundreds of thousands, men, women and children, had to wade through a sea of blood and guts before reaching the homeland of their dreams. They were ravaged and uprooted. They were not daunted, however. They set about building anew their own lives as well as a whole new state from scratch. Few offices, few chairs, few desks and not even enough paper or stationery. No grumble, no complaints, for they had arrived!

Then by and by the opportunists, the mercenaries and the agents took over.

M H Faruqi

1. *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks*, (Delhi, 1944).

2. M EUR. Document No. 609, Vol 11, India Office Library, cited in *Speeches and statements of His Excellency Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada* (Jeddah: Organisation of The Islamic Conference, 1988).

3. Presidential address, 21st annual session of the All India Muslim League, Allahabad, 29 December 1930.

4. Speech at Edwardes College, Peshawar, 18 April 1948.

5. Quaid-i-Azam Meets Muslim military Men, *Dawn*, Delhi, (??4) August 1947, quoted in Major General S Shahid Hamid, *Early years of Pakistan* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1993). Shahid Hamid, then Lt Col, was Private Secretary to the C-in-C, Field Marshall General Sir Claude Auchinleck, and the host of the evening reception on 3 August 1947.

6. '[W]hen Jerusalem [voluntarily] submitted to the Caliph Umar b. al-Khattab', he signed a covenant granting to all 'people of Aelia ... whether sick or sound, security for their lives, their possessions, their churches and their crosses, and for all that concerns their religion ... nor shall any constraint be put upon them in the matter of their faith, nor shall anyone of them be harmed'.

'In company with the Patriarch, Umar visited the Church of the Resurrection, as it was the appointed hour of prayer, the Patriarch bade the caliph offer his prayer, but he thoughtfully refused, saying that if he were to do so, his followers might afterwards claim it as a place of Muslim worship. ... Even in his last testament, in which he [Umar] enjoins his successor the duties of his high office, he remembers the dhimmis (or protected persons of other faiths) [and commends] to his care the dhimmis, who enjoy the protection of God [and] to see to it that the covenant with them is kept, and that no greater burdens than they can bear be laid upon them.' (T W Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, First published 1896, Third Reprint, 1968, Ashraf, Lahore)

7. Jamiluddin Ahmad, *Quaid-i-Azam as seen by his contemporaries*.