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GENESIS OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

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Ideology: Ideology is a set of ideas or norms on which the collective ideals of a community, nation or '*millat*' are based. It also includes the sum total of principles set forth for the achievement of these common ideals. The Muslims follow the Islamic ideology, which simply means the way of life based on the tenets of Islam.

Islamic Concept of Nationhood: The Muslims believe that by virtue of their faith, they have an identity, separate and distinct from other nations of the world. This feeling of oneness among themselves combined with the consciousness of being separate from others is called 'Two Nation Theory'. Islam is a democratic way of life, and the Muslims strongly believe in the right of self-determination for all human beings. This principle implies that in all parts of the world, where the Muslims from a sizeable majority, they should be given a right to form an independent democratic state of their own, and living under this state they should avail the opportunity to order their individual and collective lives in accordance with their faith and belief.

The Two Nation Theory: Defined and Explained

Islam was introduced in India shortly after its advent. Muslims in India grew into a sizeable community within a short span of time. The Muslim community of India guarded its identity very keenly and cautiously.

Definition: The term 'Pakistan Ideology' refers to that set of beliefs and objectives which formed the basis of the Muslim freedom struggle in South-East Asia. This struggle was, of course, motivated by the Islamic faith and guided by the objective of establishing a Muslim state in the sub-continent, based on the principle that the Muslims and the non-Muslims in

India were separate and distinct nations and the Muslims had a desire to order their individual and collective lives according to the tenets of Islam, living as free citizens of an independent democratic state.

The area, which now forms the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, had a non-Muslim population of about 3 to 5 percent. Non-Muslim living in this area knew that their rights will be better protected as citizens of a Muslim state, because in a Muslim state Non-Muslim citizens' civil and political rights are equal to the rights of the Muslim citizens. Due to this reason, the Christians, the Hindus and the other religious communities played an active role in the Pakistan movement. Sacrifices rendered by the non-Muslims during the days of the Pakistan Movement and the patriotic spirit with which they served Pakistan after its creation, stand as a bright example in our history and the history of nations.

Components of the Pakistan Ideology

Islam: The religious belief of the Muslims living in the North-Western and North-Eastern regions of the Indian sub-continent was the first and the foremost motivating force behind their demand for Pakistan. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said that the demand for Pakistan was not merely a question of acquiring a piece of land; Pakistan was means to be a laboratory for proving the validity and truth of the Islamic principles. Elaborating the guiding principles that formed the basis an Islamic state the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) said:

> "Fundamentally in an Islamic state, authority rests with Almighty Allah. The working of an Islamic government is conducted according to the Quranic principles and injunctions. In an Islamic state, neither its head, nor any parliament or an institution or an individual can act absolutely in any matter. Only the Quranic injunctions control our behavior in the society and in politics."

Democracy: System of an Islamic state is based on democratic principles, explaining this, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ)in a radio message addressed to the people of the United States of America, said:

> "The Constitution of Pakistan is 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 1400 years ago. Islam and its idealism has taught us democracy." (Feb. 1948)

Social Justice, Equality, and Sense of Responsibility: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) explained the fundamental principles of an Islamic state in the following words:

> "It (Islam) has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of those glorious traditions and we are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan." (Feb. 1948)

Fundamental Human Rights: The Hindu leadership of South-East Asia can be divided into two types; the extremists and the moderates. Unfortunately, the Congress was fully overpowered by the extremists at the juncture of history the British had decided to transfer power to the Indian hands. In this state of affairs, the Muslims and the other minority communities in the region started feeling that if the Indian government is entrusted to the extremist Hindu hands they will deprive the non-Hindus of their most fundamental rights. This feeling served as a strong motive force behind the Muslim demand for Pakistan, and for the same reason, the non-Muslims of this region rendered full support to the Muslim demand for Pakistan. In other words, an important objective underlying the demand for Pakistan was to safeguard the rights of the people living in these areas, the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was a great champion of human rights, addressing the first session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)said:

> ". . . you are free; you are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places 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 . . . . . We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one state." (Aug. 11, 1947)

Pakistan: The Outcome of the Sustained Muslim Efforts

Landmark Events: 1857 to the Creation of Pakistan

British Ascendancy: In the year 1857, eight hundred yearlong Muslim rule over India came to an end. In 1858 India was given under the direct control of the British Crown.

The Aligarh Movement: Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) found the solution of the Muslim problem in the British education system and in making friendship with the British rulers. In 1875 he founded the Aligarh School and established many other educational and research institutions and also brought out a magazine *Tehzeeb-ul-Ikhlaq".* Urdu-Hindi controversy started by the Hindus in 1867 gave Sir Sayyid's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) ideas a new direction. In Hindu antagonism towards Urdu he foresaw a parting of the ways between the two communities.

Extremist Hindu Movements: The anti-Muslim movement *Arya Samaj* flourished in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The movement aimed at reconverting the Muslims to Hinduism. Bankim Chandra Chatterji wrote a novel "Anand Matth" which provoked Muslims' religious sentiments. Anti-Muslim epic *Bande Mataram* was a part of this novel.

Pakistan is the outcome of the sustained Muslim struggle spread over a period of ninety years. In order to understand the real nature of this struggle we must be aware of the significant events that took place during this period.

The Partition of Bengal: In the year 1905 Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal into two parts i.e. Est Bengal and West Bengal. This step was taken mainly due to administrative reasons. Since this partition benefited the Muslims, the Hindus and the Indian National Congress opposed it vehemently. The Muslims started to feel that they should have a political platform of their own to voice their aspirations and take their demands up with the government.

The Simla Deputation and Demand for Separate Electorate: Thirty-five top ranking Muslim leaders called on the then Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla on Oct. I, 1906 and

presented the Muslims' demand before him. Separate electorate was the most significant of the Muslim demands. Viceroy's attitude was sympathetic and encouraging.

Establishment of the Muslim League: Encouraged by the success of the Simla Deputation the Muslims decided to establish "The All India Muslim League". The decision ws taken at the session of the "Muhammadan Educational Conference" held at Dacca in December 1906. Sole purpose of the establishment of the Muslim League was to take up the Muslim demands with the government through constitutional means.

Proposals For the Solution of the Constitutional Problems: Constitutional problems of India wre of very complex nature. Numerous efforts were made to work out a conciliatory formula which would satisfy the British, the Hindus and the Muslims at the same time. Given here is a brief overview of the proposals made by different groups in this regard:

1. Mintromorley Reforms or the Government of India Act 1909.
2. The Lucknow Pact 1916 (jointly agreed Congress-League constitutional proposals).
3. Montague-Chelmsford Reforms or the Government of India Act 1919.
4. The Delhi-Muslim Proposals 1927 (another conciliatory effort made by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)
5. The Simon Commission 1928.
6. The Nehru Report 1928 (anti-Muslim Congress stance).
7. The All Parties Muslim Conference (1928-1929).
8. The Quaid-e-Azam's Fourteen Points 1929, (Minimum Muslim constitutional demands; another effort by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) to reach a mutually agreed constitutional accord).
9. The Round Table Conference, London, 1930 to 1932, (an effort made by the British government to hit at a commonly agreed constitutional formula).
10. New constitutional arrangement; the Government of India Act 1935.
11. Arrival and failure of the Cripps Mission (1942).
12. The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946); (a sincere British effort towards the solution of the constitutional problem).

13. British Prime Minister's declaration of February 20, 1947. (Announcement of the British decision to quit India till June 1948).
14. Mountbatten's arrival and Third June 1947: Plan (final proclamation of the Partition Plan).
15. Indian Independence Act July 1947; (approved by the British Parliament).

Evolution of the Muslim League's Constitutional Struggle:

1. Established; Decca 1906.
2. Establishment of the London branch of the Muslim League; 1908.
3. Amendment of the objectives; demand of self-government under the British umbrella, 1913.
4. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) joins Muslim League (1913).
5. Congress-League reconciliation (Lucknow Pact 1916).
6. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) quits the Home Rule League and the Congress (1920).
7. Delhi Proposals (1927); another effort of reconciliation by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ).
8. Adoption of the resolution embodying Fourteen Point formula rendered by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) (1929).
9. Allahabad Address (1930); Iqbal's proposal for the Muslim right of self-determination.
10. Steps taken by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) for the re-organization of the Muslim League (1935).
11. Muslim League's poor performance in the general elections (1937).
12. Mass movement against the Congress, organized by the Muslim League. The Muslim League takes off as a popular movement (1937-1939).
13. The Lahore Resolution adopted (1940).
14. The Muslim League merited with exemplary success in the general elections (1945-46).

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15. "Direct Action Day" observed by the Muslims throughout India, the Muslim League demonstrates its street power (August 16, 1946).

Other Important Events:

1. 1911; Annulment of the Partition of Bengal.
2. 1920; Aligarh College rose to the status of a University.
3. 1919; beginning of the Khilafat Movement to avert danger of dismemberment of the Turkish Empire at the hands of the British and their Allies, after their victory in the Second World War. During this period Hindus-Muslim unity reached its apex.
4. 1924; abolition of the institution of Khilafat by Mustapha Kamal Ata Turk; end of the Khilafat Movement.
5. 1923-24; Civil Disobedience Movement, launched by Gandhiji to support the Khilafat cause, was called off and with this Hindu Muslim riots took over the entire Indian sub-continent.
6. Chaudhary Rehmat Ali proposed the name of 'Pakistan'; and established, "Pakistan National Movement".
7. Extremely disappointed at the despondency of the Muslims the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) who had decided to settle permanently in London in 1931, changed his decision and came back to India in 1934, on the request of the Muslim leaders especially Allama Muhammad Iqbal (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)
8. 1937; the Congress and the allied parties were able to form governments in seven out of the eleven Indian provinces; these governments set a record of bad governance and partiality against the Muslims.
9. 1937; The Punjab Muslim Students Federation adopted the demand of a separate Muslim homeland as its objective and made it a part of its constitution. This was done on Allama Iqbal's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)advice.
10. October 1939; the Congress ministries resigned office as a result of the congress's disagreement with the British government, the later had demanded Indian support in her War enterprise.
11. December 22; 1939; to mark the end of the oppressive Congress rule. The Muslim League observed 'Deliverance Day' on Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) call.

12. June 1945; Viceroy Lord Wavell and the Indian leaders failed to reach an agreement on constitutional issues in the Simla Conference.
13. October 1946; the Muslim League joined the interim government as a political move and was able to sabotage it.
14. August 11, 1947; opening session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held at Karachi.
15. August 14, 1947; Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy of the British India transferred power to the Governor General of Pakistan. He came to Karachi to deliver his last address. Beginning of a new era in the history of the Indian Muslims.

In the following pages we shall study, in a bit detail, certain landmark events in the history of our freedom struggle. Viewed in the light of the brief background given in the preceding lines, it will be easier for us to understand these events in their true perspective.

The Aligarh Movement

Background of the Aligarh Movement

Indian authority was shifted form the Muslim to the British hands, as a result of the failure of the War of Independence in 1857. This great debacle shook the entire structure of South Asia's, Social and political life to the depth of its roots. This course of events gave birth to a person like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ). Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) had stood by the side of the British during the "War of Independence" and saved the lives of many English gentlemen and their families. This had not happened accidentally, he had done all this with full commitment. In the changed circumstances Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed, it was not a wise policy for the Muslims to adopt antagonistic attitude towards the new rulers of India and incur their anger. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) advised the Muslims to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendship towards the British, abstain form indulging into politics, acquire modern education, try to secure maximum government services and be loyal to the British Government.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) conciliatory efforts, taken collectively, are known as 'Aligarh Movement'. A large section of the Indian Muslim community appreciated his efforts and stood by his side, while a still larger part did not see eye to eye wityh him and

opposed him bitterly, because to them Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) policy, would hurt the national and religious pride of the Muslims. Notwithstanding the sincerity of purpose Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) may have, the opponents believed, following his policy would mean eternal slavery for the Muslims of India.

Objectives of Sir Sayyid's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) efforts can be summed up in four points:

1. To bring about conciliation among the Muslims and the British.
2. To spread education among the Muslims, impart English language and learning and make the Muslims familiar with the British culture and way of life.
3. To make the Muslims loyal subjects of the British Government.
4. To develop friendly and good neighbourly relations between the Muslims and other Indian nations.

Sir Sayyid's Efforts:

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)took the following major steps for the achievement of his objectives:

1. **Causes of Indian Mutiny:** In 1859 Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)wrote a book titled *"Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind",* especially meant for reading by the members of the British Parliament. In this book he tried to prove that the uprising of 1857 was, by no means, a war of independence, this was just an upheaval spurred by a few trouble mongers. He said that certain unwise policies of the British Government also paved way for the unrest that resulted in this unfortunate incident. The Muslims, generally, liked to label the 1857 events as "War of Independence", but Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) always called it a mutiny.

2. **The Loyal Muhammadans of India:** In the year 1860 Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) launched a magazine under the title of "Loyal Muhammadans of India". In this magazine he started highlighting the services of those Muslim nobles who had put their lives in danger to save the lives of the British officials and citizens.

3. **Some other Reconciliatory Efforts:** In order to bring the British rulers and the Muslims closer to each other, Sir Sayyed (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) wrote a number of books and tracts, most notable among these were:

Tehqiq-e-lafz-e-Nasara, Tabein-ul-Kalam (a commentary of the Bible). *Risala-Ehkam-e-Toam-e-Ahl-e-Kitab,* and Aligarh Institute Gazette.

4. **Establishment of Schools:** During the days of his service Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) opened schools at different places i.e. Murad Abad (1859), Ghazipur (1862).

5. **Establishment of the Scientific Society:** In 1863 Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) launched an institution with the purpose of translating important scholarly works from English to Urdu; he gave it the name of "Scientific Society".

6. **Study of the British Education System:** Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)visited England in the year 1869. He made a good use of this opportunity by visiting the most prestigious of the British educational institutions. He made a deep study of the curriculum of these institutions, and on his return to India, established a committee named *"Khawastgaran-e-Traqi-e-Tallem-e-Musalmanaan-e-Hind".* Sole purpose of this committee was to establish educational institutions in India, conforming to the British standards.

7. **Establishment of the MAO Schools:** As the first step the committee *Khawastgaran-e-Taraqi-e-Taleem-e-Musalmanaan-e-Hind* established a school at Aligarh in the year 1875 it was named, Muhammadan Anglo Oriental School".

8. **Establishment of the MAO College:** The MAO School was upgraded to the level of college in the year 1877. Viceroy Lord Lyton laid the foundation stone of the College and donated a sum of Rupees ten thousand from his own purse.

9. **Establishment of the Muhammadan Educational Conference:** To motivate the Muslims for acquiring modern knowledge Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) established Muhammadan Educational Conference in the year 1886. Annual meetings of the Conference were held at different important places throughout India. The Muslim League was founded in 1906, in an annual meeting of the Conference held at Dacca.

10. **Political Services and the Two Nations Theory:** Sir Sayyid's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)services in the field of politics are highly meritorious, following two are the most significant:

    a.) As a member of the Imperial Legislative Council he took up the Indian problems very effectively with the Indian Government.

b.) In the year 1867 the Hindus of Banaras launched a movement to demand that Urdu should be replaced by Hindi as official language. Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) who was a great protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity got utterly disappointed at this unfriendly gesture. His demand for separate electorate was a direct corollary of such Hindu overtures. He demanded that the member of Muslim seats in the Viceroy's Council should be fixed; the Hindu voters should elect Hindu members, while the Muslim members should be elected only by the Muslim voters.

Establishment of the All India Muslim League

Background: The following events paved way for the establishment of the All India Muslim League:

1. **Establishment of the British System of Government:** The system introduced after the establishment of the British Government in the year 1858, was democratic in nature. Since the Hindus outnumbered the Muslims in Indian population they were on a surer ground under the new political system. The British had already crippled the Muslims economically. If a system based on majority rule, pure and simple, were established the Muslims were surely going to lose. This state of affairs called for a Muslim political platform to voice Muslim demands effectively.

2. **Hindu Extremism:** We have already learnt about Urdu-Hindi Controversy spurred by the Hindus in 1867, the Hindus demanded replacement of Urdu by Hindi as official language. During the same period, Hindu extremists started programmes like the *"Arya Samaj"* with a purpose to reconvert the Muslims into Hindu religion. Hindu writers spread hatred against the Muslims among their followers.

3. **Establishment of the Indian National Congress:** A retired British Civil Servant A.O. Hume established the Indian National Congress in the year 1885. The Hindus welcomed it enthusiastically and joined it in great numbers.

4. **Demand for Separate Electorate:** Sir Sayyid (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed that the British system of elections, pure and simple, did not suit the Indian conditions, because this will reduce the Muslims to a position of permanent slavery and subservience to the majority community. He proposed the system of separate electorate as an alternative. This system obviously could not be made useful unless the Muslims had a political party of their own.

5. **Partition of Bengal and the Congress Attitude:** In the year 1905, the British government divided the province of Bengal into two parts. Since the newly created province of East Bengal had a Muslim majority, the Muslims were to benefit from this partition. Hindus launched a strong protest against this decision of the government throughout India. The province of Bengal was the main target of the saboteurs. The Muslims were greatly disappointed when they saw that the Congress, notwithstanding all its claims of neutrality, was supporting the Hindu extremists openly.
6. **Change of Government in Britain:** Liberal Party returned to power in the 1905 elections held in Britain. The party gave a programme of political reforms meant for India. The Muslim leaders discsussed the situation and decided to make a common cause for taking up the demands of the Muslim community with the government.
7. **The Simla Deputation:** Thirty-five top ranking Muslim leaders taken from all parts of the Sub-Continent called on the then Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla on Oct. 1, 1906. Important Muslim demands presented to the Viceroy included; reserved quota of seats for Muslims in all representative bodies and separate electorate; The Viceroy expressed sympathy with the Muslim demands and promised to take them up with the British Government. The Muslim leaders were greatly encouraged by the Viceroy's response.

Foundation of the All India Muslim League

A session of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference was held under the chairmanship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk in December 1906 at Dacca. Resolution for the establishment of All India Muslim League was moved in this meeting by Nawab Salim-Ullah Khan and was seconded by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Hakeem Ajmal Khan and Maulana Muhammad Ali (Johar). Sir Agha Khan was made the first president.

Objectives

At the time of its formation the Muslim League had set a three-point agenda;

1. To safeguard and protect the interests of the Indian Muslims; to convey their demands to the British government in a peaceful manner and through constitutional means.
2. To create feelings of respect and goodwill for the government amongst the Muslims and to remove any misunderstanding, they might have, regarding government's Policies and actions.

3. To create feelings of brotherhood between the Muslims and other Indian communities.

Change of Objectives

In March 1913 changes in the objectives of the All India Muslim League were made on Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) initiative. Policy of unconditional subservience was forsaken in the favour of "self-government suitable for Indian conditions". This proved to be a turning point in the history of the Muslims of India.

The Khilafat Movement: Events and Outcomes

Background: Britain and her allies (the United States of America being one of them) emerged victorious as a result of the First World War (1914-1918). Behaviour of the Allies during the War, and their arrogant proclamations, made the Muslims highly apprehensive about their future designs. The Muslims were afraid that the Allies may take over a part of the Turkish Empire, distribute some of its parts among themselves, may desecrate the holy Muslim shrines and even go to the extent of dismembering the Turkish Empire which the Muslims cherished as a symbol of the global Muslim fraternity. These apprehensions gave out a wave of anger and unrest among the Indian Muslim. They started a country-wide movement in which the Hindus stood by their side and gave them full support.

IMPORANT EVENTS OF THE KHILAFAT MOVMENT

Establishment of the Khilafat Committee: In order to organize a mass movement and launch an opinion-forming campaign, a committee was formed in 1919; it was named "The India Khilafat Committee".

Hindu-Muslim Unity and Non-Cooperation: In the year 1919 the Indian National Congress decided to support the Muslims on the Khilafat issue, and authorized Gandhiji to chalk out a road map for that matter. Gandhiji brought forward a programme of non-cooperation with the government, which was to be executed in four stages.

Khilafat Delegation: In 1920 a delegation headed by Maulana Muhammad Ali (Johar) set off for London. The British government refused to give an ear. The delegation, however, held some meetings and explained its position to the general public.

The Treaty of Sevres: In May 1920, the Allied Forces decided on Turkey's fate under the treaty made at Sevres. The Empire was stripped off its occupations in Europe and Arabia. The Treaty was named after the venue where it was concluded.

Non-Cooperation Movement: Maulana Muhammad Ali (Johar), Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Abu-ul-Kalam Azad and Maulana Hasrat Mohani set the Indian emotion at fire with their speeches. An all India *hartal* was observed on the appeal of the Khilafat Committee on August 1, 1920. Gandhiji was elected leader of the Non-Cooperation Movement. As a part of the non-cooperation programme courts were boycotted, government servants resigned services, students all over India quit educational institutions and many of the British title holders surrendered their titles and decorations as protest; Ali Brothers (Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali) were convicted on charges of high treason and given two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Civil Disobedience: In November 1921, the people were given a call to break the law and disobey the government by refusing to pay taxes and by all other possible means. About thirty thousand people courted arrest as a result of this call.

Mopla Uprising: Moplas were a Muslim community settled on the south Indian shores. They claimed to be the descendants of the Arab traders. In the year 1921 there was a clash between the Moplas and the Hindu business lords of the area on issues of purely local nature. These incidents provided the British Government with a golden opportunity of creating rift between the Hindus and the Muslims. Exaggerated reports about Hind-Muslim riots were spread, which provoked the extremists on both sides, riots spread throughout India. This state of affairs caused a great setback to the Khilafat Movement.

Chora Chori Incident: In the year 1922, an infuriated mob at Chora Chori, a small township in the UP laid siege to a police station and set it at fire. Twenty-one policemen were burnt alive.

Civil Disobedience called off: Gandhiji said that since the Civil Disobedience Movement had deviated from its avowed path of non-violence, it was necessary to call it off. He made this decision at a time when the Movement had reached its climax.

Reaction of the Leadership: The entire leadership of the movement, the Hindu and the Muslim alike was stunned at this sudden decision. Move of the leaders thought that this decision was without justification and had caused a great setback to the Movement.

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Abolition of Khilafat: Ataturk came to power in Turkey. On March 3, 1924 he abolished the institution of Khilafat. This proclamation came as the final death below the Khildafat Movement in India.

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT: RESULTS AND CONSEQUENCES

Apparently futile Muslim efforts to keep the institution of Khilafat alive, otherwise, had far reaching impact on the Indian Politics i.e.

1. Beginning of common man's politics in the sub-continent:

In was the first popular movement which touched almost all parts of the sub-continent. It was through Khilafat platform that the leaders of public opinion came very close to the common man. It gave people the consciousness which was to serve as a motivating force behind the Muslim struggle for the achievement of Pakistan in the days to come.

2. A Step towards liberation of India

It was an important step towards the liberation of India from the shackles of the British rule. The forceful expression of India's popular sentiments against imperialism helped the British rulers to understand that it was impossible to keep India under their control forever, they started to make their mind to quit.

3. Training of National Consciousness for the Muslims

Khilafat Movement helped in ending the un-Islamic Ideology of separation between religious and politics Khilafat movement was one such movement which was based on a religious concept and was led by the ullamas as its leaders.

4. Consolation for the Turk Soldiers

Although the Indian Muslims did not succeed in achieving their core objectives, yet the Khilafat Movement did great service to the Turks who were fighting the war of their survival. Speeches and statements of the Khilafat leaders were translated and spread in Turkey, and it gave the Turk soldiers courage to consolidate and strengthen their position in the areas left for Turkey after the war was over, and drive the enemies out of the Turk areas.

5. Success of a moderate approach

The moderate Muslims leaders like Allama Muhammad Iqbal (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) and the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) were second to none in their sympathies for the Turks, but they did not indulge themselves in the politics of agitation or the emotional frenzy spurred by the Khilafat leaders. They believed that no substantial success can be achieved through emotional and agitation politics. Result proved that these leaders were right. Failure of the Khilafat Movement enchaced people's trust and confidences in moderate politicians.

The Pakistan Resolution

Background

The Lahore Resolution is the most significant landmark in the history of our freedom struggle. In the month of 24 March 1940, the Muslims of India adopted a resolution embodying their national objectives and expressing their `firm commitment to make all out efforts for the achievement of these objectives. Important events and factors that led to the adoption of this Resolution are summed up here:

The Two National Theory: They Muslims, by virtue of their faith, are a nation separate and distinct form all other nations of the World. Their spiritual and national aspirations could only be realized in a state which was Islamic in nature, where they could live as free citizens and could model their lives in accordance with Islamic injunctions.

Hindu Extremism: The Muslims had lived with the Hindus as neighbours and compatriots for about one thousand years. On the basis of their experience they could not expect good nieghbourly treatment from the extremist Hindus, who had already made it clear that the Muslims had no place in India, they should either embrace Hinduism or quit India.

Iqbal's Ideology of a Nation: Delivering his presidential address at the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad in 1930, Poet-philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said that the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent was predominantly Muslim, that Muslims living in these areas form a distinct and separate national entity and that their rights in any future constitution should be determined in this light.

Period of Congress Rule: Congress ministries were formed in seven out of the eleven Indian provinces, these governments worked till 1939. Bad governance and the oppressive

rule of the congress ministries created a general discontentment and despair among the Muslims. Demand for a separate Muslim homeland was its immediate outcome.

Popularity of the Muslim League: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) kept persistently in touch with the Muslims during the oppressive Congress rule, he was successful in impressing upon them that a horrible future lies ahead them if the Congress were entrusted authority to rule the whole of India. As a result of the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)efforts the Muslim League which had failed to attract the Muslim masses in 1936-37 elections, emerged as the sole representative of the Muslim nation.

Muslim League's Session in Lahore

Historic Muslim League session was held in 1940 in Lahore. Addressing a rally of more than a hundred thousand people after the Jum'a prayers on March 22, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ)said:

> ". . . . . 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. We know that the history of the last twelve hundred years has failed to achieve unity, and has witnessed India during the ages, always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India . . . . . Musalamans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people".

ADOPTION OF THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

The Resolution was moved on March 23, 1940 by the Bengal Chief Minister Maulvi Fazal-ul-Haq. The Resolution which later came to the known as the "Pakistan Resolution" was adopted in the last session of the meeting on March, 24.

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

The Lahore Resolution embodied minimum demands regarding the political status of the Muslims in South-East Asia. The Muslims resolved in unambiguous terms that they will only accept a constitutional formula which satisfies the following Muslim demands:

- **Federal Scheme Disapproved:** The Federal scheme formulated in the Government of India Act 1935 is absolutely unsuitable for the Indian conditions. The Indian Muslims will never accept it.
- **Establishment of Independent States:** It was clearly stated that a constitution acceptable for the Muslims of India shall be based on the following principles:

> "Geographically contiguous units be demarcated into regions . . . . . in which the Muslims are numerically a 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".

- **Safeguards for Minorities:** In the newly established Muslim and non-Muslim states adequate constitutional safeguards should be provided to minorities, with their consultation, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political and administrative rights and interests.
- **Extent of State Sovereignty:** The Resolution authorized the Muslim League working Committee to draft a detailed constitutional scheme in the light of the principles stipulated in the Resolution, this scheme shall ensure that the states created under this scheme have full control over defense, foreign affairs, communications, customs and all other necessary subjects.

ANALYSIS

Following are the most notable features of the Lahore Resolution:

1. Word 'Pakistan' was not used in the text of the Lahore Resolution.
2. The Resolution did not demand one Muslim state in clear terms. The ambiguity, which was caused due to the use of plural 'states' was removed later at Madras session of the Muslim League held in 1941. A resolution adopted at this session clearly stated, that the Muslim League stood for only one sovereign independent Muslim state.
3. The boundaries of the Muslim state or states were not defined in the Resolution, words like units, regions and zones were used instead.
4. The Resolution was originally called 'Lahore Resolution' but later it came to be known as 'Pakistan Resolution'. This name was given by the hostile Hindu press and

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was readily picked up by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ). In the following years the Lahore Resolution was referred to as the sole document formulating Indian Muslims unanimous national demands. The points which were left ambiguous in the Resolution were later clarified in a resolution adopted by the Muslim Representatives Convention held at Delhi in 1946.

IMPORTANCE OF THE LAHORE RESOLUTION

Adoption of the Lahore Resolution was, undoubtedly, a significant landmark in the history of the Muslim India. Following reasons signify its importance:

1. Determination Focused

Through this Resolution, the Muslims of India set their national objectives and expressed their unflinching determination to make all out efforts for the achievement of these objectives.

2. Expression of Confidence on Muslim League Leadership

Representatives of the Muslims from all over India attended the Lahore session. Events in the following years proved that Muslims had reposed full confidence in the Muslims League. Pakistan was taken up as the core issue by the Muslim League in the election manifesto it gave for the 1945-46 elections. The Muslims rallied round the Muslim League in great numbers and the same party which had failed to attract people in the 1937 elections, now emerged as the sole representative of the Muslim nation all over India.

3. Emergence of Pakistan

The Lahore Resolution gave a direction to the political struggle of the Muslims and within a short span of seven years' time the Muslims were able to achieve their cherished goal; Pakistan.

The Cripps Mission

The British had to face some military setbacks during the early years of the World War II. This made for them the need for Indian support more pressing. Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India by the then Prime Minister of Britain Sir Winston Churchill to explore

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possibilities of a compromise with the Indian political parties. Cripps discussed matters with the Indian leaders and published his proposals on March 30, 1942.

PROPOSALS OF THE CRIPPS MISSION

1. A Constituent Assembly consisting of Indian representatives shall be formed at the termination of the War.
2. The Union of India will be given "Dominion Status". This implied complete internal independence within the framework of the British Commonwealth.
3. Princely states will also be given representation in the Constituent Assembly.
4. The British government shall be responsible for the implementation of the Constitution. The provinces will be given a right to opt out of the proposed Indian Union or retain their present status and join the federation under the new Constitution at a later stage.
5. Election for Provincial Assemblies will be held after the end of the War. Provincial Assemblies will elect members of the Constituent Assembly in a number equal to one tenth (1/10) of their respective strength.
6. The British government will continue to run Indian affairs till the termination of War.
7. Any proposals regarding amendments in this Plan shall not be entertained. The Plan shall have to be accepted or rejected in totality.

Reaction: Major Indian parties, the Muslim League and the Congress, rejected the Cripps Proposals, obviously for different reasons. The Congress despised the prospects of India's disintegration, which the formula apparently promised. The Congress knew that the Government was under great stress due to her war engagements and it was a golden opportunity to build pressure on her to quit India.

The Muslim League rejected the Plan, simply because it stood for a federal India and did not grant her demand for Pakistan in clear terms.

Election 1945-46

After the termination of the W0orld War II, elections of the Central Legislature were held in December, 1945 and of the provincial legislatures in 1946. Muslim Leagues election manifesto comprised two major issues.

1. The Muslim League was the only political party that had a right represent the Indian Muslims.
2. Pakistan was the sole objective the Muslim League strived to achieve.

The results of the elections manifested a complete upset for the Congress so far as the Muslim seats were concerned. All 30 seats reserved for the Muslims in the federal legislature were won by the Muslim League. Till December 1946, 440 out of 495 Muslim members of the provincial assemblies belonged to the Muslim League. This heavy turnout in favour of the Muslim League manifested Muslim voters' confidence in the Muslim League as the sole political party that represented their interests and that they supported whole, heartedly its demand for Pakistan.

A Convention of the members of the legislative assemblies elected on Muslim League's ticket was held in Delhi form April 7 to 9, 1946. Addressing the Convention, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) made it clear that the Muslim League stood for two independent Constituent Assemblies one for Pakistan and the other for the rest of India.

The Cabinet Mission Plan

Background/Arrival of the Delegation

In fulfilment of the promise made during 1945-46 elections, the British Government sent three senior members of the British Cabinet, in March 1946, as a last attempt to preserve unity of the Indian federation. The delegation flew from London and arrived in Delhi on March 24, 1946. Representing the Congress Maulana Abdul-Kalam Azad and Gandhiji took a plea for the preservation of the Indian Union and introduction of federal form of government. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) tried to impress upon the members that Pakistan was the only possible solution of the Indian problem.

Failure of Dialogue with Indian Leadership

Difference of opinion between the two major political parties was substantial and sharp. The Mission tried to make an effort to bring about the parties to a sharp. The Mission tried to make an effort to bring about the parties to a conciliatory formula acceptable for both.

Leaders of the two major parties were invited at Simla from May 5, to 12, 1946 to discuss matters. Seven sessions were held but no result could be achieved.

RECOMMENDATIONS

After the declaration of its failure to bring about the parties to a conciliatory formula, the Mission published its own proposals on May 16, 1946 with the hope that if these proposals were implemented, rights of the Muslims and other minorities, will be fully safeguarded within the framework of an Indian Union. Summed up here are the major proposals of the Cabined Mission Plan:

1. **Indian Union:** India shall be Union comprising the British Indian and the Princely states. Union government shall control foreign affairs, communications and taxation.
2. **Grouping Scheme:** Provinces shall be divided into three groups formed under following formula: Group A; six Hindu majority provinces; Group B; three Muslim majority provinces; Group C; two Muslim majority provinces.
3. **Internal Independence of the provincial Groups:** Members of the Constituent Assembly shall be divided into three groups and shall frame constitutions for their respective groups. After the date of first elections held under the Constitution, each provincial legislature shall be given a chance to decide whether it wanted to remain a part of the group or quit it.
4. **Establishment of the Interim Government:** The Plan further envisaged that an interim government shall be formed at the centre till the formation of the constitution and its implementation. In this government, all important portfolios, including the Ministry of Defense, shall be held by the Indians.

REACTION

Gandhiji interpreted the Plan as "an appeal and an advice". He said that the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body shall have the power to amend the Plan.

The Muslim League Council met on June 3, 1946 and after three days' discussion decided to approve the Plan. The Council resented that the Plan did not clearly provide for the demand for Pakistan but it saw aray of hope in the "grouping scheme", and confirmed that the party would join the Constituent Assembly with the hope that it would be able to achieve its objectives through constitutional means.

jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is composed of one Chief Justice and a number of Judges. The Chief Justice is appointed by the President; rest of the judges are appointed by the President with the consultation of Chief Justice. Judges of the Supreme Court have full security of the service. Only Supreme Judicial Council can make recommendations about the removal of a judge on the basis of serious disability. Order of the removal is passed by the President, but his cannot remove a judge, on his own, without the recommendation of the Supreme Judicial Council.

by the Indian members. The Muslim members shall be equal in number to the Caste-Hindus. To discuss this proposal with the Indian leaders; Wavell called an All Parties Conference at Simla in June 1945. All-important leaders except Gandhiji attended the Conference.

The Congress wanted to appoint one Muslim member on the Viceroy's Executive Council, the government also intended to appoint a Muslim member from the Unionist Party. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) took the plea that the Muslim League was the only party that represented the Muslims and had an exclusive right to make appointments on all Muslim seats. The Conference broke due to disagreement on this point.

Formation of the Interim Government

Formation of an Interim Government was the first step towards the implementation of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Viceroy made an announcement in this regard in June 1946. He said that the government shall be formed even if one of the two major Indian parties, the Muslim League or the Congress, decides to abstain. In this case an alternative arrangement shall be made. The Muslim League agreed to join the proposed interim government but the Congress declined.

The Viceroy should have invited the Muslim League to form government after Congress's refusal but he failed to keep his promise. On this break of trust the Muslim League decided to withdraw its approval of the Cabinet Mission Plan and announced that "Direct Action" was the only course left open for her.

Although the Congress had not accepted the Cabinet Mission; yet on August 12, 1946 the Viceroy, invited Pandit Nehru to form interim government. Protesting on this, the Muslim League called the Muslims to celebrate 16th of August as the "Direct Action Day". The Muslims throughout India were appealed to protest and the Muslim dignitaries having British titles were asked to surrender their titles to register protest against the government.

The appeal proved very effective, the Muslims expressed their resentment through protest rallies and processions taken out in all parts of India. The Hindus retaliated by attacking on them. Thousands of People were killed in Calcutta in Hindu-Muslim clashes. Within no time the whole of India was taken over by communal frenzy.

Under the changed circumstances the government was inclined to think that it would not be possible to form a viable government while keeping the Muslim League out of it. The government invited the Muslim League to join, and it did. On October 26, 1946 five Muslim League ministers took oath of office. Holding the finance portfolio Liaquat Ali Khan acquired a key position to control all other ministries and departments. His control over

finance virtually crippled the ministries held by Congressmen. Budget presented by Liaquat Ali Khan came as the last straw on the camel's back, because it hit hard at the interests of the money lords with whose financial support the Congress was run. Now it was Congress's turn to plead for India's partition.

The Third June Plan

On Feb. 20, 1947 the British Prime Minister clement Attlee made a statement in the British Parliament declaring that:

1. India shall be given independence by June 1948.
2. If the Constituent Assembly fails to frame constitution within the stipulated time limit, the British government shall decide if the powers are to be transferred to a central government or certain provincial governments.
3. Mountbatten was appointed viceroy; he was to replace Wavell.

Mountbatten reached in India in the last week of March 1946. He discussed matters with the Indian leaders and was convinced that it was not possible to keep India united for a longer period of time. Mountbatten worked out a partition plan and flew to England to seek approval of the British Government on the plan. The approval was readily granted. On his return back he took seven important Indian leaders, including the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ), in confidence. Given approval by all major Indian political parties the partition plan was announced by the Viceroy on June 3, 1947, following are the silent features of this Plan:

1. The British Government shall not impose its own constitution on India. The Indian Constituent Assembly shall frame a Constitution under which the government of the Indian Union shall be run. This Constitution, however, shall not be mandatory for the units unwilling to adopt it. These units shall be allowed to form constituent assemblies to frame constitutions of their own choice.

2. The Provincial Assemblies shall be entitled to decide which of the two Constituent Assemblies their respective provinces shall join. The Plan stipulated different formulas for the provinces of the Punjab, Bengal the NWFP, Balochistan and for district of Sylhet in East Bengal.

3. The Princely States were also offered an option to join either of the two states, keeping in view their geographical position and "other conditions", or to remain independent by making treaty arrangements with either of the two successor states.

4. Powers were to be transferred by the British to one or two successor states, with "Demonian Status" during the same year.

Indian Independence Act

Indian Independence act was passed by the British Parliament and ratified by the Crown in July 1947. The Act was framed on the principles stipulate in the Third June Plan. It provided that:

1. British rule over India will come to an end on Aug. 15, 1947.
2. Hindustan will be divided into sovereign states.
3. Title of the "Emperor of India" will no more form a part of the titles of the British Crown after that date.
4. The successor states will be run under the Government of India Act 1935, adapted and modified to meet their requirements, as Interim Constitution, till their respective Constituent Assemblies Frame Constitutions.

Emergence of Pakistan

Pakistan emerged on the map of the world on Aug. 14, 1947 as the then largest Muslim state in the world. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) took over as the first Governor General of Pakistan, and with this epoch making event the freedom movement of the Muslim of India entered a new phase.

Provincial Assemblies of the Punjab and Bengal decided to join Pakistan, the decisions were made with heavy majority, but since the non-Muslim Members of these Provinces had demanded partition, separate boundary commissions were set on June 30, for the demarcation of boundaries in both provinces. Sind Assembly and the Baluchistan *Shahi Jirga* decided that their provinces will join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Referendums were held in the NWFP and district Sylhet, both decided to join Pakistan.

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EXERCISE

Q. 1. Fill in the blanks to make an appropriate statement.

1. Sir Sayyid (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) founded Aligarh School in the year .....
2. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the extremist Hindus started anti-Muslim movement namely .....
3. The Viceroy ..... Partitioned the province of Bengal into two parts.
4. ..... Was the most important demand of the Simla Deputation?
5. Round Table Conferences were held from 1930 to .....
6. Mintro-Morley Reforms are also called Government of India Act .....
7. Khilafat Delegation, headed by Maulana Muhammad Ali visited England in the year . .....
8. Pakistan National Movement was established by .....
9. ..... Presided over the Muslim League session held at Allahabad in 1930.
10. The Lahore Resolution was moved by the Bengal Chief Minister Mr. .....

Q. 2. Fill in the blanks by putting one of the three alternatives given in the bracket against each question.

1. Sir Sayyid (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) started Risala .....

   (Thezib-ul-Akhlaq, Aligarh, Hayat-e-Javaid)
2. Urdu-Hindi Controversy started in the year ..... (1857, 1867, 1897)
3. Simla Deputation comprised ..... Muslim leaders. (13, 35, 80)
4. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) joined Muslim League in the year .....

   (1928, 1913, 1906)
5. Congress ministries were formed in the year ..... (1937, 1906, 1885)
6. Cripps Proposals were published on 30th March ..... (1947, 1946, 1942)
7. The Muslim League celebrated ..... 1946 as the "Direct Action Day.

   (Aug. 16, Aug. 14, Sept. 6)

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8. Sylhet and . . . . . Decided to join Pakistan through referendum.
(the NWFP, the Punjab, Balochistan)
9. The Khilafat Committee elected . . . . . as the leader of the non-cooperation movement. (Gandhiji, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ)

Q. 3. Indicate whether the statement is TRUE or FALSE; put a circle around the correct answer.

1. Non-Muslims of the north-west India supported the Pakistan Movment.
(True/False)
2. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said "we demand Pakistan only because we want to have a piece of land. (True/False)
3. An Islamic state is established on democratic principles. (True/False)
4. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote an anti-Muslim novel "Band-e-Mataram".
(True/False)
5. London branch of the Muslim League was established in the year 1906. (True/False)
6. The Objectives Resolution is also known as the Lahore Resolution. (True/False)
7. First phase of the Khilafat Movement was a golden period in the history of Hindu-Muslim relations. (True/False)
8. Mustapha Kamal Ataturk abolished the institution of Khilafat. (True/False)
9. First session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was held on August 11, 1947.
(True/False)
10. The Muslim League achieved great success in 1937 elections. (True/False)

Q. 4. Put right parts together.

A	B
The British Crown	1921
Aligarh University	1858

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The Muslim League	Allama Iqbal
The Simla Deputation	October 1, 1906
The Mopla Uprising	1921

Q. 5. Answer each question in two to four lines.

1. What is meant by the term Ideology?
2. What is Islamic theory of nationhood?
3. Explain Pakistan Ideology briefly.
4. What the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) thought about minorities, quote a brief statement.
5. Write a short not on the Simla Deputation.
6. What do you know about *'Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind'* (Causes of the Indian Mutiny)?
7. What objectives were set for the Muslim League at the time of its inception?
8. What important change was made in the objectives of the Muslim League and when.
9. Write a note on the Simla Conference.
10. What were the salient features of the Indian Independence Act?
11. Write any three proposals of cripes mission.

Q. 6. Answer these questions extensively.

1. Give an account of the Muslim struggle form 1857 to the establishment of the Muslim League in 1906.
2. Give a background of the Aligarh Movement and a summary of its basic objectives.
3. Describe and evaluate Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) services for the Muslims of India.
4. Give background and reasons for the establishment of Muslim League.
5. Give an account of the proposals brought forward for the solution of the Indian problem at different times.
6. Give a background of the Khilafat Movement and a brief account of its major egvents.
7. Examine the impact and outcomes of the Tehrik-e-Khilafat in detail.
8. What important events paved way for the adoption of the Lahore Resolution?
9. Elaborate salient features of the Lahore Resolution.
10. Analyse the Lahore Resolution and determine its place and role in the history of our freedom movement.
11. What was the Cabinet Mission Plan? How did the Congress and the Muslim League react to it?
12. Give a background account of the Third June Plan; also give its salient features.

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2

INITIAL PROBLEMS OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Problems

Background

Under the Third June Plan (1947) provincial assemblies were given an option to join either of the two states (Pakistan or India). Overwhelming majority of the members in the Punjab and Bengal assemblies decided to join Pakistan. Since members of the non-Muslim majority districts in these provinces voted for partition of their respective provinces, separate commissions were set for the demarcation of boundaries in the two provinces in 30th, June 1947, with Cyril Radcliffe a British lawyer, as the joint chairman of the both commissions.

Partition was conducted in a way which manifested naked bias and injustice towards the Muslims. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) had proposed that the task of demarcation should by entrusted either to an impartial commission appointed by the United Nations or to the members of the British 'Privy Council' (the highest British court.) The proposal was turned down by the British government. Viceroy Lord Mountbatten had very close friendly relations with the Congress leadership and was a great sympathizer of the Congress point of view. The person he selected for demarcation of boundaries had little knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the sub-continent; he had never set foot on the Indian soil before this time. Mountbatten had done this intentionally, in Cyril Radcliffe he found the most suitable person he could easily influence.

The Muslim League did not favour the partition of the provinces, but if at all it was inevitable it would have been carried out in the light of the principles stipulated by Mountbatten himself at the time he had announced the Third June Plan, he had said that Gurdaspur, and Firozpur, and Tehsils of Zira and Fazilka will form part of Pakistan.

Radcliffe Award and Its Injustices

Radcliffe announced his Award, on the demarcation of boundaries, on August 17, 1947; following provisions of the Award were unjust from Pakistan's point of view;

Flouting the pronounced partition principles in the Punjab; Gurdaspure and Ferozpur districts and Zira and Fazilka Tehsils were given to India. In the eastern part, the city of Clacutta, district of Murshidabad and the Nadia areas were annexed with India without any justification. On all these areas Pakistan had a claim as its natural parts under the partition norms.

Radcliffe had finalized his task up till August 8, 1947. A member of the Boundary Commission Justice Muhammad Munir, later disclosed that in his original plan, Radcliffe had agreed to include Ferozpur, Zera, a prat of Tehsil Fazilka and the Ferozpur Headwork's in Pakistan, but surprisingly when the Award was announced on 17th of August, all these areas went to the Indian share. Observers believe that this was done on Mountbatten's insistence.

Apart from these areas 'The Pakistan Times' indicated injustices done in certain areas, for example Tehsil Batala was a 55 percent Muslim majority area, the city of Batala had a nice industrial base, mainly dominated by the Muslim industrialists. Similarly, Tehsil Ajnala and the Amritsar district had sixty percent Muslim majority, all these areas were given to India.

Results of the Injustices done in the Partition

The Kashmir Issue: First sees of the Kashmir problems were sown by the Radcliffe Award. Inclusion of Gurdaspur gave India an access to Kashmir, the only land routes that connected India with Kashmir passed through Pathan Kot, a Tehsil of district Gurdaspur. If Gurdaspur were not made part of India there would be no land access for India to reach Kashmir.

The Fate of Calcutta: Calcutta was the largest industrial city in India. Population of cthe city contained 25 percent Muslims and 60 percent outcast Hindus *(Achhoots). Achhoots* wanted their city to be included in Pakistan; Radcliffe gave the city to India against the will of the citizens of Calcutta.

Problems Created by the Migration: Decision of partitioning the Punjab was sudden and unexpected. Large numbers of the Muslims had to be evacuated from the East Punjab for which no arrangements had been made. On their way to Pakistan hundreds of thousands of refugees were attacked, maltreated and assassinated by the Sikh militants. This blood-

drenched migration brought untold misery and sorrow and created innumerable economic and cultural problems.

Problems of the New Born State of Pakistan

Administrative Problems: Pakistan had to face many administrative problems in her early days. Most of the government functionaries and senior officers seving in the army were Hindus, who migrated to India after the partition was announced, they had to be replaced with raw hand and inexperienced functionaries.

British officers were employed due to non-availability of the Muslim army officers. Most of the officers including the army chiefs were Englishmen, and same was the case with high executive officers and senior bureaucracy like the Governors, Chief Secretaries and Secretaries. Enormous problems were created by the non-Pakistani officers, for example the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) ORDERED THE Commander-in-Chief to deploy Pakistan army in Kashmir but he declined to obey the orders.

The city of Karachi was designated as the capital of the newly born state of Pakistan; the city lacked even the most essential facilities required for the running of a government. Offices were set up in military barracks and tents. The Indian government withheld Pakistan's share of stationery items and office equipment, even paper was not available for office use. The Hindu functionaries spoiled the office record before leaving Pakistan. Extremists spoiled the office record when it was being transferred to Pakistan from India. India refused to rent out its aero planes for airlifting the officials who had opted for Pakistan, British planes had to be hired for airlifting the record and the personnel.

Rehabilitation of Refugees: According to reliable estimates 5.5 million people migrated form Pakistan to India and 6.5 million from India to Pakistan, as a result of the big 1947 exodus. In this way the already feeble economy of Pakistan was made to bear the burden of one million more people.

Rehabiliton of refugees and provision of basic needs for them was an enormous problem. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) established a "Refugee Relief Fund". In this way the problem was soon overcome through the personal efforts of the father of the nation and due to the sense of sacrifice exhibited by the people of Pakistan.

Division of Assets: At the time of Partition the total currency reserves of the United India were estimated at Rs. Four billion. According to the partition formula Pakistan was entitled

to receive Rs. One Billion as her share, but the Indian government agreed to pay only Rs. 75 crores (0.75 billion) out of it. After the payment of Rs. 20 crore the balance was withheld on one pretext or the other. One Gandhi's insistence another Rs. 50 crores were paid, but the balance amount of Rs. 5 crore was never paid. On the other hand, 20 percent of the total debt, which the government of United India owed, was made Pakistan's liability. Some of the functionaries spoiled the official record, and mutilated the factories and the military equipment before leaving for India; they did not spare even the hospital equipment which was to be used for the treatment of the patients.

Division of the military assets began when the process of partition started; Liaquat Ali Khan demanded that a transparent formula for the division of the armed forces and their assets should be devised. Defence Minister Sardar Baldev Singh and the Commander in Chief ignored his demand. However, in July 1947 it was decided that the armed forces will be divided into two parts. A committee under the Chairmanship of Field Marshal Auchinleck was formed to implement the scheme. The Indian government did everything to flout the Auchinleck Committee's efforts for a just division of assets. Disappointed at the Indian government's uncompromising attitude the Field Marshal decided to wind up his task four months ahead of time. Sending a report, the British government on Sept. 28, 1947 Auchinleck wrote:

> "I have no hesitation, whatever, in affirming that the present Indian Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on firm basis".

Departure of the Committee gave India a free hand to fulfil its designs. The Indian government gave Pakistan only a small part of her share in the military assets, even that was not in working condition and was badly mutilated. The aircrafts and ships sent to Pakistan were not in working condition. At the time of partition there were sixteen ordnance factories in the sub-continent, all went to Indian share. Thus, Pakistan started its new life with a small military force having absolutely meagre resources.

Canal Water Dispute: Canals irrigating the Indus Basin worked in an integrated network in the British period. At that time it was considered to be the biggest and the most efficient system of irrigation throughout the world. In 1947 this system was cut into two parts. As a result of this dissection, heads of the three rivers, (The Sutlej, Ravi and Beas) and many other head-works were given to India. Towards the end of the year 1947, the position further deteriorated, a part of Kashmir was occupied by India and the upper parts of the two more Pakistani rivers the Chenab and the Jhelum were also taken over by India, assuming full control over Pakistan's waters. In April 1948 India cut water supplies in the

canals irrigating the area in the vicinity of Lahore. As a result of this, ripe crops on thousands of acres were destroyed. In this way India exhibited her negative potentials of posing real threats to Pakistan's agrarian economy.

ACCESSION OF THE PRINCELY STATES

Background: At the time of the partition there were 580 big and small princely states in India. These states had a special constitutional status and did not form a part of the British India. Under the Partition Plan, these states were given an option to accede with either one of the two states, Pakistan or India. Most of the states had decided their future till August 15, 1947. Some of the states could not make a timely decision; important among these were Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh. We shall treat these states separately.

Kashmir issue: Immediately after the Partition Plan was announced the Congress leaders and the Rajas of the states neighboring Kashmir, especially those of the Patiala and Kapurthalah started exerting pressure on the Maharaja of Kashmir for the accession of Kashmir to India.

The Viceroy himself interfered in India's favour. The Maharaja had disarmed the Muslim population of Punch and Jammu even before the declaration of Independence was made. Control of these areas, which bordered Punjab, was taken over the Raja's army. In order to expedite the movement of the Indian Army new roads were built very quickly in the south-eastern part of Kashmir.

These events caused great unrest among the Muslim population of Kashmir. By the month of August, armed rebellion broke out in Punch and Jammu. The Hindus and the Sikhs started killing the Muslims, and within a short span of five weeks' time, five hundred thousand Muslims were driven out of this area. Since the Kashmir Liberation Movement, a group of the local freedom fighters, ran short of arms, it sent its representatives to the NWFP for procuring arms and ammunition. In this way the stories of Maharaja's atrocities were revealed to the valiant Pathans living in the tribal areas. Thousands of the tribal militants took arms and made way to Kashmir. When the news of tribal reinforcement was broke at Delhi, the British Governor General and the Indian leaders forced the Maharaja to sign a formal request for Kashmir's accession to India, which he did. In this way a larger portion of Kashmir territory was made a part of India, against the will of the majority of her population.

Although the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was ailing and fully preoccupied with the problem of refugee rehabilitation, yet he kept himself in close touch with the developments taking

place in Kashmir. He ordered the British Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan forces to deploy Pakistani troops in Kashmir, which he declined to obey. Pakistani armed forced were later moved to Kashmir when it was took late. The tribal militants reached Siri Nagar at a time when the first plane carrying Indian troops had already landed there. In January 1948 India took the issue took the United Nations and made a commitment to hold plebiscite in Kashmir both countries agreed to ceasefire on the United Nations request. This gave India's golden opportunity to strengthen her position in the valley.

Junagadh, Manawadar and Mangrol: Junagadh was a small princely state; located half way between Karachi and Bombay on Kathiawar coast, it had an overwhelmingly Hindu population but was ruled by a Muslim Nawab. Exercising his constitutional privilege, the Nawab decided his states' accession to Pakistan two other small princely states located in the same vicinity namely Manawadar and Mangrol followed suit.

As soon as the news broke, Hindu population of the state took to streets and Indian troops started moving towards Junagadh. Under these circumstances the Nawab had no choice but to flee and take refugee in Pakistan. Few days later the Indian forces entered the state and took it over. Manawadar and Mangrol met almost similar fate.

Hyderabad: Hyderabad in south India was one of the largest princely states in the British India. It had a population of 16 million according to 1941 census report. It had an area larger than the area of England and Scotland combined. Hyderabad was so wealthy and resourceful that it had all the potentials required for making a prosperous independent state. But unluckily the state had no access to sea, it was landlocked and surrounded by the Indian Territory. Majority of the Hyderabad's population was Hindu but its ruler, who held the title of Nizam, was a Muslim. The state had a long history of Muslim rule and was considered to be the most vibrant Centre of the Muslim civilization and culture. The Nizam was inclined to make Hyderabad an independent state but when his intention was made known the Governor General Lord Mountbatten and the Indian government started exerting pressure on him for the accession of the state of India. The Muslims of Hyderabad offered strong resistance to Indian efforts for the accession of the state, but they were rendered helpless when the Indian forces entered the state on September 12, 1948, only one day after the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) death. The Nizam ordered his troop and the volunteers of the *"Itihaad-ul-Muslimeen"* to surrender. In this way Hyderabad, the most exquisite centre of the centuries old Muslim culture and tradition was lost to India.

Efforts for Resolving the Problems

Opponents had always predicted that Pakistan shall not be administratively and financially viable, and if at all it comes into being it will soon come down as a house of cards. Problems Pakistan had to face, immediately after partitions, were really massive and a time came when it was sensed that the predictions of anti-Pakistan pundits will come true. But due to the formidable courage and forbearance of the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), and the hard work he put for nation-building combined with the determination of the Pakistani people, and of course with the blessing of Allah Almighty, the heavy odds were overcome within a surprisingly short period of time. In the following lines we shall try to review the efforts made for the solution of problems facing Pakistan in the early days of her independence:

Constitution Making: Constitution is the fundamental law of a state. No state can be run without a constitution even for a single day. The first session of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly was called by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) on August 11, 1947, three days before the creation of Pakistan. The Assembly consisted of the legislative members who were elected in the 1945-46 elections from the areas that later became part of Pakistan, or those who had migrated from India to Pakistan. Addressing the Assembly, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) gave a policy statement regarding the principles of policy to be followed by the state of Pakistan in the days to come. He said that the future Constitution of Pakistan will be based on the principles of Islam and it will be democratic in nature. Pakistan will not be a theocracy. The Muslim and the non-Muslim citizens shall enjoy equal civil and political right and no discrimination shall be made on the basis of religion. He directed the Assembly to complete its task of constitution making within minimum possible time. The Government of India Act 1935 was adopted, of course in an amended form, as the interim constitution, and the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was elected the first President of the Constituent Assembly.

Formation of the Government: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was made the first Governor General of Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan the first Prime Minister. Under the Quaid-e-Azam's (RA) guidance the prime Minister formed a five-member Cabinet. Members of this Cabinet were men of outstanding ability. By virtue of his impartial position as Governor General, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was not supposed to interfere in the Cabinet's affairs, yet due to his exalted position and meritorious services for the cause of Pakistan, the cabinet decided to seek guidance from him and gave him the power to even veto the cabinet decisions.

Guidance for the Public Servants: Responsibilities of the civil and military functionaries greatly increased due to circumstances the state of Pakistan was faced with in her early days after independence. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) gave them courage and impelled them to work tirelessly for the great task of nation building that lie ahead them. Addressing a meeting of the civil and military officers at Karachi in October 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) sympathized with those who had lost their nears and dears during the process of migration. Addressing the public servants on March 25, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) told them that they were no more the rulers of the people, they were their servants and they should serve them with dedication and humility.

Nation's Confidence Building: The common man was greatly demoralized and disappointed due to the sufferings that had come in the wake of migration. In addition to this the negative propaganda of the enemies of Pakistan was creating hell on earth, they were trying to assure people that Pakistan was not going to last long, it was only a few days' time before it will come down like a house of cards. To dispel the negative effects of this propaganda the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) had to approach people in the remotest parts of the country despite his failing health. He gave the people courage and hope. He assured people that Pakistan was born to live and it will last forever and the conspiracies of the enemies of Pakistan will soon die out.

Other Important Steps:

1. Karachi was made the capital of the Republic of Pakistan.
2. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) made it clear that Urdu and only Urdu can be Pakistan's national language.
3. To solve the financial problems, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) set up a "Refugee Fund" and requested people to make generous contributions to the fund. He took personal interest in the establishment of the State Bank and it was completed within a very short span of time. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) himself inaugurated the Bank on July 1, 1948.
4. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) established the "Federal Court", the highest court of justice in the country; this was the first step towards the establishment of a basic structure for the administration of justice. (Its name was later changed to the "Supreme Court of Pakistan").

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5. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) gave special attention to the rehabilitation of refugees. Due to the sacrifices made by the people the enormous task of rehabilitating millions of refugees was successfully accomplished within a very short period of time.

Rehabilitation and certain other important issues shall be studied in a bit detail separately.

National Solidarity and Stability

The enemies of Pakistan tried to spur regional, linguistic and provincial differences among the people of Pakistan. To dispel the frustration created by the anti-Pakistan propaganda the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) visited all the four provinces and some of the remotest parts thereof and impelled the people to stand united and not to fall prey to the propaganda made by the enemies. In one of his speeches he made it clear in unequivocal terms that Islam is the only binding fore which can keep our people united. He told the people that whosoever they were and wherever they lived, they are all Muslims and belonged to one Pakistani nation. They should be thankful to Allah for the vast homeland. He had endowed them with. The Punjabis, Bengalis, Pathans, Balochis and Sindhis, all belonged to Pakistan and Pakistan belonged to them all. In a speech on Aug. 9, 1947 he declared:

> "Let us trust each other . . . . . let us work in double shift if necessary to make our country really happy, really united and really powerful." (August 9, 1947)

Addressing the students of the Decca University, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) said:

> "I assure you, divided you fall, united you stand."
> (March, 24, 1948)

Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) Vision of Pakistan

Rehabilitation of Refugees: We have studied earlier that about 6.5 million people migrated from India to Pakistan during the process of partition, hence the rehabilitation of refugees emerged as the biggest and the most urgent problem the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) had to deal with. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) himself looked after the process of rehabilitation; he established a 'Refugee Fund' and made an appeal to the people to contribute generously to this fund.

He said:

> ". . . . . save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that that they are Muslims." (October 30, 1947)

The local population exhibited great zeal and enthusiasm in helping their brethren who were uprooted from their homes and hearths only because they were Muslims, these people were provided homes and jobs in a few years' time, and this was made possible mainly due to the personal efforts of the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ).

Guidance for the Public Servants: Responsibilities of the public servants, civil and military, were greatly increased in the post-independence period. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) gave them courage and impelled them to work tirelessly for the cause of nation building. Addressing civil and military officers in Karachi in October 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) expressed great sympathy with those who had lost them nears and dears during the process of migration. Addressing the public servant, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said:

"You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard for honor, integrity justice and fair play." (March 25, 1948)

Fighting Regionalism and Parochialism: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) knew that there were many people inside the country and out, who were at loss in realizing that Pakistan was a reality and that it were destined to live forever. These elements were ready to go to any extent to undo Pakistan. They believed that Pakistan could be disintegrated by giving rise to the sentiments of parochialism and regionalism among the people. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) warned the nation to anticipate the danger and stand as one man to defend against it. He said:

> "We are now all Pakistanis . . . . . not Balochi's Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis and Punjabis and so on . . . . . And as Pakistanis we must feel, behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else". (June 15, 1948)

Addressing the inaugural session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said that there was a time when religion was used for dividing the people and creating rift among them. He said 'we are lucky that we are not starting in that age, everybody is free to follow the religion of his choice; all citizens of Pakistan shall have equal civil rights irrespective of their religion and creed.

Fundamental Principles of Economy; the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) Vision:

Inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948 the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) criticized the 'western' economic system very bitterly, he said that this system did not suit the genius of our people, we shall have to devise a system of oru own and it should be based on Islamic principles, he said:

> "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 . . . . . 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." (July 1, 1948)

He had already made it clear in his first address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan saying;

> "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 wellbeing of the people, and especially the masses and the poor."
>
> (Aug. 11, 1947)

Guiding Principles of the Foreign Policy:

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed that Pakistan should adopt the principle of non-alignment while establishing relations with countries of the world; he observed that foreign policy of Pakistan was based on the principle of friendship with all nations. He added that Pakistan did not have aggressive designs against any country and would like that all international issues are resolved with a spirit of justice and fair play.

He believed that Pakistan has a role to play as an active member of the comity of nations. It was due to Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) efforts that Pakistan was admitted to the membership of the United Nations only one month after independence (in September 1947). Pakistan established ties with numerous countries of the world including the Commonwealth nations. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) attached special importance to Pakistan's relations with the Muslim countries of the world. He was of the opinion that the Muslim countries should join hands to solve their internal problems and make a common cause on all issues of international importance. Sending an *Eid-ul-Fitr* message to the international Muslim community he said:

> " . . . . . we are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world".
>
> (Aug. 27, 1948)

On October 31, 1947 the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) received a delegation of the student and gave them some excellent pieces of advice, he said that Pakistan was proud of her youth and especially her students, who always remained in the frontline during the hour of strife. He added that the youth were Pakistan's future. Addressing the students at Dacca, he observed;

> "My young friends! I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan, do not be exploited and do not be misled. Create among yourself an example of what youth can be, in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the state, to devote your attention to your studies". (March 21, 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) Strategy for the Solution of Problems

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was not only the greatest leader of the Muslims of south Asia; he also enjoys a position of great honour amongst the leaders of the world. He led his nation to freedom and was able to achieve an independent homeland for the Muslims of India. He made his way through heavy odds and adversities. He was a man of unflinching courage and unwavering determination. There are very few people in the modern history of nations who could equal his merits.

Qualities of Leadership: Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) approach was pragmatic; he would always devise his policy in the light of objective realities. He started his political career as a member of the Indian National Congress, which at that time was held as the only forum suitable for freedom loving Indian intellectuals. He did not join the Muslim League at the time of its inception in the year 1906, for the sole reason that at that time it was not a popular political party; it was dominated by the Muslim feudal and not the common Muslims. In 1913 he joined the Muslim League, with the conviction that he was now in a position to bring about changes in Muslim League's feudal character. He was right, and within a short period of time he was successful in making the Muslim League a popular Muslim political party.

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was a great protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity, he always tried to bring the Congress to accept the minimum Muslim demands, only in this way, he believed, Indian unity could be preserved, but when all his efforts were flouted by the extremist Hindus in the Congress ranks, he demanded for a separate Muslim homeland in the last resort. Although the Muslims had reposed full confidence in the Muslim Leagues demand for Pakistan in 1945-46 elections, yet the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was ready to make concessions in favour of a formula through which good neighbourly relations between the Hindus and the Muslims could be maintained. It was as late as May 1946 that he brought the Muslim League to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Plan envisaged a federal set up for India and did not provide for India's partition.

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), a jurist by profession, attached great importance to peaceful and constitutional means for the achievement of national objectives. The fact that he could not be jailed even for a single day by the British Government during his fifty-year long career is enough to prove that he did never break law and never did provoke his followers to terrorism and disruptive activities. He kept himself aloof from the emotional movements like the Khilafat and the Hijrat.

Movements. He was not tempted by the idea of earning easy and prompt popularity which these movements offered. Through his unbeatable foresight he was able to anticipate that movements based on emotionality are bound to end up in terrorism and disruption without achieving anything material.

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was a staunch Muslim, he had a deep religious insight, but he never exploited religion for political gains. He wanted to make Pakistan an enlightened Muslim state but the idea of a theocratic state he categorically ruled out.

He had excellent qualities of head and heart, no one in the ranks of Indian politicians matched his superb intelligence. He was well read, his observation was keen, and he was an eloquent speaker. He was clear and pragmatic. He would prevail over his opponents with the force of his irresistible wisdom and reasoning. Even his worst enemies could not question his honesty and integrity.

The Muslim of the Sub-Continent had unflinching faith in his leadership. In the difficulties that ensued partition, his statesmanship gave people courage to stand upright and face heavy odds with forbearance. In the following lines we shall pick up two outstanding merits of the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) personality, and study them under separate heads.

Negotiating Skills: Like a true democrat the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed in solving disputes through negotiation, he seldom turned down an offer to negotiate. In the year 1930-31 he travelled to London on British Government's invitation to attend the Round Table Conference. The Nehru Report exhibited the extremist Hindu mind but the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) did not lose heart even at this, he yielded several concessions in the hop of hitting at a compromise formula. In the year 1944, he accepted Gandhi's offer and a long series of talks was held at the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) residence in Bombay. He tried to solve the Kashmir problem through the good offices of the Commonwealth and the UNO; he did not even turn down Indian government's offer to negotiate the issue bilaterally.

In May 1948 the federal government designated the city of Karachi as the federal capital, a strong group in the Sind Muslim League resented this decision and formed an Action Committee for getting the decision reversed. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) summoned the aggrieved members to Ziarat, discussed the matter with them and was successful in changing their mind.

Hard Work, Unity, Faith Discipline: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) put the golden principles he cherished most, in four brief words. Addressing the historic public meeting at Lahore, he said:

> "It is now up to you to work, work and work and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our Motto-Unity, Discipline and Faith". (Oct. 30, 1947)

****

EXERCISE

Q. 1. Fill in the blanks to make an appropriate statement.

1. Radcliffe Award was announced on ..... 1947.
2. Calcutta had a ..... % population of untouchables.
3. Madhupur Headwork's at the Ravi and ..... Headworks at the Sutlej were given to India.
4. In the month of ..... Pakistan was admitted to the membership of the United Nations. (also mention year)

Q. 2. Fill in the blanks by putting one of the three alternatives given in the bracket against each question.

1. ..... Was made the head of the Boundary Commission. (Radcliffe, Mountbatten, Radcliffe Award)
2. There were ..... Ordinance factories in the united India. (24, 18, 16)
3. There were totally ..... Princely states in the Untied India. (16, 680, 580)
4. The state of Hyderabad had a population of ..... According to 1941 census. (one crore, one crore 60 lac, sixty lacs)
5. The city of ..... Was made Pakisan's capital after partition. (Karachi, Rawalpindi, Islamabad)
6. On ..... The Quaid-e-Azam (RA) inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan. (14th August 1947, 1st September 1947, 1st July 1948)

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7. In September 1944 Jinnah-Gandhi talks were held at the residence of . . . . . .
(the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), Gandhi, Nehru)

8. In . . . . . 1948 India cut water supply in the canals that irrigated Pakistani land. (March, April, May)

9. . . . . Was the title of the Muslim head of the princely state Hyderabad.
(Nizam, Nawab, Ameer)

10. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) established . . . . . Fund for the rehabilitation of refugees. (Refugee, Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), Red Cross)

Q. 3. Indicate whether the statement is TRUE or FALSE; put a circle around the correct answer.

1. Hindu untouchables of Calcutta wanted their city to be a part of Pakistan. (True/False)
2. The Kashmir issue was taken up with the United Nations in January 1948. (True/False)
3. Junagadh was a Muslim majority state. (True/False)
4. Hyderabad was a Muslim majority state. (True/False)
5. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said that English and only English can be the national language of Pakistan. (True/False)
6. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) joined the Muslim League in 1906. (True/False)
7. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) played an important role in Tehrik-e-Khilafat. (True/False)
8. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) wanted to make Pakistan a theocratic state. (True/False)

Q. 4. Put right parts together.

A	B
Radcliffe	Field Marshall Auchinleck
Gurdaspur	Award
Auchinleck	Kashmir

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Q. 5. Answer each question in two to four lines.

1. How did the Injustice done in carrying out partition caused to create Kashmir issue.
2. Write a note on the issue of settlement of refugees.
3. Quote one statement of the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) regarding national integrity.
4. Enlist Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) important steps for the rehabilitation of refugees.
5. What attitude, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) thought, public servants should adopt.
6. What piece of advice the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) gave to the students?
7. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) rendered his message in four words, quote.
8. State briefly the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) ideas regarding economy.
9. What confidence building measures did the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) take immediately after Partition?
10. What did anchinleck mention his report?

Q. 6. Answer these questions extensively.

1. Give an account of the injustices done by Radcliffe on the issue of demarcation of boundaries. How did Pakistan suffer due to these injustices?
2. Give an account of the early problems faced by Pakistan immediately after partition.
3. Write a note on Kashmir issue.
4. What important steps were taken immediately after Partition to resolve the early problems of Pakistan?

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Sept. 1948	The United Nations
30th Sept. 1947	Hyderabad

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2

INITIAL PROBLEMS OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

Problems

Background

Under the Third June Plan (1947) provincial assemblies were given an option to join either of the two states (Pakistan or India). Overwhelming majority of the members in the Punjab and Bengal assemblies decided to join Pakistan. Since members of the non-Muslim majority districts in these provinces voted for partition of their respective provinces, separate commissions were set for the demarcation of boundaries in the two provinces in 30th, June 1947, with Cyril Radcliffe a British lawyer, as the joint chairman of the both commissions.

Partition was conducted in a way which manifested naked bias and injustice towards the Muslims. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) had proposed that the task of demarcation should by entrusted either to an impartial commission appointed by the United Nations or to the members of the British 'Privy Council' (the highest British court.) The proposal was turned down by the British government. Viceroy Lord Mountbatten had very close friendly relations with the Congress leadership and was a great sympathizer of the Congress point of view. The person he selected for demarcation of boundaries had little knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the sub-continent; he had never set foot on the Indian soil before this time. Mountbatten had done this intentionally, in Cyril Radcliffe he found the most suitable person he could easily influence.

The Muslim League did not favour the partition of the provinces, but if at all it was inevitable it would have been carried out in the light of the principles stipulated by Mountbatten himself at the time he had announced the Third June Plan, he had said that Gurdaspur, and Firozpur, and Tehsils of Zira and Fazilka will form part of Pakistan.

Radcliffe Award and Its Injustices

Radcliffe announced his Award, on the demarcation of boundaries, on August 17, 1947; following provisions of the Award were unjust from Pakistan's point of view;

Flouting the pronounced partition principles in the Punjab; Gurdaspure and Ferozpur districts and Zira and Fazilka Tehsils were given to India. In the eastern part, the city of Clacutta, district of Murshidabad and the Nadia areas were annexed with India without any justification. On all these areas Pakistan had a claim as its natural parts under the partition norms.

Radcliffe had finalized his task up till August 8, 1947. A member of the Boundary Commission Justice Muhammad Munir, later disclosed that in his original plan, Radcliffe had agreed to include Ferozpur, Zera, a prat of Tehsil Fazilka and the Ferozpur Headwork's in Pakistan, but surprisingly when the Award was announced on 17th of August, all these areas went to the Indian share. Observers believe that this was done on Mountbatten's insistence.

Apart from these areas 'The Pakistan Times' indicated injustices done in certain areas, for example Tehsil Batala was a 55 percent Muslim majority area, the city of Batala had a nice industrial base, mainly dominated by the Muslim industrialists. Similarly, Tehsil Ajnala and the Amritsar district had sixty percent Muslim majority, all these areas were given to India.

Results of the Injustices done in the Partition

The Kashmir Issue: First sees of the Kashmir problems were sown by the Radcliffe Award. Inclusion of Gurdaspur gave India an access to Kashmir, the only land routes that connected India with Kashmir passed through Pathan Kot, a Tehsil of district Gurdaspur. If Gurdaspur were not made part of India there would be no land access for India to reach Kashmir.

The Fate of Calcutta: Calcutta was the largest industrial city in India. Population of cthe city contained 25 percent Muslims and 60 percent outcast Hindus *(Achhoots). Achhoots* wanted their city to be included in Pakistan; Radcliffe gave the city to India against the will of the citizens of Calcutta.

Problems Created by the Migration: Decision of partitioning the Punjab was sudden and unexpected. Large numbers of the Muslims had to be evacuated from the East Punjab for which no arrangements had been made. On their way to Pakistan hundreds of thousands of refugees were attacked, maltreated and assassinated by the Sikh militants. This blood-

drenched migration brought untold misery and sorrow and created innumerable economic and cultural problems.

Problems of the New Born State of Pakistan

Administrative Problems: Pakistan had to face many administrative problems in her early days. Most of the government functionaries and senior officers seving in the army were Hindus, who migrated to India after the partition was announced, they had to be replaced with raw hand and inexperienced functionaries.

British officers were employed due to non-availability of the Muslim army officers. Most of the officers including the army chiefs were Englishmen, and same was the case with high executive officers and senior bureaucracy like the Governors, Chief Secretaries and Secretaries. Enormous problems were created by the non-Pakistani officers, for example the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) ORDERED THE Commander-in-Chief to deploy Pakistan army in Kashmir but he declined to obey the orders.

The city of Karachi was designated as the capital of the newly born state of Pakistan; the city lacked even the most essential facilities required for the running of a government. Offices were set up in military barracks and tents. The Indian government withheld Pakistan's share of stationery items and office equipment, even paper was not available for office use. The Hindu functionaries spoiled the office record before leaving Pakistan. Extremists spoiled the office record when it was being transferred to Pakistan from India. India refused to rent out its aero planes for airlifting the officials who had opted for Pakistan, British planes had to be hired for airlifting the record and the personnel.

Rehabilitation of Refugees: According to reliable estimates 5.5 million people migrated form Pakistan to India and 6.5 million from India to Pakistan, as a result of the big 1947 exodus. In this way the already feeble economy of Pakistan was made to bear the burden of one million more people.

Rehabiliton of refugees and provision of basic needs for them was an enormous problem. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) established a "Refugee Relief Fund". In this way the problem was soon overcome through the personal efforts of the father of the nation and due to the sense of sacrifice exhibited by the people of Pakistan.

Division of Assets: At the time of Partition the total currency reserves of the United India were estimated at Rs. Four billion. According to the partition formula Pakistan was entitled

to receive Rs. One Billion as her share, but the Indian government agreed to pay only Rs. 75 crores (0.75 billion) out of it. After the payment of Rs. 20 crore the balance was withheld on one pretext or the other. One Gandhi's insistence another Rs. 50 crores were paid, but the balance amount of Rs. 5 crore was never paid. On the other hand, 20 percent of the total debt, which the government of United India owed, was made Pakistan's liability. Some of the functionaries spoiled the official record, and mutilated the factories and the military equipment before leaving for India; they did not spare even the hospital equipment which was to be used for the treatment of the patients.

Division of the military assets began when the process of partition started; Liaquat Ali Khan demanded that a transparent formula for the division of the armed forces and their assets should be devised. Defence Minister Sardar Baldev Singh and the Commander in Chief ignored his demand. However, in July 1947 it was decided that the armed forces will be divided into two parts. A committee under the Chairmanship of Field Marshal Auchinleck was formed to implement the scheme. The Indian government did everything to flout the Auchinleck Committee's efforts for a just division of assets. Disappointed at the Indian government's uncompromising attitude the Field Marshal decided to wind up his task four months ahead of time. Sending a report, the British government on Sept. 28, 1947 Auchinleck wrote:

> "I have no hesitation, whatever, in affirming that the present Indian Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on firm basis".

Departure of the Committee gave India a free hand to fulfil its designs. The Indian government gave Pakistan only a small part of her share in the military assets, even that was not in working condition and was badly mutilated. The aircrafts and ships sent to Pakistan were not in working condition. At the time of partition there were sixteen ordnance factories in the sub-continent, all went to Indian share. Thus, Pakistan started its new life with a small military force having absolutely meagre resources.

Canal Water Dispute: Canals irrigating the Indus Basin worked in an integrated network in the British period. At that time it was considered to be the biggest and the most efficient system of irrigation throughout the world. In 1947 this system was cut into two parts. As a result of this dissection, heads of the three rivers, (The Sutlej, Ravi and Beas) and many other head-works were given to India. Towards the end of the year 1947, the position further deteriorated, a part of Kashmir was occupied by India and the upper parts of the two more Pakistani rivers the Chenab and the Jhelum were also taken over by India, assuming full control over Pakistan's waters. In April 1948 India cut water supplies in the

canals irrigating the area in the vicinity of Lahore. As a result of this, ripe crops on thousands of acres were destroyed. In this way India exhibited her negative potentials of posing real threats to Pakistan's agrarian economy.

ACCESSION OF THE PRINCELY STATES

Background: At the time of the partition there were 580 big and small princely states in India. These states had a special constitutional status and did not form a part of the British India. Under the Partition Plan, these states were given an option to accede with either one of the two states, Pakistan or India. Most of the states had decided their future till August 15, 1947. Some of the states could not make a timely decision; important among these were Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh. We shall treat these states separately.

Kashmir issue: Immediately after the Partition Plan was announced the Congress leaders and the Rajas of the states neighboring Kashmir, especially those of the Patiala and Kapurthalah started exerting pressure on the Maharaja of Kashmir for the accession of Kashmir to India.

The Viceroy himself interfered in India's favour. The Maharaja had disarmed the Muslim population of Punch and Jammu even before the declaration of Independence was made. Control of these areas, which bordered Punjab, was taken over the Raja's army. In order to expedite the movement of the Indian Army new roads were built very quickly in the south-eastern part of Kashmir.

These events caused great unrest among the Muslim population of Kashmir. By the month of August, armed rebellion broke out in Punch and Jammu. The Hindus and the Sikhs started killing the Muslims, and within a short span of five weeks' time, five hundred thousand Muslims were driven out of this area. Since the Kashmir Liberation Movement, a group of the local freedom fighters, ran short of arms, it sent its representatives to the NWFP for procuring arms and ammunition. In this way the stories of Maharaja's atrocities were revealed to the valiant Pathans living in the tribal areas. Thousands of the tribal militants took arms and made way to Kashmir. When the news of tribal reinforcement was broke at Delhi, the British Governor General and the Indian leaders forced the Maharaja to sign a formal request for Kashmir's accession to India, which he did. In this way a larger portion of Kashmir territory was made a part of India, against the will of the majority of her population.

Although the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was ailing and fully preoccupied with the problem of refugee rehabilitation, yet he kept himself in close touch with the developments taking

place in Kashmir. He ordered the British Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan forces to deploy Pakistani troops in Kashmir, which he declined to obey. Pakistani armed forced were later moved to Kashmir when it was took late. The tribal militants reached Siri Nagar at a time when the first plane carrying Indian troops had already landed there. In January 1948 India took the issue took the United Nations and made a commitment to hold plebiscite in Kashmir both countries agreed to ceasefire on the United Nations request. This gave India's golden opportunity to strengthen her position in the valley.

Junagadh, Manawadar and Mangrol: Junagadh was a small princely state; located half way between Karachi and Bombay on Kathiawar coast, it had an overwhelmingly Hindu population but was ruled by a Muslim Nawab. Exercising his constitutional privilege, the Nawab decided his states' accession to Pakistan two other small princely states located in the same vicinity namely Manawadar and Mangrol followed suit.

As soon as the news broke, Hindu population of the state took to streets and Indian troops started moving towards Junagadh. Under these circumstances the Nawab had no choice but to flee and take refugee in Pakistan. Few days later the Indian forces entered the state and took it over. Manawadar and Mangrol met almost similar fate.

Hyderabad: Hyderabad in south India was one of the largest princely states in the British India. It had a population of 16 million according to 1941 census report. It had an area larger than the area of England and Scotland combined. Hyderabad was so wealthy and resourceful that it had all the potentials required for making a prosperous independent state. But unluckily the state had no access to sea, it was landlocked and surrounded by the Indian Territory. Majority of the Hyderabad's population was Hindu but its ruler, who held the title of Nizam, was a Muslim. The state had a long history of Muslim rule and was considered to be the most vibrant Centre of the Muslim civilization and culture. The Nizam was inclined to make Hyderabad an independent state but when his intention was made known the Governor General Lord Mountbatten and the Indian government started exerting pressure on him for the accession of the state of India. The Muslims of Hyderabad offered strong resistance to Indian efforts for the accession of the state, but they were rendered helpless when the Indian forces entered the state on September 12, 1948, only one day after the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) death. The Nizam ordered his troop and the volunteers of the *"Itihaad-ul-Muslimeen"* to surrender. In this way Hyderabad, the most exquisite centre of the centuries old Muslim culture and tradition was lost to India.

Efforts for Resolving the Problems

Opponents had always predicted that Pakistan shall not be administratively and financially viable, and if at all it comes into being it will soon come down as a house of cards. Problems Pakistan had to face, immediately after partitions, were really massive and a time came when it was sensed that the predictions of anti-Pakistan pundits will come true. But due to the formidable courage and forbearance of the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), and the hard work he put for nation-building combined with the determination of the Pakistani people, and of course with the blessing of Allah Almighty, the heavy odds were overcome within a surprisingly short period of time. In the following lines we shall try to review the efforts made for the solution of problems facing Pakistan in the early days of her independence:

Constitution Making: Constitution is the fundamental law of a state. No state can be run without a constitution even for a single day. The first session of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly was called by the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) on August 11, 1947, three days before the creation of Pakistan. The Assembly consisted of the legislative members who were elected in the 1945-46 elections from the areas that later became part of Pakistan, or those who had migrated from India to Pakistan. Addressing the Assembly, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) gave a policy statement regarding the principles of policy to be followed by the state of Pakistan in the days to come. He said that the future Constitution of Pakistan will be based on the principles of Islam and it will be democratic in nature. Pakistan will not be a theocracy. The Muslim and the non-Muslim citizens shall enjoy equal civil and political right and no discrimination shall be made on the basis of religion. He directed the Assembly to complete its task of constitution making within minimum possible time. The Government of India Act 1935 was adopted, of course in an amended form, as the interim constitution, and the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was elected the first President of the Constituent Assembly.

Formation of the Government: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was made the first Governor General of Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan the first Prime Minister. Under the Quaid-e-Azam's (RA) guidance the prime Minister formed a five-member Cabinet. Members of this Cabinet were men of outstanding ability. By virtue of his impartial position as Governor General, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was not supposed to interfere in the Cabinet's affairs, yet due to his exalted position and meritorious services for the cause of Pakistan, the cabinet decided to seek guidance from him and gave him the power to even veto the cabinet decisions.

Guidance for the Public Servants: Responsibilities of the civil and military functionaries greatly increased due to circumstances the state of Pakistan was faced with in her early days after independence. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) gave them courage and impelled them to work tirelessly for the great task of nation building that lie ahead them. Addressing a meeting of the civil and military officers at Karachi in October 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) sympathized with those who had lost their nears and dears during the process of migration. Addressing the public servants on March 25, 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) told them that they were no more the rulers of the people, they were their servants and they should serve them with dedication and humility.

Nation's Confidence Building: The common man was greatly demoralized and disappointed due to the sufferings that had come in the wake of migration. In addition to this the negative propaganda of the enemies of Pakistan was creating hell on earth, they were trying to assure people that Pakistan was not going to last long, it was only a few days' time before it will come down like a house of cards. To dispel the negative effects of this propaganda the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) had to approach people in the remotest parts of the country despite his failing health. He gave the people courage and hope. He assured people that Pakistan was born to live and it will last forever and the conspiracies of the enemies of Pakistan will soon die out.

Other Important Steps:

1. Karachi was made the capital of the Republic of Pakistan.
2. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) made it clear that Urdu and only Urdu can be Pakistan's national language.
3. To solve the financial problems, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) set up a "Refugee Fund" and requested people to make generous contributions to the fund. He took personal interest in the establishment of the State Bank and it was completed within a very short span of time. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) himself inaugurated the Bank on July 1, 1948.
4. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) established the "Federal Court", the highest court of justice in the country; this was the first step towards the establishment of a basic structure for the administration of justice. (Its name was later changed to the "Supreme Court of Pakistan").

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5. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) gave special attention to the rehabilitation of refugees. Due to the sacrifices made by the people the enormous task of rehabilitating millions of refugees was successfully accomplished within a very short period of time.

Rehabilitation and certain other important issues shall be studied in a bit detail separately.

National Solidarity and Stability

The enemies of Pakistan tried to spur regional, linguistic and provincial differences among the people of Pakistan. To dispel the frustration created by the anti-Pakistan propaganda the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) visited all the four provinces and some of the remotest parts thereof and impelled the people to stand united and not to fall prey to the propaganda made by the enemies. In one of his speeches he made it clear in unequivocal terms that Islam is the only binding fore which can keep our people united. He told the people that whosoever they were and wherever they lived, they are all Muslims and belonged to one Pakistani nation. They should be thankful to Allah for the vast homeland. He had endowed them with. The Punjabis, Bengalis, Pathans, Balochis and Sindhis, all belonged to Pakistan and Pakistan belonged to them all. In a speech on Aug. 9, 1947 he declared:

> "Let us trust each other . . . . . let us work in double shift if necessary to make our country really happy, really united and really powerful." (August 9, 1947)

Addressing the students of the Decca University, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) said:

> "I assure you, divided you fall, united you stand."
> (March, 24, 1948)

Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) Vision of Pakistan

Rehabilitation of Refugees: We have studied earlier that about 6.5 million people migrated from India to Pakistan during the process of partition, hence the rehabilitation of refugees emerged as the biggest and the most urgent problem the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) had to deal with. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) himself looked after the process of rehabilitation; he established a 'Refugee Fund' and made an appeal to the people to contribute generously to this fund.

He said:

> ". . . . . save all you can and give towards the relief of these victims of bestiality and vandalism who have suffered all this for the sole reason that that they are Muslims." (October 30, 1947)

The local population exhibited great zeal and enthusiasm in helping their brethren who were uprooted from their homes and hearths only because they were Muslims, these people were provided homes and jobs in a few years' time, and this was made possible mainly due to the personal efforts of the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ).

Guidance for the Public Servants: Responsibilities of the public servants, civil and military, were greatly increased in the post-independence period. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) gave them courage and impelled them to work tirelessly for the cause of nation building. Addressing civil and military officers in Karachi in October 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) expressed great sympathy with those who had lost them nears and dears during the process of migration. Addressing the public servant, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said:

"You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard for honor, integrity justice and fair play." (March 25, 1948)

Fighting Regionalism and Parochialism: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) knew that there were many people inside the country and out, who were at loss in realizing that Pakistan was a reality and that it were destined to live forever. These elements were ready to go to any extent to undo Pakistan. They believed that Pakistan could be disintegrated by giving rise to the sentiments of parochialism and regionalism among the people. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) warned the nation to anticipate the danger and stand as one man to defend against it. He said:

> "We are now all Pakistanis . . . . . not Balochi's Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis and Punjabis and so on . . . . . And as Pakistanis we must feel, behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else". (June 15, 1948)

Addressing the inaugural session of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said that there was a time when religion was used for dividing the people and creating rift among them. He said 'we are lucky that we are not starting in that age, everybody is free to follow the religion of his choice; all citizens of Pakistan shall have equal civil rights irrespective of their religion and creed.

Fundamental Principles of Economy; the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) Vision:

Inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948 the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) criticized the 'western' economic system very bitterly, he said that this system did not suit the genius of our people, we shall have to devise a system of oru own and it should be based on Islamic principles, he said:

> "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 . . . . . 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." (July 1, 1948)

He had already made it clear in his first address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan saying;

> "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 wellbeing of the people, and especially the masses and the poor."
>
> (Aug. 11, 1947)

Guiding Principles of the Foreign Policy:

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed that Pakistan should adopt the principle of non-alignment while establishing relations with countries of the world; he observed that foreign policy of Pakistan was based on the principle of friendship with all nations. He added that Pakistan did not have aggressive designs against any country and would like that all international issues are resolved with a spirit of justice and fair play.

He believed that Pakistan has a role to play as an active member of the comity of nations. It was due to Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) efforts that Pakistan was admitted to the membership of the United Nations only one month after independence (in September 1947). Pakistan established ties with numerous countries of the world including the Commonwealth nations. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) attached special importance to Pakistan's relations with the Muslim countries of the world. He was of the opinion that the Muslim countries should join hands to solve their internal problems and make a common cause on all issues of international importance. Sending an *Eid-ul-Fitr* message to the international Muslim community he said:

> " . . . . . we are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world".
>
> (Aug. 27, 1948)

On October 31, 1947 the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) received a delegation of the student and gave them some excellent pieces of advice, he said that Pakistan was proud of her youth and especially her students, who always remained in the frontline during the hour of strife. He added that the youth were Pakistan's future. Addressing the students at Dacca, he observed;

> "My young friends! I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan, do not be exploited and do not be misled. Create among yourself an example of what youth can be, in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the state, to devote your attention to your studies". (March 21, 1947)

Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) Strategy for the Solution of Problems

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was not only the greatest leader of the Muslims of south Asia; he also enjoys a position of great honour amongst the leaders of the world. He led his nation to freedom and was able to achieve an independent homeland for the Muslims of India. He made his way through heavy odds and adversities. He was a man of unflinching courage and unwavering determination. There are very few people in the modern history of nations who could equal his merits.

Qualities of Leadership: Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) approach was pragmatic; he would always devise his policy in the light of objective realities. He started his political career as a member of the Indian National Congress, which at that time was held as the only forum suitable for freedom loving Indian intellectuals. He did not join the Muslim League at the time of its inception in the year 1906, for the sole reason that at that time it was not a popular political party; it was dominated by the Muslim feudal and not the common Muslims. In 1913 he joined the Muslim League, with the conviction that he was now in a position to bring about changes in Muslim League's feudal character. He was right, and within a short period of time he was successful in making the Muslim League a popular Muslim political party.

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was a great protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity, he always tried to bring the Congress to accept the minimum Muslim demands, only in this way, he believed, Indian unity could be preserved, but when all his efforts were flouted by the extremist Hindus in the Congress ranks, he demanded for a separate Muslim homeland in the last resort. Although the Muslims had reposed full confidence in the Muslim Leagues demand for Pakistan in 1945-46 elections, yet the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was ready to make concessions in favour of a formula through which good neighbourly relations between the Hindus and the Muslims could be maintained. It was as late as May 1946 that he brought the Muslim League to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Plan envisaged a federal set up for India and did not provide for India's partition.

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), a jurist by profession, attached great importance to peaceful and constitutional means for the achievement of national objectives. The fact that he could not be jailed even for a single day by the British Government during his fifty-year long career is enough to prove that he did never break law and never did provoke his followers to terrorism and disruptive activities. He kept himself aloof from the emotional movements like the Khilafat and the Hijrat.

Movements. He was not tempted by the idea of earning easy and prompt popularity which these movements offered. Through his unbeatable foresight he was able to anticipate that movements based on emotionality are bound to end up in terrorism and disruption without achieving anything material.

The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) was a staunch Muslim, he had a deep religious insight, but he never exploited religion for political gains. He wanted to make Pakistan an enlightened Muslim state but the idea of a theocratic state he categorically ruled out.

He had excellent qualities of head and heart, no one in the ranks of Indian politicians matched his superb intelligence. He was well read, his observation was keen, and he was an eloquent speaker. He was clear and pragmatic. He would prevail over his opponents with the force of his irresistible wisdom and reasoning. Even his worst enemies could not question his honesty and integrity.

The Muslim of the Sub-Continent had unflinching faith in his leadership. In the difficulties that ensued partition, his statesmanship gave people courage to stand upright and face heavy odds with forbearance. In the following lines we shall pick up two outstanding merits of the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) personality, and study them under separate heads.

Negotiating Skills: Like a true democrat the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) believed in solving disputes through negotiation, he seldom turned down an offer to negotiate. In the year 1930-31 he travelled to London on British Government's invitation to attend the Round Table Conference. The Nehru Report exhibited the extremist Hindu mind but the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) did not lose heart even at this, he yielded several concessions in the hop of hitting at a compromise formula. In the year 1944, he accepted Gandhi's offer and a long series of talks was held at the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) residence in Bombay. He tried to solve the Kashmir problem through the good offices of the Commonwealth and the UNO; he did not even turn down Indian government's offer to negotiate the issue bilaterally.

In May 1948 the federal government designated the city of Karachi as the federal capital, a strong group in the Sind Muslim League resented this decision and formed an Action Committee for getting the decision reversed. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) summoned the aggrieved members to Ziarat, discussed the matter with them and was successful in changing their mind.

Hard Work, Unity, Faith Discipline: The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) put the golden principles he cherished most, in four brief words. Addressing the historic public meeting at Lahore, he said:

> "It is now up to you to work, work and work and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our Motto-Unity, Discipline and Faith". (Oct. 30, 1947)

****

EXERCISE

Q. 1. Fill in the blanks to make an appropriate statement.

1. Radcliffe Award was announced on ..... 1947.
2. Calcutta had a ..... % population of untouchables.
3. Madhupur Headwork's at the Ravi and ..... Headworks at the Sutlej were given to India.
4. In the month of ..... Pakistan was admitted to the membership of the United Nations. (also mention year)

Q. 2. Fill in the blanks by putting one of the three alternatives given in the bracket against each question.

1. ..... Was made the head of the Boundary Commission. (Radcliffe, Mountbatten, Radcliffe Award)
2. There were ..... Ordinance factories in the united India. (24, 18, 16)
3. There were totally ..... Princely states in the Untied India. (16, 680, 580)
4. The state of Hyderabad had a population of ..... According to 1941 census. (one crore, one crore 60 lac, sixty lacs)
5. The city of ..... Was made Pakisan's capital after partition. (Karachi, Rawalpindi, Islamabad)
6. On ..... The Quaid-e-Azam (RA) inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan. (14th August 1947, 1st September 1947, 1st July 1948)

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7. In September 1944 Jinnah-Gandhi talks were held at the residence of . . . . . .
(the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), Gandhi, Nehru)

8. In . . . . . 1948 India cut water supply in the canals that irrigated Pakistani land. (March, April, May)

9. . . . . Was the title of the Muslim head of the princely state Hyderabad.
(Nizam, Nawab, Ameer)

10. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) established . . . . . Fund for the rehabilitation of refugees. (Refugee, Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ), Red Cross)

Q. 3. Indicate whether the statement is TRUE or FALSE; put a circle around the correct answer.

1. Hindu untouchables of Calcutta wanted their city to be a part of Pakistan. (True/False)
2. The Kashmir issue was taken up with the United Nations in January 1948. (True/False)
3. Junagadh was a Muslim majority state. (True/False)
4. Hyderabad was a Muslim majority state. (True/False)
5. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) said that English and only English can be the national language of Pakistan. (True/False)
6. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) joined the Muslim League in 1906. (True/False)
7. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) played an important role in Tehrik-e-Khilafat. (True/False)
8. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) wanted to make Pakistan a theocratic state. (True/False)

Q. 4. Put right parts together.

A	B
Radcliffe	Field Marshall Auchinleck
Gurdaspur	Award
Auchinleck	Kashmir

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Q. 5. Answer each question in two to four lines.

1. How did the Injustice done in carrying out partition caused to create Kashmir issue.
2. Write a note on the issue of settlement of refugees.
3. Quote one statement of the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) regarding national integrity.
4. Enlist Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) important steps for the rehabilitation of refugees.
5. What attitude, the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) thought, public servants should adopt.
6. What piece of advice the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) gave to the students?
7. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) rendered his message in four words, quote.
8. State briefly the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) ideas regarding economy.
9. What confidence building measures did the Quaid-e-Azam's (رحمۃاللہ علیہ) take immediately after Partition?
10. What did anchinleck mention his report?

Q. 6. Answer these questions extensively.

1. Give an account of the injustices done by Radcliffe on the issue of demarcation of boundaries. How did Pakistan suffer due to these injustices?
2. Give an account of the early problems faced by Pakistan immediately after partition.
3. Write a note on Kashmir issue.
4. What important steps were taken immediately after Partition to resolve the early problems of Pakistan?

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Sept. 1948	The United Nations
30th Sept. 1947	Hyderabad

National Book Foundation

4

STEPS TOWARDS ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN

BACKGROUND

After partition of India in the year 1947, the Government of India Act 1935 was adopted, with necessary amendments, as the interim constitution of the newly established state of Pakistan. But this was just a temporary arrangement and a permanent constitution was urgently required. The Muslim masses had reposed trust it the Muslim League mainly because the party was committed to establishing a state based on the principles of Islam. But unfortunately, a strong group of the members of the Constituent Assembly had secular tendencies and they made no secret of it. The Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) repeated it time and again that the future constitution of Pakistan shall be framed on the basis of the principles laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah.

Eminent Ulama joined hands to motivate public opinion in favour of an Islamic constitution, people rallied around them in great numbers and this campaign soon developed into a massive popular movement. It was under these circumstances that the Constituent Assembly adopted the famous "Objectives Resolution" on March 12, 1949. The Resolution was moved in the Assembly by the first Prime Minister Nawabzadah Liaquat Ali Khan.

The Objectives Resolution

SALIENT FEATURES

Sovereignty of Allah: The Resolution affirms tat the sovereign (ruling) authority belongs to Almighty Allah Alone.

Democracy: Power to rule the state has been delegated by Allah to the people of Pakistan it is a "sacred trust" and the people of Pakistan shall exercise their authority strictly in accordance with divine injunctions. Power of the state shall be exercised through the chosen representatives of the people.

Islamic Conduct of State: Islamic principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and social Justice shall be observed.

Promotion of Islamic Way of Life: Facilities will be provided to the Muslims in order to enabling them to model their lives in accordance with the teachings of the Quran and the Sunnah (i.e. the model set by Hazrat Muhammad (ﷺ *peace and blessings of Allah be upon him*).

Safeguard of Minority Rights: The non- Muslim will be guaranteed all fundamental human rights. Particularly the rights of their religious and cultural development.

Independence of Judiciary: The judiciary in accordance with the Islamic principles shall be made totally independent of the executive and the legislative organs of government.

Safeguards of Fundamental Human Rights: All fundamental rights of the citizens like freedom, equality, ownership of property, freedom of expression, faith, worship and formation of associations shall be safeguarded and no citizens shall be denied any of these rights.

SIGNIFICANANCE AND IMPACTS

The first and the foremost problem for the Constituent Assembly were of deciding the character of the state of Pakistan. The Objectives Resolution decided it nicely:

- It clearly stated that Pakistan shall be an Islamic Republic.
- Under the Objectives Resolution the state of Pakistan, for the first time, officially proclaimed Islamic social order to be its ultimate objective, and it clearly stated that Islamic injunctions shall serve as guiding principles for constitution making.
- The Objectives Resolution exhibited national consensus and it was endorsed by the Ulama form all schools of thought.
- The Resolution was made a part of the preamble in all the successive constitutions of Pakistan.
- Preambles are not, generally, justiciable parts of the constitutional documents, being recommendatory in nature these are not legally binding and cannot be invoked before the courts of law. In order to give the Objectives Resolution a legal status it was made a part of the text of the constitution under eighth amendment.

Islamic Provisions of the 1956 Constitution

Sovereignty of Allah: The Objectives Resolution was incorporated in the Preamble of the Constitution. The Preamble said that the sovereign authority of the Universe belongs to Almighty Allah. Power to rule the state is a sacred trust entrusted to the people of Pakistan by Allah Almighty.

Islamic Republic: For the first time the state was proclaimed an Islamic Republic and it was given the name of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Muslim Head of the State: Under the Constitution only a Muslim could be elected as president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Democracy, Justice, Liberty, and Equality: The Preamble said that the Quaid-e-Azam (رحمۃ اللہ علیہ) envisioned Pakistan as a democratic state based on the Islamic principles of social justice, liberty, and equality. The state of Pakistan shall enable its citizens to model their lives in accordance with the tenets of Islam.

Implementation of the Islamic Law: Article 98 of the Constitution provides that no law repugnant to the spirit of Islam shall be enacted. Existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the spirit of the Quran and the Sunnah.

Promotion of Islamic Values: Directive Principles of State Policy provided for the preservation and promotion of Islamic values. It was said that illiteracy shall be eliminated, working conditions of the laborers shall be improved, *riba* (usury), gambling, drinking and prostitution shall be eliminated. The government shall try to ensure that all the citizens are provided food, shelter, clothing and basic health facilities.

Relations with the Muslim Countries: Guiding Principles of State Policy laid great stress on the Improvement of Pakistan's relations with the Muslim countries of the world.

Islamic Provisions of the 1962 Constitution

Sovereignty of Allah: The Objectives Resolution was incorporated in the Preamble of the Constitution. The Preamble said that the sovereign authority of the Universe belongs to Almighty Allah. Power to rule the state is a sacred trust entrusted to the people of Pakistan by Allah Almighty.

Islamic Republic: The state was named the Republic of Pakistan in the original text of the Constitution, but it was later amended as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This was done on strong public protest.

Muslim Head of the State: Only a Muslim could be the President of the Republic. Since this was a presidential constitution, office of the prime minister did not exist under this constitution.

Supremacy of the Islamic Law: Existing laws shall be amended in the light of Islamic Principles, and it will be ensured that all laws passed in future conform to the tenets of Islamic Shariah.

Establishment of Islamic Society: The state shall try to provide the Muslims of Pakistan environment congenial for Islamic way of life. The Muslims of Pakistan shall be enabled to

model their lives in accordance with the tenets Islam. The society shall be purged of the vices like usury, prostitution, gambling and drinking.

Safeguard of Islamic Institutions: The Constitution promised that the Islamic institutions like zakat, auqaf and masaajid shall be organized by the state and that the real Islamic spirit and character of these institutions shall be preserved and promoted.

Building of a Progressive Welfare Society: The Constitution made a vow to make Pakistan a progressive welfare state.

Safeguard of Minorities: The Constitution provided that the minorities shall be provided religious liberty according to the Islamic scholars spirit of tolerance.

Establishment of Islamic Society: New Problems arise as new realities emerge with the change of times. In order to find out the solution of these probems in the light of Islam a body of Islamic Scholar namely " Islamic Research Institute" was created.

The Islamic Advisory Council: In order to assist the president and the legislative assemblies in the process of making new laws in accordance with the Islamic tenets and for the Islamization of the existing laws, the Constitution provided for the establishment of the Islamic Advisory Council. The Council was to be constituted of eminent jurists, religious scholars and academics.

Islamic Provisions of the 1973 Constitution

Sovereignty of Allah Almighty: The Preamble of the Constitution was framed on the basis of the Objectives Resolution. The Preamble opens with *"Bismillah-hir-Rahman-nir-Raheem"* and continues with these words:

> "Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him, is a sacred trust…"

The Objectives Resolution did not form a justiciable part of the text of the Constitution. It pronounced just the moral responsibilities of the state of Pakistan and not its legal obligations. Under the 8th amendment the Resolution was made a justiciable part of the text of the Constitution, the amendment has, so for, failed to produce anything substantial because of a serious lacuna it had. It was not made clear that if the state fails to fulfill the obligation set out in the Objectives Resolution, what legal remedies shall be available to the people of Pakistan for seeking redress.

The Islamic Republic: The State was proclaimed an Islamic Republic.

State Religion: For the first time in the constitutional history of Pakistan, Islam was clearly proclaimed to be the religion of the state. Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 were silent on this point.

Muslim Heads of the State and Government: Only a Muslim could be elected to the offices of the President and the Prime Minister. Under the 1956 Constitution this condition applied to the President only and not to the Prime Minister. In the 1962 presidential constitution office of the prime minister did not exist:

Definition of the Muslim: This was for the first time in Pakistan that a constitution defined "Muslim" in unambiguous terms. This definition was incorporated as a part of the oath of office to be administered to the President and the Prime Minister under third schedule of the Constitution. Under this definition a person who did not believe in the finality of of Nabi Hazrat Muhammad ﷺ ceases to be a Muslim. This point was further clarified by the constitutional amendment declaring *Lahori* and *Qadiani* Sects of *Mirzais* as non-Muslim minorities.

Establishment of an Islamic Society: The Preamble of the Constitution says that the people of Pakistan aspire to establish a system based on the Islamic principles of democracy, tolerance, freedom, equality and social justice. The Principles of Policy enunciate that steps will be taken to enable the people of Pakistan to order their lives in accordance with the Islamic injunctions. Article 227 of the Constitution further adds that all present laws shall be brought in conformity with the tenets of Islam through amendments, and now law, repugnant to the spirit of Islam, shall be passed in future.

The Principles of Policy further envisage that the state shall try to make the learning of the Holy Quran and Islamic education compulsory, encourage the learning of Arabic, and ensure error-free printing of the Holy Quran.

Preservation of Islamic Institution and values: Under the Principles of Policy the state has been held responsible for the proper organization of zakat, auqaf and masaajid, provision of the necessities of life to the destitute and the needy, improvement of the working conditions of the laborers, and the elimination of vices like ignorance usury, prostitution and gambling.

Affirmation of the Pakistan Ideology: The Prime Minister by virtue of his oath (under schedule III), is duty bound to preserve the Islamic ideology, which, according to the Constitution, forms the basis of the creation of Pakistan.

The Council of Islamic Ideology: The Constitution provides for the establishment of a Council of Islamic Ideology. The Council shall be constituted of the experts of Islamic

Shari'ah and jurisprudence. In order to bring all laws, present and prospective, in conformity with Islam, the Council shall provide guidelines and make recommendations to the legislative assemblies, the President and the Prime Minister.

Solidarity with the Muslim World: Principles of Policy envisage that the state shall establish friendly relations with the Muslim countries of the world on the basis of Islamic fraternity.

Steps towards Islamization (1949-1977)

Nizam-e-Islam Movement: During the days of independence movement the Muslim League had pledged the establishment of an Islamic state. When the constituent assembly was established after Partition and it started working, the people demanded that it should make a clear commitment regarding the Islamic character of the future constitution of Pakistan. Soon this demand turned into a massive movement, known as Tehrik-e-Nizam-e-Islam.

The Objectives Resolution: On public demand the Constituent Assembly adopted the Objectives Resolution in March 1949. The Resolution envisaged that sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty alone and that the state of Pakistan was committed to establishing a system based on the Islamic principles of democracy, equality and social justice.

Twenty Two Points of the Ulama: Ulama from all schools of thought joined hands to formulate twenty two agreed principles which could serve as the foundation of an Islamic system of government for Pakistan.

Islam and Constitution Making: The Objectives Resolution formed a part of the preamble in all the three constitutions of Pakistan i.e. 1956, 1962, 1973. Under the eight amendment adopted in the year 1985 the Objectives Resolution was for the first time made a justiciable part of the text of the Constitution. Pakistan was declared to be an Islamic Republic in all the Constitutions of Pakistan. Only a Muslim could be the head of the state. Institutions like the Islamic Advisory Council were established for the interpretation of Islamic injunctions to suit the changing circumstances.

Tehrik-e-Nizam-e-Mustafa ﷺ: Public sentiments expressed during the Nizam-e-Mustafa ﷺ movement in the year 1977 made it obvious that the people were extremely dissatisfied with the process of Islamization being carried out by the government then in power. As a result of this movement, the government was overthrown and the government that followed took up the issue of Islamization with new vigor and zeal and took some concrete steps towards the Islamization of the political system and society.

Steps towards Islamization (Since 1977)

JUDICIARY AND LEGAL SYSTEMT

The gradual process of Islamization of the judicial system and law started on 12 Rabi-ul-Awwal 1399 AH (Feb. 10, 1979) followings important steps were taken:

1. Islamic penalties were imposed on the crimes like drinking, stealing, adultery and false allegation of adultery.
2. A Federal Shari 'at Court was established at Federal level, its status was equal to that of the High courts. Ulama and the experts of Islamic jurisprudence were appointed as judge at this Court.
3. Un-Islamic practices in the court procedures were abolished.
4. Feeling that the successful implementation of the Islamic law cannot be made possible without the help of experts trained especially for this purpose, a Shari'ah Faculty and an Islamic University was established in Islamabad. Qazi classes were started in the institutions of religious learning.
5. The Objectives Resolution was made a justiciable part of the Constitution.

FINANCIAL MATTERS

1. Nizam-e-Zakat was introduced in the country on June 20, 1980, First contribution worth Rs. 2.25 billion was made by the government itself.
2. From January 1st 1981, banks and other financial institutions started a programme of operating interest-free economy, interest from certain categories of banking practices was eliminated as the first step.
3. Collection and distribution of *Ushr* started from the Rabi crop in 1983.

REVIVAL OF THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT

Architects of the news Islamization programme felt that an Islamic state cannot be established merely by implementing certain pieces of law and by passing certain executive order. They were aware that the concept of a real Islamic state can materialize only in a society truly Islamic in character. To give the society an Islamic colour and character following important steps were taken:

1. Congregational *Zuhr* prays were made compulsory in all government institutions.

2. Taking food and drinks at public places was strictly prohibited during the month of Ramazan.
3. Insulting or passing derogatory remarks about the pious caliphs and members of the Rasool ﷺ household (Ahl-e-Bait) was made a penal offence.
4. With a purpose to fight the vices like illegal gratification, corruption and inefficiency of the government functionaries, a new office of Ombudsman (also known as the, Wifaqi Mohtasib) was created in the federal government.
5. Radio and television started broadcasting *'Azan',* interposing their routine transmissions.

EDUCATION

1. Islamic Studies were made a compulsory subject for all examinations up to Degree level.
2. In order to enhance the prestige of the ulama in the society higher degrees of the religious institutions were recognized to be at par with BA and MA degrees.
3. Religious teachers in the Armed Forces, for the first time, were given the status of commissioned officers.
4. A Masjid Maktab Scheme was introduced for the Islamization of education system at elementary level.
5. *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence) was introduced as a compulsory subject for law graduated.

BUILDING OF THE ISLAMIC NATIONAL SPIRIT

1. Pakistan Studies were introduced as a compulsory subject.
2. Wearing of the national dress was encouraged and in some cases made compulsory in the courts and other government institutions.
3. President Zia-ul-Haq established the tradition of delivering formal addresses in the national language and encouraged people to speak Urdu.

ISLAMIZATION OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA

1. Radio and television were used for the promotion of national spirit and for the building of an Islamic image of the nation.
2. Indecent and un-Islamic programmes were banned at the media.
3. Television and radio were used for the teaching of the Holy Quran and Arabic.

4. Regular practice of live Hajj transmissions and other important religious events was started.
5. Number and duration of the religious programmes broadcast by radio and television was greatly increased.

SHARI'AH BILL: In the year 1991 the Parliament passed a Sharjah Bill. The Bill was initiated with the purpose of implementing Islam as the effective and justiciable law of the land. It was held that the Bill would be a step forward from the previous practices of making high sounding proclamation and adding certain fruitless clauses to the constitutional text.

Obstacles Interposed in the Way of Islamization

The Objectives Resolution was passed in March 1949. All the basic principles required for making Pakistan an Islamic state were incorporated in the text of this Resolution. We have already studied that all the three constitutions of Pakistan (1956, 1962, 1973) conformed to the basic principles laid down in the Objectives Resolution and provided all constitutional moorings required for keeping the ship of the state in Islamic waters. We can claim today that Pakistan has an excellent Islamic Constitution, but there are certain questions which remain yet to be answered. Has this Constitution succeeded in making Pakistan an ideal Islamic state and establishing a perfect Muslim society, are we making some real progress towards the attainment of our cherished ideals. The answer is probably in the negative. We have a long way to go, selfless efforts we need to put and every citizen has to play a role.

We must admit that the strategy of Islamization, we adopted in the past, had many shortcomings. Islamic state emerges out of an Islamic society. Only a people with real Islamic character and committed to total subservience to Allah's commandments can form a society truly Islamic in character. Character building is a democratic process and requires an enormous amount of sustained but reticent labour. Major components of this struggle are; education, purification of soul and calling people to the right path by invoking their reason and sense of judgment. This, of course, is to b done through peaceful persuasion and opinion forming. When an Islamic society is formed, the state that emerges as a natural corollary of the political process that takes place in this state is democratic and Islamic in essence. In a democratic society law is considered to be the reflection of the "general will" of the society and not vice versa. Laws do not create societies, societies create laws. An Islamic state cannot be created merely by proclaiming or implementing certain constitutional or legal instruments. True, that laws do not create states or societies,

but they can certainly play a role in helping the states and societies express their "general will" effectively.

It was as early as the third year of prophet hood that The Rasool ﷺ was offered the over lordship of Makkah by the Quraish. The Rasool ﷺ turned down the offer, probably because, at that time, he did not command the support of the majority of people in Makkah. Number of the Muslims in the city was extremely meager as compared to the non-believers, and The Rasool ﷺ knew that no state can be transformed into an Islamic state by mere implementation of law or exercise of administrative authority, and that a state legislating against the "general will" of the people is bound to fail. The Rasool ﷺ adopted the strategy of converting the people through education and *da'wa* (opinion forming and persuasion through peaceful means). Following the path of The Rasool ﷺ , in true order of things, the task of imparting Islam should come before implementing Islam, and the difficult task of creating an Islamic society should precede the establishment of an Islamic state. Trying to form an Islamic state in an un-Islamic society is like starting to build an edifice from the top. If we are really serious about or professions regarding the establishment of an Islamic state, we should take up the task of building a nation spiritually sound and morally strong. This is an enormous task which can only be accomplished through education and *da'wa* and not merely through coercion or authoritative measures.

Right and Responsibilities

RIGHTS

English word "Right' has numerous meanings but when used in a specific sense as a concept of social sciences it implies "the power to do or enjoy something which is approved or recognized by other members of the society". Philosopher H. J. Laski has defined 'Rights' as:

> "Those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general to be his best self."

The concept of rights is as old as human history itself. The Holy Quran says that before descending the Adam on the earth Allah gave him *Huda* or the guidance for the right path, this code embodied all fundamental human rights. One of the two first sons of Adam, Cain *(Qabeel)* murdered his brother Abel *(Habeel).* In this way he became the first human person to transgress the most paramount human right i.e. right to life. Rasools were sent for guiding the people to Allah's path as well as for safeguarding the rights of the weaker and the down-trodden against trespass form the powerful and the authoritative. Islam took

cognizance of the fundamental human rights at such a time when humanity had almost totally forgotten the teachings of the messengers of Allah. Hazrat Muhammad ﷺ said "render unto others what you would like others to render unto you". This implies that if a man would like to see his right of life protected against trespass from others, he should himself respect others' right to life, if one likes his honour and prestige to be upheld by others he should look that the prestige and honour of his fellow beings in maintained and protected by him. Hazrat Muhammad's ﷺ Sermon of the last Hajj *(Khutab-e-Hijjatul-Wida)* is the most comprehensive treatise on human rights. The first pious Caliph Hazrat Abu Bakr (رضی اللہ عنہ) said that the most powerful of you is the weakest unto me until I have forced him to restore the right of the weaker and the weakest of you is the most powerful unless his right has been restored. The people of England got their fundamental human rights recognized for the first time in the year 1215 under a charter granted to them by a king. It is known as the Magna Carta, incidentally this came six centuries after the Rasool ﷺ had given his charter of rights at Makkah. The people of France and the US had to wait for six more centuries before they got their fundamental rights upheld.

In our age a chapter on fundamental right is considered to be an essential part of all democratic constitutions. These rights are made justiciable, which means that the courts are endowed with powers to safeguard and administer the fundamental rights.

What Rights Imply?

Following are the basic characteristics of rights:

1. Rights are the basic conditions of civilized life.
2. State exercises its power to safeguard human rights. Rights can only be preserved with the help of the state.
3. Rights are uniform in nature. This implies that all citizens have equal rights.
4. Rights are inviolable; no citizen can be deprived of his or her fundamental rights unless it is imperative for the fulfillment of a constitutional or legal requirement.
5. Rights and duties are organic to each other; one person's right is another person's duty.
6. Rights are the values on the basic of which a society determines its norms of right and wrong, just and unjust.

DUTIES OR RESPONSIBILITIES

'Duties' is the term used very commonly in social sciences. It implies an individual's responsibilities towards other members of the society. 'Duty' has been defined as:

> "Something that one does either because it is part of one's job or because it is morally or legally right that one should do it".

In other words, a rightful claim of 'B' on 'A' is A's duty.

What happens if duties are not fulfilled?

Rights and duties are co-related and interdependent. Every right that we enjoy implies a duty that we must perform. Rights and duties are two faces of the same coin. These are organic to each other and cannot be separated. Failure to understand the inextricable link between rights and duties can bring disaster to a society. This relationship has three different aspects:

1. Rights and duties are social in character, these are reciprocal. A's rights is B's duty and B's right is A's duty. For example, A's right to life imposes upon him a duty that he should protect other's life. If A does not fulfill his duty and takes somebody's life; his own right to life is forfeited and he is sentenced to death. A social scientist has rightly remarked:

   > "It is futile to consider whether rights are prior to duties or vice versa. They are the counterparts of each other. If everyone insisted on his rights but neglected his duties towards others there would soon be no rights left for anyone."

2. Rights not only imply reciprocity, they also demand restraint because "they are not means to satisfy individual caprice and desire alone, they are intended to serve some useful purpose. An individual should exercise his rights in such a way as to secure the greatest good not merely for himself but to the whole community". For instance, my right to freedom of expression does not allow me to preach violence or sectarian hatred.
3. Rights and duties are not only reciprocal they also have a third party to observe and guarantee their proper implementation. This third party is state. State punishes those who do not perform their duties and it safeguards the right of the citizens.

The Rasool ﷺ saying that one should treat his brother (fellow beings) in a way he would like to be treated by them, is more valuable than thousands of books written on the

relationship of rights and duties. This one simple sentence can serve as a complete and perfect code of human relationship and no philosophy or social science can stand equal to it.

Human Rights

Following are the terms used commonly to explain different aspects of human rights.

- **Natural Rights:** There are certain rights which are twin born with humanity. These are called natural rights. Hazrat Omer (رضی اللہ عنہ) said: "All men are free when their mothers give birth to them; nobody has a right to enslave them".
- **Social Rights:** Social rights are those powers or claim which re upheld by the society or public opinion. Social rights are also called moral rights.
- **Legal Rights:** Moral pressures, sometimes, prove too weak and ineffective to deal with those few who have a mind to violate them. If this happens the authority of the state is invoked and the rights are enforced with the help of state authority. Rights protected by state laws are called legal rights.
- **Fundamental Rights:** Fundamental Rights form that portion of the legal rights, as are essential for the survival and development of a citizen's personality. Civilized world has now arrival at a general consensus regarding their content and nature. The UN Charter and constitutions of all democratic countries have defined and provided guarantees for the fundamental rights.
- **Civil Rights:** Fundamental rights have two further divisions i.e. (i) Civil rights. (ii) Political rights. Civil rights form that portion of fundamental rights which provide gurantees for the protection of a citizen's life, property and the development of his personality.
- **Political Rights:** Political rights enable a citizen to participate in the affairs of a state by taking part in the political process.

IMPORTANT CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Right to life.
2. Right of ownership and inheritance.
3. Right to family life.
4. Right to congregation and assembly.
5. Right to make contracts.
6. Right to freedom of opinion and expression.

7. Right of forming associations.
8. Right to education.
9. Right to faith and belief.
10. Right to free movement.
11. Right to correspondence and its secrecy.
12. Rights of equality before law.
13. Economic Rights (i.e. right to be provided with the basic necessities of life and the right against bonded labour and slavery)
14. Right of gender equality.

IMPORTANT POLITICAL RIGHTS

1. Right to vote.
2. Right to represent.
3. Right of equal access to public offices.
4. Right to criticize and recall the elected representatives.

Last Hajj Sermon of The Rasool Hazrat Muhammad ﷺ : The Most Comprehensive Charter of Human Rights

In Zil Hijjah 10th 632 AD) The Rasool ﷺ performed his first and last Hajj after Hijrah. The sermons that The Rasool ﷺ gave at different places, taken together exhibit the essence of Islamic faith. The authentic books of Hadith, *Bukhari, Abu Daood* and *Muslim*, have recorded full texts of these sermons as well as the details of the occasions and places where these sermons were delivered. These are very authentic accounts supported by the reporters. Scholars have compiled these sermons in the form of a single consistent discourse, referred to as *Khutbat-e-Hijjatul-Wida'.* This Sermon forms one the most important treatise in human history on the subject of human rights. We shall study important principles embodied in these sermons under separate heads.

Elimination of the Practices of Jahiliah: The Rasool ﷺ said:

> "All practices carried out in the period of *Jahiliah* are under my foot."

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This meant that inhuman pre-Islamic practices were no more valid. The practices condemned were; rule of man over man, autocracy, dictatorship and religious coercion. Islam put an end to all these practices of the dark ages.

Equality: The Rasool ﷺ said:

"Remember! Your Rab (Preserver) is one; your father is one. Yes! An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab *(Ajami),* and a non-Arab over an Arab, red over black, or black over red, but on the basis of Allah fearing *(Taqwa)".*

Elimination of Slavery: Slavery was a centuries old institution and was deeply ingrained in the social texture of the society. To eliminate slavery with one single executive order or an authoritative piece of legislation would result in the disintegration of the entire cultural set up. Being a system based on natural wisdom, Islam suggested a policy which would eliminate slavery through a gradual but effective process. Masters were made to deal with their slaves under such restrictions that the slaves acquired a social status almost equal to that of their masters. Naturally, the masters started setting their slaves free and the society was gradually purged of the vice of slavery. The Muslim societies were the first in the world to get rid of this curse, in countries like the United States of America the practice continued till nineteenth century. (Abraham Lincoln was able to eliminate slavery after a long drawn out war.) The Rasool ﷺ in his last sermon said:

> "Your slaves, your slaves! Give them to eat what you yourself eat, give them to wear like you yourself wear."

Rights of Life and Property: For a Muslim no place on earth can be more sacred than the holy shrine of Kabah. The Rasool ﷺ said that the blood and property of others is more sacred than the Ka'bah.

Rights of Honour and Prestige: The Rasool ﷺ said that everyone has an inviolable right that his honour and prestige be preserved at the hand of others and this sanctity in valid till the Doomsday.

Religious Moderation: The Rasool ﷺ warned his followers against the dangers of religious extremism; he said that the former nations were exterminated only because they adopted extremist practices in matters of religion and faith.

Legal Rights: The Rasool ﷺ clearly proclaimed that no person can be punished for a crime which someone else has committed, so much so that even a son cannot be punished on account of the crime committed by his father, he said:

"Yes the culprit is responsible for the crime he has committed, neither son for the crime of his father nor the father for the crime committed by his son."

Rights of the Rulers: The Rasool ﷺ said that the rulers have a right to be obeyed and followed.

Rights of Inheritance: All rights of inheritance had been set forth explicitly in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah, The Rasool ﷺ said that nobody has a right to violate the stipulated rules of inheritance and deprive anybody of his legal rights. He said:

> "Allah has given everybody his due in inheritance: nobody has a right to make a will in favour of anyone of his inheritors"

Rights of Women: Before the advent of Islam women were not treated as human individuals, they were rather, treated as articles of property. Islam gave them honour and endowed them with human status. In his last sermon The Rasool ﷺ said;

> "Fear Allah in your dealing with the women, you have rights unto them and they have rights unto you."

End of Vengeance and Hatred: The most dangerous sentiments that cause disruption in human society are the sentiments of hatred and vengeance. The Rasool ﷺ set an example of forgiveness, the like of which cannot be found in the entire human history. In his address of *Hijjahtul-Wida',* The Rasool ﷺ said:

> "All bloods shed in the days of *Jahilah* and their vengeance are void from this day. First of all I forgive the blood of my own family i.e., the blood of Rabia Bin Harith"

He added:

> "All amounts accruing as interests on the loans advanced in the days of *Jahiliah* are hereby remitted, first of all I remit the interest on (my uncle) Abbas Bin Muttalib's loans."

Reference for other rights: The Rasool ﷺ sermons of *Hijjatul-Wida',* like all his sermons, were very brief and comprehensive, obviously all the details of the matters could not be discussed in these sermons. The Rasool ﷺ advised his followers to refer to the Holy Quran and the Sunnah for elaborate guidance, he said:

"People! Listen to me attentively; I have communicated to you the message of Allah. Now I am leaving between you two things. You will not lose the right path until you will remain closely attached with these two things, i.e. the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Rasool ﷺ".

Fundamental Human Rights Adopted by the UN

The United Nations Organization was established in the year 1945, with a purpose of establishing peace in the world and creating an environment congenial to the preservation of human rights and liberties. Fundamental rights, which every person as a human being and not merely as a citizen should enjoy, have been elaborately enlisted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This declaration was adopted by the United Nations on December 10, 1948. Given blow are the salient features of this Declaration.

Equality: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and honour; they are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Discrimination to be abolished: Every one is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Rights of Self-preservation: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Prohibition of Slavery: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Prohibition of Inhuman Treatment: No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Equality before Law: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Right of Legal Defense: Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trail at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act omission which did not constitute a penal offence under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Rights to Family and Private Life: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his family, home or correspondence, nor to attack upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of law against such interference or attacks.

Right to Free Movement and Residence: Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

Right to Family Life: Men and women full of age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. The family is the natural and fundamental unit or society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

Right to Property and Ownership: Everyone has the right to own property, alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Right to Freedom of Thought Conscience and Religion: Everyone had the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Right to Peaceful Assembly: Everyone has the right to peaceful assembly and association. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Political Rights: The will of the people shall be the basis of political authority of government. This will of the people shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections. Everyone has the right of equal access to public services in the country.

Right to get Employment: Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and the protection against unemployment.

Right to Leisure and Rest: Everyone has the right to rest and leisure including reasonable limitations of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Right to Basic Necessities: Everyone has the right to the standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care, and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, in circumstances beyond his control. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance.

Right to Education: Everyone has the right education; education should be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Education shall be directed to full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

The Last Hajj Sermon
And the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights
(A COMPARATIVE STUDY)

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in an excellent and comprehensive document of human rights. Every noble and civilized human being should upheld the principles stipulated in this Declaration. Yet there are two things that need special consideration; first that the lessons that humanity learned after centuries of devastation and war, were set forth by The Rasool Hazrat Muhammad ﷺ, very clearly and precisely and in absolutely easy to understand terms nearly 1386 years before the UN Charter was adopted. Second important thing to not is that the UN Declaration of Human Rights is simply a statement of beautifully worded human aspirations and wishes; it is not supported by a moral, legal or executive authority to make its observance imperative. The UN has no power to enforce it. In contrary to this the *Hijjatul-Wida'* Sermon of The Rasool ﷺ not only sets forth the detail of the fundamental human rights, it also provides a mechanism to make their implementation possible. All Islamic states are duty bound to implement these rights and all the Muslims are individually answerable to Allah in respect to them.

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EXERCISE

Q. 1. Fill in the blanks to make an appropriate statement.

1. Only a Muslim could be the ..... of Pakistan under the 1956 Constitution.
2. Islam was declared to be the state religion under the ..... Constitution of Pakistan.
3. Republic of Pakistan was re-named as The Islamic Republic of Paksitan through an amendment under the ..... Constitution of Pakistan.
4. Under the ..... Constitution only a Muslim could be the President of Pakistan.
5. The Rasool ﷺ remitted the interest accruing on the debts run by his uncle ..... bin Muttalib.

Q. 2. Fill in the blanks by putting one of the three alternatives given in the bracket against each question.

1. Under the ..... amendment the Objectives Resolution was made a part of the text of the 1973 Constitution. (First, Second, Eight)
2. Only a Muslim could be the ..... of Pakistan under the 1962 Constitution. (President, Prime Minister, President and Prim Minister)

3. The Rasool ﷺ said "I absolved the price of the blood of my family member . . . . . (Abdul Mutalib, Rabi'a-bin-Harith (RA), Zaid-bin-Saibt (RA)
4. The Rasool ﷺ said I am leaving among yu two things . . . . . and my Sunnah. (The Holy Quran, Prayers, Faith)

Q. 3. Indicate whether the statement is TRUE or FALSE; put a circle around the correct answer.

1. The 1962 Constitution asserts that Islam is the basic of Pakistan . . . . . ideology. (True/False)
2. Arabs are superior to non-Arabs. (True/False)
3. The Rasool ﷺ was offered the seat of government authority at Makkah . . . . . in the third year of Prophet hood. (True/False)
4. An Islamic state can be established merely by proclaiming Islamic law. (True/False)
5. Nizam-e-Zakat was . . . . . implemented on June 20, 1980. (True/False)

Q. 4. Put right parts together.

A	B
The Objectives Resolution	*taqwa*
The Lahore Resolution	The Arab
The non-Arab	March 1949
Standard of Superiority	1215
The Magna Carta	March 1940

Q. 5. Answer each question in two to four lines.

1. Define Muslim according to 1973 constitution.
2. Give an account of the measures taken after 1977 for Islamization of the financial matters.
3. What steps were taken for Islamization of Judiciary and laws after 1977.
4. Compare and contrast Hijjat-ul-Wida' and the UN Declaration of Human Rights.
5. Give three important characteristic of rights.
6. Narrate three important Islamic provision of 1956, Constitutins.
7. Define rights Narate important points of objective resolution and also deseribe its importance.

Q. 6. Answer these questions extensively.

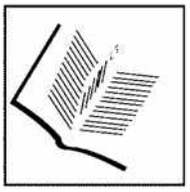
1. Write a note on the Objectives Resolution.

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2. Give a detailed account of the Islamic provisions of the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan.
3. Give an account of the Islamic provisions of 1962 Constitution of Pakistan.
4. Give an account of the Islamic provisions of 1973 Constitution of Pakistan.
5. What happens if the balance between the rights and duties is not maintained? Discuss.
6. Give an account of the obstacles in the way of Islamization and how, in your opinion these can be removed?
7. Enlist the salient features of the UN Character of Human Rights.
8. Define rights and duties? Explain their relationship to each other.
9. Khutba-e-Hijjat-ul-Wida' is the most comprehensive charter of human rights. Discuss.

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5

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF PAKISTAN AND THE CONCEPT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

Administrative structure of the Islamic Republic Pakistan is based on the 1973 Constitution. Under this Constitution, Pakistan has been declared a Republic with Islam as its state religion. The Constitution says that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan will be a federal state constituted of the areas falling in four categories;

1. Four provinces; the Punjab, Sindh, the KPK and Baluchistan.
2. Federal Capital (Islamabad) and areas adjoining it.
3. Tribal areas adjoining the KPK and Baluchistan.

There are five governments working in Pakistan; one federal and four provincial governments. All federal systems are based on the principle of division of powers among the federating units (Provinces) and the federal government (or the central government). Another essential component of a federation is a formula stipulating what subject are to be controlled by the centre and what subjects shall be under provincial control. Under the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan division of powers between the provinces and the centre has been made on the basis of two lists;

1. **Federal List:** This list contains the subjects on which only the Federal Parliament can legislate. Important matters enumerate in this list are the following:

Armed Forces, Covenants, Banking, Currency, Foreign Exchange, Nuclear Energy, Planning, Citizenship, Foreign Affairs and Communications.

2. **Concurrent List:** National Parliament and Provincial Assemblies have an equal jurisdiction regarding the subjects mentioned in this list. Following are the important matters enumerated in this list:

Health, Education, Criminal and Civil Law, Armament, Family Planning, Irrigation, Newspapers, Zakat, Tourism and Archives.

3. The Subjects not included in any of these lists are called 'residuary subjects'. Provincial Assemblies are entitled to legislate on the subject falling in this category.

Organs of the Federal Government and their Functions

Governments are comprised of three main organs, composition of these three organs under the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is based on the following lines:

THE LEGISLATIVE

Legislative means the law forming body of the state. Federal legislative of Pakistan has been named 'Parliament'. Our Parliament is bicameral. This means that our Parliament has two houses i.e. National Assembly or the lower house and Senate or the upper house. Every piece of legislation that our Parliament passes undergoes four stages before it is made a part of the statute book.

- First of all a draft of the desired law is prepared by the law experts. This draft is called Bill. Private members can also prepare or draft Bills to be presented before the Parliament.
- A draft is generally initiated before the lower house (National Assembly) first. The National Assembly undertakes a debate on the bill which is carried out in different stages. If the bill is passed by the National Assembly, in original or amended form, it is sent to the upper house (Senate) for approval. Any bill required approval of ¾ of the present members of National Assembly.
- A bill passed by the National Assembly is again debated in different stages in the Senate. After debate, the bill may be passed in original or amended for or rejected. After the approval from both houses, that bill became part of the constitution.
- A bill passed by the Parliament (National Assembly and Senate) is then submitted for the final approval of the President. After the approval of the President the bill is published as law and makes a part of the statute book. President has no real authority to reject a bill passed by the Parliament. All bills except the monetary bills can be initiated in either of the two houses (National Assembly or Senate). If a bill is initiated in the Senate it will be sent to the National Assembly after the approval of the Senate, but as a matter of practice most of the bills are first initiated in the National Assembly.

Composition of the Federal Parliament

The National Assembly: National Assembly the lower house of the Parliament consists of 342 members. The country has been divided into constituencies demarcated on the basis of nearly equal number of voters in each constituency. Each constituency returns one members to the National Assembly, elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Minority voters elect their representatives from among themselves. Members of the Provincial Assemblies in all the four provinces elect women members to fill the seats reserved for women members allocated for each province. Any citizen of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan who has attained to the age of 25 is eligible for the membership of the National Assembly.

Presiding officer of the National Assembly is called 'Speaker'; a 'Deputy Speaker' is also elected to perform duties in the absence of the Speaker, Prime Minister's is the most powerful and dignified office of the Republic. He is the head of the administrative machinery and the Chief Executive as well as the leader of the majority party in the National Assembly. President cannot overrule or reject the advice tendered by the Prime Minister. The President, however, enjoys certain discretionary powers.

The National Assembly is elected for five year, but the President can dissolve the National Assembly on Prime Minister's advice during its term. In this case mid-term elections are to be held within 90 days of the dissolution of the Assembly. The National Assembly has wide ranging powers of legislation. The National Assembly enjoys full control of the financial matters. No tax in the country can be levied without the approval of the National Assembly. Each member of the Cabinet heads an administrative division in the government. It is constitutionally binding on the Prime Minister to select at least three fourths of his ministers from the National Assembly. The Prime Minister is elected by the members of the National Assembly from among themselves. In this way the National Assembly exercises full control over the administration in the country.

The Senate: Senate is the upper house of the Parliament; this house represents the province and not the people. All the four provinces, large and small, have equal representation in the Senate. Any registered voter, at least 30 years of age, is eligible to contest for a seat of the Senate, allocated for his province of domicile. The Senate sessions are presided over by a Chairman; he is assisted by a Vice-Chairman. Both these officials are elected by the Senators form among themselves.

Senate is a permanent house and cannot be dissolved *en bloc* (as a whole), each senator is elected for a term of six years; half of the total number of Senators retire every three years.

No law in the Republic can be promulgated unless it has been passed by the Senate. Senate's powers of legislation are at par with the National Assembly excepting monetary matters regarding which the National Assembly has a dominant role Chairman of the Senate officiates as President of Pakistan in his absence.

THE EXECUTIVE

The Prime Minister: Democratic systems are classified into two major government forms on the basis of the division of powers between the organs of governments parliamentary

and presidential. Parliamentary system has been adopted in a number of countries including Pakistan, India and the UK. The United States of America is the most outstanding example of a country run under the presidential system. In the parliamentary system the legislature dominates the executive.

In Pakistan the executive is formed by the legislature. The Prime Minister (who is also the chief executive) is elected by the National Assembly (legislative). The Prime Minister is legally bound to select three fourths of the members of his cabinet from the National Assembly members. Every minister acts as the executive head of one or more of the government departments. Prime Minister is the chief executive. Office of the President, though more prestigious than the Prime Minister, is less powerful in practice. All the order passed by the President should be countersigned by the Prime Minister. The National Assembly can force the Prime Minster and his Cabinet to resign office by passing a no-confidence motion against the government.

The President: The President enjoys the protocol of being the highest office bearer of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Constitutionally his discretion is limited by the binding advice of the Prime Minister. The President is elected by the two Houses for the Parliament and the four Provincial Assemblies. The Parliament can remove the President from office through impeachment, if he is found guilty of serious misconduct or suffers from mental or physical disability. A Muslim, who qualifies for the membership of the National Assembly and has attained to the age of 45 is eligible to contest election for the office of the President.

The President can impose emergency in any province and can dissolve the Provincial Assembly as with the consultation of Prime Minister. He is authorized to appoint judges of the Supreme Court and authority of judges of all the four High Courts. In addition to that the President is also Signatory appoints the Attorney General, four provincial Governors, members for the Council for Islamic Ideology and the three Army Chief's; he also sign appoints a number of other important functionaries of the Government.

The President can, on the advice of the Prime Minster, promulgate ordinance having the force of law, if the National Assembly is not in session. An ordinance issued by the President has the force of law for a period of for months. Within or after the lapse of four months the Parliament may abrogate an ordinance or pass it as a piece of law. After approval by the Parliament an ordinance has the same force as a law passed by the Parliament through normal procedure. The President has the authority to hold referendum on an issue of national importance.

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

A Supreme Court had been established, at the federal level, under the 1973 Constitution. All persons and institutions operating within the state of Pakistan fall within the

jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is composed of one Chief Justice and a number of Judges. The Chief Justice is appointed by the President; rest of the judges are appointed by the President with the consultation of Chief Justice. Judges of the Supreme Court have full security of the service. Only Supreme Judicial Council can make recommendations about the removal of a judge on the basis of serious disability. Order of the removal is passed by the President, but his cannot remove a judge, on his own, without the recommendation of the Supreme Judicial Council.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNEMNTS: THEIR POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

We have studied in the beginning of this chapter that the government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is comprised of one federal and four provincial governments, all the provincial governments have identical governmental structures and institutions, but due to variation of the size of the provinces, numerical strength of the Assemblies and the number of judges in the provincial High Courts differs from each other. We shall discuss these provincial institutions separately.

The Legislature: The Provincial Assembly in each province performs almost the same functions as the National Assembly does at the federal level. The Provincial Assemblies can legislate on all matters mentioned in the Concurrent list. Every province has been divided into constituencies equal in number of the seats allocated to the Provincial Assembly under Constitution. From each constituency voters return one member to their respective Provincial Assembly. Elections are held on the principle of universal adult franchise. Head of the provincial executive is called Chief Minister. The Chief Minister is elected by the absolute majority of the members of the Provincial Assembly. For running administration, the Chief Minister appoints members of the provincial cabinet. Each minister heads one or more administrative departments. The Chief Minister along with his cabinet is accountable to the Assembly. The Provincial Assembly can pass a vote of no-confidence to remove the Chief Minister and his cabinet form office.

Executive (the Chief Minister and the Governor): Chief Minister is the leader of the Provincial Assembly. The Chief Minister has almost the same position in the province as the Prime Minster has in the federal government. The Chief Minister runs his government with the help of his cabinet.

Constitutional head of each province is called Governor. In each province the governor enjoys the same position as the President enjoys in the centre. All the four provincial governors are appointed by the President. The governors represent the federal government at the provincial level. The President can remove any Governor form his office without assigning reason. A piece of legislation passed by the Provincial Assembly takes

the force of law only if it has been countersigned by the Governor of the province. The Governor, however, cannot reject a piece of legislation passed by the Provincial Assembly. The Governor can promulgate ordinances having the force of law in the province. This power is identical to the President's power of promulgating ordinances at the centre. Ordinances are effective for a specified period of time. The respective Provincial Assembly can reject the ordinance or adopt it as a permanent piece of legislation.

Judiciary (the High Courts): Four High Courts have been established under the Constitution in all the four provinces. The High Court's function under the supervision of the Supreme Court. Each High Court consists of one Chief Justice and a number of Judges. The High Court has original jurisdiction as well as appellate jurisdiction. High Courts also hear cases regarding contempt of court and also tender expert legal advice to their respective Governors and Provincial Assemblies. The Supreme Court has the power to heard appeals against the decisions passed by the High Courts.

Local Governments Established Under the Devolution Plan

Gen. Pervez Musharraf assumed power as Chief Executive after removing the civil government on Oct. 12, 1999. In the year 2001 Gen. Pervez introduced a new system of local governments which he named "Devolution Power and Responsibility Plan. Main philosophy underlying this system, as its title shows, was to devolve powers and responsibilities, regarding governmental affairs, to the "grass-root-level".

Devolution Plan gave a four tier system of local government i.e.

1. Union Council
2. City District
3. Tehsil Council
4. District Council

UNION COUNCIL

Union Councils will be elected directly, for tenure of four years, on one man one vote basis (in the original Plan its tenure was three years). Union Councils shall be so demarcated as to have approximately equal population.

Each Union Council shall have twenty one members elected on the basis of the following seat allocation break up:

Category	No. of Seats
1. Nazmi	1
2. Naib Nazim	1
3. Muslim (Male)	8
4. Muslim (Female)	4
5. Workers/Peasants (Male)	4
6. Worker/Peasants (Female)	2
7. Minorities	1
	21

If the population of the minority community in a Union Council exceeds 10% of the total population, the provincial government shall affect a revised seat allocation.

Function: The Union shall perform following functions:

1) To undertake development projects at local level, by working in collaboration with village councils in rural areas, and the Citizens Community Boards in both urban and rural areas.
2) To levy taxes in order to raise funds.
3) To prepare annual development plans to be carried out in its jurisdiction.
4) To act as conciliatory body to resolve civil, criminal and family disputes.

TEHSIL COUNCIL

Tehsil government shall include Tehsil Nazim, Tehsil Naib Nazim, Tehsil Assembly and the Tehsil of all Unions of the Tehsil Administration.

Tehsil Council shall comprise of n indirectly elected Nazim, a Naib Nazim and Naib Nazims of all Unions of the Tehsil.

Tehsil Administration: Tehsil Nazim shall be the Head of the Tehsil Government. A Tehsil Municipal officer (TMO) shall at as coordinator for the Tehsil administration. Four Tehsil Officers (TOs) shall report and assist the TMO on subjects of finance, budget, municipal standards, land use, control, and rural-urban planning.

Functions: Tehsil Council shall perform following functions:

1. Provision of municipal services within the Tehsil area.

2. Co-ordination between and the monitoring of the district government officials.
3. Development through land control and master planning in all towns and village of the Tehsil.
4. Reversing the process of serialization of the urban areas and urbanization of the rural areas.
5. If a Tehsil area becomes urbanized it shall be raised to the status of a *'City District'*. The 'City District' shall be divided into a number of towns on the basis of populations.

ZILA COUNCIL (DISTRICT GOVERNMENT)

District Government shall include Zila Nazim, Zila Naib Nazim and the District Council, District Nazim shall not be the member of the District Assembly, Naib Nazim, shall, however, be the speaker of the District Assembly. District Nazim shall be the Executive Head of the district and district administration. Police shall be answerable to him and shall work under his control. Through this provision the district administration has been made accountable to the people's representatives.

Elections: All Union Nazims will represent their respective Unions in the District Council. They shall be permanent members of the District Council, General Seats in the District Council shall be equal to the number of the Union Councils in the district. The Union Councilors shall elect members for the reserved seats; following is the break up of the allocated seats.

1. Women 33%
2. Workers/Peasants 5%
3. Minorities 5%

District Nazim and Naib Nazim shall be elected indirectly. They shall be elected by all the Union Councilors in the district.

ZILA (District) NAZIM:

Under the Devolution Plan 2000, the District Nazim has emerged as the most prominent and highly prestigious political and administrative office as the centre of all the cultural and economic activity in the district, he has been given full control over district administration. District annual budget is prepared under his guidance. All development programmes in the district are made and executed under his supervision. (Zila Nazim, is not however, a member of the Zila Council)

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ZILA NAIB NAZIM:

Zila Naib Nazim shall be the speaker of the District Assembly and shall act as liaison between the District Council and the District Nazim. In the absence of District Nazim the Naib Nazim shall officiate in his capacity.

Functions of the Zila Council / Zila Nazim:

Legisltaive:

- Regular and levy taxes and modify tax structure.
- Make bye-laws and rules of procedure for the subordinate local bodies. The provincial assembly, however, shall be empowered to set aside any resolution or order passed by the Zila Council.

Administrative:

- Zila Nazim shall be the executive head of the District Government. Police and district administration shall be duty bound to assist him.
- Zila council shall appoint various committees to monitor the district Administration.
- All divisions have been abolished; district has been made the principal administrative unit.

If the office of the Nazim falls vacant due to any reason, before the expiry of his tenure, Naib Nazim shall not be eligible to contest for seat vacated by him in bye-election; neither shall he succeed him in his office temporarily.

CITY DISTRICT

If a Tehsil area becomes unable to perform its functions smoothy due to its urbanization, it shall be raised to the status of a City District. The City District shall be divided into a number of Towns. Division will be made on population basis. The newly formed towns of the City Districts shall have the powers and authority to perform municipal functions and provide civic facilities to the residents of the area.

DISTRICT POLICE

According to the new concept of devolution, law and order is the responsibility of the provincial government. The provincial government shall provide police force for the maintenance of law and order in the district. The police shall, however, perform their duties under the guidance and instruction of the District Government.

In order to make the police answerable to the general public, a new system of accountability has been introduced at district and city district levels.

DISTRICT JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The Devolution Plan 2001 speaks about news judicial principles i.e.

- Quick and effective dispensation of justice.
- Provision of justice at the doorstep.
- Pre-emption of litigation.
- Decentralisation of judiciary.
- Horizontal expansion of judiciary by establishing new small cause courts at the Tehsil level.
- Establishment of special courts for woman.

CITIZENS COMMUNITY BOARDS

Citizen Community Boards shall be established with a purpose of creating an environment of citizens' participations in government affairs at grass-root-levels.

These Boards shall be formed for managing government hospitals, basic health units, educational and other important services institutions.

Community Boards shall be formed by the monitoring committees of the Union Councils and their opinion shall be given a high weightage by the government.

LITERACY AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

The Devolution Plan 2001has attached great importance to the basic and computer education. The District Government has been assigned a special duty to establish institutions for the promotion of literacy and information technology.

RESTRUCTURING OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES

- Office of the Divisional Commissioner (formerly known as the "Commissioner") has no place in the present set up.
- Deputy Commissioner's office has been replaced by a District Co-ordination Officer (DCO) Each Department of the District Government shall be headed by an Executive Officer. These departments shall not exceed twelve in member.

- Revenue and magistracy departments have been separated and shall be headed by two different executive officers. The change marks a departure from the centuries old British tradition under which both these powers were exercised by the Deputy Commissioner alone, he was the D.M. (the District Magistrate) and the Revenue Collector in one.

DISTRICT OMBUDSMAN

Office of an Ombudsman has been created at district level. The Ombudsman will be appointed with a responsibility to redress public grievances.

Concept of Good Governance in Islam

Islamic pattern of state demands that the relationship between the Individual and the sate are organized on a pattern that should neither cause stress and oppression for the individual, nor allow the government to exert its authority autocratically.

Islam wants to create a political culture based on complete balance between the objectives of the state and aspirations of the citizens. These Islamic principles can be upheld by observing certain principles. The Islamic conduct of state is based on the following guiding principles.

- People should be allowed to exercise their free will in the selection of the head of the state. He should be a person distinguished due to his outstanding merits of knowledge and Allah fearing *(taqwa).* Quran says.

> ". . . . . Verily most honored of you in the sight of Allah is
> (he who is) the most righteous of you . . . . . " (49:13)

- All the institutions of the state should be run strictly according to law. All citizens should be equal before law.
- No discrimination among the citizens should be made on the basis of colour, race, and place of domicile, language, creed or gender.
- Basic social, political and religiouns rights of the citizens should be safeguarded. All the citizens should enjoy equal freedom.
- Usury *(riba)* should be strictly prohibited and accumulation of wealth discouraged.
- It should be the duty of the state to collect *Ushr, Zakat, Khums,* and *Sadaqaat* from the wealthy and spend it for the uplift of the poor and the destitute.

- The state should take the responsibility of providing all the citizens with the basic human needs. These basic needs include food, shelter, dress, old age pension and health facilities.
- An Islamic state should administer justice without discrimination. Allah had ordered his Rasool ﷺ and all the Muslims to do justice, whatever the circumstances be, Quran says.

> ". . . . . and let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice, be just; that is next to pity; and fear Allah . . . . . " (5:8)

- An Islamic state should discourage all moral vices like lying, breaking of the promise and covenant, backbiting and untrue allegation, and miserliness greed and avarice, taking bribe, usurp, theft, robbery, falling short the balance and measurements, drinking gambling, arrogance, and hypocrisy.
- The state should work for the promotion of virtue by applying the methods of education and persuasion. Widows, orphans and the destitute should be given help form the *Bait-ul-maal* (government exchequer). An Islamic state should try to inculcate in its citizens the qualities of chastity, self-respect, piety, love of humanity, tolerance and forgiveness, fair dealing, humility, politeness, fraternity, modesty, kindness, consideration of the fellow beings.
- It is the duty of an Islamic state to provide free and compulsory education for all citizens. The education scheme should include not only basic literacy but also higher Islamic learning, linguistics as well as the physical and social sciences on the highest possible level.
- It is the duty of an Islamic state to establish peace and punish the criminals. In an Islamic state Muslim and non-Muslim citizens have equal social rights. The non-Muslim citizens, rather excel in certain matters (for example they are exempt from compulsory military service). The non-Muslims citizens should be given complete freedom for the preservation of their culture, language, personal law, places of worship and religious institutions. No person should be forced to pay a tax for the maintenance and support of the religious institutions or the preaching of religion, he or she himself or herself does not profess of follow.
- An Islamic state is established not merely for the maintenance of peace. It has higher objectives to achieve and it has to work for the moral and spiritual uplift of its citizens. It prepares them for a successful life in their world and deliverance in the

Hereafter. The Holy Quran enlists the paramount objectives of an Islamic state in the following words:

> ". . . . . (they are) those who if we establish them in the land, establish regular prayer, and give regular charity, enjoin the right and forbid wrong, with Allah rests the end (and decision) of (all) affairs. . . . . " (22:41)

Hazrat Omer's (رضی اللہ عنہ) System of Government

Hazrat Omer (RA) assumed the office of *Khalifah* in August 634, and was assassinated in 644. He ruled for ten years. History merits him to be the greatest of the world's rulers and conquerors. Islamic state under his Khilafat occupied an area of 58 lac sq, kilometers. (seven times larger than the area of Pakistan). But the greatness ascribed to Hazrat Omer (رضی اللہ عنہ) name is not due to the expanse of land he ruled over, it is mainly due to the marvellous system of government he evolved, and in the following centuries the entire civilized world followed his example.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Sense of Responsibility: Hazrat Omer (RA) knew very well what Islam demanded from a ruler. To him the seat of a Muslim ruler was not a seat of authority of privilege; it was rather, a position that asked for selfless service and complete devotion. He never aspired to be the ruler of the state, nor was he happy when he was entrusted with this responsibility. He himself said that he only accepted the responsibility of Khilafat because Hazrat Abu Bakr (RA) whom he reversed most, wanted him to do so, and he could not dare disobeying him.

Service above Self: By his own example Hazrat Omer (RA) set the example of a head of state who was the most humble servant of the people. Once a few camels of the Bait-ul-Mall ran away in the desert, Hazrat Omer (RA) himself went out to round them up. A companion asked him why he did not send a slave to run this errand. Hazrat Omer (RA) replied: "Am, I not the most humble of all the slaves".

Social Security: That the concept of social security as the prime responsibilities of the state reached its climax during the reign of Hazrat Omer (RA) can be gathered from his frequently quoted saying "Hazrat Omer (RA) will be held accountable if a dog at the bank of *Dajlah* dies of hunger". He established a system of permanent financial support for the widows, orphan and the destitute to be paid form the Bait-ul-Mall (public exchequer). An amount for the purchase of milk was fixed right at the time a baby was born in the state.

Equality: The most outstanding features of Hazrat Omer's (RA) System of government was the superb level of equality he maintained amongst the citizens of his state. During his reign Medina was hit by a worst type of famine. Hazrat Omer (RA) ordered all the citizens of Medina to deposit all the eatables they had, in the Bait-ul-Mall. Food was cooked in a common kitchen and was served in a common mess. Disabled and the women were served food at home. Hazrat Omer (RA) himself decided to abstain from taking food items which were short in supply especially cooking oils and fats. His skin got dry and he grew weak and thin due to starvation. The Caliph himself and the members of his household were served food after everybody else had been served. When somebody suggested to him that the children living in Medina should be given a bigger food quota as compared to the children of rural areas, because they were comparatively delicate and unable to sustain hardship and starvation like village children. Hazrat Omer (RA) declined to do so by saying "This calamity has descended from sky upon allow us, and all of us have to share it collectively" Once, the Governor of Azerbaijan sent a jar of a delicious sweetmeat to Hazrat Omer (RA) as a gift, Hazrat Omer (RA) opened the jar, tasted a pinch full of it and asked the carries weather all the people in Azerbaijan take sweets like this, the courier told him that the sweat was a delicacy which only very rich people could afford. Hazrat Omer (RA) replaced the lid instantly returned it back to the courier and said that anything which is not accessible for all citizens of the state; their Ameer (head) has no right to enjoy. Hazrat Omer Bin-al-'Aas (RA) established a new cantonment at Fistaat. He wrote to Hazrat Omer (RA) that he has built a house for the Caliph (who was also the supreme commander of the armed forces). Hazrat Omer (RA) in his reply expressed displeasure on this and said that a man living in Hijaz has no right to own a house in Egypt. He ordered Hazrat Omer Bin-al-'Aas (RA) to convert that house into a public building.

Vigilance and Accountability: Hazrat Omer (RA) was all time ready and willing to answer any questions that anybody would raise about his public decisions or personal life. From the tradition of The Rasool ﷺ he inferred a principle that if the Ameer of the Muslims or any member of his house hold commits a crime he or she will be given double punishment. He observed this principle strictly throughout his life. He inflicted double punishment for drinking wine on his own son he was extremely vigilant and harsh about the governors he appointed. Every important office holder in the state had to submit a list of his property, at the time of his appointment. The Caliph got it signed by four witnesses and preserved it for record. Every governor had to take oath on four things before he would assume his duties.

- He will not ride a Turkish horse (which was a symbol of vanity and pride at that time)
- Will not wear thin and delicate cloth.
- Will not use refined flour.

- Will not set a gatekeeper at his door.

Commonest of the citizens were free to make complaints against the highest of the government functionaries. If the charges were proved, the functionaries were given exemplary punishment and even removed from office if the charges were serious in nature.

Supremacy of Law: System of Justice established by Hazrat Omer (RA) contained all the pre-requisites deemed necessary for the establishment of the rule of law. Very pious and honest people were appointed as Qazis (Judges). They were handsomely paid. All the members of the state machinery, right form the head of the state to the commonest of the citizens, had an equal status in the eyes of law One Hazrat Omer (RA) himself had to appear in the court of Hazrat Zaid Bin Sabit (RA) as plaintiff, the Qazi gave him honour due to his esteemed position and personality. Hazrat Omer (RA) admonished him saying "this is the first injustice you have done "saying this he took a seat by the side of the defendant. He observed that the Qazi was reluctant in taking oath form him, he said, "You do not qualify for the seat of justice unless you learn to treat a common man and the head of the state at equal level.

Freedom of Expression: Careless and biased reporters have portrayed Hazrat Omer as a harsh and aggressive person. No doubt he was very Harsh in the administration of justice and the use of public exchequer. So far as the consultation is concerned, nobody after The Rasool ﷺ was as keen and considerate in this matter as Hazrat Omer (RA) was. When a person raised objections, regarding the length of his shirt in an open public meeting, somebody tried to silent the objective, Hazrat Omer (RA) SAID "Let him speak, if people do not criticize us they are of no use, if we do not listen to them we are of no use."

Democracy: The Rasool ﷺ established a democratic state in the city state of Medina. Hazrat Omer's (RA) Caliphate which touched some of the remotest parts of the globe was based on the same democratic principles.

This state was to serve as a role model of democracy for the rest of the world. French philosopher Rousseau's treatise "The Social Contract" is considered to be the pioneer work from which the western world took its first lessons of democracy. Rousseau opens his book with a statement which sounds to be a direct replica of the Hazrat Omer's (RA) sentence which he wrot in a letter to one of his governor "Mothers give birth to freemen how dare you to make them slaves." In his book Rousseau has clearly admitterd that The Rasool ﷺ and his companion were the first torch bearers of democracy in the world. India's great leader Mahatama Gandhi use to sa that the establishment of Ram Rajjiya (rule of God) was his

cherished dream, asked what he really meant by Ram Rajjiya he said that it would he modelled exactly on the pattern set by Hazrat Omer (RA) AND Hazrat Abu Bakr (RA).

Rights of Minorities: Hazrat Omer's (RA) treatment of the non-Muslim citizens was exemplary. Muslims wanted to put up a mosque in Syria, when a suitable place was located and plan chalked out, it was found that the plan would not be executed unless a private house, built on the proposed site were demolished. This house was owned by a Christian. He was asked to sell it, but he did not agree. The Muslims demolished the house per force and made it part of the mosque. When the news of this incident reached Hazrat Omer (RA) he ordered that the part of mosque put up on the Christian's house be demolished immediately and the house restored and given to its owner.

Discipline: Hazrat Omer (RA) for the first time established such a perfect system of government that would serve as a role model for times to come. History of many of the successful systems and practices applied in the modern states dates back to Hazrat Omer's (RA) Caliphate, he was the pioneer and innovator of the systems like:

- Population census
- Division of the country into provinces and administrative divisions.
- Appointment of Governors and functionaries and their accountability to the head of the state.
- Posting of the tax Collectors (Sahib-ul-Kharaj) in each province.
- Appointment of the Police Chief (Sahib-ul-Ahdath).
- Appointment of the Secretary (Katib).
- Appointment of the Finance Minister (Sahib-e-Bait-ul-Mall).
- Appointment of Justices (Qaziz) in all the provinces.
- Establishment of a Divan (Secretariat) to maintain the account of the salaries and financial assistance paid to the soldiers and the families of the Mujahidin.
- Establishment of a standing Army and a system of assigning ranks to army personnel.
- Putting up of a number of military cantonments on permanent basis; each of these cantonments was called 'jund'. More famous among these were Fistaat, Basrah, Koofah, Dimaskh (Damascus) Mosal, Himas, Urdun (Jordan) Philistine (Palestine) and Medina. Hazrat Omer (RA) was the first ruler who established seprate departments for rendering authentic opinions in the light of Islamic Shari'ah (*Ifta*), and implementation of penalties on criminals (*Hudood* and *Taziraat*). He also established post and income tax departments. Put up mosques at public places and built new roads.

Devolution Plan and Good Governance

EXPECTATIONS AND TARGETS

We have studied earlier that Gen. Pervez Musharraf launched a new programme under the title of Devolution of Power and Responsibility Plan in 2001. The targets of the plan if achieved would bring about a revolution in the entire set up of the society. Following are the major stipulated targets of the Plan:

1. To build confidence of the nation.
2. To strengthen the federation and remove disparities existing among different provinces.
3. To build the confidence of the investors.
4. To establish peace, upheld the rule of law and ensure speedy justices.
5. To eliminate political manoeuvring from the institutions of the state.
6. To devolve governmental authority at grass-root level.
7. To ensure speedy and transparent accountability.

Obstacles in the way of Establishing Good Governance

Good governance is directly related to the good citizenship. Good Governance can be established only in a strong and stable political culture. Following are the major obstacles interposed in the way of establishing good governance:

a. Bad citizenship.
b. Illiteracy and ignorance.
c. Poverty.
d. Culture based on war and terrorism.
e. Oppressive political system.
f. Social system based on corruption and dishonest practices.
g. Lack of accountability.

There is no short cut remedy to the vices of a bad political culture. Problem of good governance is not a simple one, it is very complex and complicated, in fact this is not one problem, it is the amalgamate of a multitude of problems. Ignorance is the mother of all evils. Ignorance cannot be got rid of unless education is made universal. But a poor society cannot afford to educate its citizens for want of resources. Poverty in itself is such a great curse which gives birth to a multitude of vices, i.e. greed, indolence, corruption and social disintegration. Poor people fall easy prey to petty temptations offered to them by the self-serving politicians.

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After the development of technology, war has become an extremely expensive enterprise. Even the richest nations of the world cannot venture to remain in a state of war for long, not to talk of the extremely poor countries like Pakistan and India. German dictator Adolph Hitler is known to be the most callous and ruthless of world's dictators. He idealized war as the noblest of human pursuits, he said that one who does not want to wage war must perish, and nobility of a person, according to him could be judged only by the intensity of his love for war. It was due to this philosophy that the fire lit by Hitler's militancy set an extensive part of the globe ablaze in the shape of World War II. Vanquished and spent out, as a result of his insane proclamations, Hitler had to admit at last; "In modern warfare there are no conquerors, there are only the perished and the survivors".

A nation determined to achieve the ideal of good governance should, first of all, say good-bye to war. History bears evidence that nations like the Chinese and the Japanese have achieved highest posible standards of economic and social progress only by adopting a policy of peaceful co-existence with other nations of the world.

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EXERCISE

Q. 1. Fill in the blanks to make an appropriate statement.

1. There are ..... governments at work in the federation of Pakistan.
2. ..... sad Ram Rajjiya will be a government identical with Hazrat Omer (رضی اللہ عنہ) And Hazrat Abu Bakr's (رضی اللہ عنہ) governments.
3. French philosopher ..... was very much impressed by the governmental system established by The Rasool ﷺ and the Pious Caliphs.
4. New system of the district government is of ..... tiers.
5. Hazrat Omer (رضی اللہ عنہ) ruled form the year 634 to .....

Q. 2. Fill in the blanks by putting one of the three alternatives given in the bracket against each question.

1. The National Assembly is elected for a period of ..... years. (6, 5, 4)
2. Lower age limit for a candidate contesting Senate elections is ..... years. (30, 35, 25)

3. Senate and National Assembly put together are called . . . . . (Parliament, Supreme Court, Executive)
4. The Prime Minister is bound to select at least . . . . . of the members of his Cabinet form the Senate. (1/4, 1/3, 1/2)
5. A Union Council should consist of at least . . . . . members. (25, 21, 15)

Q. 3. Indicate whether the statement is TRUE or FALSE; put a circle around the correct answer.

1. Pakistan's present administrative set up is based on the 1973 Constitution. (True/False)
2. Hazrat Omer (RA) ruled for ten years. (True/False)
3. Hazrat Omer (RA) turned the non-Muslims out of his state. (True/False)
4. Draft of a law is called draft law or Bill. (True/False)
5. Chairperson of the Senate is called Speaker. (True/False)

Q. 4. Put right parts together.

A	B
Parliament	2001
Tehsil Administration	45 years
President	Two houses
Devolution Plan	5% minority members
District Council	TMO

Q. 5. Answer each question in two to four lines.

1. Enlist the areas of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan as per constitutional division.
2. Enumerate the subjects enlisted in the Federal List.
3. Enumerate the important subjects included in the Concurrent List.
4. Write a note on the federal judiciary (The Supreme Court).
5. When and why was the Devolution Plan introduced?
6. Enlist five significant obstacles in the way of good governance.
7. Give an account of the system of accountability adopted in Hazrat Omer's (RA) government.

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8. What measures were taken by Hazrat Omer (RA) to ensure social security?
9. Enlist the four tiers of the District Government.
10. What is Citizen Community Board?

Q. 6. Answer these questions extensively.

1. What is the composition of the federal legislature in Pakistan?

   (Separate narration of Senate and National Assembly composition in not required).
2. Write a detail note on National Assembly and senate of Pakistan.
3. What is the composition of the federal administration under the 1973 Constitution; also enlist its important function.
4. Give an estimate of Hazrat Omer's (رضی اللہ عنہ) system of government.
5. Enlist the obstacles interposed in the way of good governance and how can these be overcome?
6. What is the composition of the Union Council and functions it is required to perform under the new system of District Government?
7. What do you know about the City District Police and District Judicial system?
8. Write an essay on the "Islamic Concept of Good Governance".

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