

MAKING PAKISTAN RIAST-E-MADINA AN IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

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Abstract

The slogan of Pakistan Tehreek Insaf under the leadership of Imran Khan to make Pakistan 'State of Medina' was an effort towards building Quaid's Pakistan based on Islamic teachings. This claim of PTI has been criticised by both the secular and religious political opponents. They called it misuse of religion to get political interests. In Pakistan all the constitutions (1956, 1962, 1973) declared Pakistan to be an Islamic republic; but despite of this majority of the political parties both secular and religious parties are not satisfied. The religious political parties have kept the ideology as a political slogan but failed to bring forward any assuring roadmap in line with the Islamic framework barring few controversial steps by General Zia towards Islamization of some laws. It has been observed that the state has mostly taken a prevaricating excuse to move towards state systems based on strong pillars of Islam. Taking the advantage of this, the non-state actors have started activities on the basis of a claim that they want to make Pakistan an Islamic State. This confusion led to the issue of peace and security. In order to deal this situation, government has to take stronger position to ensure peace and security in the country. This articles is an effort to dig out efforts to make Pakistan a State of Medina and resistance on one hand and some suggestion in this regards on the other hand. In this study, historical and

analytical research methodology has been adopted with a qualitative approach.

Keywords: *Ideology of Pakistan, Riast-e-Madina, Islamization, Quaid e Azam.*

INTRODUCTION

The subject of interest pertains to the nation of Pakistan and its founding figure, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions, and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on highest principles of honour, integrity, fair play and justice for all.¹

Ideology is "a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy".² It symbolize the beliefs, values, norms, goals, institutions and structures in relation to a group of people following a certain ideology. Pakistan came into being in the name of an ideology i.e. Islam. It is an ideological state; hence, the ideology is a "settled fact". But since independence this ideology has not been implemented in true letter and spirit. There are many reasons due to which this target cannot be achieved yet. Most important of them are lack of vision and conviction of the political leadership, the secular forces, Western propaganda against Islam and the activities of non-state actors in the name of religion. So, the desire to making Pakistan a state of Madina in the light of teachings of Qur'an and Sunnah has turned out to be an apologetic political view in order to evade the label of extremism. On the other hand, it is an accepted truth that the developed countries have adopted golden principles of Islam, which are seen as models of good governance by the seculars.

JINNAH'S VISION ABOUT THE RELEVANCE OF IDEOLOGY TO PAKISTAN

Quaid-e-Azam in his presidential address of All India Muslim League in 1940 said:

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... The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literatures. They belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects of life and our life are different.³

Hence, the history is witness to the development that Muslims finally abandoned the idea of federation and put forward demand of a separate homeland as their target. Quaid-e-Azam termed creation of Pakistan "a means to an end and not the end in itself".⁴

In his speech at the Frontier Muslim League Conference on November 21, 1945, he said:

We have to fight a double edged battle, one against the Hindu Congress and the other against British Imperialists, both of them being capitalists. 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 laws.⁵

The study of Quaid's speeches and statements as Governor General of Pakistan gives us a crystal-clear vision of his Pakistan. These are all encompassing; be

it democratic values, foreign relations, economic feasibility, socio-political development, work ethics, civil military relations, industrialization, bureaucracy, education, provincialism, sectarianism, rooting out corruption and nepotism and so on. He visualized Pakistan; a bulwark of Islam⁶, leaving no doubt that ideology of Pakistan was to be set in motion to attain that status. It is noted that Quaid's words said on 27 August 1948, at the occasion of Eid-ul-fitr hold even more relevance today, "We can look to the future with robust confidence provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissension. There was never a greater need for discipline in our ranks."⁷

Quaid's vision about the relevance of ideology to Pakistan can be clearly seen from his subsequent speeches as well. In his speech at Karachi Bar Association on 25 January 1948, he is found to have said, "He could not understand a section of the people, who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of Sharia"⁸. The Quaid once again said, "Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1,300 years ago".⁹ Similarly, in Muslim League Council's meeting in December 1947, he said, "Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim State based on Islamic ideals". At the same time, Quaid on February 19, 1948, proclaimed "Make no mistake Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it".¹⁰ There are a number of such assertions recorded in history that reflect the vision of Quaid-e-Azam about Pakistan as an Islamic State. Research found that a group of intellectuals, in advancement of their idea of a secular state of Pakistan drew support from Quaid's speech of August 11, 1947. They endeavour to build a secular image of Quaid, through the following excerpt of his speech; "you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State".¹¹

It is established that this is quoted out of context, as they forget the preamble part of this speech, where Quaid said, "Dealing with our first function in the Assembly, I cannot make any well considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me".¹² Hence this speech was not a policy statement in the context of his vision about Pakistan but reflects his concern and understanding about the protection of minorities as enunciated in Islam. If we recall the scenario of partition when the minority problem was brewing it was the call of the time to defuse the situation charged with cries of revenge. He thus called for equal rights of all citizens of the state. This was exactly an Islamic approach replicated in the way what Meesaq-e- Medina (Pact of Medina) accomplished in the young state of Medina.

DEVIATION FROM IDEOLOGICAL PATHS

Pakistan came into being on the basis of ideology of Pakistan. Soon after independence, the rulers started to deviate from ideological path. They started to deviate from the path punishments introduced by him and his particular and orthodox understanding of Islam. This is seen to have brought him in confrontation with even some of Quaid's colleagues, who believed that his use of ideology was to sustain and justify an undemocratic regime. Objectives Resolution was inserted in the Constitution by General Zia and later, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif made no

changes. One finds hypocritical use of Islam by the rulers for fear of being declared anti-Islam and anti-ideology. Liberal leftists and ethnic nationalists continued to oppose the moves towards Islamic state in essence. However, Nawaz Sharif, during his second tenure, narrowly missed the passing of law of Islamic governance for attaining more executive powers in the name of Islam.

USE OF IDEOLOGY FOR SO-CALLED JIHAD

The ideology is observed to have been invoked in support of Afghan Jihad against USSR's occupation, while Pakistan's unconditional support to the US occupation of Afghanistan in 2001 raised questions about the ownership of war. That created an inner front of militants against the State. It is established by the recent history that General Musharraf's inexplicable concept of 'enlightened moderation' gave further space to the liberals and secularists to confuse the issue. Simultaneously non-state actors claimed the defence of ideology and with tacit support of some political elements, they attempted to coerce the Government for Islamization of the State. Today Pakistani Nation is viewed to be confused on the ideology of Pakistan and Baloch separatists add insult to the injury. How ironically someone said, "In 1947 we were a nation in search of a country but now we are a country in search of a nation"¹⁷. The writ of state had been challenged by a group of self-styled Muslims (TTP) in the name of Islam. Islamic ideology in the misplaced Islamophobia is being suspiciously viewed globally as a threat to modernity hence, propagated as medieval and retrogressive in its approach to life in the contemporary era.

The above discussion shows that making Pakistan a Riasat-e-Madina have been facing confrontation of deviant of ideology, so-called secular and propaganda of West. Some of the scholars even say that The Pakistan Movement was not a religious movement and Quaid had envisioned a secular state. Two Nation Theory is not relevant to Pakistan anymore and religion has no role in the state affairs. The sectarian divide disallows any movement forward to the implementation of Shariah. The global trends do not suggest development of an Islamic State in the current geopolitical scenario.

which Quaid mentioned earlier right after his death. The first deviation started when Urdu-Bengali controversy started. After Quaid's death, Islam was the only unifying slogan but none of the leader used it in true letter and spirit. 'Objectives Resolution'¹³ was passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1949, outlining the final constitution and outlook of Pakistani nationhood. The Constitution of 1956 defined Pakistan as an "Islamic Republic" but not all political activists and politicians were happy with the new constitution.

The first Martial Law was imposed by Sikandar Mirza, was followed by his own dismissal by General Ayub Khan, who himself became a Martial administrator. He was considered as a secular in his political and social outlook but in order to get the support of religious elites he formed the Advisory Council on Islamic Ideology (ACII); an Islamic Institute comprising both liberal and Islamic scholars. The research establishes that his secular policies brought religious parties into direct confrontation with him, while liberals and socialists were opposed to his intimacy with America and refusal to entertain demands of political autonomy. The 1962 Constitution defining Pakistan as Muslim state with modern reformist spirit of Islam was opposed by

Jamat-e-Islami (JI). The term "Nazriah-e- Pakistan" was first coined by Professor Khursheed Ahmed of JI in 1962¹⁴ demanding policies constructed according to the teachings of Qur'an and Sunnah. Thus, the debate started about vision of Quaid about Islam. Ethnic sentiments are traced to have been aired by leaders like GM Syed; a nationalist, who challenged the very basis of Muslim identity and pride by declaring it "the artificial ideology".¹⁵ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People Party (PPP) was established with socialist outlook, while JI declared socialism and secularism anti-Islamic. Fall of Ayub and elections of 1971 brought Nazariah-e-Pakistan to the forefront but religious parties were beaten by the secular ones, hence the effort to advance the ideology of Pakistan came to a dead end. The inept handling of the political situation by Yahya Khan and Bhutto led to the tragedy of separation of East Pakistan, offering space to anti ideology forces. Nevertheless, the 1973 Constitution passed with consensus had Objectives Resolution as its preamble.

1973 CONSTITUTION AND IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan was proclaimed Pakistan as Islamic Republic, where all laws would be made in the light of teachings of Qur'an and the Sunnah.¹⁶ in 1973 constitution. Mirzai/Ahmadiyya community was declared as non-Muslim minority and PPP removed the word "Socialism" from its manifesto during 1977 election. Bhutto, sensing the Islamic revival in Muslim World after 1973 Arab-Israel War, held Islamic Summit in Pakistan. The Islamic political slogan of "Nizam-e-Mustafa" (the Mohammedan System) by 9 parties' alliance emerged in 1977 elections, which were blamed to be massively rigged and brought Bhutto down. General Zia Ul Haq's effort to forward the legislative ideological project of Nizam-e-Mustafa is reflected through the stark

IDEOLOGY AND PROGRESS

In the contemporary world, progress is measured through economic growth. The economists generally agree that "successful explanations of economic performance have to go beyond narrow economic variables to encompass political and social forces".¹⁸ Dr. Hossein Askari wrote:

Based on the Islamic vision, we expect Islamic solutions (if authentically implemented) to differ in the following important ways from conventional economic system: greater degree of justice in all aspects of economic management, higher moral standards, honesty and trust exhibited in market place and in all economic transactions, poverty eradication, a more even distribution of wealth and income, no hoarding of wealth, less opulence in consumption, no exploitative speculation, risk sharing as opposed to debt contract, better social infrastructure and provision of social services, better treatment of workers, higher education expenditures relative to GDP, higher savings, degree of environmental preservation and vagility supervised market.¹⁹

The research concluded that besides the economic guidelines enumerated above, an Islamic state can draw its policies and concepts on Islamic legal system, governance, human and political rights and even international relations. Islamic Banking and development of Islamic Finance in Europe is testimony of the popularity and relevance of Islam to the fast-changing world²⁰. However, the search for truth about Muslims and Islam leads to the question that in spite of this wealth of wisdom offered by Islam, why the Muslim countries figure out very low in Human

Development Index. That is so as they do not follow Islam in letter and spirit.

Lately Professors Schehrazada S Rehman and Hossein Askari of George Washington University have evaluated the economic performance of the countries of the world based on Economic Islamicity Index developed by them²¹. Two hundred and eight countries were included in the survey through fair comparison in high, upper middle, lower middle and low income countries. The objective was to find out the impact of Islamic guidelines on the economic development of countries of the world. It is horrifying to note that not a single Muslim majority country made to the top 25 in the initial analysis in 2015. Malaysia figured (33) and Kuwait (42) as compared to the United States at (15), France at (17). Ireland is found to be the most faithful to Quranic teachings, followed by Denmark, Sweden and the UK. Saudi Arabia rated 91st and Qatar 111th and Pakistan at 145th.

It is learnt that in overall Islamicity Index, a measure of laws, governance, human and political rights, international relations and economic factors, the ranking of top 10 is in following order; New Zealand, Luxemburg, Ireland, Iceland, Finland, Denmark, Canada, UK, Australia and Netherland, while only Malaysia and Kuwait make into top 50 countries. This should be an eye opener for Pakistani scholars who term freedom from religion as a panacea of development. One concludes that it is the distance from Islam because of which Pakistan is found in present quagmire. Moving forward as successful nation warrants reverting to Islam in all institutions of state and all facets of individual and collective life.

IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN AS ROAD TO STATE OF MEDINA

The current situation of Pakistan is not good. A top columnist in a leading American newspaper in the past described Pakistan as 'Halies'²². We must ask ourselves, are Pakistanis paranoid and is Pakistan 'Halies'? The answer would be in the negative, because, Pakistan has immense strengths and potentials, however, the world powers have been found to be very unkind to Pakistan by using it to further their national interests and quitting it thereafter. We can visualise that in an attempt to project the image acceptable to the West, the State of Pakistan is seen to have shied away from its constitutional obligation to take practical steps to establish Islamic compliant systems. The research concluded that reluctance to enable Muslims to organize their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Qur'an and the Sunnah can be attributed to inadequate knowledge of religion and the biased criticism of western thinkers and perceived views projected by various militant organizations. Following conclusions are drawn by the study through study of past and present.

In the wake of the global division of humanity on religious basis, common Pakistanis have firm belief in the ideology of Pakistan and its bright future. The modernists in Pakistan are apologetic about our Muslim identity for the fear to be lumped as extremists ever since the militant groups in Pakistan claimed to be custodians of ideology. Perceptual biases exist between traditionalists and secularists, as the former see secularism being irreligious/atheism, while the latter perceive conservatism as fanaticism. There has been mushroom growth of religious parties claiming themselves as flag bearers of Islamic Ideology, but only to the extent of political ploy with no clear vision to actualize the ideology. The major political parties

do not rise above narrow party interests and are devoid of vision and visionaries to set the direction of the country in accordance with its ideology. Under the influence of western thoughts and culture, the modernists in Pakistan have started restricting the religion to personal affairs in violation of Islamic Ideology itself. The global outlook of Islamic ideology has been exploited by the West as it suited their interests.

Pakistani Muslims at large have become increasingly conscious of their religious identity; however, militancy in the name of Islam is widely seen to be aimed at distorting image of Islam on behest of anti-Islamic forces. Globally, non-Muslims in their quest to know about Islam are entering Islam in large numbers. Common man in general is fascinated by the Islamic governance, ideals and social justice, notwithstanding the credibility of political advocacy in this regard. Undue freedom of expression has led to unleashing of rather free media with ulterior motives, fomenting ideological confusion and airing sectarianism. State of Pakistan has, in the past, shown lack of political will towards social development through education, thus leaving large segments of religious schools deregulated, promoting sectarianism. Education, having been delegated to the provinces has lost direction and national outlook. In heterogeneous society of Pakistan with weak nationalism, Islamic ideology is the only binding force for national integration.

THE WAY FORWARD

Quaid's demand from Pakistan is reflected in these words from his speech to a rally at Lahore on 30 October 1947, "All I require from you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches most vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and without".²³

In the light of the above statement and above stated conclusions of the study, it must be understood that if Pakistan has to break away from her faltering socio-economic past, she must demonstrate the willingness to put the ideology (*raison d'être*) into action. Survival and progress of the state of Pakistan lies in actualizing its strengths by developing a tolerant and democratic culture based on Islamic values and social justice. This is only possible if the nation building measures are taken to create the right kind of mind-set to accept the concept of the State of Medina with a multi ethnic and religious society. The study of British Welfare System revealed that Islamic model of governance was studied by the author of Beveridge Report²⁴ adapted by the UK for founding a modern welfare state. That proves the relevance of the principles of governance adopted over 1400 years ago. Gandhi advised the members of Congress cabinet in 1937 to study Shibli Nomaani's book 'Al-Farooq (RA)'.²⁵

Hazrat Ali's (RA) directive to Malik bin Ashtar; Governor of Egypt²⁶ is a classic document on the concept of good governance. Therefore, Islam and Islamic ideology of Pakistan are established to provide the basic platform, towards realization of dream of State of Medina. Following roadmap is suggested on the basis of this research to promote resurgence of ideology of Pakistan thus creating the right environments for transformation of the state and society for attaining the ultimate objective of establishment of Islamic Republic on the lines of state of Medina:

The Government of Pakistan may assume its responsibility as an Islamic state to prepare itself to reconstruct the structure of the state, all its organs/institutions and the society in accordance with the teachings of Qur'an and

Sunnah. The elected representatives must be guided by institutions, think tanks and intellectual forums in policy development. The state must fulfil its constitutional obligations of making the economy interest free, and Islamizing of the social laws after developing a broad-based consensus. A three pronged nation building training programme through educational institutions, media and civil society must be launched to develop practical understanding of Islam. Education system must be refurbished with a syllabus having a balanced mix of both religion and sciences as a national priority and state owned/controlled masjid and madrasa. Media must be reined in and obliged to support the interest of state with limited and well-structured freedom ensuring promotion of Islamic values and Pakistani culture. The state must inculcate national pride through an indigenous vibrant and committed civil society. Sectarianism should be checked through a firm state policy based on a legal framework, infusing a spirit of co-existence. State of Pakistan should not hesitate in adapting the governance models of countries topping in the Islamicity Index mentioned earlier in accordance with our own national chemistry and environment. Last but not the least, all Pakistanis should learn to be proud of our national identity and the Muslims must acquire adequate knowledge to satisfy the queries of secular minds with rationality and tolerance.

CONCLUSION

Pakistan came into in the name of Islam, which allows all the citizens equal human rights irrespective of race, religion and region. The study concluded that vested interests have projected a narrow vision of Islam tapering it down to rituals and prayers only. Islam is much more than that and its progressive divine guidance meets the human needs of all times. The Western scholars apparently criticizing Islam have been found studying it in-depth and extracting the lessons in social, political, economic fields and these are reflected through establishment of welfare states in the West. Muslims instead of benefiting from Islam have become apologetic. Islamic ideology of Pakistan cannot be established without a state mechanism. Therefore, the resolve of the Prime Minister of Pakistan can only be realized when the Government of Pakistan prepares itself and the nation for this onerous responsibility. Thus, the future of Pakistan lies in exploring its past and following the principles, values and wisdom of Quran and Sunnah, to make Pakistan, progressive, powerful, prosperous and peaceful; that warrants resurgence of ideology of Pakistan, thereby creating the environment towards establishment of the envisioned model of the State of Medina.



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