

The Role of the Islamic Factor in the Formation of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

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Abstract: The article describes the process of Pakistan's independence and the adoption of Islam as a national ideology in the early years of independence. Also, the importance of Islamic ideology in the formation of domestic and foreign policy of Pakistan is revealed.

Keywords: Pakistan, identity, domestic policy, foreign policy, Islam, statehood, independence, India, Great Britain.

INTRODUCTION

On August 14, 1947, Pakistan declared its sovereignty as an independent state. The reason for the separation of the state from India was the fact that the Muslims in British India differed from the Indians of the region in terms of customs, legislation and, in general, civilizational point of view. Therefore, the importance of Islam in the formation of Pakistan as a state is huge. A distinctive feature of Pakistan's struggle for independence was the transformation of the Muslims of British India from a religious community into a nation with political aspirations. That is, through the "Two Nation Theory", a single identity was formed among Indian Muslims.

After achieving independence, the leadership of Pakistan faced a difficult task of protecting and strengthening the new state from real external and internal threats. Pakistan consisted of ethnically divided West Pakistan and East Pakistan, with a thousand-mile distance between them being Indian territory. The stay of many Muslims in India has partially undermined the theory of two nations based on the ideology that Muslims need a separate homeland. In the wake of this ideological and territorial weakness, it is precisely in these conditions of insecurity that the political elite of Pakistan began the process of using Islam to unite the people.

The first manifestation of this was the use of the concept of "jihad" to strengthen the country's borders. During the struggle against India over the disputed territory, Pakistani army officers who fought for Kashmir in 1947–48 called for jihad to collect tribal members from across the border and send them to invade and occupy Kashmir. Members of the government, in turn, called on religious scholars to issue supporting fatwas or religious rulings. In this confrontation, emphasis was placed on using this feature of religion to gain

political and territorial gains against the hegemonic India.

The Lahore Resolution was one of the main steps towards Pakistan's independence. It contained the official political statement adopted by the All India Muslim League on the occasion of the three-day general session held in Lahore from March 22-24, 1940: "...the areas where the Muslims form a majority are the north-west and north-east of India". Territories are united to form "Independent states" and possible territorial changes are divided into territories whose constituent units are autonomous and sovereign..."¹.

The Indian National Congress opposed all proposals for partition, advocating a united India with a strong center and a fully parliamentary government. For many, especially Jawaharlal Nehru, the idea of a sovereign state based on a single religion seemed like a denial of democracy. From 1940, compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League became difficult, if not impossible.

During the Second World War, the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress had different reactions to British rule. War was suddenly declared by Britain without prior consultation with Indian politicians. As a result, INC ministers in the regions resigned in protest. Most of the leaders of INC were imprisoned for their resistance. As a result, their political influence over the British began to disappear. The Muslim League, which was able to take advantage of this situation, followed the path of cooperation. After the end of the Second World War, movements for independence in India intensified. Although Britain tried to maintain its influence in India, Nehru effectively killed the British plan's success when he declared that Congress would not

¹ <https://pbase.com/bmcmorrow/image/140584822>

be "shackled" by agreements with the British. At the same time, Pakistan declared its independence on August 14, 1947, and India on August 15.

After that, the debate about how the state structure of Pakistan should be again flared up. Between 1940 and 1948, two different forms of state were projected around the idea of Pakistan among Indian Muslims:

1. A fundamentalist theocratic state committed to Islamic traditions;
2. A modernist version of Islam, a secular state that has succeeded in the West. Jinnah did not support a theocratic state ruled by mullahs or clerics, during a visit to the United States in February 1948, he said that we have Hindus, Christians and other non-Muslims and that they are all Pakistanis, "They are different in the affairs of Pakistan." they enjoy the same rights and privileges as citizens. Jinnah not only openly promised non-Muslims participation in the legislation and governance of Pakistan, but also proved it in practice. Jogender Nath Mendel was appointed as the Minister of Law in the first cabinet of Pakistan. Also, in M. A. Jinnah's interview with Baurk White, he expressed the essence of the new constitution of Pakistan to be adopted in the following words: "Of course it will be a democratic constitution, Islam is a democratic religion - Democracy is not something new that we learn, it is in our blood, the ideals of Islam It has been based on democracy and social justice since the 13th century"².

In such state positions on the future constitution of Pakistan, Jinnah developed a link between Islam and democracy, as Allama Iqbal had also argued that the interpretation of Sharia in terms of modern ideas could reconcile the universal values of democracy and Islam. The interrelationship between Iqbal's ideas and Jinnah's vision of a separate Muslim state has been extensively discussed by Javed Iqbal in his *Ideology of Pakistan*. As a thinker, Iqbal was a person who deeply grasped the ideological achievements of Western civilization along with the history and traditions of Islam³.

² Akbar Ahmed. "Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin". – Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1997. – P. 178.

³ Masood Ashraf Raja. "Constructing Pakistan: Foundational Texts and the Rise of Muslim National Identity 1857-1947". – Karachi: Oxford University Press. 2010. – P. 111.

Jinnah's vision of Pakistan was closer to a modernist version of the Islamic State, as Iqbal and other modernist thinkers argued. The concept of a modern Muslim state developed by the modernists was an attempt to harmonize the values of democracy and Islam, that it is neither a denial of religion nor an absolute belief in a secular state as defined in the Western world.

Discussions about the creation of an Islamic state in Pakistan persisted even after Pakistan's independence in 1947. One of the most ardent supporters of this idea was one of the founders of the idea of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan (1895-1951), who at the same time was the closest comrade of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. His strong faith during the Muslim struggle for Pakistan ensured that he was appointed as the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan also asked in his address to the students of Aligarh Muslim University, "On what principles is this state based?" expressed his opinion on such questions. Our way of life and principles of statehood were defined by Muhammad of Arabia 1300 years ago.

During the struggle for independence, the leadership of the Muslim League advocated pan-Islamist politics and solidarity with the Islamic world, which persisted even after the creation of Pakistan. Although Pakistan's foreign policy is generally heavy-handed in terms of its relations with India, the politics of pan-Islamist ideas, tied to the idea of Pakistan and promised in the public arena in the 1940s, is the priority of Pakistan's foreign policy. became a complaint. Pakistan has consistently supported the independence of Indonesia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan and other former colonies⁴.

After returning from various Muslim countries as the first prime minister of Pakistan and the second most important political leader of the Muslim League after Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan said, "I had a very pleasant tour of Muslim countries, where I felt a great sense of brotherhood. The leaders of those countries asked me to send fraternal greetings to the people of Pakistan. Through this, he once again promoted the idea of directing the state to the Islamic system among the population.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah died in September 1948, just thirteen months after independence, leaving his successors to deal with the challenges of

⁴ Abdul Sattar. "Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2019: A Concise History". – Karachi: Oxford University Press. 2006. – P. 20

Pakistan's identity. Liaquat Ali Khan, an avowed follower of Jinnah, assumed leadership and continued as prime minister. It failed largely because neither the Muslim League nor the Constituent Assembly was prepared to resolve issues and conflicts such as the role of Islam in state governance and the granting of autonomy to administrative units. Liaquat's tenure ended with his assassination in Rawalpindi in October 1951.

The first years of the independence of the state of Pakistan were relatively unstable. The Muslim League, unlike the Indian National Congress, was unprepared for the post-independence movement. Before independence, the Congress had formulated constitutional, economic, social and even foreign policy plans and was ready to implement them when the time came. The Muslim League was so preoccupied with the struggle for Pakistan that it was ill-prepared for effective government. The Muslim League was a party with small population support, a weak organizational structure, strong factional leaders and decisions made at the top. The effect of this lack of direction was evident when the Muslim League was defeated in the 1954 elections in East Pakistan.

The Muslim League was responsible for the decline of politics and society after independence and had to answer for failing to live up to the expectations of the people. Frustration has grown in the opposition and the use of repressive laws inherited from Britain or adopted by Pakistan, including preventive detention and bans on gatherings of more than five people⁵.

Also, the conflict between politicians and the military dates back to the early years of Pakistan's independence. In particular, the armed forces posed a threat to Liaquat's government, which was less hostile to India than some officers would have liked. In March 1951, the Chief of General Staff, Major General Muhammad Akbar Khan, was arrested along with fourteen other officers on charges of attempted coup d'état. The perpetrators of what became known as the Rawalpindi Conspiracy were secretly tried, found guilty and sentenced to prison terms.

Nevertheless, during the administration of Liaquat Ali Khan, in March 1949, the resolution "Goals" was adopted. This resolution served as a preamble to the constitutions of the state, adopted and amended in 1956, 1962, and 1973. Also, this law

plays an important role in the formation of Pakistan as an Islamic state and in the Islamization of Pakistani society. After all, in this resolution, "... the sovereignty over the whole world belongs to Allah alone..."⁶ it was determined that. This caused the laws adopted in Pakistan to be based on Islam.

In the same year, the "Talimat-i Islamiyya" panel consisting of scholars was appointed to advise on the issues arising from the "Goals" decision. However, the recommendations of the Council were rejected in many cases due to impracticality⁷.

It was also stated in the declaration that "...Muslims will have the opportunity to regulate their lives in accordance with the Islamic teachings and requirements specified in the Qur'an and the Sunnah in the personal and collective spheres..." These rules were able to ensure not only the Islamization of state administration, but also the Islamization of society.

The role of Islam in the administration of the country was accepted as the main ideology even during the time of politicians such as Khwaja Nazimuddin, Muhammad Ali Bogda, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, who served as Prime Minister after Liaquat Ali Khan. The first constitution of the country, adopted in 1956, also shows that the country cannot be imagined without Islam. In particular, its introduction is "... In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Merciful. He has dominion over the whole universe. ... declares that Pakistan will be a democratic state based on the principles of Islamic social justice..." The beginning itself is the formation of a state. In the process, he can show the importance of Islam.

As much as Islam has been used as an ideological force against Pakistan's external threat - India - it has also been used to solve internal problems ranging from unifying a divided nation. The most important task before the political and military elite of Pakistan was to unite the disintegrating country. Its basis was the systematic promotion of Islamic ideology, despite the state's principles of secularism, which are acceptable to many.

In his autobiography, Ayub Khan elaborated on the need of peoples for ideology, saying, "They will have great unity and power of resistance. Such a society can be bent, but not broken... We have

⁵ Peter Blood. "Pakistan a country study". Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1995. – P. 46.

⁶ <https://pakistan.org/pakistan/constitution/annex.html>

⁷ Leonard Binder. "Religion and Politics in Pakistan". – Berkeley: University of California Press. 1961 – P. 155.

such an ideology, without a doubt, Islam. It is for this reason that we fought as Pakistan..."⁸

Also, the implementation of this idea was reflected in the field of education. According to him, the history of Pakistan was the peak reached by Muslims after the arrival of Islam in the subcontinent. Through this, Ayub Khan's personal biography reinforced the notions of hostility and intolerance towards Muslims among Indians⁹.

After a long and successive change of power, in 1958, after Muhammad Ayub Khan took over the post of president, the chaos in the state administration began to stop. His years of rule marked the modernization of Pakistan through an authoritarian regime. Its modernist policies have been compared to the modernization policies of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the second decade of the 20th century and the modernization policies of Iran under Emperor Mohammad Reza Shah in the decade of the 1930s¹⁰.

During his regime, Ayub Khan tried to modernize various sectors of Pakistan through state policy, especially religious policy. General Muhammad Ayub Khan's speeches and statements showed his liberal and progressive approach to religious matters. From these speeches it was possible to understand that he is a modernist Muslim. In other words, he personally believed in the modernist version of Islam in a liberal and democratic spirit, promoted by thinkers of British India and exponents of the Pakistan movement, Nawab Abdul Latif, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Syed Amir Ali and Allama Muhammad Iqbal.

Ayub Khan states in his autobiography "Friends not Masters" that his father brought him up in the Islamic way of thinking¹¹. The same thinking could be seen in his policy during the administration of Pakistan after taking power. Despite this, Ayub Khan tried to limit the role of religion in politics in the early years of his

administration. Therefore, he tried to limit the role of Islam in politics in the 1962 Constitution. Before the declaration of martial law, the Law Commission was replaced by the Law Reform Commission, which was created to facilitate the task of Islamizing the existing laws of the country¹². In fact, Ayub Khan started using expressions such as "Islamic values" and "Islamic ideology" only after severe criticism from some religious circles. Yet the recommendation of the Constitution Commission to incorporate the Islamic provisions of the 1956 Constitution into the new 1962 constitution was outright ignored.

It was also stated in the same constitution that the Muslims of Pakistan should be given the opportunity to organize their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam. The previous 1956 Constitution replaced "Islam" with the phrase "Qur'an and Sunnah". Dr. According to Fazlur Rahman, through this Ayub Khan intended to relatively liberalize the life of the society¹³.

Arguably, since the 1940s, the idea of Pakistan has been largely developed, debated in the public arena, and widely supported in favor of Pakistan. It became the focus of discussion through books, pamphlets, public meetings, meetings, marches and widespread newspaper articles. The future constitution-making process, public problems in India (minority problem), infrastructure, resources, geographical rationality, economic viability, ideas of pan-Islamism and the nature of debates like the role of Islam in the new state were analyzed.

These debates in the public arena show that the Muslim League presented Pakistan as neither a theocratic nor a secular state. In fact, the idea of Pakistan was formulated as a "Modern Islamic State". Later, these debates continued in the constituent assemblies that drafted the constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973. In all these constitutions, the state was named the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan", indicating the culmination of the Muslim League's idea of a new state.

Before and after independence, there was much debate among the country's political leaders whether Pakistan should be a theocratic state or a form of government based on democratic political

⁸ Muhammad Ayub Khan. "Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography." – Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1967. – P. 3.

⁹ <https://www.hoover.org/research/islam-and-early-history-pakistan>

¹⁰ Sarfraz Husain Ansari. "Forced Modernization and Public Policy: A Case Study of Ayub Khan Era (1958-69)". // Journal of Political Studies. University of Punjab. 2024. – pp. 45-60.

¹¹ Muhammad Ayub Khan. "Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography." – Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1967. – P. 3.

¹² M. Rafique Afzal. "Pakistan: History and Politics 1947-1971." – Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1991. – P. 229.

¹³ Fazlur Rahman. "Islam in Pakistan." // Journal of South Asia and Middle Eastern Studies. 1985. Vol. VIII. №4. Summer. – pp. 34-49.

institutions, but Islam was central to their ideals. There were several reasons for this. At first, hostility with a large country like India had turned into war. Secondly, due to the separation of Pakistan from India, the existing economy was paralyzed. After all, the production, transit corridor, energy system and even the agricultural sectors of both countries were formed and developed together for centuries. Thirdly, there were many ethnic groups in Pakistan, and gradually nationalist sentiments began to form among them. In order to solve these problems, Islam was able to gain importance as an ideology that motivates, inspires and ensures mutual unity of the people in the fight against the enemy.

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