

Course Material Bundle

Two Nation Theory: The Myth, The Reality

One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa. (Sir Muhammad Iqbal)

Why Ideology of Pakistan is Important:

Today the world community comprises of more than 180 countries. Pakistan appeared on the world map in August 1947, and became the first Islamic ideological state of the modern times. Unlike the non-ideological states, it was not established due to any geographical conflict or territorial domination by a group of people. If the ideology of such a state like Pakistan is dead then its existence can be questioned. Therefore, Pakistan cant exist if there is no more ideology of Pakistan.

Pakistan is an ideological state established in the name of the Islam. But on the 31st of December 1971, this land of ours, lost its east wing. And East Pakistan emerged on the world map as Bangladesh. The then prime minister of India Ms. Indra Gandhi claimed that the birth of Bangladesh is the death of the two-nation theory. If, as said, the ideology of Pakistan came to an end in 1971, then the objective behind the creation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan would have come to an end too.

Purpose of Pakistan

The breakup of the country in 1971 raised cynical eyebrows about national identity and gave rise to the theory of sub-nationalities on the basis of race, religion and language. Thus questions are being asked about the very existence of Pakistan.

The debate about the motivating force behind the making of Pakistan has been one endless exercise. Was there any need of Pakistan at all? Is this just another Muslim state like many others? Was creation of Pakistan a conspiracy of the British and/or of Muslim League? Was it to retrieve the ancient glory of the Islamic era, or to find a base for the reconstruction of Islamic thought and the resurgence and re-adaptation of its message to our day and age? Was Pakistan created accidentally? Was the sacrifice of thousands of Muslims in 1947 useless? Should Pakistan and India be merged together to form Akhand Bharat• to restore peace in the Sub-continent?

What is Two Nation Theory?

Two-Nation theory is the basis of creation of Pakistan. It states that Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations from every definition; therefore Muslims should have a separate homeland in the Muslim majority areas of India, where they can spend their lives according to the glorious teachings of Islam.

If Muslims of the sub-continent comprise an Islamic nation then they have the right to have separate homeland as Muhammad Ali Jinnah, (in his address to the annual session of Muslim League) mentioned and I quote:

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, of Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many seven or eight sovereign states. Like-wise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Definition Of Nation

The significance and reality of Pakistan has not been fully understood in the west. To the west, nationality based on religion is an alien and often-incomprehensible phenomenon. This is because religion in the West has come to play such a restricted role. In the West, Germans and French are accepted as two separate nations. However, the fact of Hindus and Muslims in India representing two separate cultural entities is seldom appreciated. A young French student may visit a family in Germany, share their meals, may attend the same church and even marry a girl in the family without creating a scandal or surprise. But such instances of intermarriage have been extremely rare in the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent. Even some of the most ardent Indian Nationalist has found the idea totally unacceptable. As Sir Abdur Rahim observed: Any of us Indian Muslims traveling for instances in Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia among Chinese Muslims, Arabs and Turks, would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not

accustomed. On the contrary, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow townsmen live. •

Is Two Nation Theory A New Concept A point generally raised by the opponent of the two-nation theory is that Pakistan was created accidentally and that the intellect of most of the Muslims at that time was overpowered by emotions. Moreover, that this phenomenon emerged in the early decade of the 20th century. But, what the history reveals is something different. Two-Nation theory was not at all as new phenomenon.

History of Two Nation Theory

Mahatma Gandhi, speaking in the second session of the Round table conference in London in 1931, said that the quarrel between Hindus and Muslims was coreview with the British advent in India. It would be difficult to maintain such a position historically because the conflict between Hindus and Muslims had started long before the emergence of the British power in India.

The phenomenon of Two-Nation theory originated with the advent of Islam in the Sub-Continent (712AD). According to Jinnah, The concept of two nation theory originated the day, the first Hindu converted to Muslim.

The partition of India was proposed more than seven hundred years prior to the Lahore resolution. In 1192 AD, on the eve of battle of Tarian, according to famous historian Farishta, Sultan Muizz-ud-Din had suggested to his rival, Pirthviraj, the partition of India, leaving the region of Sirhind, Punjab and Multan with Sultan and retaining the rest of India for himself. This proposal cropped up again after 150 years, when Al-Beruni pointed out the existence of the two big groups of people subscribing to two different religions. This (the religious difference) renders any connection with them• says Beruni, quite impossible and constitutes the widest of gulf between them and us (Hindu and Muslims).

Perhaps Emperor Aurengzeb (1658-1707) was responsible for increasing Hindu Muslim tensions by trying to Islamize the Mughal government. Several Muslim historians have actually glorified Aurengzeb for making Muslims conscious of their separate religious and ideological identity. It is also true that Maratha and Sikh leaders raised their banner of revolt against Aurangzeb because in trying to organize his government on Islamic lines, the emperor was acting against their interest. Sir Jaduanath Sarkar observation on the role of Shivaji, the Maratha leader, is revealing:

Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead. That it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration, and legal repression; it can put forth new leaves and branches it can again lift its head up to the skies.

After Aurangzeb death, Muslim power started disintegrating. Muslims were so alarmed by the growing power of the Hindus under Maratha leadership that even a Sufi scholar like Shah Walliullah (1703-81) was moved into writing a letter to the Afghan King Shah Walliullah. He wrote:

In short, the Muslim community is in a pitiable condition. All control of the machinery of government is in the hands of Hindus, because they are the only people who are capable and industrious. Wealth and prosperity are concentrated in their hands; while the share of Muslims is nothing but poverty and misery At this time you are the only King who is powerful, far-sighted, and capable of defeating the enemy forces. Certainly it is incumbent upon you to march to India, destroy the Maratha domination and rescue weak and old Muslims from the clutches of Non-Muslims. If, God forbid, domination by infidels continues, Muslims will forget Islam and within a short time become such a nation that there will be nothing left distinguish them from non-Muslims.

This letter by Shah Walliullah to a foreign Muslim against the local Non-Muslims again reflects that Muslims living in any part of the world are the part of one Muslim Nation.

The Two Nations

Although the Hindus and Muslims had been living together for centuries in the Indian sub-continent, yet there had never been either any signs of merger of the Hindu and Muslims societies, or any serious attempt to develop a working relationship between the two major ethnic groups. The two have always remained as two distinct social systems, two separate and distinct cultures and last but not the least, two different civilizations.

In fact, Hindu fanaticism has always been against those who do not belong to them and against all outsiders, whom they consider maleech or unclean. So they are against having any connection with such people, what to speak of inter-marriage, a Hindu is often forbidden eat or drink or to even shake hand with a Muslim or for that matter with a person belonging to any other faith or religion. In short the Hindu customs and their hatred for Muslims was the main factor against developing a working relationship between the two major societies. Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and staunch Hindu Mahasabhite, in his letter to Mr. C.R. Das, which was written 12 or 15 years prior to Pakistan Resolution, wrote:

There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think (about) carefully, and that is the question of Hindu Mohammedan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law, and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-cooperation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of that kind And nothing would relieve more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right, then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British, we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, (in his address to the annual session of Muslim League) mentioned: It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different social orders. It is a dream that the Hindu and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality; and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits, and is the cause of most of our troubles, and will lead India to destruction, if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither intermarry, nor interline together and indeed they belong to two different civilizations, which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and the final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

Is Pakistan a Conspiracy of British And / Or Jinnah

For the congress, the establishment of Pakistan was a cruel blow to their claim of being a nationalist organization. It meant that Muslims did not trust the Hindus as a majority community to be just and generous towards Muslims interests and culture. This explains why congress leaders have often tended to attribute the creation of Pakistan almost entirely to the British policy of divide and rule.

However, a closer look at the history after the establishment of the British rule in India will reveal that the Hindus were much closer to the British government than the Muslims. The Hindus, who were fed up with the Muslim rule, welcomed the British rule over India. This state of affairs resulted in the patronage of the Hindus by the British and suspicion and distrust against the Muslims of the sub-continent. The Hindus were economically better off than the Muslims. The events of 1857 further diminished the prospects of economic growth of the Muslim community in the sub-continent. From 1857 onwards, when the British had taken complete control of the Indian Administration, they elevated the Hindu community to the status of landlords, gave the Hindus proprietary rights and provided them the opportunity to accumulate the wealth which should have otherwise gone to the Muslims who were at the helm of affairs.

Hindus were given more jobs in the government and military compared to Muslims.

Lets now look see whether the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 as the largest Muslim state was a conspiracy of Jinnah. Muhammad Ali Jinnah remained an active member of the Indian National Congress for about 25 years, and because of his personal efforts to bring about a rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims was even hailed as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. As long as effective power in India was in the hands of the British, it appeared as if a true nationalism was growing in that country. However, with the introduction

of representative institutions and the devolution of political authority, the Hindus started showing their true colors by imposing their superiority over the Muslim minority, as a result of which a struggle between Hindus and Muslims ensued. Jinnah was greatly disappointed by these movements by the congress leaders and so he resigned from the Congress. The behavior of the Congress leader changed his mind and realized him that the Congress is a Hindu Congress.

Another popular view regards Pakistan as no more than a personal triumph of the brilliant strategy and will power of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that had Jinnah died earlier, there would not have been any Pakistan. It is true that Jinnah's great role was a highly important contributing factor; but without intense religious zeal for an Islamic state on the part of Muslim masses, Jinnah could not have achieved Pakistan. Khilafat leaders like Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and poets like Hali, Akbar Allahabadi and Iqbal were mainly responsible for making Muslims conscious of their separate national and cultural identity. Thus, when the message of Pakistan was presented to the masses, it fell on fertile soil. Jinnah, who did not know Urdu, could not have achieved Pakistan without able and zealous lieutenants and without the vision of an Islamic state as an inspiring stimulant. One may even go so far as to say that the Muslim League, led largely by the middle-class Muslim Leaders, would have probably come to some sort of compromise on the issue of Pakistan had they not been swept off their feet by the intense Islamic fervor of the masses and the astounding success that the Muslim League achieved during the elections of 1945-46. It has been reported that the Quaid-e-Azam himself never expected to see Pakistan in his lifetime.

Congress leaders tried to challenge the two-nation theory by pointing out that a large number of Muslims in India were descendants of Hindu forebears who had converted to Islam. They also argued that there was hardly any cultural difference between Hindus and Muslims in the rural areas where the vast majority of both communities lived. But these arguments could not alter the fact that a change in one religion from Hinduism to Islam in the Indian context not merely implied a change in one religion, but also a significant change in man's social and cultural status. The new convert became the member of an egalitarian social and cultural force in large parts of India. Particularly in the North Western part of India, which constitutes Pakistan today, the dominant culture that emerged was clearly Islam.

From Bande Mataram to Pakistan

The first provincial elections under the 1935 Act were held in 1937, as a result of these elections, the congress was invited to form ministries in seven provinces. The attitude of the congress government towards the Muslims was very cruel, and it opened the eyes of Muslims to the impending danger. The hostile attitude of Congress government towards the Muslims was by itself a proof of Hindus being a separate Nation. The experience of living under Congress rule was one major factor which shook the Muslims from their political slumber and made them instantly conscious of their distinct national identity.

Let us consider the example of Bande Mataram. The Bande Mataram was adopted as the national anthem in the Congress Governed provinces. Muslim children were compelled to sing this anthem, which the Quaid described as idolatrous and worse—a hymn of hatred for Muslims.

The song Bande Mataram is from an old Bengali novel, Anand Math, written by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. It tells the story of a secret religio-political society of Hindus plotting the overthrow of the Muslim power in Bengal in the 18th century. The new recruits to the secret society recited the Bande Mataram as a vow. A new recruit, Mohendra, was led by the leader, Bhavananda, to the temple of Anand Math to have darshan of the Mother. In the first chamber Mohendra was greeted by a massive four-armed Vishnu, flanked by the idols of Lakshmi and Arawati, and a lonely image sitting on his lap. Bhavananda pointing to the lady on the lap of Lord Vishnu told Mohendra that she is the Mother and we are her children. The next chamber was decorated with the image of Jagatdhari, another deity who was explained, as The mother was first like this, the next chamber where ten-armed Durga was presiding, attended by Lakshmi and Sarawati. Bhavananda explained: "This is what the Mother will be like when the enemy has been crushed under her feet. Mohendra was overcome with religious fervor and chanted these lines of Bande Mataram to be confirmed as a member of the anti-Muslim secret society:

Thou art Durga with ten arms:
And thou art Lakshmi, the lotus ranging;
And thou art Vani that Giveth knowledge;
I salute thee

The Congress Government went to such an extent as to replace Urdu by Hindi, banning of Cow slaughter and even celebrating Gandhi Birthday officially and compelling the students Hindus and non-Hindus to worship the picture of Mahatma Gandhi.

From the above very brief but factual analysis of the relationship which had developed between the two major Communities of India i.e; the Hindus and the Muslims, it should no longer be a questionable proposition as to why the Muslims insisted on the partition of India and having a separate Homeland for the Muslims.

The Tragedy of 1971

The separation of East Pakistan was no doubt the biggest tragedy in the history of Pakistan. However, it should not be regarded as death of Two Nation Theory. First of all Bangladesh, though no more a part of Pakistan but still is neither a Hindu state nor a secular state rather is a Muslim State. The elite of West Pakistan were not able to understand the real situation in East Pakistan and they absolutely failed to tackle it. In spite of all these mistakes by the government, the involvement of the foreign hand in separation of East Pakistan, is a solid reality. Those who cry today upon the cross-border terrorism in Kashmir (in spite of the fact that there is no international border in Kashmir) have totally forgotten the hands and faces behind the Muktibahini. The way the Bangla youth was brain washed by Hindu teachers and scholars is an open secret. The fact is that not much literature was available in the Bangla language about Islam, neither any translation of Iqbal nor of Moududi. On the other hand Robinder Nath Tegore and Chander Mukr Ji were very popular. The Muslim Bangladesh though no more a part of Pakistan is independent from the fright of Hindu domination.

Ms. Indra Gandhi statement about the creation of Bangladesh, was by itself a proof of the existence of the Two-Nation Theory. She claimed that today we have taken the revenge of the 1000 years slavery but in 1971 Pakistan was just 24 years old!!! Then what was she referring to by mentioning the 1000 years? Definitely she was talking about the era when Muslims ruled India. This means Pakistan didn't emerge neither with the advent of British to India, nor is a result of Divide and Conquer, nor is a conspiracy of the Muslim League, nor is a symbol of nationalism based on territory. Pakistan-based on the Two-Nation theory existed long before August 47 in the heart of every Muslim of the Sub-Continent, who wanted the revival of the Muslim Ummah.

Two Nation Theory At Present

Keeping in view the above discussion in light of facts and figures from history, it can be claimed that the Two Nation Theory is a reality even today. Unfortunately, the Hindu community of the sub-continent has never accepted this reality from the very beginning and they still want to convert the Indo-Pak sub-continent to Maha Bharat. They want all non-Hindus to change their faith to Hinduism. The top leadership of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which is currently ruling India, has not only publicly denounced the two-nation theory but has also declared that it does not accept the partition of the Sub-Continent in 1947 which was based on this theory. On the same analogy, the BJP claims that Kashmir is an integral part of India. The BJP also advises the Muslims in India that they must stop looking towards Makkah and Medina as they can live only by accepting Hindutva. The BJP government, in order to assimilate the Muslim population in India with the Hindu majority, also intends to amend Muslim personal laws. A movement has also been launched in India, with the blessing of the BJP government, that all the Indians, irrespective of their religious beliefs, should call themselves Hindus, as they are the citizens of Hindustan• . The non-Hindus in India, particularly the Muslims, are also being advised that by adopting the Hindu faith they may ensure for themselves an honorable place in the country.

It may be recalled that Madhav Sadarish Golwalker, the head of the RSS, whom the Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, considers his soul and mentor, in his book entitled "WE: our own nationhood

defined, while branding the Muslims of India as enemies belonging to foreign races, recommended that the foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt Hindu culture and language, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e; of the Hindu nation, must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu race, claiming nothing, deserving no privilege, far less any preferential treatment not even citizen right.

The enormous difficulties, which the Muslims are encountering for the protection of their religious beliefs and for the restitution of their political, economic and other rights in the so-called secular but Hindu-dominated India, bear testimony to the political acumen and far sightedness of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who so rightly had perceived the establishment of a separate state for the Muslims of the Sub-Continent to save them from unfair treatment by the Hindu Majority.

Many opponents of the Two-Nation theory, base their arguments on the fact that India at present has a Muslim community, which is larger in population than the Muslim population in Pakistan. Therefore, according to the Two-Nation theory, Pakistan border should be opened to all of them, and in case this is not done then the creation of Pakistan was a selfish act of the Muslims living in the areas comprising Pakistan today, since, it has changed Muslims in India to an even smaller minority.

First of all opening the borders of Pakistan to all the Muslims is a misinterpretation of the Two-Nation theory, and is simply not applicable. Pakistan was created to have a fortress for the Muslim Ummah. All the Muslim leaders had it very much clear in their mind that all the Muslims would never be the citizens of Pakistan. Many of them became the citizens of India, after 1947, but had struggled for the creation of Pakistan, throughout their lives. Pakistan movement in the Hindu majority provinces was much stronger than in the Hindu minority areas. What does all this reveal? Pakistan is much more than a piece of land. They never struggled for a piece of land to name it Pakistan; they had struggled for the Ideology named Pakistan.

The Muslim leaders of the sub-continent struggled for Pakistan on the same guidelines as the Islamic state of Medina Munawara. Many Muslims migrated along with the Prophet (Salalaho Allehe Wa Aalehi Wasalam) to Medina Munawara, however many of them were left in Makkah. Those who had migrated along the Prophet (Salalaho Allehe Wa Aalehi Wasalam) and those who were the citizens of Medina, lived peacefully. While those who were left in Makkah were subjected to the cruelties of the Kaffar in Makkah. Was this unfair with them? It would have been unfair if the people of Medina had not participated in Badar, Uhed and Khandeq and rather would have opted for celebrating Basant in Pakistan at the same time when the people from Pakistan had been sold in Tora Bora• . In that case it would have been unfair but this certainly does not mean that establishment of Medina• was an unfair decision rather it meant that those elements should be subjected to accountability which turn jihad till Fatah-e-Makkah• to Basant Bahar the part of our culture.

The condition of the Indian Muslims after fifty-five years reveals the truth of the so-called Indian secularism. The Muslims in India are still getting a raw deal in every sphere of life. They are still living in the curse of poverty and backwardness. And above all they are still fighting the threats to their religious and cultural identity. The sense of insecurity experienced by the Indian Muslims in the post partition period has been compounded in recent years. In terms of numbers, the Muslims are only next to the Hindus, totaling 95.2 million (1991 census) and constituting about 12 percent of the population. Yet they are considered by the Hindus even less important than the Jains and Buddhists who are only 0.43 and 0.41 percent of the population respectively (1991 census). A prominent Hindu writer S. Harrison admits that the dominant note in the Hindu attitude towards Muslim today is that, "Hindus have a natural right to rule in modern India as a form of long overdue retribution for the sins of the Mughal overlords. It is not enough that unified state with a Hindu majority, clearly dominant over a Muslim minority now reduced to 12 percent, has been established at long last in the Indian sub-continent. The fulfillment of Indian nationalism requires an assertion of Hindu hegemony over the Muslims of the subcontinent in one form or the other."

They also have been subjected to the interference in their religion. It usually takes the form of insulting attacks on Islam made in school textbooks, or in the press, desecration of mosques and shrines, or deliberate incitement of feelings of religious hatred against the Muslims. In most of the Hindu dominated Indian states

Hindu religious beliefs, philosophy and methodology have been introduced into the text books in the name of Indian culture,. This is to an extent that a glance through the officially prescribed school textbooks leaves an impression that those responsible for them regard India (a supposedly multi religious country) as the home of Brahmans and attach value only to their deities, temples, religious customs and practices. Countless incidents can be cited of the desecration of mosques by the Hindu communists during the last few decades. The 16th century historic Babri mosque was razed to ground by thousands of Hindu fanatics in Ayodhya, (UP) on 16th Dec 1992 and the immense loss of human lives that followed was no secret.

The Two Nation Theory is still alive. Had there been no Two Nation Theory today, the issues like Kargil, nuclear arms race, and tension on the borders would have never risen. The basic conflict between India and Pakistani nation is still the same. Indians believe in nationality based on territory and therefore want to merge Pakistan back into India. While Pakistanis have been fighting for the last 52 years, to safeguard the Land which they got in the name of Islam. The Kashmir issue, if alive even after 52 years, in spite of India utmost effort to crush the lovers of freedom, is crystal clear proof of the reality of the Two Nation Theory.

It should be understood that the creation of Pakistan was not the result of an accident but it had a meaning. The meaning of Pakistan was not to have a separate homeland for the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan to have a better living; it was not to have industries or nuclear capability.

The significance of the creation of the fortress of Islam was to give the Muslims of the Sub-Continent in particular and the Muslims of the world in general an idea of brotherhood. A brotherhood based on irrespective of color or creed. Pakistan wanted to have Unity among the Muslims from Morocco to Indonesia and to create a sense of spiritual vision that could be left and understand beyond this materialistic world in which man is fighting with man. The Muslim brotherhood has disagreements and the world is dominated by imperial powers and destined according to their wishes.

Jinnah's two nation theory

According to K.K. Aziz in, the Making of Pakistan, a Study in Nationalism, that 'nation' is essentially a European concept and during the middle ages groups of students from one country working in the european universities were called nations.

K.K. Aziz has identified thirteen conditions or beliefs which seems to make up its creed like common group feelings, love for fellow nationals, common hostility to others., common territory, common sovereign government, common moral, social economic institutions or ideas, possession of some cultural characteristics (language, customs, traditions, manners, music) common religion, common history/origin, common national character, common pride in national achievements, devotion to the nation and last is the nation will one day be great.

In 1192 on the eve of battle of Tarain, according to historian Farishta, Sultan Muizzuddin had suggested to his rival Pirthviraj the partition of India leaving the region of Sirhind, Punjab and Multan with Sultan and retaining rest of India for himself. Al-Buruni also pointed out 150 years later, the existence of two big groups of people subscribing to two different regions. It was Shah Waliullah who wrote a letter to Ahmed Shah Abdali of Afghanistan to rescue Indian Muslims from the atrocities of Hindus. This letter to a Afghan leader reflects that Muslims living in any part of the world are part of one Muslim nation. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan addressed Muslims of sub-continent as a quom(nation) and some consider him as first person to present the idea that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations formed the foundation for what become the Pakistan Movement. The Agha Khan, Ameer Ali, Johar Ali brothers and others often referred Muslims as a nation.

But Quaid-e-Azam was for the first to proclaimed that there are two distinct nations, Muslims and Hindus which could not live together.

In 1934 the principal of the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental college, Aligarh, Sir Theodore Morrison wrote “The Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations the Muslims rest assured that they were not alone in their concern for preservation of their characteristics civilization. VD Savarkar coined the word “Hindutva” in his book titled “Hindutva” in 1937 while speaking at the 19th session of the Hindu Mahasabha and said “there are two nations in India, Hindus and Muslims”. According to Jinnah the concept of two nation theory originated the day the first Hindu converted to Islam. Earlier Jinnah was the only politician to be called the best ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity in the sub-continent.

It is after the tragic events in 1937 that Jinnah transformed from a symbol of Hindu Muslim unity to advocate for a separate home land for Muslims. Jinnah said “we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life” Hindus and Muslims were not able to live together therefore Jinnah vision was that Muslims should have an independent state where they can practice their religion freely and live peacefully. His vision was a state where all irrespective of their class, creed were supposed to be equal and where religion would not play a defining factor in the business of the state. Jinnah’s vision for Pakistan was based on democracy, rule of law, equality, derived from teachings of Islam where people of all faiths who lived side by side enjoying full equality and religious freedom. According to Stanley Wolpert “Few individuals significantly alter the course of history, fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly any one can be credited with creating a nation state and Muhammad Ali Jinnah did all three”.

The Bande Mataram was also a compelling factor for the Muslims of sub continent for the search of their identity. The Bande Mataram was adopted as national anthem in the Congress governed provinces after 1937 elections and Muslims children were compelled to sing the anthem. The Bande Mataram tells the story of a secret Hindu group plotting to overthrow the Muslims power in Bengal in the 18th century. It was recited as a vow and pledge. Jinnah described it “Idolatrous and worse—a hymn of hatred for Muslims”.

The ideology of Pakistan is Islam

Meaning of an Ideology

The word “ideology” is composed of two Greek words “ideo” and “logos”. It literally means “the science or study of ideas”.

The ideology of any nation reflects the ideals and aspirations of its people, and religion and cultural shape, their thinking which binds them together. An ideology in the positive sense is a system of beliefs, values, ideas, convictions, institutions, goals and a body of knowledge which a people considers true, binding and practicable.

How Does Ideology emerge?

Ideologies tend to arise in the times of crises and social stress. Society has no ideology, when faced with a crisis, may find it difficult to decide by reacting to its ethical and practical aspects as to whether to confront it with courage or retreat from it. At such a moment, while ideology has its binding functions, it also provides a simple and sure answer, leaving no chances for subsequent regrets. This is inherent in the fight for principle. According to Reo M. Christenson (Ideologies and Modern Politics) that; “An ideology emerges when people feel strongly that they are being mistreated under an existing order when their status is threatened by fundamental changes occurring in society and when the prevailing ideology no longer satisfies them.....”

Political Ideology

A political ideology is a system of beliefs that explain and justifies a preferred political order, either existing or proposed and offers a strategy (institutions, processes programs) for its attainment Ideology of Life

When a significant purpose becomes a joint ideal of people’s life, then it is a common ideology of life.

Characteristics of an Ideology

The ideology must contain following traits;

1. Maximum people should be united on this ideology.
2. The ideology must be harmonised with the feelings, emotions, traditions, beliefs, and values of the nation.
3. Enough individual /man-power is requisite in it.
4. This can be obtained by collective efforts.
5. An organised party of leaders to implement this ideology is imperatively required.

Importance of an Ideology

Ideology is important in following aspects;

1. Ideology is a motivating force for a nation, which is striving hard to bring stability and homogeneity to its nationhood.
2. It provides the cement-binding base to the scattered groups in society and brings them closer to each other on a common platform.
3. Ideologies impel their adherents to follow a joint line of action for the accomplishment of their goal.
4. Ideologies give shape to the revolutions and give birth to new cultures and civilizations.
4. Ideologies stress on their adherents to insist on the realization of their ideas through the total transformation of society.
5. An ideology offers an interpretation of the past, and an explanation of the present and a vision of the future.

Thus the ideologies contain a set of proposals about human nature and society. These proposals explicitly manifest human conditions, approaches, and understanding of social and political order and provide and the basis for the accomplishment of a desired social system.

Ideology of Pakistan

The ideology of Pakistan took shape through an evolutionary process. Historical experience provided the base; Allama Iqbal gave it a philosophical explanation; Quaid-i-Azam translated it into a political reality; and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, bypassing Objectives Resolution in March 1949, gave it legal

sanction. It was due to the realization of the Muslims of South Asia that they are different from the Hindus that they demanded separate electorates. However, when they realized that their future in a „Democratic India“ dominated by Hindu majority was not safe, they changed their demand to a separate state.

The ideology of Pakistan stemmed from the instinct of the Muslim community of South Asia to maintain their individuality in the Hindu society. The Muslims believed that Islam and Hinduism are not only two religions, but are two social orders that produced two distinct cultures. There is no compatibility between the two. A deep study of the history of this land proves that the differences between Hindus and Muslims are not confined to the struggle for political supremacy but are also manifested in the clash of two social orders. Despite living together for more than one thousand years, they continue to develop different cultures and traditions. Their eating habits, music, architecture and script, all are poles apart.

The basis of the Muslim nationhood was neither territorial nor racial or linguistic or ethnic rather they were a nation because they belonged to the same faith, Islam. They demanded that the areas where they were in the majority should be constituted into a sovereign state, wherein they could order their lives by the teachings of Holy Quran and Sunnah of Holy Prophet (PBUH).

The creation of Pakistan was unique in the sense that it was based on an ideology which sought its roots from the religion of Islam. The famous slogan was as under:-

“PAKISTAN KA MATLAB KIYA, LA ILLA HA ILL ALLAH”

It became the corner of the freedom movement and the basis of Pakistan.

Meaning and definitions of Pakistan Ideology are explained as under:-

1. The ideology of Pakistan is actual implementation of Islamic teachings.
2. To maintain and arouse the national dignity and struggles for unity among Muslim Ummah and Islamic rule is, in fact, Ideology of Pakistan.
3. Two-Nation Theory by Islamic Philosophy in the political and cultural background of Sub-continent is called the ideology of Pakistan.
4. The ideology of Pakistan is actually Islamic ideology.
5. The idea of Muslims, attaining Pakistan was infected Ideology of Pakistan.

Pakistan is an Ideological state, and the ideology of Pakistan is Islamic ideology. Its basic principle being:

“The only sovereign is Allah”.

Islam acted as a nation-building force before the establishment of Pakistan. The ideology of Pakistan basically means that Pakistan should be a state where the Muslims should have an opportunity to live according to the faith and creed based on the Islamic principles. They should have all the resources at the disposal to enhance Islamic culture and civilization. Quid-e-Azam once said:

“Pakistan was created the day the first Indian national entered the field of Islam”.

From the above statement, it is clear that Ideology of Pakistan is an Islamic one.

The significance of Pakistan Ideology

The ideology of Pakistan is very important in national life and its some salient aspects are explained as under:-

1. The protagonist of Success Ideology of Pakistan is a supporter of its success and triumph. The Muslims of Sub-continent were unified into oneness only because of the ideology of Pakistan. They ranked their differences entirely and prompted for the attainment of Pakistan. Resultantly, they succeeded to foil cunning tactics of Hindus and English. So, this ideology kept on strengthening them, and inordinate power of thinking and religious potency kept increasing in them, and it resulted in an independent state.
2. A bearer of Morality and Good Character Due to the adoption of Ideology of Pakistan such a Muslim nation can be developed which would have lofty ethical traits, honesty, good character, and valour as well.
2. Development of New Islamic World One of the fundamental aims of Ideology of Pakistan is to unify all the Muslims world over, and thus ideology apprises the Muslims of unity and fraternity. By adopting it, we can get rid of interior and exterior worries, extortion and imperialistic, conspiracies very easily.

3. Inevitable for Country and National Safety It is inevitable for the sublime and safety of the nation. It places the people residing in different provinces on one platform and creates unity among them. As long as it is strictly adopted the unanimity of the nation would be elevated. It will help in foiling the aims of terrorists, saboteurs, time servers and vested interests elements. Thus, the safety of Pakistan ideology is necessary for the integrity of the country.
4. Source of Religious Power it is also a great source of religious power. This ideology forced the English and Hindus to bow down in the past too, and others can also be forced to bow down by adopting the ideology in future. So it is the need of the hour to cordially adopt this idea so that we may be prominent in living nations.
5. The ideology of Islamic State This ideology has been founded on Islamic teachings. Therefore, by adopting this ideology, the Muslim nation would develop into staunch Muslim and righteous and good Muslims would be produced by owning this theory.

FACTORS CREATING THE IDEA OF A SEPARATE HOMELAND

The ideology of Pakistan was created when Muslims of Indo-Pak Sub Continent developed a specific attitude of mind that they are different from Hindus. This was due to the injustices were done to the Muslims by British and Hindus.

Some of these are:

1. Anti-Muslim Campaign

The Hindus and British joined hands to destroy the faith, belief, customs and national importance of Muslims because Muslims rebellion was creating many problems for both.

2. In acceptance of British Rule

Muslims had been ruling the Sub Continent for ages. Therefore, they could not resist any power over them, When British came to rule the Sub Continent, Muslims were the only nation who opposed them. Thus, to gain power, British had to crush the Muslims collectivity.

3. Hindus Betrayed Muslims

In the beginning, Hindus appeared to be on Muslim's side, but later on, their hostility was exposed as they opposed various steps taken by British Government which purely benefited for Muslims.

4. Refusal of Muslim identity

British wanted to implement a parliamentary system in Sub Continent in which the majority was the power and authority. Due to Hindu majority, it was probable that if British left India undivided, it would fall under the Hindus rule. Furthermore, Hindus did not accept the separate identity of Muslims, and thus, there were no chances of freedom even after the British rule.

5. War of 1857

In 1857, Muslims and Hindus tried to expel the British out of India but failed. Later due to Hindu conspiracies; Muslims were held responsible for it and hence were crushed further by Britishers.

6. Sir Syed's Idea

Sir Syed for the first time put down the idea that Muslims are a separate nation. He convinced Muslims to unite themselves in order to have a separate social and political identity.

Quaid-i-Azam and Ideology of Pakistan

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a history-making leader who changed the course of history. He possessed a visionary leadership, commitment to the cause and political mobilization capacity. He was a Charismatic Leader in the real sense of the meaning.

ROLE OF JINNAH

On March 8, 1944, Quaid-i-Azam while addressing in Muslim University Aligarh, said;

“Actually Pakistan came into being when the very first Hindu converted into Muslim, it happened, when there was no rule of Muslims. The foundation of Muslims is Kalama-e- Tauheed rather than state or race. When a Hindu converted his religion, he became a member of the separate nation and new nation came into being.”

Jinnah played a decisive role in articulating the Muslim demands and pursuing this faced strong opposition from the Hindus and the British. He started his political career in 1906 by joining the Indian National Congress. He was elected to the Legislative Council in 1909, and in 1913 he also joined the All India Muslim League (AIML). Now he was a member of both the political parties. Having a disagreement with Gandhi on the issue of Swaraj (self-rule), complete freedom from the British and on using extra-constitutional means, Jinnah resigned from the Congress in 1920. His early efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity were materialized when THE LUCKNOW PACT (1916) was signed. The Hindus accepted the Muslim demands:

- Separate Electorate
- One-third Seats in Central Legislature
- Protection of minority rights

In the Nehru Report, the accepted Muslim rights were ignored. Jinnah retaliated forcefully by presenting 14 Points in 1929. He defined Muslim identity and mobilized them concerning Islam and convinced others that Muslims are different from the Hindus and the Congress. Islamic principles, concepts, and symbols surfaced in his speeches and statements.

Jinnah used the term NATION for the Muslims of India in Feb 1935 (Legislative Assembly). He argued that the combination of religion, culture, race, arts, music and so forth make a minority a SEPARATE ENTITY. In March 1936 Bombay, he stated that the Muslims could arrive at a settlement with Hindus as TWO Nations. In 1937, he asserted that there is also a third party in India, the Muslims. In 1939, he roared that the Muslims and Hindus are two nations and they are going to live as a nation and playing a part as a nation:

“We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, custom and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions; in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation.”

Speeches and statements: 1940-47

Jinnah believed in the force of Islam as he said that Islam is a dynamic force that can unite the Muslims. It can help to overcome the present crisis. It's a source of inspiration and guidance providing the ethical foundation, a framework, social order, and civilization.

Guidance & inspiration for constitution-making and Governance

He also talked of the modern notions of state, constitution, civil and political rights and democracy. He assured that constitution of Pakistan would be framed by the elected assembly.

Modern democratic and Islamic State

He gave assurance of equality of all citizens and rights and freedom to religious minorities in the new state.

The basis of the demand for an independent Pakistan

A western historian and a few Pakistani columnists/writers have been propagating that the Quaid wanted Pakistan to be a secular state. In support of this premise, they quote the Quaid's speech of 11, August 1947. It is significant to note that this view was expressed only after the death of all the leaders of Pakistan independence movement in the early nineteen nineties.

The speeches and writings of both the Quaid and other Muslim League leaders show that they visualized Pakistan as an Islamic State. They emphasized that in Islam there are no compartments that Islam is a complete code of life which includes every aspect of human activity both individual and collective and the Quaid himself clarified and highlighted this point in several speeches. Muslims make a distinction between 'Deen', which means a complete code of life and religion or 'Muzhab' which is the mode of worship and prayer. It is, therefore, not strange that neither the British nor the Hindus understood what the Quaid was saying because even today non-Muslims do not completely understand Islam, and consider it to be only a religion.

As far back as 1938, Jinnah spoke about Islam and statehood. When the question of revising the law of inheritance was raised, he said: "Islamic code of law about succession is most equitable, most just, most advanced and most progressive. I, therefore, say that let Muslims at least be governed by it." (22nd November 1938, API and Star of India).

In the Quran, Islam is always referred to as Deen and not as Muzdhab, the Arabic word for religion. Deen means a complete code of life and is inclusive of religion (Muzdhab). Jinnah understood the importance of this matter, and in his famous speech at Patna on 10, January 1939 said:

"Many people misunderstand us when we talk about Islam, particularly our Hindu friends. When we say, this flag is the flag of Islam they think we are introducing religion into politics — a fact of which we are proud. Islam gives us a complete code. It is not only religion, but it contains laws, philosophy, and politics. It contains everything that matters to a man from morning to night. When we talk about Islam, we take it as an all-embracing word." Star of India 11, January 1939.

It is quite apparent that the Quaid was extremely conscious of the essence of Islam which demanded expression and could not be expressed under a secular liberal democracy that assumed homogeneity of a population, in united India. The Congress could not see, or choose not to see, how Islam penetrates every facet of a Muslim's life and consequently made Muslims in India a separate nation from the Hindus. The Quaid found this denial of the Muslim nationhood by the Congress extremely frustrating:

"It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word. But are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality." (Ibid, page 160). The Quaid in his Presidential Address at the All India Muslim League, Lahore Session, March 1940 had said: "The problem of India is not an inter-communal one but manifestly of an international character, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans but also to the British and Hindus. If the British Government are earnest and sincere to secure the peace and happiness of the people of the subcontinent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands, by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'." (Ibid page 159)

With the unanimous adoption of the Lahore Resolution on 23, March 1940, the All India Muslim League forcefully started the struggle to achieve and establish Pakistan. In the next few years, one by one Muslims of all shades of opinion came under the banner of the Muslim League. Jinnah and the other Muslim leaders like Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Pir Saheb of Manki Sharif, Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung in their speeches stressed the distinction

of Islam, that it was a Deen and not just a religion like other religions, that it is a complete code of life and encompasses every aspect of human life including politics and economics.

Two months after the passing of the Lahore Resolution on 24, May 1940 Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad in his presidential address to the Bombay Provincial Muslim League clearly articulated the object of establishing Pakistan: “They intend to work out their own destiny unhampered and undaunted by un-Islamic influences. The creation of an Islamic state – mark my words gentlemen – I say Islamic and not Muslim, is our ideal. The greed, the lust for power, the self-seeking of those calling themselves Muslims, but not practising the commandments of their noble faith will not be allowed to have sway in the state we contemplate to bring into being. The state will conform to the laws as laid down in Islam. It will deal justly and fairly with every community and every section of its constituent members. The unchangeable laws of Islam will ipso facto be applied and enforced. There will be no fresh legislation regarding them because Islam has already legislated forever and ever.

In this speech he further said; “Then let us be clear on the point at least that the problem of Muslims being a separate nation is not only a theoretical one but on the other hand, is a living and practical problem. If the Muslims do not want to share the fate of the Muslims of Spain, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, if the Muslims want to save their culture and political thought, if they want to revive Islam, then the establishment of an Islamic State is the only course open to them. I cannot understand how the conception of democracy is lauded to the skies in one breath and its application denied in another”. (page 46 to 57, file No: 383, National Archives of Pakistan Islamabad).

The above extracts from the speech of Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad clearly indicate that the Muslim League’s objective was to establish Pakistan as an Islamic State. Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad had predicted that if the Muslims wanted to save their culture, political thought and wanted to revive Islam, then the establishment of an Islamic state was the only alternative.

The demand to establish Pakistan as an Islamic State was even commented upon by the Secretary of State for India in his letter to the Viceroy: “One of the anachronisms about the whole movement is that its leaders have a conception of the Islamic world outside as still thinking of Islam as the first and only object of political devotion, whereas both in Turkey and in the Arab world it has in the last twenty years become entirely secondary to racial and geographical nationalism”, (Emery to Linlithgow letter No: 6 of 14, March 1941, page 37, para-8, MSS EUR F 125/10).

The speech of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, the President of the All India States Muslim League, is very explicit on this subject. At the conclusion of the Thirty-first Session of All India Muslim League held at Karachi on 26, December 1943, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung was invited to address the Session by Jinnah who was presiding over the session. He spoke in Urdu, (the English translation of this speech is given in Volume II of Foundations of Pakistan edited by Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada (1970), page 485 to 487), the relevant extracts from this speech are:-

“The Quaid told us that we were not a minority; for 100 million people cannot be called a minority. We were a nation – a separate and self-contained nation – whose ingredients and structure differed fundamentally from those of other nations of the world, and which was founded on fundamentals that transcend geographical boundaries, race, and color.

When the idea that we are not a minority but a nation earned the general support of the Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azam told us that the Parliamentary system of Government could not be suitable for a country which is inhabited by two separate nations having nothing common with each other. When this too became popular with the Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azam went further and gave practical shape to Iqbal’s dream by demanding the establishment of a sovereign and the free Muslim States in the North-West and North-East of India, which is predominantly Muslim zones. This demand is now popularly called Pakistan”.

In this speech, he further said: “The achievement of Pakistan will not be so difficult as its maintenance. Your Quaid-i-Azam has proclaimed more than once that the Muslims have no right to frame the constitution and law of any one of their States. The laws governing the constitution of a Muslim are laid down in the Holy

Quran. There is no denying the fact that we want Pakistan for the establishment of the Quranic system of government”.

This speech establishes that the demand for Pakistan was for the establishment of an Islamic State based upon Quran and Sunnah and not just the protection of the economic and political interest of the Muslims. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung stated that Quaid-i-Azam had more than once stated this. These statements by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung were made in the presence of the Quaid as he was presiding over the Session.

The assertion that Islam is a complete code of life was again emphasized in the Quaid’s Eid message in 1945: “Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of Muslims. A religious, social, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code; it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life to come, and our Prophet (PBUH) has enjoined on us that every Musalman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collectively and individually.” (message on Idd September 1945, page 175, Speeches and Writings of Mr Jinnah by Jamiluddin Ahmad)

In this message, Jinnah again clearly and unambiguously states that in Islam there are no compartments and that it is a complete code of life encompassing every department of life, collectively and individually. This speech when reading the speech at Patna irrefutably establishes that Jinnah did not believe in the separation of religion from statecraft, i.e. secularism.

In some of his speeches before the elections in 1945-46, he explicitly stated: “The Muslims demand Pakistan, where they could rule according to their own code of life and according to their own cultural growth, traditions and Islamic Law.” (Speech at Peshawar on 21, November 1945 page 237 Jamiluddin Ahmed).

“Our religion contains a code of life in the conduct of every department, and we want to live according to the same ideals, but the Hindu leadership is bent upon establishing ‘Ram Raj’ and treat the Muslims as a minority”. (Speech to the students of Edwards College, Peshawar, 27, November 1945, page 249, Jamiluddin Ahmad). “The League stood for carving out states in India where Muslims were in a numerical majority to rule there under Islamic law.” (Address to students of Islamia College, Peshawar page 253 Jamiluddin).

“Strengthening yourselves is, really speaking, strengthening the borders of Pakistan, a thing which will enable us to achieve our goal and thus maintain our freedom, honour, prestige, and glory of Islam for which we are now fighting. You have asked me to give you a message. What message can I give you? We have the greatest message in the Quran for our guidance and enlightenment.” (Message to NWFP Muslim Students Federation of 4, April 1943, Vol-I page 472, Jamiluddin Ahmad).

“It should be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types but secure liberty, fraternity, and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam”. Quaid’s reply to the civic address on 25, August 1947, page 2615, Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-e-Azam by K. A. K. Yusufi.

In the elections of 1945-46, the Muslims of British India voted for Muslim League because the Quaid had assured them that; “The Muslims demand Pakistan, where they could rule according to their own code of life and according to their own cultural growth, traditions and Islamic Law.” The Quaid in his letter to the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif in November 1945 clearly stated:

“It is needless to emphasize that the Constituent Assembly which would be predominantly Muslim in its composition would be able to enact laws for Muslims, not inconsistent with Shariat laws and the Muslims will no longer be obliged to abide by the un-Islamic laws.” (page 46, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates, Volume V, 9, March 1949). This letter was written just before the 1945-46 elections; it conclusively establishes that the Quaid expected Pakistan’s Constituent Assembly to repeal un-Islamic laws and enact Shariat laws. This letter was quoted by Shabbir Ahmed Usmani in March 1949 when Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif was alive. He died in an automobile accident in 1960.

The five speeches quoted above irrevocably establishes that the Quaid wanted Pakistan to be established as an Islamic State where Islamic laws would be enforced, and the un-Islamic laws would be repealed. The

contention that the Quaid wanted Pakistan to be a Secular state is in complete contradiction to what was stated by him, and it is difficult to equate his vision of Pakistan with anything other than an Islamic state.

Quaid-i- Azam's Speech of 11, August 1947 The Quaid was rightly worried about the reaction in Pakistan to the bombing in the evening of 9, August of the special train carrying Pakistani government servants and the rapidly deteriorating conditions in East Punjab and its repercussions in West Punjab. These were the factors weighing heavy on his mind when he arrived at the Constituent Assembly to deliver the speech in the morning of 11, August 1947. Jinnah's objective in this speech was to assure the minorities that they would be equal citizens and that there would be no discrimination on the basis of color, caste, creed or religion. As quoted below, Jinnah said;

"Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state". Here Jinnah was talking about the personal faith of the citizens and Jinnah clarified this when he spoke of sects among the Muslims in this speech. Sequentially, the salient points of this speech are:

"The first observation I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State". "The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering – I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse – is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put it down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as possible for this Assembly to do so".

"Black-marketing is another curse". "The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again is a legacy that has been passed on to us. Along with many other things good and bad, has arrived this great evil – the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly".

"Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor". "If you work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to which community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities the Hindu community and the Muslim community because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavs, Khattris, also Bengalese, Madrasis, and so on – will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this, we would have been free peoples long ago.

Therefore we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know history shows that in England conditions some time ago were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and Protestants persecuted each other.

Today you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen, of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation. Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State".

The straightforward meaning of the Quaid's statement; "You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State" is that there is complete freedom for one to belong to any religion. All he stated is that the business of the State has nothing to do as to which religion, caste or creed one belongs to, i.e. complete freedom of religion.

This is exactly in accordance with the injunctions of the Quran: “There is no compulsion in religion” (Surah Al-Baqra, Aya-256.) “To you your religion, and to me my Deen (religion)”. Surah Al-Kafirun 108-6). The secularist interpretation of the 11, August speech would be in contradiction to all the speeches where Jinnah and the other Muslim League leaders clearly stated that they wanted Pakistan to be an Islamic state. Furthermore, if one interprets that the speech of 11, August 1947 to indicate that the Quaid wanted Pakistan to be a secular State, it follows that the Quaid and his associates had been lying for the past thirteen years (1934 to 1947) to the Muslims of British India. Even his sworn detractors acknowledge the truthfulness, moral uprightness, integrity and honesty of Jinnah. No one can accuse him of hypocrisy and duplicity or using Islam to achieve a political objective. The incident of his outright rejection to use the amorous letters between Lady Edwina Mountbatten and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, to expose their relationship demonstrates the character of Jinnah. Stanley Wolpert in his book Jinnah of Pakistan interprets the 11, August speech as being a reversal of Jinnah’s previous position:

“What a remarkable reversal it was, as though he had been transformed overnight once again into the old ‘ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity’ that Sarojini Naidu loved.” If one accepts Wolpert’s interpretation of the Quaid’s “reversal” then one would be faced to accept another reversal because one would be at a total loss to explain his speeches after 11 August 1947. Jinnah was a constitutionalist and was careful with his words and spoke in precise terms. Campbell-Johnson in his book ‘Mission with Mountbatten’ while narrating the events of 3, June 1947 states that Jinnah himself stated that “a spade should be called a spade — I always think in constitutional terms”. He was consistently a man of principle from which he never wavered. To accept Jinnah’s reversal on 11, August 1947 and another reversal on 30 October 1947, just three months later is not only inconsistent with Jinnah’s character but is also illogical.

In his speech on 30th October 1947 at Lahore Jinnah stated: “We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran, the final victory I once again say will be ours. — You have only to develop the spirit of Mujahids. You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory. — All I require of you now is that every one of us to whom this reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without. — Along with this, keep up your moral. Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause.”

The above speech totally contradicts any secularist interpretation of the speech of 11 August. The importance of this speech can be judged from the fact that the same evening the full speech was broadcast by Radio Pakistan followed by the translation in Urdu, and next morning the full text was published in the newspapers. This was also the only public meeting addressed by the Quaid after independence in West Pakistan.

The Quaid in his speech to the Sindh Bar Association in Karachi on 25, January 1948 said:- “Why this feeling of nervousness that the future constitution of Pakistan is going to be in conflict with the Shariat Law. — There are people who want to create mischief and make the propaganda that we will scrap the Shariat Law. Islamic principles have no parallel. Today they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. It has taught equality of man, justice and fair play to everybody. — No doubt there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam. Islam is not a set of rituals, traditions and a set of spiritual doctrines, Islam is a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in all aspects, social, political, economic, etc. It is based on the highest principles honour, integrity, fair play and justice for all”.

Quaid-i-Azam in this speech has explicitly stated that the future constitution of Pakistan would not be in conflict with Shariat Law. In addition, he referred to the Shariat Law as opposed to the ‘Quran and Sunnah’. This is of particular importance because he was addressing lawyers and judges.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah made several thousand speeches and statements spread over a period of about forty years (1908 to 1948), and there is not a single speech or statement in which he has said anything in favour of secularism. On the contrary, there are over two hundred (200) speeches expressing his Islamic orientation out of which only a few have been quoted above. The speeches contradicting Secularism quoted above were made both before and after 11th August 1947 therefore, it would be unreasonable and illogical to give an interpretation in favour of secularism to his speech of 11, August 1947.

How Jinnah's ideology shapes Pakistan's identity

In 1940 in Lahore Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the man who founded Pakistan, gave a seminal speech setting out the need for a separate state for Muslims on the subcontinent.

Before the division of India in 1947, Hindus and Muslims had lived together across the country. But Jinnah described them as two separate nations.

“It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality,” he said.

“Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literary traditions. They neither intermarry nor eat together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions.”

This “Two Nation Theory”, as it came to be known, has become the official Pakistani narrative for the creation of the state and key to how Pakistan defines itself.

Pakistan was perhaps the first country to be formed on the basis not of a common ethnicity or language, but religion. Yet at the same time, it is not, and never has been a theocracy.

This dichotomy is behind much of the debate around Pakistan's national identity and issues such as its treatment of minorities.

‘Nothing in common.’

Before partition, there was a real concern among Muslims living in British India at the prospect of becoming a minority in a Hindu-dominated independent India. About one-quarter of the population was Muslim.

Despite the Congress Party's assertions of its secular values, many Muslims were skeptical and feared that the Hindu majority would seek to marginalize them. Jinnah himself was an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity before becoming disillusioned with the attitude of Congress.

But did, for example, a Malayalam-speaking Sunni Muslim from southern India really have more in common with a Punjabi Shia from the North than with his Hindu neighbour? There existed vast differences in language, culture and religious interpretations among Indian Muslims, even if they were united by a common faith.

Jinnah was not the first to articulate the Two Nation Theory, but with the creation of Pakistan, he transformed it into a political reality.

The theory is now taught to all school children in Pakistan. It is why many see independence as liberation from India, as opposed to independence from British colonial rule.

At a tutoring centre in Islamabad, I asked teenagers why Pakistan was created.

“Hindus and Muslims had nothing in common other than the fact that they shared a land,” one said. “Their religion, their values, and their culture were all different. So that was why a new country was needed to get their rights.”

But when Pakistan was created, more Muslims stayed on in India than left. And then in 1971 Pakistan itself split in two, with the creation of an independent Bangladesh.

“If the Muslims are supposed to be one nation – then how come they are living in three different states?” asks historian and author Ayesha Jalal.

She says the official Pakistani narrative favours teaching ideology over history.

‘Not wrong.’

But Atta-ur Rahman, a former head of the Higher Education Commission in Pakistan, points to growing levels of intolerance in India towards Muslims as proof that the Two Nation Theory is correct. He claims Muslims who moved to Pakistan have done “far, far better” in terms of literacy levels and economic opportunities than those who stayed in India.

He rejects the suggestion that the independence of Bangladesh following a bloody civil war undermines the idea all Muslims in the subcontinent could be categorized as “one nation”.

“It was political interests which led to the division; it doesn’t mean the Two Nation Theory was wrong,” he said.

It is clear that the theory is key to Pakistan’s national identity. Islam is the principal bond between its ethnically diverse inhabitants. The national language, Urdu, is native to a small minority only.

Partition of India in August 1947

- Perhaps the biggest movement of people in history, outside of war and famine
- Two newly-independent states were created – India and Pakistan
- About 12 million people became refugees. Between half a million and a million people were killed in religious violence
- Tens of thousands of women were abducted

To disavow the theory would be to question the strength of the bond holding Pakistan together.

Yet some ethnic groups in Pakistan feel they are treated differently from others. This is particularly the case for people in the western province of Baluchistan, where there has been a long-running nationalist insurgency.

Jehanzeb Jamaldini of the Baluchistan National Party, which campaigns for greater autonomy, says it would have been better for Pakistan to have recognized different ethnic groups as “four or five different nations” within a federation.

Instead, there is a feeling among many in Pakistan that one ethnic group, Punjabis, dominate the rest of the country.

Islamic state?

The Two Nation Theory has also led to debate over whether Pakistan was intended as a secular homeland for Indian Muslims or an Islamic state, and what role religious minorities should play.

Most Hindus left Pakistan at the time of partition, but there are about two million who stayed.

Ramesh Vankwani, a Hindu member of parliament, says he believes in the theory, yet he also says Hindus and Muslims are living in Pakistan “are one nation – Pakistani”.

For Mr Vankwani, Jinnah’s statements in the lead up to independence are more important.

Just days before Pakistan was created, Jinnah said: “You are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State.”

For Mr Vankwani this is proof that Jinnah wanted equal rights for all and that Pakistan was not just for Muslims.

But others in Pakistan ask what the point of creating a homeland for Muslims as if it wasn’t to be an Islamic state?

Aligarh Movement

As we know that, after the war of independence the condition of the Muslims of India were very miserable as the British fell more on the Muslims than on Hindus. They considered that Muslims were responsible for all the wrongs and the war held just because of their harsh and rude behavior. After 1857, the Muslims emerged as a backward nation; they were illiterate and hopelessly ignorant in every walk of life. They were deprived of their basic rights and were neglected in every sphere of life. Nevertheless, they were economically, politically, socially and to be more exact religiously made the subject of ruthless punishment. They were helpless before the British and their combine lobby with Hindus; so, in these conditions they neither trusted Hindus nor British, who spared no effort to tortured Muslims.

In such conditions, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came forward and tried to help the Muslims come out from such deplorable and miserable conditions. He guided the Muslims towards the right path and attempted to draw out the Muslims from such helpless condition. He started a movement in order to give respectable position to Muslims in society as they had in past, this movement is known as Aligarh Movement. The main focus of the Aligarh movement was:

- Loyalty to British Government.
- Modern western education for the Muslims to compete with Hindus.
- To keep away the Muslims from politics.

Sir Syed realized that this miserable and deplorable condition of Muslims was due to the lack of modern education. He believed that the cure of every problem of Muslims was the modern education. Therefore, he commenced an educational program in order to uplift the deprived and disappointed Muslims, who had lost their past glory. He took concrete steps for his education plan. Thus, in 1859, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan set up a school for Muslims in Muradabad where English, Persian, Islamiyat, Arabic, Urdu were compulsory subjects. In 1862, Sir Syed was transferred from Muradabad to Ghazipur where he established another school for Muslims, which was known as Madrass Ghazipur. Here, also the English, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Islamiyat were compulsory subjects.

In 1864, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan laid the foundation of a scientific society at Ghazipur. The purpose of this society was to translate the English books into Urdu language. But, later on, in 1866, after his transfer to Aligarh, the main office of the scientific society was also transferred to Aligarh. In 1866, the scientific society issued a journal named as Aligarh Institute Gazette. This journal was published both in Urdu and English languages. The aim of this journal was to wash away the misconception between Muslims and British government and brought them close to each other.

In order to closely watch the educational system of England, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan accompanied his son Syed Mehmud, visited England in 1869 and stayed there for seventeen months studying English educational institutions like Oxford and Cambridge University. Later, after his return to India, he set up a committee known as “Committee Striving for Educational Progress of Muslims”. Under this committee another committee was established named as “Fund Committee for the establishment of a Muslim College” and Sir Syed was selected the secretary of the both committees. For this purpose, Sir Syed toured across the country and collected funds for the establishment of college. The committee decided first for the forming of school as a model to the people and later to found the college. Hence, in 1875, Sir Syed established Mohammedan Anglo Oriental School at Aligarh. In 1877, the school was upgraded to the level of college which was inaugurated by Lord Lytton. The main characteristic of this college was that it offered both Western and

Eastern educations. Later on, this college was raised to the level of university, after the death of Sir Syed in 1920.

In 1886, Sir Syed set up an organization which is known as Mohammedan Educational Conference, which presented a twelve point programme in western and religious education in English and other languages. Its aim was to convey the message of education to the Muslim masses. The Conference held its sessions at different towns of the country to know about the educational problems and then tried to solve them. The conference in its meeting discussed the modern techniques for the development and improvement of the standard of the education.

In 1866, Sir Syed established British India Association at Aligarh. The main purpose of this organization was to express the grievances and point of view of Indians to the British parliament. He also wrote "Loyal Muhammadans of India" in which he recorded a detailed account of the loyal services of the Muslims which they rendered to the British rulers. In 1870, Sir Syed, after his return from England, set up an organization known as "Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Muslamanan-i-Hind" in order to impart modern education to the Muslims of India.

Sir Syed wrote the philosophical commentary on Bible named as "Tabaeen-al-Kalam." In this commentary Sir Syed drew out the similarities found between Islam and Christianity. He also wrote "Essay on the life of Muhammad" on the response to "Life of Muhammad", written by William Muir, in which he had criticized the Holy Prophet. Sir Syed also wrote "Anjuman-i-Tariki-i-Urdu" for the protection of Urdu. Sir Syed published another influential magazine named as "Tahzib-ul-Akhlaaq" in which he discussed the Muslim society by criticizing the conservative way of living and emphasized on the new modern way of life.

Sir Syed, although, was the first Muslim member of Central Legislative Council, but he advised the Muslims to remain apart from politics unless and until they would get education. He believed that the cure of Muslim problems is only education and unless and until Muslims get education, they will remain backward in every sphere of life. Thus, Sir Syed did his best, through the Aligarh movement, for the Muslim cause, and took the support of British by showing loyalty to them and also aloof the Muslims from the Indian National Congress.

Khilafat movement

INDIAN MUSLIM MOVEMENT

Khilafat movement, pan-Islamic force in India that arose in 1919 in an effort to salvage the Ottoman caliph as a symbol of unity among the Muslim community in India during the British raj. The movement was initially bolstered by Gandhi's noncooperation movement but fell apart after the abolition of the caliphate in 1924.

Mehmed VI Mehmed VI was the Ottoman sultan and caliph (1918–20) during the nascence of the Khilafat movement in India. *Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Digital File Number: LC-DIG-ppmsca-04928)*

Fears of Muslim disunity were aroused by the decline of the Ottoman Empire—the preeminent Islamic power whose sultan, as caliph, was seen by pan-Islamists as the leader of the worldwide Muslim community. The caliphate was endangered first by Italian attacks (1911) and the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and later by the empire's defeat in World War I (1914–18). Fears of the loss of the caliphate were intensified by the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920), which dismembered the empire, not only detaching all non-Turkish regions from the empire but also giving parts of the Turkish homeland to Greece and other non-Muslim powers.

Advertisement

A campaign in defense of the caliphate was launched, led in India by the brothers Shaukat and Muhammad 'Alī and by Abul Kalam Azad. The leaders joined forces with Mahatma Gandhi's noncooperation movement for Indian freedom, promising nonviolence in return for his support of the Khilafat movement. In 1920 the latter movement was marred by the *hijrat* (Urdu: “exodus”; recalling Muhammad's Hijrah from Mecca) from India to Afghanistan of about 18,000 Muslim peasants, who felt that India was an apostate land. It was also tarnished by the Muslim Malabar rebellion in south India in 1921, the excesses of which deeply stirred Hindu India. Gandhi's suspension of his movement and his arrest in March 1922 weakened the Khilafat movement still further. It was further undermined when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk drove the Greeks from western Asia Minor in 1922 and deposed the Turkish sultan Mehmed VI in the same year. The movement finally collapsed when Atatürk abolished the caliphate altogether in 1924.

Establishment of All India Muslim League

After the creation of the Indian national Congress and its time as a 'representative' party for the people of the Indian sub-continent, there was felt a need to reassess its claims at unbiased representation. From the very start of its existence the Congress had shown clear its interest to safeguard the rights of Hindus, alone. Some of the Congress leaders adopted a revolutionary policy to establish Hindu Raj in the sub-continent under the guise of a national movement.

The prediction of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Soon proved to be fact that, "Hindus and Muslims are two different nations who have different ideologies." The Muslims of India were greatly disappointed by the anti-Muslim stance that the Congress seemed to have adopted. The events following the partition of Bengal and Urdu-Hindu controversy strengthened the desire of the Muslims to organize themselves politically as separate

community. The birth of All India Muslim League at Dacca on 30th December 1906 came as an expression of that desire.

Following are the reasons for the establishment of Muslim league.

1. Indifferent Attitude of the Congress towards Muslims: All India National Congress was a predominantly Hindu body. Its interests were always at odds ends to those of the Muslims. By 1906, Muslim leaders were convinced that they must have their own party which may speak for the community on all important occasions.

2. Educational and Economic Backwardness: Muslims had lagged far behind from the Hindus in education and economic progress. Educational and economic conditions could only be up graded by establishing a separate Muslims organization that could represent the wishes of the Muslims.

3. Urdu-Hindi Controversy: The Urdu-Hindu controversy began with the demand of Hindus to replace Urdu by Hindi as official language in Deva Nagari Script. Sir Anthony Macdonal, the then Governor of UP ousted Urdu from public offices. Congress clearly sided with Hindi and supported the movement against Urdu and there was no other political party to support Urdu. Thus, the need of formation of a Muslim political party was felt severely.

4. The Evolution of Minto Marley Reforms: The turning point came in the summer of 1906 during John Morley's budget speech, in which he hinted of constitutional reforms. At that time Muslims did not have a political platform to demand their share. It was reasserted that they wanted a separate political platform.

5. The Success of Simla Deputation: Minto offered fullest sympathy to the Muslim demands. The success of Deputation compelled the Muslims to have a separate political association of their own.

6. To Save Muslim Entity: The belief uttered by sir Syed Ahmed Khan that the Muslims were somehow a separate entity. The Muslims did not believe that Hindus and Muslims formed one nation. They were different by religion, history, languages and civilization. It became essential for Muslims to establish a political party of their own.

A resolution to form the All India Muslim League was passed by Nawab Salimullah Khan and was seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Moulana Zafar Ali. The resolution was passed by All India Educational Conference on 30th December 1906. A committee was formed to prepare its draft constitution. Sir Agha Khan was appointed as President and Syed Hassan Balgrami was appointed as

secretary, while Nawab Mohsim-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were made joint secretaries with six Vice- Presidents, a Central Committee with forty Members was also constituted. In this way Muslim league was established and become the sole representative of Muslims.

Knowing the circumstances which led to the formation of Muslim league was not difficult to make out what it aimed to. However, the Muslim league laid the following points as its objectives.

1. To create among Muslims the feelings of loyalty towards British Government and to remove misconception and suspicious.
2. To Safeguard the political rights of the Muslims and to bring them into the notice of the Government.
3. To prevent among the Muslims, the rise of prejudicial feelings against the other communities of India.

The first session of all India Muslim league was held at Karachi on 29th December, 1907 and was presided over by Adamji Peer Bhai.

It was being felt from the beginning that the All India Muslim League would not achieve considerable success without winning the British Public opinion to its side. Therefore, Syed Ameer Ali organized the branch of Muslim league at London. The inaugural meeting was held on 6th May 1908, at London Caxton Hall. It was participated by the Muslim and those British people who favoured their view point.

There come into being a political body which was to play a decisive role in the destiny of the Muslim peoples of the Indian sub-continent. The day the Muslim delegation won recognition of the demand of separate electorate, the course of the Muslim freedom struggle was charted. It was the beginning of the growth of Muslim national consciousness. It farmed visible institutional expression in the form of Muslim League which after a forty (40) years struggle was to achieve for the Muslims the culmination of their national aspiration, Muslim League became a mass movement of the Muslims and succeeded in achieving Pakistan in 1974. Actually the new breed of leadership like Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was instrumental in its metamorphosis.

After the acceptance of the demand of separate representation in the Minto Morely reforms, it was common sense to have political party to fight elections for Muslim representation. Whatever may have been the effects of Muslim league, but it made clear that the interests of Muslims must be regarded completely separate from those of the Hindus. Any fusion of both the communities in future was not possible. It steered the ship of Muslim destiny safely through of Political chaos and turmoil to the safer harbour of Pakistan.

Allahabad Address (1930)

address, Allama Iqbal gave the lucid explanation of the inner feeling of the Muslims of India. He narrated the basic principles of the Islam and loyalties of the Muslims to their faith. He gave the idea and concept about a separate homeland in this address because the Muslim were a nation and had a right that they got the identification and passed their lives in order to the Islamic principles. Due to these reasons, he expressed his thoughts in this address.

There were many reasons which caused Muslims to think about the separate homeland and compelled to protect the rights of the Muslim. There was a two branched attack on the Muslim interests. On the one side, Hindus were creating the restrictions in the way of the Muslim and hurting the feeling of the Muslim to propose the Nehru report as the ultimate constitution for India. On the other side, the British government totally ignored the Muslim's rights and other facilities were not being provided to them. They were ignored in every field of life, especially in education and government. In that critical condition, Allama Muhammad Iqbal realized that these eccentric problems of the Muslims in North West India needed to be addressed. In order to solve these problems, Allama Iqbal pointed a line of action.

In his address, Allama Iqbal explained that Islam was the major and determining factor in the life of Indian Muslims. He defined the Muslims of India as a nation and recommended there could be no possibility of peace in India without recognizing them as one. Unless the Muslims are considered as a nation and their rights are protected, it is impossible to establish peace and order in the land. Because there are many nations in the land, every nation is distinguished from the other in their customs, traditions and religion. The difference in the mind, difference in thoughts and religion furthermore, difference in the customs and tradition make them unable to live together. So in these condition, it is essential that Muslim have a separate homeland as without a separate homeland they might face many difficulties for the rest of their life in united India.

As the permanent solution to the Muslim Hindus problem, Iqbal proposed that Punjab, North West Frontier province, Baluchistan, and Sindh should be converted into one state. He expressed that the northwestern part of the country should be established to unite as a self-governed unit, within or without the British Empire. Islam and Nationalism.

In his address, Allama Iqbal explained that Islam was the major formative factor in the life history of Indian Muslims. It furnished those basic emotions and loyalties, which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. He defined the Muslims of India as a nation and suggested that there could be no possibility of peace in the country unless and until they were recognized as a nation. He claimed that the only way for the Muslims and Hindus to prosper in accordance with their respective cultural values was under a federal system where Muslim majority units were given the same privileges that were to be given to the Hindu majority units. In this section, Iqbal addressed the idea the Islam and nationalism. Islam is a way of life in which the Muslims spend their lives with peace and harmony, it gives the principles to regulate and organize life and also form the identification of a separate nation within the Muslim psyche. Islam provides the Muslims with a separate identification and distinguishes them from others because its customs and traditions are different from other religions and this faith stresses upon monotheism and acceptance of the Holy Prophet's principles. As far as nationalism is concerned, it can be said that nationalism comes through Islam in Muslims, Islam provides a different way of life. Although Islam is a religion yet it declares the rules and regulations about the different aspects of life. On the other hand, Europeans considered Islam as a private affair and thought that Islam should not guide political conditions. Whereas Iqbal explained that Islam was not a private matter, the demand of separate homeland was based on Islam as it did not neglect the common life. "Man," says Renan "is enslaved neither by his race nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of

mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation.”

The question of unity

In this section of his speech, Iqbal narrated the principle of unity and whether unity in different nations was possible or not. According to Iqbal’s point of view, there are many nations in this sub-continent and every nation has its own social, political, and religious structure. Without partition, establishment of peace and order in this land is impossible; nevertheless they can pass their lives with peace. One reason is that one nation does not accept the customs and traditions of other nations and consider them lower. This thing expressed that peace and harmony can be established but only after the division of the Indian sub-continent to facilitate the Muslims to implement their religion.

Muslim Indians within India

The unity of nations is not only territorial as is believed by European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to the different races, speaking different languages, and professing different religions. Their behavior is not at all determined by a common race consciousness.

The History Of The Lahore Resolution History Essay

Few individuals significantly alter the course of the history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Muhammad Ali Jinnah did all three. Hailed as a “Great Leader” (Quaid-e-Azam) of Pakistan, Jinnah virtually conjured that country into statehood by the force of his indomitable will.

The Lahore Resolution commonly known as the Pakistan Resolution was a formal political statement adopted by the Muslim League at the occasion of its three-day general session on 22-24 March 1940 that called for greater Muslim autonomy in British India. This has been largely interpreted as a demand for a separate Muslim state, Pakistan. The resolution was presented by A. K. Fazlul Huq.

FROM March 22 to March 24, 1940, the All India Muslim League held its annual session at Minto Park, Lahore. This session proved to be historical. The session was held between 22 March and 24 March, 1940, at Manto Park (now Iqbal Park), Lahore. The welcome address was made by Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Mamdot. In his speech, Jinnah recounted the contemporary situation, stressing that the problem of India was no more of an inter-communal nature, but manifestly an international. He criticized the Congress and the nationalist Muslims, and espoused the Two-Nation Theory and the reasons for the demand for separate Muslim homelands. According to Stanley Wolpert, this was the moment when Jinnah, the former ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity, totally transformed himself into Pakistan’s great leader.

On the first day of the session, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah narrated the events of the last few months. In an extempore speech he presented his own solution of the Muslim problem. He said that the problem of India was not of an inter-communal nature, but manifestly an international one and must be treated as such.

To him the differences between Hindus and the Muslims were so great and so sharp that their union under one central government was full of serious risks. They belonged to two separate and distinct nations and therefore the only chance open was to allow them to have separate states. In the words of Quaid-i-Azam:

“Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations that are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other, and likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state”.

He further said,

“Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of nation. We wish our people to develop to the fullest spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people”.

On the basis of the above mentioned ideas of the Quaid, A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq, the then Chief Minister of Bengal, moved the historical resolution which has since come to be known as Lahore Resolution or Pakistan Resolution. The Resolution declared:

“No constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable to the Muslims unless geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary. That the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign”. It further reads, “That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative, and other rights of the minorities, with their consultation. Arrangements thus should be made for the security of Muslims where they were in a minority”.

The Resolution repudiated the concept of United India and recommended the creation of an independent Muslim state consisting of Punjab, N.W.F.P, Sindh and Baluchistan in the northwest, and Bengal and Assam in the northeast. The Resolution was seconded by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan from Punjab, Sardar Aurangzeb from the N.W.F.P, Sir Abdullah Haroon from Sindh, and Qazi Esa from Baluchistan, along with many others. The Resolution was passed on March 24. It laid down only the principles, with the details left to be worked out at a future date. It was made a part of the All India Muslim League’s constitution in 1941.

It was on the basis of this resolution that in 1946 the Muslim League decided to go for one state for the Muslims, instead of two. Having passed the Pakistan Resolution, the Muslims of India changed their ultimate goal. Instead of seeking alliance with the Hindu community, they set out on a path whose destination was a separate homeland for the Muslims of India-with a great name of Pakistan.

Perspective:

The background of Pakistan Resolution is that in 1937, provincial autonomy was introduced in the Sub-continent under the Government of India Act, 1935. The elections of 1937 provided the Congress with a majority in six provinces, where Congress governments were formed. This led to the political, social, economic and cultural suppression of the Muslims in the Congress ruled provinces. The Congress contemptuously rejected the Muslim League’s offer of forming coalition ministries. The Muslims were subjected not only to physical attacks but injustice and discriminatory treatment as regards civil liberties, economic measures and employment and educational opportunities. The Congress Ministries introduced the Wardha scheme of education, the object of which was to de- Muslimise the Muslim youth and children. According to the British historian Reginald Coupland, “It was not only the Working Committee’s control of the Congress Ministries that showed that a ‘Congress Raj’ had been established. It was betrayed by the conduct and bearing of Congressmen. Many of them behaved as if they were a ruling caste, as if they owned the country.”

Mr. Ian Stephens, former editor of the newspaper ‘Statesman’ and an eyewitness to the working of the Congress Ministries, says:

“The effect of these simultaneously on many Muslim minds was of a lightning flash. What had before been but guessed at now leapt forth in horridly clear outline. The Congress, a Hindi-dominated body, was bent on the eventual absorption; Western-style majority rule, in an undivided sub- continent, could only mean the smaller community being swallowed by the larger.”

The animosity shown by the Hindus to the Muslim and their own experience of two-and-a-half year Congress rule strengthened the Muslims belief in their separate Nationality .The discriminatory attitude coupled with attempts by the Hindu dominated Congress to suppress the Muslims impelled the Muslims to finally demand a separate sovereign state for the Muslims. However, the Muslim demand was violently opposed both by the British and the Hindus; and the Congress attitude towards the Muslims led to the hardening of the Muslims belief that only a separate homeland -Pakistan -can guarantee their freedom. This demand was put in black

and white on 23rd March, 1940. After adoption of the Pakistan Resolution, Quaid-e-Azam had a clear objective before him and he struggled hard to achieve it.

In one of the meetings, he said:

“We are a Nation of a hundred million and what is more, we are a Nation with our distinct culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, as Muslims we have our own distinctive outlook on life”.

He further said that by all cannons of international laws, we are a nation. In 1945, Quaid-e-Azam proclaimed that only Muslim League represented the Muslims, and proved it to the hilt during 1946 polls, winning 100 per cent seats at the Centre, and 80 per cent in the provinces. Nothing could have been more conclusive to shatter the Congress claim of being a national body. If the British had read the writing on the wall in this verdict, Pakistan could have come into existence two years earlier without bloodshed. With his charismatic personal Quaid-e-Azam turned the dream of a separate homeland into reality on 14th of August 1947.

Aims and Objectives of Lahore Resolution:

The Muslim majority areas of India should be merged so that the Indian Muslims may have an area where they could establish their independent state.

The Muslims, who are in minority in the independent units and areas, should be consulted with and their interests should be provided with the protection in the constitution.

Since the present constitution does not provide protection to the Muslims’ interests, it is not acceptable to the Indian Muslims at all.

The Muslims of India cannot accept the amendments proposed by the British government in the present constitution so long the entire constitutional plan is not revised from the scratches.

Prior to implementation of the amended constitution, the Muslim leaders should be invited to extend their view about the amendments and this constitution should not be implemented before the consent of the Muslims.

The executive committee of the Muslim League should be advised to prepare an action plan in the light of the principles mentioned above making arrangements to take over all the matters and controls in both the wings; proposed East Wing and West Wing of Pakistan.

Significance of Lahore Resolution:

Making the common will for the achievement of Pakistan was a must for which Muslim league had been making efforts just after its inception. This objective was achieved after 7 years in the form of Lahore resolution. This Resolution changed the direction of South Asian politics radically. The presentation of Pakistan Resolution broke the dreams of Indians into pieces for the consolidated (Akhand) Bharat. The apprehension of Indians was shaken on the ruins of which the building of Pakistan could be constructed.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that the 27th session of Muslim league proposed to be held in Lahore will create a new history of the fate of India and this statement of Quaid was culminated into truth in this session because after this resolution , the entire Muslim population of India unanimously gathered under

the undisputed leadership of the Quaid. It was decided in this resolution that there should be separate constitutional bodies for Hindus and Muslims.

It is also proved by the Lahore resolution that the resolution is the most important sentiments amongst all others which could convert impossible into possibilities. The Muslim who were in minority in the different areas of India also favored Pakistan resolution although they were fully aware of the fact that there areas will never go to the lot of Pakistan but the effective leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah prepare them to favor the Muslim cause. The concept of Muslim league was altogether changed after the Pakistan resolution and now it was not a political party but it emerged as the awami party which makes the establishment of Pakistan possible on the basis of majority demand and strength.

It was one of the most important resolution ever passed because it created the history and affected millions of people

It is the culmination (a logical consequence) of the two nation theory.

It became a turning point in the history of the Muslims of India. i.e. there was an era before the Lahore Resolution and there was an era after the Lahore Resolution (After the resolution a large number of Muslims started joining Muslim League and hence Muslim League was called as Sole Spokesman of Muslims)

Hindu Reaction:

Hindu rejected the resolution immediately and called the resolution as Vivisection of Mother India (i.e. its murdering India)

Later Developments:

August 1940 offer:

The World War II started in 1939 that required heavily men powered battlefield. The British who always believe in bargaining announced an offer in August 1940:

Expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of National Defense Council.

Special importance to the views of minorities in the revision of the constitution.

Power could not be transferred under a system that will not be acceptable to large and powerful minorities in India.

The Separation of East Pakistan

East Pakistan now known as Bangladesh. It was a province of Pakistan from 1947 to 1955 it was known as Bengal. It was named as East Pakistan when West Pakistan was made as one unit. Geographically it is bordered with India to the North, East and West, Burma to its northeast, Nepal and Bhutan by the chicken's neck corridor while with Bay of Bengal to the South. Its area is 147,570 square Kilometers.

Separation of East Pakistan was a great setback to Pakistan. By 1970, the sentiments of national unity had weakened to the extent that constant conflict between both the provinces erupted into a mass civil disorder and tragically resulted in brutal and violent amputation of East Pakistan.

As a result Pakistan's international credit depleted and Pakistan's military being most powerful institution suffered a lot, Homeland of all the Muslims of the world was divided.

Bangladesh Liberation War

Bangladesh liberation war was a military conflict between east and west Pakistan in 1971 which established The Bangladesh Republic. The War began on 25th March 1971 when Pakistani military led by Yaya Khan began a military operation against Bengali nationalists, civilians and students, intelligentsia, religious minorities and demanding self-determination and acceptance of 1970s election results. Army arrested Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman, banned all political parties and News papers.

Pakistan army targeted rural and urban areas with military raids, air strikes, massacres, killings. It promoted religious militant groups like Al-Badar, Alshamas which contributed to the sectarian violence.

Responding Bengali military and paramilitary formed Mukhti bahini led by M.A.G Usmani and eleven sectors commanders. They waged a massive guerrilla war against Pakistani Military. The Bangladesh Forces liberated many cities and towns in initial months of the war before the Pakistani military regained power. The Bengali resistance secured control of large parts of countryside. Liberation forces got huge economic and military support from Indian government led by Indra Gandhi. Bengal Liberation War was supported by British, India and America.

War lasted for nine months with the Mukhti Bahini successfully defeated Pakistani forces and detained at night by November. India joined war on 3 December 1971, after Pakistan launched preemptive attacks on north India, subsequently Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 took place on two places, Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea.

India recognised Bangladesh as separate country on 6 December 1971. Pakistani forces surrendered to the allied forces of Bangladesh and India on 16 December 1971 and 90,000 Pakistani soldiers were taken as POWs under the Geneva convention. The majority of UN member states recognized the new country in 1972.

There are a lot of causes behind the separation of East Pakistan, Some of them are mentioned here:

1. Natural Causes

- **Geographical Location**

Both the wings were thousands of miles far from each other, there was no common border, East Pakistan was surrounded by India. India influenced that led to social, economic and Political disparity with East Pakistan. Relations worsened between the both provinces that resulted in separation.

- **Language**

Language of East Pakistanis was Bengali, west Pakistanis spoke Urdu, after the separation of Pakistan. Urdu was declared National language as Quaid-e-Azim in his speech said that only Urdu would be our National Language, This frustrated Bengali as They could only speak Bengali.

- **Culture**

Culture is pattern of living, that include, knowledge, beliefs, norms, values, customs, rules and laws. when a society adopts similar complexes, has a culture. East and West Pakistan's culture was not same, They had their own distinct culture. West Pakistan's culture was influencing East Pakistan's culture although East Pakistani were 55% but still they got influenced.

2. Political causes;

- **Location of capital;**

After separation from India, Pakistan made Karachi as her capital, east Pakistanis said that they were in majority so capital would be Dhaka. Location of Capital created great imbalance, uneven distribution of wealth and privilege, and better jobs for West Pakistan because They were able to sway decisions in their favor.

All the ministries, offices and industries were in Karachi, These things accumulated more advantage to West Pakistan while East Pakistan was deprived of such advantages, because they were thousands of miles away from Capital.

- **Representation**

Bengal wanted representation in the legislature on the population bases, while west Pakistan gave representation on equality.

- **Basic democracy**

In era of Ayub Khan 40000 basic democrats were to be from both the wings, 54% Bengali population shared 40000, it was injustice they were in majority they should be given seats on the base of population.

- **Electoral System**

West Pakistan wanted separate electorate system while West Pakistan gave Joint electorate.

- **Provincial Autonomy**

East Pakistanis wanted and demanded Provincial Autonomy while West Pakistan wanted strong center. Bengalis demanded Provincial autonomy because they were not given population based representation.

- **6 Points of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman**

The Awami League view was supported by 75% of the electorate in East Pakistan who voted in the elections in 1970.

Pakistan shall be Federation grooming full autonomy on the basis of 6 Points to each of Federating units.

- i. The character of Government shall be Federal and Parliamentary. The representation in the Federal legislature shall be on the basis of population.
- ii. The Federal Government shall be responsible only for Defence and Foreign Affairs.
- iii. There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region.
- iv. Fiscal Policy shall be the responsibility of the Federating units.
- v. Separate accounts of foreign exchange earning of each of the federating units.
- vi. The units shall be empowered to maintain a Para-military force in order to contribute towards national security.

These were interpreted by West Pakistan as designed to bring about the disintegration of the country.

- **Economic Disparity Between East and West Pakistan**

1. The West Pakistan elite favoured the policies of economic growth of the West Pakistan.

2. Most of lucrative import licences were given to the West Pakistan.

3. Share of East Pakistan was about 26% of total investment (Public and Private) during the First Five Years Plan (1955-1960). Total revenue expenditure in East Pakistan was 2.5 billion as compared to 8.9 billion in West Pakistan.

4. The wave of resentment against this disparity had been rising since 1954 elections. But no drastic and significant change was made in policies. This resulted into bitter opposition and resentment towards the central government.

5. Economic Deprivation

East Pakistan was producing Raw material like cotton, Jute etc. they resented it as more finance was being spent on defense, military equipment and ,east Pakistanis said that it should spent on building of dams to prevent floods, eradicate poverty and illiteracy a supply of food to and shelter to ever growing population of Pakistan. And all white collar jobs were being taken by west Pakistanis.

6. Raw Materials:

Bengal was producing Raw material which was being supplied to India but money earned through Raw material was being used by west Pakistan on defense and military equipment.

7. Economic Institutions;

All the economic institutions like State Bank and most of other banks ,Stock exchange center, chambers of commerce were in West Pakistan while Bengalis were deprived of all such activities.

8. Per Capita Income

Per capita income of Bengali people was less as compared to West Pakistani.

9. Educational institutions

After independence there were 27000 educational in Bengal but after 1965 there were only 26000 educational institutions, this example is evident that leadership was not interested in development and growth of east Pakistan.

Legal Framework order

1. This order was drawn up to provide a basis for the elections for the creation of National and Provincial assemblies and for the drafting of a constitution.
3. National Assembly had to complete the task of framing a constitution within 120 days.
4. After the original failure of the NA to meet in spring of 1971, modifications were introduced into LFO, relieving the assembly of the responsibility of framing a constitution but conferring powers to amend constitution.
5. General Yahya Khan failed to enforce legal framework order, and the result was the political unrest between the 2 parts of the country.

Military Operation

Grievances of east Pakistanis should have been addressed through dialogue and negotiations but West Pakistan used force that incited people to respond back. As a result Our Army was captured there, our strong armies' honor was depleted, it suffered huge humiliation.

Colonial heritage:

British were our colonial masters. They considered Bengali as their traitors. Our Politicians also adopted same attitude towards them. As Bengali were not trusted by British due to revolt against British in 1757 similarly we also did same.

Power Structure of Pakistan

Power structure of Pakistan is elitest, Pakistan mainly has six elites in Pakistan. following:

1. Land lord
2. Military
3. Bureaucracy
4. Industrial elite
5. religious elite
6. Professional elite

These sections have their strong grip over Pakistani Politics. They always created hurdles in making good relations between east and west Pakistan.

Role of Ruling Elite

1) Civil Service

2) Military Hierarchy

Their clear ascendancy as a ruling group had long been established, particularly since military coup of Ayub in 1958.

1. This group made all major decisions in terms of economic and defence policies.
2. East Pakistan bitterly complained that there were few East Pakistani officers at highest posts of the civil service. Until 1969 all the higher officers were from West Pakistan or had emigrated from Muslim minority areas of India.

3. Pakistan Army was recruited from 4 districts of Northern Punjab (Rawalpindi, Campbellpur, Jhelum and Gujrat) and two districts of NWFP (Peshawar and Kohat). 60% Army consisted of Punjabi and 35% Pakhtoon Jawans.

4. The Bengalis were still considered non-martial race.

5. Separation between Ruling elite from the majority of population. Pakistan bureaucratic and military elite were not only separated from the majority of their population who lived in East Pakistan, but they were also separated in both social and regional terms even from the people of regions like Sindh, Balochistan and Frontier.

The War of Power Between Bhutto and Mujeeb

The Awami League, by virtue of its over-whelming majority in election, was entitled to establish its government, but Mr. Z.A. Bhutto having the patronage from General Yahya Khan boycotted the session of National Assembly at Dhaka, which was postponed by General Yahya Khan. Mr. Mujeeb-ur-Rehman alleged Yahya Khan with partiality and began to agitate the people for civil war.

Military Operation in East Pakistan

1. Mr. Mujeeb refused to go to Islamabad.

2. His home became centre of all policies and administrative affairs of East Pakistan.

3. On March 23, 1971, a lot of West Pakistanis were massacred and Bangladesh Flag was hoisted instead of Pakistani Flag. The Pakistan Day was celebrated as the Resistance Day.

4. General Tikka Khan was made the Governor of East Pakistan. He successfully crushed the anti-government elements, but could not manage the affairs properly due to the non-cooperation of Bengali bureaucracy who were responsible for the revolt.

5. The military operation brought inexpressible miseries and sufferings to the Bengalis. The result was that Central Government deprived herself of the public support and sympathies.

Unity of Bengali Muslims and Hindus

To establish majority on Pak-legislature, they had to unite with their fellow Bengali Hindus. Therefore, the man like H.S. Sehrwardy was a consistent advocate of joint electorates.

Pakistan and China established diplomatic relations on 21 May 1951.

This relationship has built on the strength of its successive achievements, and has become formidable with each passing day and year. The leadership of both countries is committed to taking this relationship forward.

To understand the depth of this unique relationship, here is a glimpse of the milestones reached over the years:

Milestones / Key Developments:

Pakistan and China enjoy close and friendly relations since the establishment of diplomatic relations in May 1951. Pakistan was one of the first countries that recognized the People's Republic of China. Over the years, the relationship has blossomed into an "All-Weather Strategic Cooperative Partnership". Pakistan considers China as one of its closest friend and partner and China considers Pakistan as its "Iron Brother".

The bilateral relationship between the two neighboring countries is characterized by feelings of mutual trust, respect and goodwill towards each other. There is a regular exchange of visits at the highest level between the two countries. The strategic cooperation between Pakistan and China has grown over the past several decades.

Economically, China is Pakistan's largest trading partner and a major investor, especially in infrastructure and energy sector. During 2018, bilateral trade between the two countries reached US\$ 18 billion. With the official launch of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the bilateral relationship has been elevated to a higher level. CPEC is a flagship project of Chinese President Xi Jinping's initiative of "One Road and One Belt". It aims at enhancing connectivity and improving infrastructure between Pakistan and China. Several projects are being implemented under CPEC, for enhancement of infrastructure and generation of energy. People-to-people contacts are an important aspect of the bilateral relationship. The year of 2015 was celebrated as the Year of Friendly Exchanges between Pakistan and China and several high profile events were organized including seminars, exchange of visits and cultural events to highlight people-to-people interactions.

High Level Visits:

High Level visits are the hallmark of China-Pakistan bilateral relations.

Prime Minister's Visit to China (7-9 October 2019):

Prime Minister Imran Khan visited China from 7-9 October 2019 at the invitation of Chinese Premier Li Keqiang. During the visit, the Prime Minister met with President Xi Jinping, Premier Li Keqiang and Chairman NPC Li Zhanshu. The Prime Minister was a Chief Guest at the Beijing International Horticulture Expo-2019 along-with Premier Li Keqiang. In addition, the Prime Minister also met with CEOs/Heads of leading Chinese enterprises. Both sides signed a number of MoUs/Agreements. It was Prime Minister Imran Khan's third visit to China since assuming office in August 2018.

Chinese Vice President's Visit to Pakistan (26-28 May 2019): Chinese Vice President Wang Qishan visited Pakistan from 26-28 May 2019. He called on the President and held bilateral talks with the Prime Minister. During the visit, the Nishan-e-Pakistan was conferred upon the Vice President in a special investiture ceremony. Moreover, several MoUs and projects were signed and inaugurated. The Vice President

also visited Lahore, where he met with Chief Minister Punjab and Governor Punjab. The Vice President also toured Pakistan's cultural sites, including Taxila Museum, Lahore Fort and Badshahi Mosque.

Prime Minister's Visit to China (25-28 April 2019):

The Prime Minister visited China from 25-28 April 2019 to participate in the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. He delivered a speech at the Opening Ceremony of BRF on 26 April and participated in the Leaders Roundtable on 27 April. During the visit, the Prime Minister held meetings with President Xi Jinping and Premier Li Keqiang in which the entire range of bilateral relationship, including implementation of Phase-II of CPEC, was discussed. Both sides reaffirmed their resolve to further strengthen the All-Weather Strategic Cooperative Partnership. Both sides also discussed important regional and international issues, including peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan and peace and stability in South Asia, and agreed to deepen cooperation at the multilateral fora. The Prime Minister attended a Pakistan Business and Investment Forum attended by leading businessmen of Pakistan and China. 14 B2B agreements were also signed. He also attended the opening ceremony of the Beijing International Horticulture Exhibition. During the visit, 7 new MoUs were signed on a range of bilateral issues, including the Second Phase of Pakistan-China FTA, Completion of Preliminary Design of ML-1, Rashakai SEZ Joint Venture, Socio-Economic Cooperation, Economic and Technical Cooperation and Cooperation in Marine Sciences.

Prime Minister's Visit to China (2-5 November 2018):

Prime Minister Imran Khan had paid his first official visit to China on 2-5 November 2018. In Beijing, he had met with President Xi Jinping, Premier Li Keqiang, Chairman Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), Li Zhanshu and Vice President Wang Qishan. He had also met with Minister of International Department of the CPC Central Committee, Song Tao, Chairman of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and had interactions with leading corporate leaders of China. In Shanghai, the Prime Minister had attended the opening ceremony of the 1st China International Import Expo (CIIE).

The two sides reached a number of important understandings and long-term consensus, reiterated strong commitment to bilateral relations and the leaders developed good rapport for future cooperation. During the visit, two sides had signed fifteen (15) agreements/MoUs on a range of bilateral issues, including transfer of sentenced persons, poverty reduction, agriculture, socio-economic development, and cooperation in combating illicit traffic in drugs.

Other Visits:

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif paid an official visit to Zhengzhou from 14-15 December 2015, to participate in the SCO Summit. During the visit, he met with Premier Li Keqiang. President Mamnoon Hussain visited Wuzhen from 16-18 December 2015, to participate in the 2nd World Internet Conference. During the visit he met with President Xi Jinping on 16 December.

On the invitation of Chinese leadership, President Mamnoon Hussain paid an official visit to China from 1-4 September, 2015, to participate in the commemoration ceremony of the 70th Anniversary of China's victory in World War II. During the visit, delegation level talks were held with President Xi Jinping and Vice Premier Zhang Gaoli.

Chinese President Xi Jinping paid a historic State visit to Pakistan from 20-21 April 2015. During the visit, it was agreed to intensify cooperation under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. China pledged to invest

US\$46 billion in Pakistan's energy and infrastructure sectors in Pakistan. President Xi was also awarded Pakistan's highest civil award of 'Nishan-e- Pakistan' during the visit.

On the invitation of Chinese President Xi Jinping, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif paid an official visit to Beijing from 7-8 November 2014 to participate in the "Dialogue on Strengthening Connectivity Partnership" during the 22nd APEC Summit. Prime Minister Sharif endorsed President Xi's vision on regional connectivity and infrastructure development, stressing that Asia would need to strengthen both to excel in international arena.

President Mamnoon Hussain visited Shanghai from 19-22 May 2014, to attend the 4th Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA). Pakistan's participation in the CICA Summit at the highest political level sealed its endorsement of the vision of Asian collective security based on cooperation and dialogue.

President Mamnoon Hussain paid an official visit to China from 18-21 February 2014. The second Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) meeting on Economic Corridor Project (ECP) was held on the sidelines of the President's visit.

Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif paid an official visit to China from 3-8 July 2013. This was Prime Minister's first overseas visit after assuming office in June 2013. During the visit, the two sides concluded the MoU on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

Premier Li Keqiang paid an official visit to Pakistan from 22-23 May 2013. It was the first visit of Premier Li Keqiang abroad after assuming office.

Other High Level Visits:

From Pakistan side, the other recent high-level exchanges include the meeting of Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi with State Councillor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wang Yi, in August 2019 and on the sidelines of the SCO Council of Foreign Ministers in May 2019. Earlier, the Foreign Minister had met with Wang Yi when he visited Beijing in March 2019 for the first session of Foreign Ministers' Strategic Dialogue and later when he was in Beijing for the 2nd Belt and Road Forum in April 2019. The Foreign Minister also participated in Political Parties' Dialogue between PTI and CPC and Political Parties Forum on CPEC. He also met Vice President Wang Qishan and Minister for IDCPC, Mr. Song Tao. Foreign Minister had earlier visited Beijing on 25 December 2018.

Former Foreign Secretary visited China on 8-11 April 2019 to formally launch the JWG on International Cooperation. The Foreign Secretary also met with Vice Minister Le Yucheng and Mr. Yang Jiechi, Director Foreign Affairs Commission of CPC. Bilateral ties between the two countries; Prime Minister's visit to China for 2nd Belt and Road Forum (25-28 April 2019); current regional situation; and cooperation at multilateral fora were discussed during the visit.

The Deputy Chairman Senate, Saleem Mandviwalla, visited China from 17-19 April 2019 and held meetings with Shanghai Media Group, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Shanghai Committee, Shanghai Federation of Industry and Commerce, East China Central Factory of Bright Dairy. Previously, Chairman Senate visited China from 16-20 August 2018. Former President Mamnoon Hussain had visited China to attend the SCO Heads of State Summit in Qingdao in June 2018. Former Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi participated in the Boao Forum for Asia held on 8-11 April 2018.

From Chinese side, State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi visited Pakistan in September 2019 to attend the Third China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Foreign Ministers Dialogue in Islamabad. Vice Chairman CMC Gen. Xu Qiliang visited Pakistan recently.

Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Kong Xuanyou visited Pakistan on 6 March 2019. He discussed the regional situation with the Foreign Secretary and also called on Prime Minister Imran Khan, Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi and Chief of the Army Staff. Vice Foreign Minister Kong Xuanyou had earlier visited Pakistan to attend the first round of reconstituted Political Consultations between Pakistan and China on 10 December 2018.

The other high level visits from China included those of Mr. Gao Yunlong, Vice-Chairman Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) (13-16 February, 2019); visit of Mr. Zhang Chunxian, Vice Chairman of Standing Committee of National People's Congress (NPC) in November 2018; visit of Mr. Song Tao, Minister for International Department of Communist Party of China (CPC) on 13-16 October; State Councillor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi's visit (6-9 September); and visit of General Zhang Youxia, Vice Chairman of Central Military Commission of China in May 2018.

Consultation Mechanisms:

Pakistan and China have several Consultations mechanisms including Strategic Dialogue at Foreign Ministers' level, Political Consultations at Foreign Secretary/Vice-Minister level; consultations on South Asia, Arms Control, Counter-terrorism; Human Rights; Peacekeeping; Maritime Dialogue; Border management consultations, and Consular affairs.

Defence Cooperation:

Pakistan-China Defence collaboration forms the backbone of the relationship. The cooperation spans high-level military exchanges, structured defence and security talks, joint exercises, training of personnel in each other's institutions, joint defence production and defence trade. The militaries of the two countries have institutionalized three tiers of bilateral consultations to enable close cooperation at all levels. There is an extensive range of cooperation, including joint ventures, for the production of military equipment, aircraft, submarines and tanks. China is also the recipient of the largest number of military training officials from Pakistan.

Economic & Trade Relations:

China is currently Pakistan's largest single trading partner; while Pakistan is China's second largest trading partner in South Asia. Major imports from China include machinery and mechanical appliances, metals, chemical products, mineral ores, plastic scrap and transport equipment. Main exports include cotton yarn, cotton fabric, rice, leather and fish products.

In recent years, the bilateral trade volume between China and Pakistan has increased rapidly with stable commodity structure. However, despite robust investment from China, bilateral trade remains anemic. China's imports from Pakistan reflect a downward trend whereas China's exports to Pakistan are on an upward trajectory. Bilateral trade, which stood at US\$ 1.3 billion in 2002, reached US\$ 19.08 billion in 2018. Imports from China stood at US\$ 16.90 billion and exports from Pakistan to China at US\$ 2.17 billion.

Investment:

According to the State Bank of Pakistan Annual Report 2018, during FY 2018, China was the biggest investor in Pakistan with an investment of US\$ 1.591 billion out of a total of US\$ 2.537 billion which amounts to

63% of total FDI. With the initiation of CPEC, there has been an upsurge in investment flows into Pakistan especially in infrastructure and energy sectors.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC):

Pakistan and China have constituted a Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) to implement CPEC. The JCC is co-chaired by Pakistan's Federal Minister for Planning, Development and Reform and Vice-Chairman of China's National Development and Reform Commission. It is supported by 8 Joint Working Groups covering the various areas of cooperation as follows:

1. Energy
2. Transport Infrastructure
 - Gwadar
1. Special Industrial Zones
2. Planning & Finance
3. Security
 - Socio-Economic Development
 - International Cooperation.

Eight JCC meetings have been held to date, with the last taking place on 20 December 2018. Next meeting of the JCC will be held in Islamabad.

Current Status of CPEC Projects:

Gwadar:

The Port and Free Zone of Gwadar are being operated by Chinese state-owned company China Overseas Port Holdings Co. Ltd. (COPHCL). The Port and First Phase of the Free Zone are already operational. Auxiliary projects include the Eastbay Expressway, the New Gwadar International Airport (NGIA), the Gwadar Friendship Hospital, and the Vocational and Technical Training Institute.

The 300 MW power plant at Gwadar is another significant project for the port city's long-term growth. A fresh water treatment plant with an estimated cost of US\$ 130 million is also part of the Gwadar Development Plan.

Energy

In Energy sector 5,320 MW of electricity has been added to the national grid while work on 7 projects with 4,170 MW is ongoing.

Transportation Infrastructure:

In infrastructure sector, a total of 1,544 KM roads have been completed. Another 1,456 KM are under construction.

Optical Fiber:

Cross border optical fiber project stretching over 820 KM has been completed.

Industrial Capacity Cooperation:

Industrial capacity cooperation is an important component of CPEC, which can accelerate Pakistan's industrialization process through adoption of the Chinese model of Special Economic Zones (SEZs). Thus far, three SEZs have been identified for fast-track development: (i) M-3 near Faisalabad, (ii) Dhabeji near

Karachi, and (iii) Rashakai along the motorway between Peshawar and Islamabad. In May 2019, the Rashakai SEZ was inaugurated. Remaining two SEZs are at an advance stage.

Socioeconomic Development under CPEC

The JWG on Socioeconomic Development was established as a major outcome of the visit of the Prime Minister to China in November 2018. Projects under this cluster would cover all parts of Pakistan and would be financed with Chinese grants and interest-free loans. These projects would focus on the following six areas: (i) agriculture, (ii) education, (iii) medical treatment and health care, (iv) poverty alleviation, (v) water supply, and (vi) vocational training.

Other Socio-Economic Cooperation:

In recent years, Pakistan and China have intensified cooperation in socio-economic sector. The two sides have agreed to jointly design and develop two pilot projects for poverty alleviation.

Culture and People-to-People:

To enhance collaboration in the fields of film, television and publications, “The Executive Program for Cultural Agreement between the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People’s Republic of China for the year 2017-2021” was signed and concluded during the Minister for Information’s visit to China in February 2018.

Pakistan has also established sister-province relations with seven Chinese provinces and sister-city relations with 10 Chinese cities. Both sides have agreed to celebrate 2019 as the Year of Sister-city and Sister-province relationship between Pakistan and China. Minister for IPC Dr. Fehmida Mirza visited Beijing on 28 March for inaugural ceremony to celebrate 2019 as year of sister city/provinces relations between Pakistan and China. The second event in this series is scheduled to be held in Islamabad later this year. Both sides have also established Youth Communication Committee for exchanges.

Education:

China has become one of the preferred destinations for Pakistani students in the world. There are about 28,000 Pakistani students in China. Most students are enrolled in Graduate and PhD programmes. Chinese government offers 7034 scholarships to Pakistani students. Currently, there are ten Pakistan Study Centers and eleven Urdu Language Departments in prominent Universities of China. The Chinese side has established four Confucius Institutes in Pakistan. A CPEC Consortium of Universities, that initially consisted of business schools of the top 9 Chinese and top 10 Pakistani universities, has been established as a platform for exchange of students, researchers and faculty for utilization under CPEC. The two sides are also exploring possible establishment of China-Pakistan Joint Working Group under the Proposed Executive Programme on Education Cooperation and Exchanges between China and Pakistan (2019-2023).

Cooperation in Science and Technology and Space Technology:

Cooperation in the field of Science and Technology between Pakistan and China is pursued under the framework of “Agreement on Scientific & Technical Cooperation” signed in May 1976. Cooperation initiatives are organized through a total of 18 protocols signed alternately at Islamabad and Beijing. The 18th Protocol for S&T cooperation was signed on July 8, 2017 for a duration of 4 years.

Course Instructor

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