

# Challenges to Islamic Identity of Pakistan



**MUSLIM Institute**

Mission of Unity, Stability and Leadership In Muslims

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Report of  
Seminar:

# Challenges to Islamic Identity of Pakistan

Held on July 16, 2012

At: Best Western Hotel  
Islamabad

Organized By:

**MUSLIM Institute**

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### *Introduction of MUSLIM Institute*

MUSLIM (Mission of Unity, Stability and Leadership In Muslims) Institute is dedicated to promoting peace, stability, prosperity and leadership particularly in the Muslim world and in the world in general. The Institute brings together researchers, intellectuals and policymakers for threadbare critique of prevailing as well as emerging social, political, economic, cultural and leadership challenges faced by the Muslim world; and also to further explore solutions to the same. It aims at assisting decision-makers through input for formulating policies to counter the challenges and also promoting awareness among masses to motivate them for playing their role in this regard. For this purpose, the Institute hosts seminars, conferences, cultural events, briefings, presentations, round table discussions, sessions with experts as well as undertakes research projects.

### *Introduction of Seminar*

State of Islamic Republic of Pakistan was established on the basis of Islamic ideology but with the passage of time it has faced challenges to maintain its ideology. There is need for projecting the Challenges to Islamic Identity of Pakistan at national level so as concerted efforts are made to face these challenges to protect and maintain the very basis on which Islamic Republic of Pakistan came into being. The essence of Two Nation Theory and foundation of struggle of Muslims of subcontinent for separate homeland has been achieving a state where Islamic regulations and teachings will be practiced in letter and spirit. Keeping in view threat of obliteration to this identity of Pakistan, MUSLIM Institute organized a seminar on “Challenges to Islamic Identity of Pakistan” on July 16, 2012 at Best Western Hotel Islamabad. Eminent intellectuals, scholars, analysts and researchers participated in this seminar. Detailed proceedings of the seminar are as follows.

## *Report of Seminar*

Mufti Sher Alqadri steered the seminar as moderator. Rana Ammar Farooq recited the verses from Holy Quran. After the recitation, Mr. Khalid Mehmood recited the Naat-e-Rasol-Maqbool (SAW).

### *Welcoming Remarks*



### **Mr. Tahir Mehmood**

Public Relations Coordinator,  
MUSLIM Institute





I would like to formally welcome you on behalf of MUSLIM Institute to today's seminar on the Challenges to the Islamic Identity of Pakistan. Your presence here today is a matter of great honour for us and makes today's event a truly august gathering. As you are aware, MUSLIM Institute, which stands for 'Mission of Unity, Stability and Leadership In Muslims' is a research-oriented think-tank, which aims to promote academic research and dialogue among Muslims towards addressing and resolving issues and concerns faced by Muslims not just in our country but around the world. We are currently working on the broader projects involving, amongst others, the recent changes in the socio-political environment in the Muslim World, avenues for concerted development strategies towards economic progress and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, Militarisation of Space Technology, Modern Family trends in the Muslim Family, exploring new areas of renewable energy and answering a need for revitalising interaction between the youth of the Muslim world through education etcetera.

While our researchers were contemplating issues of prime importance and academic concern, we came across a recurring theme in studies of Muslim societies that dealt with the issue of a waxing and waning Islamic Identity across the Muslim World. Today, it is challenged, thrown open to distortion and confusion from within and outside and often found liable to apologetic defence. We felt this to be of greatest importance in our own country Pakistan, which was founded and is maintained on the ideology of the two nation theory as a Muslim homeland. Today, among many other challenges and threats faced by our country is a threat to its ideological foundations: a threat that aims to dismantle our greatest strength, that is, the recipe of our unity, through misinformed confusion and a false narration of history. It risks disillusioning our youth from the aims set forth by our founding fathers and diluting the very cause of our independence. It

is this that makes it all the more important to understand and reflect upon the historical and ideological foundations of the Islamic Identity of Pakistan and to better comprehend its role and effect in contemporary affairs, on a socio-political and cultural level as well as a strategic and foreign policy concern. It is for this very reason that we are gathered here today, hosted by MUSLIM Institute, to benefit from the sagacious understanding of our honourable speakers that needs to be made common.

We hope for today's seminar to be an enlightening source of inspiration and a link in a more elaborate chain of events that further encourages and carries forward this discussion to keep it a living concern in our society. Issues like these must be spread like a contagion if they are to create a positive academic and social response from all segments of society and we all must play our parts to do so.

Without taking any more of your time, welcome once again and we look forward to an informative session ahead.

Thank you.



*The 11th August speech of Quaid e Azam  
and the objective resolution: ideological  
continuity or contradiction*

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**Rana Abdul Baqi**

Editor South Asian Pulse & Founder of  
Jinnah Iqbal Fikri Forum

The historic 11th August speech of Quaid e Azam, in comparison to Objective Resolution, passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, on March 12, 1949 was by and large, in consonance with the ideological continuity of Pakistan Movement, and not contradiction.

Firstly because a small portion of Quaid's 11th August speech based on certain precautions, cannot be entirely separated from his vision of two nation theory, which he preached in his hundreds of speeches, in pre-partition days as well as after the creation of Pakistan. Secondly, no political intellectual has so far, tried to go into the why of Quaid's little departure from his own establish policy if any, that too, seemed to have been made under very special circumstances to be examined subsequently. This slight change in political strategy was generally attributed to ideological contradiction by many political pundits, which is not fair to a great leader like Quaid e Azam.

As a matter of fact, Quaid e Azam, since his arrival in the political arena of the sub-continent, whether in Congress or Muslim League, always worked for the cause of Muslim's rights. He was a great nation builder, and in the words of a renowned religious scholar, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, Quaid e Azam was even a greater Muslim Leader than Aurangzaib Aalamgir, who by dint of his solo struggle, created a homeland for Indian Muslims, out of nothingness. In fact, Quaid e Azam was a true Muslim above caste and creed and by dint of his selfless struggle was able to unify the scattered Muslim communities in India into one vibrant nation. He had in-depth knowledge of 'Quran e Kareem', and was neither a communist nor secularist as propagated by certain vested interests inimical to the freedom struggle of Pakistan.

It is quite evident from his March 19, 1944 address of Punjab Muslim Students Federation at Lahore when he said, "I say, communists hands off, hands off, we do not want any flag excepting the League flag of Crescent and Star. Islam is our guide and a complete code of our life."

1. In 1943 too, Quaid e Azam said, "Pakistan would be an Islamic

democracy, a true welfare state based on the principles of Islamic social justice.” Like-wise, on a pre-partition Eid day he explained: “Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that The Quran is the general code of the Muslims. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal penal code, which regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of soul to the health of the body, from morality to crime, and our Prophet (PBUH) enjoined on us that every Muslim 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 in every department of life, collectively and individually.”

2. It is pertinent to mention here that 6 months after his 11th August speech, Quaid e Azam addressed the people of United States through his famous broadcast in February 1948. Quaid e Azam said: “The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of the Constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are reasonably as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and this idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught us equality of man, justice and fair-play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the new Constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State. We have non-Muslims – Hindus, Christians and Parsis – but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizen and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.”

3. The Objective Resolution was subsequently moved in the Constituent Assembly in 1949, Quaid e Azam was not alive but his vision was there when Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan while introducing the Objective Resolution before the Constituent Assembly paid tribute to the political sagacity of Quaid e Azam. He said, “I would like to remind the House that the Father of the Nation, Quaid e Azam, gave

expression to his feelings on this matter on many an occasion, and his views were endorsed by the nation in unmistakable terms.” The Objective Resolution, which is now part of the 1973 Constitution, envisaged all the points on which the Quaid had been deliberating upon during pre-partition and post partition times. Quaid e Azam knew that his time was short, while conspiracies were around and the stability of Pakistan may be in jeopardy if the foundations of the new State were not laid down on strong footings. In the fitness of things, he also accepted the partition of Punjab and Bengal, where Lord Mountbatten played havoc by taking side with Nehru. Lord Mountbatten is also on record saying that he would have delayed the process of transfer of power, had he knew, Jinnah was suffering from a fatal disease which would not allow him to live beyond 3 years.

4. In view of the aforementioned, it is all the more important to carefully study the salient features of Quaid e Azam's 11th August speech. No doubt it was Quaid's first important speech in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, in which he raised some basic points about the future shape of governance in Pakistan. Since the partition scheme was approved on June 3, 1947 and new states of India and Pakistan were about to take over charge from the British Indian Government, the Pakistan Assembly in its dual capacity of being the Constituent Assembly and National Assembly, elected Quaid e Azam, as its first President. He, later on, took oath as the new Governor General of Pakistan, while Maulvi Tamizuddin looked after the proceedings of the Assembly as Speaker. Being the President of the Constituent Assembly, Quaid e Azam addressed the Assembly on 11th August, 1947 and laid down guidelines for conducting future business of the country. This fact may not be ignored that by then the sovereign state of Pakistan had not appeared on the world map. Many foreign writers and historians have listed his 11th August Speech as one of his outstanding speeches, hence following points of his speech need careful study:-

- (a) Dealing with our first function in this assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me...The first

observation that 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.

- (b) The second thing that occurs to me...is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand. Black marketing is another curse...Now you have to tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society...I think they ought to be very severely punished. The next thing that strikes me...is the evil of nepotism and jobbery.
  
- © I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of Punjab and Bengal...On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it. Any idea of a united India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster...If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, 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.
  
- (d) You are free to go to your temples you are free to go to your mosques or to 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. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and



Muslim cease to be Muslims not in religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual but in the political sense, as citizens of the State.

5. The aforementioned contents do indicate the background of an atmosphere of mounting tension against Muslim minority in India which forced Quaid e Azam to raise voice of sanity by presenting self role model by announcing to confer unprecedented rights, privileges and obligations as equal citizens to minorities in Pakistan ostensibly to avoid bloodshed on the eve of Partition. However, Hindu and Sikh militants in league with Sardar Vallabhai Patel (Minister of State for Interior) and extremist Sikh leader Master Tara Singh were out to take revenge of Partition from Muslims, on the so called plea of the bifurcation of "Bharat Mata". Meanwhile, Chief of Punjab Special Branch, Captain Gerald Savage, arrested some Hindu/Sikh terrorists and unearthed a conspiracy aimed at killing Quaid e Azam during independence-day procession and to destroy Pak-One trains through bombs. Governor Punjab referred the matter to Mount Batten who along with Sardar Patel held a meeting with Quaid e Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan on August 05, 1947 but was reluctant to take any action against the culprits. In the circumstances, Quaid e Azam left with no alternative except to seek new avenues to save Indian Muslims from total catastrophe, who made great sacrifices in the freedom struggle of Pakistan. So prior to 11th August 1947 speech, Quaid e Azam addressed a Press Conference on July 14, 1947, as Governor General-designate in New Delhi and assured the minorities in Pakistan that their religion, faith, life, property and culture would be protected in the future state of Pakistan and they would be the citizens of Pakistan with equal rights and privileges. Earlier, on March 27, 1947 too, while addressing the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, Quaid e Azam said that he respects Hindu Culture, their philosophy and Dharam, and likewise Muslims have their own civilization and code of life. He assured the Hindu community that the independence of Pakistan means freedom of both the communities, and Hindus would be protected in Pakistan as equal citizens. Quaid e Azam did go to the extent announcing the equation of Hindus and Muslims on political basis

declaring religious matters being a matter of personal faith. Perhaps, Quaid e Azam while making this bold statement before the Constituent Assembly had categorical influence of “Surah al-Kafirun” in which Allah Almighty Reveals in Ayat No.6 “For you is your religion, and for me is my religion”. So Quaid e Azam was within the prescribe limits as he was making genuine efforts to save the lives of innocent minorities both in Pakistan and India in good faith. Unfortunately, the Indian leadership never reconciled with the Partition of India and continued their nefarious campaign against Pakistan.

6. In view of the above facts, let us glance through the main points of 'Objective Resolution':-

- a) Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed;
- b) Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah;
- c) Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to freely profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures;
- d) Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;
- e) Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes.

7. In spite of incorporating the guidelines of Quaid e Azam in the Objective Resolution, the anti-Pakistan lobby continued to malign Quaid e Azam in controversies even after his death, the latest being the book on “Jinnah, India, Independence and Partition” published in India 62 years after the Partition, by Jaswant Singh, a former External Affairs Minister of hard line Bharatia Janata Party. The book was written with a purpose to give vent to the contrast feelings about united India, describing Nehru as the main architect of the partition and Jinnah a Secularist guarding the frontiers of United India. In fact, BJP was always determined to encourage a public debate in Pakistan for re-uniting India, Pakistan and Bangladesh with equally hard line stand of Congress to undo Pakistan. A former BJP Chief, L K Advani is on record clamoring for such a public debate in Pakistan for re-uniting the three countries, by carving out a program of United India with a so called innocent beginning in the guise of Confederation. To make Jaswant Singh's thesis acceptable in Pakistan, BJP party workers agitated and Mr. Singh was expelled from BJP before visiting Pakistan to introduce his book. However, when he failed to attract the Pakistani public opinion, his membership of BJP was restored on return to India. It is strange that where Jaswant Singh had failed, a Pakistani Federal Minister of ANP Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Bilour has now taken up the cause of the so called Confederation.

8. Pakistan was born on August 15, 1947, the last Friday of Ramadan Mubarak. On this august day, Quaid e Azam assumed the charge of the office of Governor General and the cabinet was sworn in. Pakistan is now an Atomic State and people of Pakistan shall never allow any self seeking person to make it a subservient State. I conclude my essay with the message of Quaid e Azam issued by him to the nation on August 15, 1947: “My thoughts are with those valiant fighters in our cause who readily sacrificed all they had, including their lives, to make Pakistan possible. Those of our brethren who are minorities in Hindustan may rest assured that we shall never neglect or forget them. I recognize that it is the Muslim minority provinces in this sub-continent who were the pioneers and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. Now

they would have to adjust themselves to new and difficult circumstances because the Hindus resented them having supported Pakistan. In view of above dissertation, it may be safely concluded that the 11th August speech of the Quaid was in fact, part and parcel of ideological continuity, for providing due security to all citizens of the country as well as those who were left over in Hindustan. Hence the 'Objective Resolution' was a step forward to achieve the ideological continuity and to accomplish the desire of the Father of the Nation.

Quaid e Azam Zinda Bad, Pakistan Pinda Bad.



*Stability & Survival of Pakistan and its  
Islamic Identity*



**Dr. Samiullah Koreshi**

Former Ambassador & Worker of  
Pakistan Movement

All of us know how and why Pakistan came into existence, its ups and downs in 65 years of its history, etc, so I would come directly to three points I wish to make on the subject: (a) stability of Pakistan (b) its survival (c) future of its Islamic ideology.

The discussion broadly is about ideology, about the nature of federation or factually confederation, about what social reforms are required in the country, eradicating corruption, balance in organs of the state- and dealing with the one pressing challenge to the state – finding solution to the Baluch ethnic politics which is resulting in foreign aided insurgency. Let us first take up the controversy about Islam as ideological and cultural basis of our state. Religion has not been a major factor only in creating Pakistan but many other countries also; even Indian nationalism is based on Hindu identity. Let me quote from *The Oxford History of India*, the most used text book in high schools in India from my day's upto now. It was first published in 1919 and republished repeatedly ever since, authored by Vincent A Smith. At page 7, I can quote barely a few words, since it is prohibited by law to reprint it in extension, the book states: “The most fundamental unity of India rest upon the fact that the diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture or civilization utterly different from any other type in the world. That civilization may be summed up in the term Hinduism; India primarily is a Hindu country, the land of Hindus type of culture”. Religious identity has defined culture and civilization in many countries other than Pakistan, like Cambodia, Thailand, Viet Nam, Sri Lanka. In the West, Irish nationalism and French Canadian nationalism, Catholicism is a major ingredient of national character. In Europe Greek Orthodoxy has divided Europe from Protestant Europe. It may be recalled that on death of Soviet Union, Putin led in Leningrad a celebration with Greek Orthodox Arch Bishop carrying the old Czarist Russia's flag. In Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia despite being Slavic racially split from Serbia on religious grounds, and the Pope sided with the Roman Catholic parts of Yugoslavia against Greek Orthodox Serbia.

Can Pakistan survive as a secular state as against its original Islamic ethos, geographic in shape and secular in content? On this I am reminded of the Quid's statement that "if you think yourself as Punjabis, Pathans, Baluchis instead of Pakistanis first, Pakistan will disintegrate". I also recall what the famous lawyer A K Brohi at one time wrote in Magazine Impact "Minus Islam, Pakistan will fall into the lap of Indian history"

I would like to add that Pakistan is an ideology tied to a land and a land tied to an ideology. One minus the other cannot exist. That is, the land mass of Pakistan is not a nation minus that ideology on which it was created. Pakistan is not a geographic entity without its Muslim identity.

If there are circles who feel that Islamic ideology of Pakistan and Pakistan's survival as a country are two separate matters, they are sadly mistaken. Indeed indications are that the leadership wants to remove Islamic ideology as the base of Pakistani nationalism and all indications are that they want to replace it with ethnic identities and are working for division of existing provinces which had been in existence even since before Pakistan into smaller bits of ethnic areas.

What the present rulers of Pakistan are doing is to replace Islamic ideology with ethnicity, following the path of Soviet Union in creating the political party as the repository of all power even at the risk of destroying the balance in all the organs by subordinating as they wish even the Judiciary to the political power, creating several small Provinces- not caring whether it will lead to Balkanization of Pakistan. They are omitting to take note of how Yugoslavia broke into six independent republics because Yugoslavia was created on confederal pattern. They were so powerful that the federal system virtually become confederal. The rulers plead "strong" provinces ensure strong country, there has to be a balance between autonomy of provinces and power of the center. Plans as reported in the press are that the one Supreme Court for entire Federation will be abolished and Supreme Courts in each province would be created.



Constitutional amendment is tabled to make 8 provincial languages as national language instead of Urdu as the only national language. Urdu, if the Amendment is approved will cease to be the means of inter-provincial communication or Lingua Franca. Those who have proposed this constitutional amendment should look at Indonesia how a lingua franc, Bahasa Indonesia, based on Malau, knitted a nation of over 7,000 islands spread over 3000 miles in length and 1,200 miles in width. Many islands have their own dialects, but Sukarno discarded federalism for these groups of islands and established a central government and a national language. Theoretically the Ancy Fancy Soviet and Yugoslav “republics” were wonderful concept but practically doomed.

Confederation is a big leap towards eventual disappearance of Pakistan; it is a prescription for slow death and eventually breaking the oneness of the Pakistani people. It presumes that we are NOT one people, but separate nations. Anyway, no confederations exist in the world. I quote the acknowledged authority on international law, L. Oppenheim in his book “International Law in seventh edition at page 165 , para 88, says: “History has shown that the Confederated States represent an organization which in the long run gives very little satisfaction. It is for this reason that three Confederated States of modern times –namely, the United States of America, the German and the Swiss Confederation – turned into unions of Federal States.... The last in existence, the major Republic of Central America, which comprised of the three full sovereign states of Honduras, Nicaragua and San Salvador, and was established in 1895 , came to an end in 1898.”

Now, I should begin with the controversy which commenced almost from day one of Pakistan's independence. Although the strangest thing is that World history cannot produce a single political demand like Pakistan which was achieved more by void people, or by unanimous voice of the concerned masses, than Pakistan, none at all, none in America, none in Asia, none in Europe, Pakistan's creation remains upto date the unique example in the World. But right from its beginning its fundamental basis of

voted creation “Islamic” has been contested by certain Pakistani leaders themselves- ignoring the fact that this was a sheer case of rebellion in law, the controversy Islamic versus secular or the so called modern basis of politics has been voiced by ethno-political leaders.

The earliest dent in Islamic nation-hood came from Khan Abdul Ghaffar's Pakhtunistan demand; G M Syed's Jiyeey Sindh Movement, and Indian Dy Prime Minister's intrigues in Baluchistan with Prince Karim of Kalat to make Kalat accede to India. Karim became a rebel after the Khan of Kalat acceded to Pakistan, quite a few abroad consider these movements as expressing aspirations of Pashtuns, Sindhis and giving legitimacy to Baluch insurgency. Pakhtunistan movement lost its adherents after the Afghan Jihad. Pre-1980s Afghanistan was the main party backing Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan but after 1980s Afghanistan become too feeble and is facing its own ethnic divisions within Afghanistan. Nonetheless, it may be recalled that Mr Z A Bhutto pleaded at the Supreme Court for banning National Awami Party (NAP). The Supreme Court upheld his plea. NAP was banned. But now playing on the order of the alphabets in its name, today we have Awami National Party (ANP instead if NAP). One may ask if NAP is ruling in Frontier Province, and had the province named as Khyber Pakhtunkhawa, a solace that the Pakhtunkhawa has come into existence, is kind of satisfaction to some extent. This party still considers Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as its mentor. After the 18th Amendment when some federal subjects including education were transferred to the provinces, ANP Government removed some Ayats and Islamic teachings from the Syllabus. It's one of the oldest members and also now a Federal Minister recently proposed Pakistan confederate with India. So it implements to some extent its old objectives. It is doubtful if it can regain its previous support from India and Afghanistan in the future. It can be counted as gone to long sleep particularly given Islamists extremists activities in the tribal areas.

Jeeyai Sindh Movement is alive and represents Rural Sindh Wadera (elite) culture, is an ultra nationalist party, claims Sindh had

indivisible entity from time immemorial. However, it can be recalled that for a century in modern age from 1842 after Napier's conquest of Sindh till 1936, Sind was part of Bombay Province. Quid-e-Azam's agitation for separation of Sindh from Bombay Province created the Sindh Province. See Quaid –e- Azam's Fifteen Points – point no 9 says “Sindh should be separated from Bombay Province.” The Text of the 15 Points as published in the Special Edition of the Dawn dated December 30th 2006 –page 11. The Movement did not receive any support either from Z A Bhutto or Benazir but in recent years the movement seems to have had some indirect encouragement from the PPP leadership who use Sindh card. Vested interests can use it but by itself it does not much force.

The most serious challenge to Pakistan comes from the Baluch Movement. There has been armed insurgency for some decades. Three elements are responsible for the gravity of Baluch Insurgency, Continued poverty of Baluchistan, 1960s Army action, murder of Akbar Bugti in Musharruf days. In pre-Pakistan days Baluchistan was a non-self governing area, ruled by the Agent to the Governor General of India. The Quaid made it a province. It has its own Assembly, Cabinet, civil Service and finances; it receives similar federal financial assistance as other provinces. Perhaps to make Pakistan responsible for its backwardness is not correct. First responsibility for development is that of its own Administration. If it did not develop like Punjab or Karachi, primary responsibility lies on Baluchistan cabinets itself. In no country in the world economic development of all its parts is equal, nor it can be in Pakistan. In UK not all areas are like Manchester or Birmingham or London, nor in Japan the island of Hokaido and Kyoshu are as developed as Tokyo and Osaka's Honshu, nor in USA the Mid West is like New York or Pittsburg.

PPP claimed that they started “Aghaz e Huqooq e Baluchistan”, as if for 62 or 63 years Federation gave no financial help to Baluchistan. The word 'Aghaz e Huquq' is ridiculous and a highly exaggerated claim.

Nonetheless Federation made two grave mistakes, one by

Military Operations using 80,000 Army troops against Baluch sardars' rebellion in the 60s and in the 90s which led to Akbar Bugti's murder. The military operations continue even now. This has aggravated the situation. Foreign powers' are involved in it, from earliest time; Mr Z A Bhutto had had a raid made on the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad to recover the arms which were being smuggled to the Baluchi insurgents. Iraq claimed that the arms were being smuggled to Iranian Baluchis via Pakistani Baluchistan. Russia too was involved in giving arms to the Baluchi insurgents and when again coming to power Mr Bhutto went to Moscow in 1972 where he complained to Kosygin for Russian/Soviet help Kosygin admitted it and threatened that should the situation so demand in Kindustan's Baluchistan, Soviet will again intervene. I remember that through friendly intelligence agencies we were being constantly informed of Syrian, Iraqi and Indian help to anti Pak so called leaders like leader of Azad Baluchistan Movement etc. I was in 1979 Additional Foreign Secretary.

And now American game against China to block China's entry in the Gulf has made Baluchistan a play ground for American power game in the Iran-Gulf-Baluchistan – China region. At Jabel-el-Siraj in Afghanistan on Baluchistan border CIA, Mossad and Indian intelligence have set up a base from where they supply arms and other aid to the rebellious Baluchis.

Indications are that the leadership wants to remove Islamic ideology as the base of Pakistan nationalism and all indications are that they want to replace it with ethnic identities and are working for division of existing provinces which had been in existence even since before Pakistan into smaller bits of ethnic areas. Will this eventually lead to Balkanization of Pakistan who will pay for the new provinces administration some rich country or countries? America?

It can be said that the present political party wants to adopt the cult of power as its practical politics its policy is acquisition of wealth, power and social status are the ultimate good. In Byzantinian morality Caesar Borgia was the symbol of this style of politics whom Machiavelli made his

model on which is patterned his famous book *The Prince*. This is why the present rulers are a Bhanmatikakumba or coalition of every kind of party because they share one principle stated in the *Prince*.

“A pointer to the PPP regime's adoption of a new morality was their act to relegate the Sindh Assembly building in Karachi, as reported by the press, to ancient monuments, where the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met and the Quaid was sworn as Governor General of Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan unfurled Pakistan's national flag. A new Provincial Assembly building has been constructed according to the Press because the number of members of the Assembly has increased and new building is required to seat them. Has India discarded its old Assembly building, or the British Parliament, or any other big country did any similar thing. Those buildings are considered as national heritage and milestones of country's history. Not in PPP's Sind Government. Who was Mohammed Ali Jinnah? Whose swearing is so cherished part of our history?”

*Is Islamic Identity a Hindrance to Internal Development in Pakistan?*

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**Ambassador (R) Salim Nawaz Gandapur**  
Former Ambassador of Pakistan

Honorable Scion of the House of the Sultan ul Arifeen Hadrat Sultan Bahoo, Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Ali, Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen

My address will comprise three Parts:-

First; Pakistan's contemporary Identity is Muslim only in name and not in fact. Second; does the contemporary world offer models of societal organization superior to a genuine Islamic identity? The answer is no- although aspects of governance in some states are closer today to the genuine Islamic model than one's own. Third; How do we Pakistanis work towards achieving a genuine Islamic identity- divinely inspired and ordained?

I will offer some suggestions and conclude with a query.

- Identity means the real essence of any entity --its core operative reality.

Is contemporary Pakistani identity Islamic? Despite our loud claims that this is so- the facts prove otherwise. We only pay lip service to Islam.

- In the introduction to the compilation of his famous lectures The reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam, the national Poet Allama Iqbal states at the outset the Quran is a book which emphasizes deed rather than Idea ----- do our deeds prove that our society is fair, equitable, humane, socially responsible, governed by rule of law and by honest and competent leaders? Are we a just polity, an equitable economy and a united nation? The sad answer has to be- NO

- Pakistan is a typical, post colonial third world country. The gora Sahib (White colonial master) has been supplanted by his native counterpart.

Our political system is based ... on the Westminster Model,

without restraining moral checks and balances. Its economy is similarly market driven, but deprived of an ethical dimension- tax evasion is endemic, under- and over- invoicing rampant -and cartels flourish.

Electoral Politics is biradari(clan) based and feudal, greased with money- and tainted by regime- and candidate -manipulation.

- Administration is corrupt, inefficient, arbitrary and still colonial in outlook. Corruption is rampant, poverty is rising alarmingly, as is unemployment. The National debt has doubled since 2008. The elected Government has borrowed at a rate 15 times faster than in the first 60 years of Pakistan!!!

- Violence- sectarian, political and criminal – is accelerating frighteningly

- Court orders are defied almost at will, fake degrees abound, and parliamentarians often fail the constitutional standards for qualification (Arts 62 & 63). Many are dual nationals, again in violation of constitutional provisions. Criminals are granted presidential pardons. Contractors are king makers.

- Consequently our Identity is Muslim in name and NOT in fact.

- There is mayhem in Baluchistan. Karachi is a killing field; the government confesses that all the 3 coalition Parties are involved in “Bhattakhori” (protection money) and mutual violence.

- The 18th Amendment, negotiated essentially in secret, and thus illegally, has done away with the constitutional requirement of intra party elections, thus turning party leaders into virtual dictators, at grave cost to democratic practice!

- Provincialism still haunts us as witness for example the



tragic events of 1971 -and the Kalabagh Dam controversy, despite what the Quaid-e-Azam warned in March 1948 at Chittagong :- “If we begin to think of ourselves as Punjabis and Sindhis first, and Muslims and Pakistanis incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate”- Prophetic words indeed!!

Again the Quaid said

“Provincialism has been one of the curses and so is sectionalism-Shia Sunni etc”.

Does the operative Contemporary world order offer workable models, which Pakistan might profitably follow?

The recent collapse of the Soviet Union dealt an apparent death blow to the Marxist- Leninist world view. The USSR disintegrated-despite its 10000+ nuclear weapons--its political and economic models having become suicidally dysfunctional.

What about the dominant western, imperialist, market based model? Post WW 2, the US had a 40% share of the global economy. Today it is down to 22%. America was the greatest creditor nation in 1980. Today it is the most indebted at US \$ 15 trillion- a 50% increase since President Obama took over.

China, by stark contrast has reserves of US \$3.3 trillion. The US alone owes it over a trillion dollars.

This is undoubtedly the most rapid shift of global power from one entity (the west) to another (China) in human history. China has also brought out the greatest number of people from below the poverty line... the world has taken notice!

European countries are in rapid economic decline-from serious to grave Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Iceland are deeply shaken. England, France and Italy are also affected. There is fierce debate on how to escape the downturn- but solutions so far are elusive. Germany today

carries a heavy burden of bailing out Europe. France however has reverted to a Socialist Government after decades.

Post Soviet era, the US policy has been “full spectrum dominance” over the globe in perpetuity. Imperial hubris is illustrated by the use of the term “American Exceptionalism.”

Curiously this delusion has been consigned to oblivion by no less a person than Henry Kissinger, the archetypal symbol of Zionist-Imperialist-neocon mentality. In his seminal Book on China authored in 2011, he matter of fact refers to “Chinese Exceptionalism” instead.

The prosperity differential between the first and third world nations has grown in the last half century. But in the prosperous west itself also the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer, in absolute term.

The divorce rate in the US in the 1950s was 1-2 % today more than 60% marriages end in divorce in the first few years.

Human History illustrates that the family is the most fundamental building block of human societies when the family disintegrates, social disintegration must follow inevitably!

The West, therefore, like the former Soviet Union, is not a model worth of emulation by the rest of humanity.

Apart from the positive features in China's march towards spectacular progress, what about Turkey?

Since the moderate Muslim Government was elected in 2002, Turkey has performed admirably -- inflation has dropped from 100% to 6 %; per capita income has risen from US \$ 3000 to USD 10000+

The Turkish parliament refused the US military access to Iraq despite huge financial inducements. Lasting friendship with Israel not with standing, it has recently supported the Palestinian cause steadfastly. A model worthy of study.

Since the restoration of President Chavez of Bolivia in 2001, following a CIA sponsored coup, more than half of the Latin American have voted for left of centre, socialist leaning Governments which are much more responsive to peoples' needs than the dictatorships of yesteryear .

For Japan –and the Asian tigers observers say success is based on strong governance, rule of law, meritocracy, political continuity and national harmony.

May I observe in passing that I personally found the Muslims of South East Asia, who follow the Shafie Maslak ( one of four Islamic Schools of Jurisprudence), FAR more tolerant than contemporary South Asian Muslims. No offence intended!

How do Pakistan Muslims proceed to acquire a genuine Islamic Identity and build a real Muslim Society?

The 19th Century reformer Jamal ud Din Afghani had a simple Prescription ,“ Every Muslim is sick and the only remedy is the Holy Quran.”

The Holy Quran States in Surah 13, Verse 11. “Verily Allah will not change the condition of men until they change what is in themselves” (core World view).

Elsewhere “nothing will a man be able to achieve except through personal effort.”

In Surah 42 “And they are commanded to discuss their problems mutually” (to evolve agreed future courses of action).

Allam Iqbal states in his Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam:-

“During the Last 500 years religious thought in Islam has been practically stationary. There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of

modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is moving spiritually towards the West”.

This lamentable trend has only accelerated on the past 80 years, especially in the case of these Pakistani elites whose first language has become English.

Allama's prescription for this predicament is Ijtehad --to be exercised with great caution, “Never in history has Islam had to stand a greater trial than today. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the fundamental principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they try a new experiment”.

Again “the task before the modern Muslims is immense. He has to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past”.

Muhammad Asad, author of the superb Tafsir (detailed explanation) “The Message of the Quran”, offers great conceptual clarity towards 'Ijtehad':-

“Because it is restricted to commands and prohibitions expressed in self evident terms in Quran and Sunnah, the real Shariah is very concise and therefore, very easily understandable; and because it is so small in volume- it was never intended to provide detailed legislation for every contingency”.

(“The principles of state and Government in Islam”)

I have the following suggestion to offer:-

Moderate genuine Muslim entities like this “MUSLIM Institute”, must intensify their contacts with all religious bodies in Islam to build a new consensus on what is genuine Islam- in order to combat sect based interpretations.

It is the duty of civil society, in concert with our vibrant media and through the internet, to persuade Pakistani decision makers to factor genuine Islamic injunctions into governance, as well as in their anti-terrorist and anti-insurgency strategies.

Obviously, a reorientation on our policy will have far reaching effects on the manner and extent of our participation in the unending “war on terror”- and thus also on our foreign and defense policies. It should aid greatly in reducing the level of domestic terrorist violence.

I finish with a question- Does the Nation possess the collective wisdom to evolve a framework, whereby all the stakeholders- the government, the establishment, the political parties, the Media the Civil society- and even the Judiciary- put their heads together to reach a consensus solution to our problems- lamentable law and order, corruption, terrorism, sectarianism, rising poverty, mounting unemployment, and the prevailing mood of national drift and despair?

Thank you!

## *The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Strategic Culture*

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### **Dr. Maria Sultan**

Director General, South Asian Strategic Stability Institute (SASSI)

Thank you very much and I express my deepest gratitude for organizers of this seminar, MUSLIM Institute & Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Ali giving me opportunity to address this august gathering on an issue which concerns all of Pakistan. As to what is role of Islam in Pakistan's culture and more importantly strategic culture, the paper which I shall be presenting looks at:

1. The role of strategic culture in Pakistan's decision making. It is based on empirical research which looks on how strategic culture is seen and whether or not it has any connection with the way in which we carry out decision making. As far as idea of strategic culture goes, our findings are that strategic culture of Pakistan is predominantly based on Islam and it is the Islamic identity of Pakistan which will provide the context in which Pakistan sees and undertakes its decision making.

2. It will also highlight the manners in which security context of Pakistan was seen since its inception both the pre partition phase as well as the post partition phase. And consequently it has also been one of the governing factors which impacted upon how we have seen the development of security ethos of Pakistan and most importantly its connection with masses of Pakistan.

The strategic culture provides a context in which a state makes its decisions. In case of Pakistan “the question of strategic culture and in this the role of Islam” has created the biggest question mark with regards to the decision making and most importantly security decision making in Pakistan.

1. We aim to analyze the relationship between Pakistan's strategic culture and decision making number one.

2. How does it impact on Pakistan's world view and its self-image as a state and what is its connection with regard to masses in which they see the development of identity.

Research offers a three-level approach in explaining the working mechanism of strategic culture within Pakistan and how it responds to regional constraints and interacts with the global norms. Specifically, the argument is based on the fact that Pakistan's strategic culture helps to provide the context and to certain degree shapes the assumptions that describe rationality as propounded by the rational-actor model and searches for maximum gains at minimum cost as calculated by cost-benefit analysis. In this strategic culture concept, we argue that the threat perception and historical evolution of state at national, regional and international level have shaped both the security discourse and the self-image of Pakistan. However, cross-currents and national objectives of establishing Pakistan as a responsible international state have impacted on how the bureaucracy has seen itself most importantly and how decision-making has impacted. Nonetheless, we focus mostly on Pakistan's security. There are three assumptions on which argument is based

1. Pakistan's religious identity is intrinsically Islamic and does not support religious orthodoxy; the Islamic identity of Pakistan is context-driven and is shaped by its strategic culture. This argument is different than the perceived understanding in the western discourse about Pakistan, Islam, religion and role of strategic culture in the decision-making.

2. Strategic culture has played a role in Pakistan's decision-making, and as a result it is based on three basis. Normative way; in which the state sees itself. The structural mechanism; through which we have identified ourselves as broader state. And most importantly also at psychological level as the state has developed and gone through it.

The question which I would be aiming to highlight is 1) the culture has a distinct feature of inheritance, hence it has become in traditional sense the base under which people, decision makers and all those who are relevant to the understanding of Pakistan as state have responded towards the demands which were made by the masses. Why I have linked to masses,



is because of the historical reference in which the pre partition Muslims of the sub-Continent saw themselves where they believed that one of the biggest factor which brought them together was not the fact that they were Baluchis, Sindhis, Punjabis or for that matters any other part of the sub-Continent but the fact is that Islam is sole unifying factor between them. 2) We also argue that cultural concept and strategic culture is defined as semi-permanent and depends upon defense strategic community members shared attitudes towards decision making which acquires from ideal conditions and emotional responses and patterns of habitual behavior. For strategic culture there is possibility for new strategic culture to be born at of older one, right thing of an existing situation is nonetheless necessary in order to absorb new inductive changes. Alternatively it envisages a nation as a collective entity that responds to the security issues and its collective historical experiences whereby every nation has its own particular adoptability pattern and problem solving mechanism along-with national traditions, values and symbols regarding the threat or actual use of force.

Strategic culture, its nature and evolution play a critical role in Pakistan security policy. It is necessary here to mention strategic culture as a theory is based on a constructive debate and supplement other parallel realism and non-realism. Nonetheless the issue remains that most of the Pakistan security thinking has been based on much more realistic perspective. Therefore the question emerges as what are those transition points when culture, religion and most importantly our decision making on outlook towards international system coincide at time of conflicts? Most of the speakers here have argued and I shall also argue about transition points which Pakistan faced as a state. There are four transition points which we believe Pakistan went through. First was 1935 when there was mass killing Hindu-Muslim riots throughout sub-Continent. This was one of the galvanizing factors which brought Muslims of the sub-Continent together and also gave them a sense of identity as Muslims which was distinctly different from the cultural identity which was shared by the people of sub-Continent. It also provided a baseline in which their various ethnic identities were not the reason under which they were discriminated but is

was Islamic identity under which they were discriminated. This became a unifying factor. For those self-groups to galvanize under what we believe as the leftist Islamist leaders of the Pakistan movement, I am calling them leftist Islamist leaders because I want to distinctively differentiate them from the religious orthodoxy which was present at that time. It does not mean that they were non Islamist but it is just to make distinction from the religious orthodoxy that exists. Secondly, Sufism was most critical factor which played a role in making the Muslims of the sub-Continent 'Muslim'. This is distinctively different from understanding of Islam at that time which was seen in other part of the World. Thirdly, the Muslim League became one of the major banners under which Muslims of the sub-Continent came together because it represented four things. One; political Islam, two; guarantee of the faith based understanding of Islam. And I shall quote here one of the statements of Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to 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.... We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State...I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in due course 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."

It is important to understand what it meant to the Pakistan movement as a result of which we were created. He was a visionary leader who used the predominance of Islam in the strategic culture of Muslims of sub-Continent. The factor of Islam was used as a political tool in order to bring the Muslims the sub-Continent together for a demand of separate homeland. This demand was translated to certain geographical boundaries with the purpose of establishing a political entity – Pakistan in which the people of Pakistan could progress as politically alive Islamic nation. Islamic character in Pakistan was nonetheless different and distinct from the religious orthodoxy as practiced in most parts of the Islamic world at

that time of Partition. The British influence had also helped the Muslims of Subcontinent to adopt and promote a different version of Islamic character. Moreover, we would also like to assert that Islam is not new to the region and has been exercising influence as a dominant discourse for approximately 900 years. Connection to Islamic history, elements of moderation, influences of Persian and Ottoman Empire with the sprinkling of Arabian influence led to the emergence of a modern Islamic identity of Pakistan. We mean moderate in terms of religious interpretation and expression at national and international levels. Pakistan's urge to be identified as Islamic Fortress of the Muslim/Islamic World is of extreme importance because of defined Islamic character from the inception and most importantly in the post-partition phase. But it is also important to understand what this word means, 'Islamic Fortress'. Does it mean that we would be representing extremist religious orthodoxy and would be using this as a factor of governance, as a factor of collectivity between us or was it something else which was understood by leaders of this idea? Pakistan's urge to be identified as Islamic Fortress of the Islamic World was drawn from the concept which associates Pakistan to Muslim World. Moreover, the Islamic character of Pakistan's strategic culture is unique and progressive because of the significant role played by Sufis in the sub-Continent. The distinct disposition of Sufism is that Sufis' Islamic orientation was different; Sufis used to maintain their social life, contacts with the people who belonged to different religions and also did meditation. Thus Sufism is an institution that aims to maintain a balance between religion and social life; thereby making Islam a popular and progressive religion that is modern, tolerant and adaptive in essence. This has helped strategic culture to evolve and making Islam as a dominant and a unifying force in post-Partition phase also.

At psychological and normative level second transition point that we faced came around as a result of 1971 separation of Pakistan which we call East-West Pakistan separation. This according to many theorists had put strong reservations to the two nation theory. We argue differently on the basis that Islam remained the unifying factor that Islamic state of

Bangladesh did not go back. The reasons and conflict that exist between Islamic identity of Pakistan come about as a result of the oscillations because of the pressure which Pakistan receives in terms of security concerns and most importantly a predomination of Pakistan security concerns with regards to its existence and survival as an independent state and most importantly trying to preserve its Islamic character as a unifying factor. In terms of the Islamic character when we call being a Muslim fortress it meant that Pakistan could become an example for other Muslim states which were at that time of partition trying to have emancipation and self-liberation. Here I will refer to three things. OIC summit 1973 & 1974 and most importantly summit of 1976 which essentially highlighted the role of pan-Islamism and its importance to Pakistan's identity.

At the normative level, this consists of the shared values and norms. We also have to consider the fact that at the psychological level the discrimination which was felt in the Hindu Muslim riots of 1935, 1947 partition and 1971 war led to this feeling that if we were to preserve our identity, perhaps security will become predominant factor. Then there is third transition point which most importantly refers to is 1979 Iranian revolution and linked to that was the question of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. What impact did it bring upon Pakistan's society? In 1990s religiously extremist political parties or parties who talked about religious extremism did not have much support within Pakistan and election results also showed that they had scored only 1% or in certain cases 19 to 20 seats in national assembly showing the fact that people were not so connected in terms of message which was being given in reference to what they thought was in terms of external war in Afghanistan. Number two; it was also clear in terms of relative economic instability of Pakistan. Therefore the economic connection between religious extremism which at that time being seen as base for extremism did not facilitate 1980s per se but we did see another unfortunate phenomenon that was rise in sectarianism in Pakistan which was attributed to Afghan war and also to regional power struggle which had come to manifest itself in Pakistan.

What's important here is the third transition point within Pakistan and that transition point has come from global war against terrorism. The global war against terrorism has infected Pakistan at a much deeper level than mostly perceived because it has impacted on three level of understanding. 1) Psychological; because people believe that it is Islamic faith which is being targeted. 2) It is also argued that the level of governance and its responsiveness to the masses was another factor which brought about de-legitimization of state at various point and as a result that power vacuum was taken over by various groups which tried to propound extremist ideas and tried to resolve basic issues of governance through religious orthodoxy which has met with severe resistance as was seen in case of Swat and also seen by massive response towards that. Nonetheless the issues were of political de-legitimization, governance and most importantly the lack of narrative discourse which responded to the basis or basic faith of the people of Pakistan that was Islam. 3) The level of education and lack of level of education in Pakistan has also been a critical factor in a manner in which Islam has been used or not used in Pakistan. One other factor was 1973; immediate phase of 1971 war, 1973 when Pakistan was searching for a new identity. For the first time, Islamic Constitution of Pakistan was propounded in order to provide security to people of Pakistan that Pakistan would emerge as strong, viable, modern and progressive Islamic state.

Pakistan is distinctly different and Islam is unifying base for Pakistan's strategic culture, decision making and Pakistan's resolve as a state. It was believed that the progressive abilities or economic development which Pakistan would see would become a sure sense of security for the Muslims in sub-Continent. And this was based on the idea that strong Pakistan and strong India would better manage their relationship on basis of equality and sovereign, understanding towards each other. Because each would have this dynamic and yet ever pressing idea that until and unless they do not respond to the religious minorities of their constituencies, the state structure would not remain viable. Unfortunately the minorities have not received the same attention in either

state as it was hoped in strong India and strong Pakistan would have resulted into.

The Pakistani history has been rampant with power struggles exercised by each power sector to prolong their stay in corridors of power. The Islamic ideology in country, however, reached at turning point in 1970 when leftist emerged on political scene of the West Pakistan and given rise to the politics of Islam. Subsequently, religious parties gained popularity by using the slogan of Islam to mobilize the masses; importantly, however, these parties never desired to be the part of security decision-making in Pakistan. This is very important point because security decision making of the country or the way state seems itself remained predominantly by bureaucracy of Pakistan and different elite rather than religious elite. The struggle between ethnicity and political Islam was present at societal level during 1970s; however, in Bhutto's era Pakistan's democracy was in progress. There was a need to understand and maintain balance between Islamic identity and modernity because whenever there is a swing on entire side the strategic culture will force an overarching response from other factor. The major shift came during 1980s when Islamic Jihad – a new factor of religiosity– came into the calculus but mainly directed towards Afghanistan. Moreover, it was the period of economic prosperity and stability, which did not let people of Pakistan to be stimulated by this new factor. The situation started worsening once sectarian violence emerged and subsequent 1990s Indo-Pak rivalry.

In the 1990s Pakistan faced Western economic sanctions once it became a state with nuclear program nonetheless it did bring various power vacuums to be overlapped as a result of this.

Three levels (psychological, normative and structural) reinforce each other in order to be responsive to exogenous pressures. In isolation, these levels appear to be meaningless but together they provide Pakistani state with a distinct identity that defines Pakistan's self-image and its world view.

Pakistan's self-image is divergent. Divergence comes from Pakistan's identity as an Islamic state and also its nuclear weapons; both identities endow Pakistan with different role conception and expectation. Self-image has been crucial and sensitive to geographical position of Pakistan as a heartland of Muslim World. A commitment to Islam which has been a major defining factor, conditioned Pakistan to look Middle East as friends and India as adversary. The research is limited to the discussion of Pakistan's security thinking. Self-image of Pakistan on the security context is driven by its threat perception based on India-Pakistan rivalry, however this image also illustrates Pakistan's struggle for technological advancement to secure its position in international system was also another governing factor. Pakistan has been constantly struggling to showcase itself as technologically advanced progressive state.

In short the three levels which have impacted on Pakistan can be concluded very easily on the following points.

1. Pakistan's security has defined its outer parameters as well as internal decision making.
2. There has been distrust between Pakistan's political elite and masses. Masses believe that they do not represent the main state view of what the masses aspire for and basic right to exist in Islamic Muslim state.
3. We have entered into international discourses because of strategic location whether it was CEATO, SENTO, whether regard to Afghanistan war whether it was with reference to global war against terrorism without looking how it impacted Pakistan's strategic culture.

Latest context for example in Pakistan has been that 1) All Pashtoons are not Talibans but all Talibans are Pashtoons essentially referring to a demonization strategy viz a viz a certain ethnic group in Pakistan where ethnicity has been made dominant factor of their association within the country. 2) There has been geographical emphasis on

various points such as Southern Talibans, such as federally administrated tribal area which are geographical boundaries not distinct ethnicities which has been targeted as causes of terrorism in Pakistan.3) Not enough space given for political connection as well as concept of Ijtihad within Pakistan for various themes religious thoughts to come together.

In short it can be stated that Pakistani state constantly has been pushed, on one side by the west for the state structure with security defining its ultimate calculus and on other hand by its culture expecting the state to be responsive to societal as well as social, cultural norms for which state of Pakistan was created.

I will end here by saying role of Islam in Pakistan is unifying factor and none of ethnicity and none of other identity is strong enough in the current days of Pakistan to lead us.





*Why some international players want to de-Islamize Pakistan?*



**Lt. Gen. (R) Abdul Qayyum**  
Defense & Political Analyst

May I, first of all, convey my profound gratitude to Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Ali, Chairman of MUSLIM Institute, for inviting me to this august forum to share my humble views on a very sensitive but highly important issue. The subject of speech, “Why International Players want to de-Islamize Pakistan” is very interesting. However I do feel that it may be wrong to assume that all the international players really want to de-Islamize Pakistan's identity. I think some who do, have vested interests. It is well known that Pakistan's location has great strategic significance because of its proximity to Middle East and Central Asian republics which are known as world heart lands. Besides, if the globe was an egg, the energy rich Middle East and Central Asian republics would be undoubtedly regarded as its yoke. These two Islamic regions are energy back bone of the entire world. Pakistani Baluchistan is called a golden land bridge which not only connects the two energy filled chambers of this heart land but also provides an opening to Arabian Sea through Baluchistan. Our country, therefore, derives strength from its geography and thus remains under focus of the world powers. Second factor, which attracts international attention, is our Islamic belief which binds us with these two energy rich important regions. Third factor, which is creating undue alarm, is the reality that Pakistan is the only country of the oppressed Muslim World which is a Missile and Nuclear Power. Hence a populous Muslim nuclear state which is also a missile power and is situated on the globe at a key strategic location is seen as an irritant by the international hawks. They therefore want that it should not only be de nuclearized but also de-Islamized.

There are certain general reasons also which are extended to justify secular identity of Pakistan. First of all there is a general international perception that the state and the religion need to remain separated, although we Muslims believe that

جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

“Statecraft divorced from Faith to reign of terror leads”

It is a fact that our people speaking different languages in different provinces and having different cultures are bound together only through their religious believes. Take that away and you will sow the seeds of disintegration. Same is true for the Muslim Ummah because Muslims living in different continents are only bound together through Islamic belief. Our Quaid Muhammad Ali Jinnah had very rightly said, “Nation hood is a matter of Faith”

Second major reason for an international pressure to neutralize Pakistan's Islamic identity is unfortunately a flawed perception about Islam which is being depicted as a barbaric religion by some anti Islamic forces. This flawed perception needs to be corrected diplomatically and politically. I would only like to say that Islam stands for peace, justice, moderation, forgiveness, liberty, equality and emancipation of humanity. These values are also championed with pride by the international players but not fully practiced or implemented by them. Look at their different double standards. The proponent of democratic norms shamelessly engineered replacement of democratically elected Iranian Prime Minister Mussadiq with King Raza Shah Pahalvi in 1953. They abhor dictatorship but in the past they supported Husni Mubarak and Saddam Hussain. They talk of human rights, morals and ethical values but torture prisoners in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay. They talk of diplomatic norms but arrest and imprison an innocent Afghan ambassador Mullah Zaeef in Pakistan against all international norms and torture him and then release him saying he is innocent. They talk about upholding international laws but violate them with impunity through drone attacks in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia. Islam teaches us to abide by the national and international laws and extend dignified treatment to even prisoners of war. USA and West call Pakistan an ally but send spies and militants like Raymond Davis under the garb of a diplomat.

Third major reason for counter Islamic propaganda is the universal appeal of our religion and its fast spread in almost all continents of the World. This has created an alarm which in their opinion necessitates

de Islamization of Muslim states and depriving them of their Islamic identity. This is evident from what Richard Nixon wrote in his book “Seize the Moment”, he wrote, “Some observers warn that Islam will become a monolithic and fanatical geo-political force. And that it's growing population and significant financial power will pose a major challenge and that the west will be forced to form a new alliance with Moscow to confront a hostile and aggressive Muslim world. It foresees the forces of frequent Muslim fundamentalism and prompting the need for a comprehensive western and soviet policy of containment.”

International players are also mindful of the past glory of the Muslim world. They are afraid of Muslim unity and do not want to see re-emergence of a Muslim super power because a strong Muslim block will definitely ask for right of self determination for the Kashmiris and a separate state for Palestinian brothers. This does not at all suit some forces which have vested interests. Let us see what the ex-president of United States of America, President Richard Nixon, had to say on this issue. He said, “Islam is not only a religion but also the foundation of major civilization. We speak of the Muslim world as a single entity not because of any Islamic politburo, guiding its politics but because individual nations share common political and cultural currents with the entire Muslim civilization just as all western countries advocated the free market, the welfare state and socialism, the Islamic countries have groups that subscribe to the main political currents of the Muslim world that is fundamentalism, radicalism and modernism. When a major event occurs in one part of the Muslim world it inevitably reverberates in the others.”

We all are aware that ancient history is replete with examples where church and state were interwoven in almost all the big empires including the Roman Empire. It is no secret that for centuries the monarchs ruled by the idea of divine rights, so the kings ruled both their kingdoms and also the churches within their boundaries. Opposed to this was another school of thought propounded by the Catholic Church which proclaimed that the people as the Vicar of Christ of earth would have ultimate authority

over the church and indirectly over the state. Throughout the middle ages the pope claimed the right to depose the catholic kings of Western Europe and also tried to excise it; sometimes successfully and sometimes not. This resulted in power struggle and crisis of leadership especially in the 12th century.

Renowned Muslim scholar Allama Muhammad Iqbal was of the view that separation of religion from the state affairs had infect taken away the moral values and ethics from the statecraft. He opined that had states not been separated from churches, First World War, which brought miseries to millions of human lives, could be averted. Ladies and gentleman you can see how after defeat of communism the guns of so called international players were turned against Islam.

To conclude, I would say that western world has a totally wrong perception of Islam. They link Islam with militancy which is absolutely ridiculous. In my perception our pathetic state is not because we believe in fundamentalism or radicalism. The downfall of Muslim Ummah is in fact due to our deviation from the fundamental principles of Islam in which extremism and militancy has absolutely no place.

Thank you.



*Making use of Pakistan's Foreign Policy  
Initiatives in Redressing the Flawed  
Perception of Islamic Identity in the World*



**Mr. Akram Zaki**

Former Secy. Gen. for Foreign Affairs, Pakistan



Respected president, Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Ali,

Like my colleagues who have spoken before I first of all want to pay my compliments to our worthy President who at this young age has taken the initiative to establish the MUSLIM Institute and I admire the imagination because he has written Muslim in the symbol of Shaheen (Eagle). Allama Iqbal's inspiration of Shaheen is reflected which means that the limits they have set for themselves for their flight, thought and research is the sky. This is quite natural because of the spiritual background from which he belongs, the tradition of Hadrat Sultan Bahoo and the excellent work that the organization has been doing for promotion of a humanistic image of Islam.

Pakistan's foundation is Islamic as all the speakers have said so and it is no dispute. But which Islam? There are three Islams. 1) The Islam of the conquerors. 2) The Islam of the Mullahs. 3) The Islam of the Sufis.

The Islam of the conquerors is the Islam which deteriorated eventually into the Islam of the extremists and terrorists. And the Islam of mullahs has deteriorated into factious curling over minor details and rejecting the fundamentals. The Islam of the Sufis is the Islam of love of affection, compassion, cooperation, understanding, humanity, generosity, of zakat and of sacrifice. This was the Islam which spread in the south Asian subcontinent through Sufis. And these are the Muslims who were motivated by a modern mind a highly educated devoted Muslims like Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam. So Pakistan was founded on the ideology of Islam but it was the ideology of Islam that had genesis among the Sufis and its articulation by Iqbal and Jinnah.

The task that has been given to me is to say “how to use foreign policy to improve the wrong impressions about Pakistan”. So I will confine myself to this particular aspect. I will probably shock you by saying first that there is no such thing like 'foreign policy'. Foreign policy is only the reflection and projection of internal reality and its projection and reflection is limited by many factors. Two most important factors are geo-political

realities around and own historical imperatives and experiences. The ability to project is dependent on economic strength, security defense strength and national cohesion. The internal situation has been described by speakers who spoke earlier to me as to what chaotic conditions we are living in, I will not go over it. With that kind of internal situation what foreign policy can we have? We are going to project these things. And if we don't project it, the world will project it and focus on it. So if we have a bad image, we are responsible for it. We have mismanaged our affairs, because while our Islam was moderate, realistic human Islam and speakers before me have spoken at length about Quaid-i-Azam's ideological vision of it, I can also quote a lot of statements from him, but soon after independence we abundant our vision and took up two extreme positions. The non-believers wanted to give Pakistan a secular interpretation and the fundamentalists or orthodoxy gave it another extreme position. The real vision of the Quaid was lost. And the real vision of Quaid was, it is not going to be a theocratic state, it is going to be a democratic state based on the principles of Islamic social justice. And we did not create social justice in our society. We infect perpetuated the injustice inherited during the British period. So our concept got convoluted.

The creation of a socially just society was the ideal. Democracy, federalism were the means towards that ideal. They were not ends in themselves. We neither retained the means nor did we keep the vision intact. The global realities dominated our thinking, the challenge from India the treat, joining of the west acting on their agenda, Dr. Maria Sultan has variably described all this so I will not go over the process, and we got stuck into this war on terror eventually. Our extremist people were layord into becoming terrorist for serving a foreign purpose. In fact, the global doctrine in which we framed our foreign policy was initially to challenge the Soviet Union and destroy it and we became party of it. As soon as they succeeded, their target change which Lt. Gen. (R) Abdul Qayyum has explained to us that president Nikson and Henry Kesinger and the NATO Sec. General, all propounded the doctrine that next threat is Islam. We have dealt with the red manes now we have to deal with the green manes was the

words of the Sec. Gen. of NATO. So we were demonized. First they brought the Muslim extremists. And how did the Muslim become extremists? Primarily because of injustice in Palestine. The Palestinian state partition was announced in 1948 by United Nations that there will be two states. One was established, the Jewish part and the other was not allowed to establish. At the same time there was a partition in the subcontinent Pakistan was established from India but the Palestine was not allowed to establish. Part of Pakistan i.e. Kashmir was occupied and not allowed to join. If we see the history how terrorism developed, for thirty years the Palestinians waited and then they started reacting and they were called terrorist and about twenty one conventions were passed by the international community to deal with the so called Muslim terrorism in the Middle East. Eventually when the Soviets came into Afghanistan, all the so called Muslim terrorists of whole of Middle East were brought here and Pakistani extremists were also converted into terrorist at that time called Mujahedeen and rather rechristened after their doctrine changed, into terrorist. So we have a bad image because we didn't organize ourselves and played into their hands. After using us against Soviets, they have blamed us and condemned us.

Quaid-i-Azam laid the foundation of an independent foreign policy and a foreign policy that will support the liberation struggle of third world countries. Quaid-e-Millat continued that foreign policy. But then, as Dr. Samiullah Koreshi has explained, the undemocratic trio of Ghulam Muhammad Sikandar Mirza and others subverted our independent foreign policy by taking us into Western alliance. We have been since then trying to work out our new security arrangements and seeking some kind of independence. Even Ayub Khan as president tried to seek independence in foreign policy by opening up to China, Mr. Bhutto continued that. Then Zia Ul Haq became an ally of United States and we got involved into war against Soviet Union at that time. But he still retained the option to continue the nuclear program so that we could eventually retain our partial independence which was completed by Mian Nawaz Sharif during his period in defiance to the west. But unfortunately Gen Pervez Musharaf

totally subjugated our national interest to the Western imperialist interest. And having use to the Maximum they have three targets. De-Islamize or secularize it, to de nuclearize Pakistan and to deal Pakistan from its link with China and other neighbors like Iran. Therefore the task before us, if we want to use our foreign policy to improve our image, lies not abroad but at home. All the problems of institutional conflict or murders in Karachi or attacks on security establishments or injustice of feudalism of rich people paying no taxes lies within. If we don't correct these, we cannot have an effective foreign policy.

The primary task is we must understand that there is distinction between authority and power. People are exercising illegitimate power. The Army for example has the power to take over anything they want to but they have no authority to take over. When they do take over, it's illegal. The parliament has power or the Prime Minister has the power to appoint anybody but doesn't have authority to appoint anybody. He must appoint people according to rules and regulations. The judiciary has power to issue any decisions but their decision must be subject to constitution and law. The institutional conflict that we are now facing is the most grave because everybody is suffering from ego problem and exercising power rather than authority. Authority only comes through moral self restraint so the real crisis in our country is a moral crisis that nobody has a moral self-restraint to exercise an office with legitimate authority without illegitimate power. This is a subject on which we should do research if we want to inculcate a sense of self control and moral responsibility amongst those who have some kind of a position whether in parliament, in judiciary or in the army. That can only come if we go back to our original ideology as preached by Quaid-i-Azam and neither by extremist view of Islam nor by so called secular view or non religious view of societ. When Lord Mount Batten came to administer the Oath to office of Quaid e Azam, he advised Quaid that you should follow the example of great Mughal emperor Akbar who was very tolerant. Quaid-i-Azam replied to Mount Batten, "I have a much better and much older guide the Holly Prophet (Peace be upon Him) of Islam whose treatment to non-Muslims is a model for us and I will base my

tolerance on the eternal principles of Islamic social justice". This was Quaid's vision. He was not inspired by any orthodox religious school and was inspired directly by the example of Medina.

Our foreign policy can become an effective instrument. I will give a very ordinary example there is no difference between foreign policy and politics even at the lowest level. If there is a family where there are four brothers, are all well employed, their children are going to school, they are very modest and they don't assert themselves. If they walk out, people will respect them. But if they know all are fighting, they can't afford the fees of their children; they are in debt, even if they wear the suits from civil row or wear big turbans and try to show off when they walk out nobody will respect them. If we want to use foreign policy for improving our image, we must start at home. If we start at home, we will not even have to go and propagate outside that we are good. People have eyes and ears, they can see. We have to curb the extremist tendencies and have to go back to the original vision of the founding father. First establish law and order, provide basic services to the people of Pakistan, make them shareholders and stake holders in the peace and progress of the country. The answer for a successful foreign policy is at home. Restructure our government. May be we have an all parties conference and come to in first national agenda that what our national priorities are? Our national priorities are that every body's basic needs must be focus of attention. The focus of govt.'s policy should be the need of masses and not the greed of bosses. By this way, in spite of all the negative approach against Islam, when we present a human face of Islam, based on social justice, based on Sufi ideology we will be able to improve or image. So we have to restructure our domestic life to restructure our image globally.

Thank You.

## *Concluding Remarks*

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**Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Ali**

Chairman, MUSLIM Institute



It should be clarified that every community in the world goes through lengthy and daunting stages of evolution that require patience in order to find stability. And perhaps we Pakistanis have not completed our journey through this process. Therefore, at times, the smallest tide feels like a brewing storm. Due to this collective inexperience of ours, we are still stuck in a struggle for our identity. If we think about it a little, I would say we completed a journey in India in 1947. But unfortunately, instead of progressing therefrom, we forsook the arguments which had been made by a great lawyer like Quaid-e-Azam to win the case for Pakistan. We sacrificed our small, communal, linguistic, sectarian and ethnic identities for the sake of coming together around a greater and truer identity for ourselves. But because of not having read and studied those arguments made by the great lawyer like Quaid-e-Azam, and by presenting confused interpretations and not understanding the true spirit of those arguments, we have again confined ourselves to our segregated identities. No segment of society can be blamed for this crisis of identity. We are collectively responsible as a society and for this misgiving. Although this is a matter with great sentimental value, but if it is dealt with and considered in an emotional manner, it would never produce a positive outcome.

Many people level the blame of Muslim identity complex on youth. However, I feel there is a need to review this analysis. In my opinion, what we project as Islamic identity to our youth is, in fact, 'religious status quo'. An independent minded youth is not inclined to accept religious status quo. There is dire need to differentiate between religious status quo and Islamic identity. In the story of history, Allama Iqbal has projected Islam as hero and theocrats as villains and a villain is a villain, be of story or reality.

In my opinion and in my limited analysis, the independent minded youth do not suffer from an identity complex regarding their Islamic identity, neither intellectually, nor politically. Rather, in every

society where the young have expressed political and intellectual freedom, and have struggled for achieving it, they have always found the foundation of their identity from the indigenous basis of their society and their religion. As opposed to this, societies which have found it fashionable to adopt a western identity have been forced into subservience under western backed political dictatorships.

Wherever they tried to find a way to rid themselves of such rulers, you can see that the young adopted and exhibited a very positive and confident Islamic identity. There can be no greater example of this than the Pakistan Movement itself. In the contemporary era, there are living examples such as Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia. Taking this point forward, we always find that political and intellectual freedom is born from the womb of the independence and expansion of education and knowledge. Islam is an education friendly religion that esteems knowledge. Unfortunately, we here not only have a lack of knowledge, but an extinction of it. In my opinion, not having a knowledge or education-friendly society is one of the prime causes of our identity crisis. I'd further say that what little knowledge we have is based on extraction rather than creative expression.

Islam has always flourished in a knowledge friendly society, as is happening in the West today. I feel that there are difficulties of Islamic identity in the West but there isn't a crisis. David Herrington Watt, Professor of religious history at the Temple University says that Islam is the religion, finding greatest acceptability through conversions in the United States. I would also like to draw your attention to the formation and rise of a new Muslim cultural zone that comprises of young Muslims around the world, because of the independence of creative research in the west.

Let me clarify here that traditionally there are seven zones of Islamic culture: Arab, Africa, Spain (though only its architectural remnants exist), Turkey and Central Asia, Persia, South Asia and South



East Asia. However, now the eighth zone of Islamic culture is emerging which comprises Muslim youth studying in the Western education institutions. They are striving for protection and preservation of their Islamic identity amid charges and taunts of fundamentalism, extremism and terrorism. I have observed true reflection of unity, faith and discipline in them. Traditional sectarian discussions and divisions have not harmed them.

You should note what a great role unity, faith and discipline have in the stability and continuity of Nations from their identity.

Take unity, for example. Look at how the Ottoman Empire was divided into pieces in the name of individual identity by attacking their common unity. The Arabs were told that you're better than the Turks and the Republican Turks were told that your interests lie elsewhere and you have a superior identity to that of the Arabs. The Muslims of the Balkans were told that you are first Slavic and only later Muslim. And that your interests lie not with other Muslims but with other Slavs. The Albanian Muslims were told as well that you are first Albanian and Muslim second. When our Islamic identity ceased to be the focal point of our existence, disintegration and disempowerment became our destiny. All because the very factor that was the linchpin of our unity was let go of. While this is especially true of Muslims, we find other examples from the same part of history as well.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire had a history spanning centuries as a great European power, but over the course of the four years of war, from 1914 to 1918, they were divided and split up. What dissolved their unity was not just the war but the shift in their focus upon identity from a united Empire to nationalities dividing themselves into Austrians and Hungarians. In many nations generally, and in the Muslim world especially, nationalism has been repeatedly made use of to break the collective unity and association of the Muslim Millat. Even today, if we let go of our Islamic identity, which is our only unifying bond, then our end

will not be a peaceful and amicable one as has been witnessed by history many times before.

If you look at it from the perspective of Faith, then the great relationship and linkages between Israel and the United States is also a union of faith. Their common identity is even celebrated as the “Judeo-Christian culture”. Similarly, despite having been colonized by Britain up until the 18th century and having fought their war of independence against them, the United States and Britain continue to enjoy the strongest of relations. Among many other reasons for this, one is certainly the common religio-social identity of the Anglo-Saxon culture.

Discipline is another quality that is required of a nation to set its priorities straight. It enables it to express its unity with a single face and to deal with the outside world with one voice, regardless of any differences that may exist between them. It is a feature necessary not only for an individual but society at large, to deal with the many problems and crises that come its way. Unfortunately, we Muslims have caused ourselves to be ridiculed by the world. Our refusal or inability to adopt modern science for our own good has caused unnecessary strife in this day and age. Our refusal to consult scientific data in sighting the moon for each Islamic lunar month, for example, has made a joke out of us. Our bickering amongst ourselves on trivialities such as these makes us seem disordered and backwards. Ultimately, it is this discipline that channels the impetus created by unity and faith.

I believe, to solidify our identity and make it a source of our stability and strength, there is only one cure for this crisis of identity. And that is Quaid-e-Azam's formulation of Unity, Faith and Discipline.

I am thankful to all participants who gave their precious time and participated in today's seminar.



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