

Shaheed.ul.Islam Muhammad Zia-ul.Haq

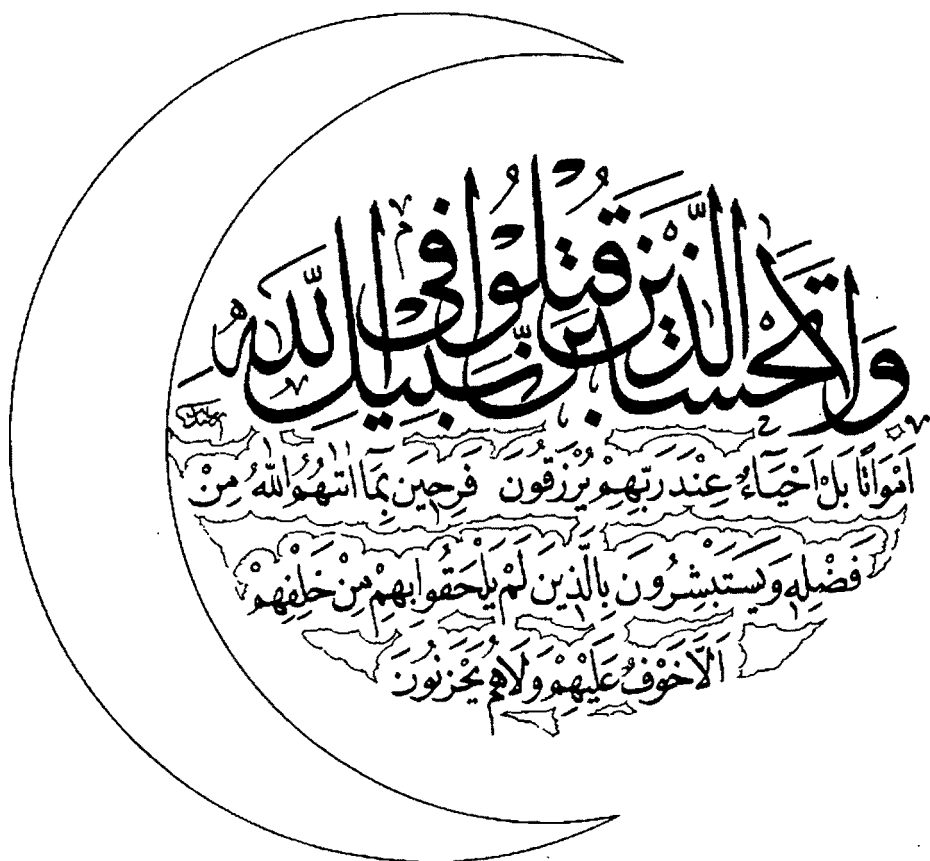
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Shaheed-ul-Islam Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq

Foreword by
Salem Azzam
Secretary General, Islamic Council
London

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'Do not regard as dead those who have been slain in the way of Allah; nay, they are really alive and are well provided for by their Lord. They rejoice in what Allah with His bounty has given them, and are happy to think that there is nothing to fear or to grieve also for those Believers whom they have left behind and who have not yet joined them.'

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Contents

Contributors	vii
Foreword by Salem Azzam, Secretary General, Islamic Council, London	ix
General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Pakistan's Soldier–Statesman: A Profile	1
A Leader of Humanity, Faith and Vision <i>by Z. A. Suleri</i>	6
Zia the Soldier <i>by General Khalid Mahmud Arif</i>	24
Zia As I Knew Him <i>by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif</i>	39
General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed <i>by Mian Tufail Muhammad</i>	45
The West's Debt of Honour <i>by Zbigniew Brzezinski</i>	54
Islamization of Laws in Pakistan <i>by Muhammad Taqi Usmani</i>	58
Pakistan's Atomic Programme and General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq <i>by Zahid Malik</i>	76
Zia — A Shining Star in the Islamic Galaxy <i>by Muazzam Ali</i>	83

Contents

Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq <i>by Dr Ahmad Muhammad Ali</i>	86
Zia-ul-Haq <i>by Mrs Ayesha Lemu</i>	87
Zia-ul-Haq – A Defence Planner <i>by Ibn-ul-Hasan</i>	89
An Evaluation of General Zia's Leadership in the Context of Pakistan and the Islamic world <i>by Muhammad Salahuddin</i>	99
Shaheed Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and the Islamic Ummah <i>by Professor G. W. Chaudhury</i>	113
Zia-ul-Haq: The Soldier–Statesman and Legendary Hero of Ummah Solidarity <i>by Hasan Al-Tell</i>	124
Tributes by World Leaders	130
Gleanings from the International Press	137
Glimpses of General Zia-ul-Haq's Mind and Thought	149
Appendix A – Text of the address by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, as Chairman of Islamic Conference, at Thirty-Fifth Session of United Nations Assembly in October, 1980	169
Appendix B – Inaugural Address by President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq to an International Conference on "Islam Today" organized by the Islamic Council in Islamabad on 10 December, 1983	191
Appendix C – Text of President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's Inaugural Address to the Islamic Unity Conference, held by the Islamic Council in Islamabad, March, 1988	204
Appendix D – Press Release by the Islamic Council, London, on the Demise of President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Issued on 18 August, 1988	217

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Foreword

Salem Azzam

The sudden death of Shaheed-ul-Islam President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq in an aircraft accident, which was established beyond doubt to have been the result of a highly sophisticated act of sabotage, was mourned widely in the Muslim world.

The love and regard which the people of Pakistan had for Zia-ul-Haq was underlined by the multitude of people who travelled from all over Pakistan to participate in his funeral rites in Islamabad. Those who did so included people from every stratum of society, from big cities and from remote villages. They came in hundreds of thousands for many reasons; the most important being Zia's unwavering commitment to turn Pakistan into a truly Islamic state, a commitment which sought to realize the long unfulfilled aspiration of the people and give effect to Pakistan's *raison d'être*. To achieve this goal, Zia embarked on a programme of Islamization of the country's legal, economic and social structure soon after assuming the presidency of Pakistan.

The demise of Zia was equally mourned by the Afghan Mujahideen. To them the death of Zia was the greatest setback they had suffered in the ten years of their armed struggle to liberate Afghanistan from the clutches of the Soviet Union and establish an independent Islamic state in their country. Their love for and gratitude to Zia is enshrined in the epitaph which the Islamic Alliance of the Afghan Mujahideen inscribed on Zia's tomb

in the compound of the Faisal Mosque in Islamabad, which reads: "Shaheed-e-Jihad-e-Afghanistan".

The Muslim people of the Indian-held state of Kashmir also mourned Zia's death with an equal intensity of sorrow and grief, not caring for the displeasure of the Indian authorities.

The high esteem and regard in which Zia was held in the Muslim world was also manifested in the special funeral prayers held for him in the Grand Mosque in Mecca and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, Islam's two holiest sites. Similarly, special funeral prayers for Zia were offered after the Friday prayers at the Mosque at Al-Azhar, an unprecedented honour for any deceased head of a Muslim state. However, not only the Muslim world held Zia in such high regard; he was also admired and respected widely in non-Muslim countries, as the chapters in this book on "Gleanings from the International Press" and "Tributes by World Leaders" show.

The sorrow and grief exhibited by the Muslims of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kashmir and other countries around the world was not merely a short-lived emotional reaction born out of sympathy. On the contrary, it stemmed from a genuine and sincere regret that they had been robbed of a great Muslim leader who had rendered outstanding and invaluable services to the cause of Islam. That is why the first anniversary of his martyrdom was observed with great fervour and devotion by Muslims worldwide. On that day Muslims recited the Holy Quran for the benefit of Shaheed Zia's soul and held public meetings to recall and pay tribute to his services. In Islamabad, where Shaheed Zia's tomb is situated, the crowds that gathered to pay tribute to him and to pray for his soul surpassed even the huge gathering that had assembled at his funeral a year earlier.

The Islamic Council decided to publish this book for two reasons. First, as a token of its appreciation and gratitude for Shaheed Zia's outstanding services to the cause of Islam and Muslims; second, to document his services and greatness, not only for the present generation of Muslims, but also for future generations so that they can be proud of Zia's legacy and draw inspiration from it.

An outstanding feature of Shaheed Zia's personality was his humility and simplicity. When you met him, even if it was for the first time, you felt that you had met, not the head of state of one hundred million people, nor the commander-in-chief of a big army, but an old friend and a brother. This was not only my own personal experience but also the experience of several people I know.

Shaheed Zia was the only head of state in Pakistan's history who seriously and sincerely tried to Islamize Pakistan. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, did not have the chance to do this because he died soon after the creation of Pakistan. I will not go into the details of his efforts in this area as it has been done elsewhere in this book by a person eminently qualified to do it, namely brother Muhammad Taqi Usmani. Not only has he a detailed and intimate knowledge of Shaheed Zia's Islamization programme: he also took an active part in it as a member of the Council of Islamic Ideology. All I will say here is that in the short span of ten years Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq did a great deal of work to establish an Islamic order in Pakistan. It is generally not appreciated how much research and organizational effort is needed to replace a long-established secular system with a new system based on the Shari'ah.

Incidentally, it was the Islamic Council's Universal Islamic Declaration that was responsible for my first contact with Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq. Let me explain.

As part of its elaborate programme to mark the advent of the Fifteenth Century of Hijra, the Islamic Council organized an international conference in April 1980 in London's Royal Albert Hall. The theme of the conference was "The Prophet Muhammad and His Message". The conference generated a tremendous response and the audience even overflowed the Royal Albert Hall's huge capacity, spilling into the open areas surrounding it. The highlight of the five-day conference was the proclamation of the Universal Islamic Declaration.

The Declaration was prepared by an international team, commissioned by the Islamic Council, of eminent Muslim scholars and leading figures in the field of dawah. In brief, the Declaration spelled out succinctly the fundamental principles and salient

features of an Islamic order, ending with an appeal to Muslims to "stand firm and do your utmost to fulfil your obligation to build a truly Islamic society".

The Declaration was greatly acclaimed far and wide, and was translated and published in ten languages. By the grace of Allah it came to be regarded as an authoritative source of information on the subject.

During the same conference, it was decided to send a delegation to the next Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, scheduled to be held in Islamabad in May 1980, in order to apprise Muslim countries of the Declaration and to secure support for it by the governments of Muslim countries. It was decided that the late Syed Omar Telmesani, Murshid Al Aam of Ikhwan al Muslimoon, Syed Sadiq al Mahdi, former Prime Minister of Sudan, and myself should hold a press conference in Islamabad to publicize the Declaration prior to the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference. (Unfortunately, Syed Telmasani could not come to Islamabad due to sickness.) In a meeting at his home I explained to Shaheed Zia the contents of the Declaration and asked for his support for it. He was very enthusiastic and signed the Declaration to affirm his commitment to it. In fact, he was the only head of state to do so. Moreover, he took the document to the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers and drew the attention of the participants to it in an effort to secure their support.

In 1983 I travelled to Pakistan to meet Shaheed Zia and asked his permission to hold an international conference in Pakistan to show solidarity with the Afghan Mujahideen and to present a model of an Islamic constitution. Without a moment's hesitation, without seeking more information, he spread his arms wide in a charming gesture and said: "You are most welcome. Let us share, with you, something with our Muslim delegates. Let us give them hospitality in the name of the Pakistani people." The conference was held as planned in the national assembly in Islamabad and delegates from various parts of the world were received well, felt safe and secure and treated as honoured guests of Pakistan during the conference. The conference was inaugurated by Shaheed Zia himself; his address appears as an appendix in this book. The conference proceedings and the communique were covered well

by the media and the conference was conducted and concluded extremely well. It is important to point out that we were allowed complete freedom in the choice of delegates, the contents of speeches and the audience etc; a rare thing in most Muslim countries, as we in the Islamic Council know from personal experience. Once again Shaheed Zia signed the model of an Islamic constitution that was released at the conclusion of the conference as a token of his commitment to it. And once again he was the only head of a Muslim state to do so.

In October 1987 I went to Pakistan and once again had the honour of meeting President Zia. I mentioned to him that during our meeting in 1983 he had agreed to my request to allow the Islamic Council to hold an international conference in Islamabad and said that once again I was approaching him for permission to organize another international conference on "Unity of the Muslim Ummah", aimed at fostering unity among Muslim peoples and, more importantly, bringing the fratricidal Iran-Iraq war to an end. The great man gave his characteristic smile and said: "Marhaba, you are most welcome." Having obtained President Zia's permission, the Islamic Council went ahead with the necessary preparation, spread over a period of several months. However, after all preparations had been completed, and only days before the conference was due to be held, I learned with much unease and dismay that the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Muhammad Khan Junejo, and some Arab states had taken a strong stand against holding the conference and were adamant that it be cancelled. Given the goals of the conference, I could not understand their opposition. But thanks to President Zia's persistent and vigorous efforts, the opposition was overcome and the conference was held as planned. As before, it was inaugurated by President Zia, and his inaugural address appears as an appendix here.

Zia was a Muslim leader who was genuinely committed to working for the glory of Islam. Unlike some Muslim rulers, he did not pay mere lip service to Islam. As various eminent contributors have pointed out in this book, Zia not only observed the Islamic injunctions in his own personal life but also worked hard and single-mindedly to apply them to affairs of state and society.

Zia's principled stand on national and international issues, his support to Muslim peoples struggling for their freedom (above all his unwavering support for the Afghan Mujahideen), his refusal to surrender Pakistan's right to acquire nuclear technology, his determination to establish an Islamic order in Pakistan, earned him enemies both at home and abroad. The joint US-Pakistan board of inquiry which investigated the aeroplane crash which killed Zia established beyond doubt that the aircraft was sabotaged by highly sophisticated means. In other words Zia was assassinated; he was the victim of an expertly planned and faultlessly executed conspiracy.

Besides Zia, the crash claimed the lives of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the vice chief of the Army Staff, three further generals, five brigadiers and eight other senior army and air force officers. In a single act of sabotage, the conspirators killed more military top brass of Pakistan than the two major wars fought by India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. This was a terrible tragedy, which demanded an all-out effort to uncover the perpetrators of the crime. But so far little progress seems to have been made in this direction. People are wondering if there has been a deliberate cover-up. If so, who are the people behind it, and were they themselves involved in the conspiracy?

The large circle of families and friends of the deceased, the defence forces and the people of Pakistan, and the multitude of Muslims around the world who held Zia in high regard expect the present government of Pakistan to leave no stone unturned to uncover the conspiracy and the conspirators. Anything less would be gross and blatant neglect of duty.

Pakistan was created in the name of Islam. The Muslims of the Indian subcontinent made great sacrifices for its creation. But for three decades the aspirations of the Pakistani people to see an Islamic order established in the country remained unrealized.

Only Zia made a determined effort to establish an Islamic order in Pakistan and made significant progress in this direction. Had he lived longer he would have certainly pursued his mission to successful completion. I am confident that the Muslim people of Pakistan, who loved and respected Zia, will not rest until Pakistan is turned into an Islamic state in the true sense of the word. This was, after all, the *raison d'être* of Pakistan.

Pakistan's Soldier–Statesman: A Profile

Fortified by deep religious conviction, animated by the spirit of Islam and sustained by an ideological élan vital, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan, was an enlightened and progressive soldier-statesman, who came into the limelight as one of the spokesmen of the Muslim world.

Going through the curriculum vitae of President Zia is almost like reading the genesis of Pakistan, which is interlinked with the renaissance of the Islamic fraternity.

Born in Jullundur, East Punjab, on 12 August 1924, into a middle-class family, Zia was drilled by his father in the Islamic way of life. For higher education he sent the boy to St Stephen's College, Delhi, where beside his studies he offered his prayers, regularly observed fasts and mobilized the Muslim youth to serve the cause of the faith.

Zia was commissioned into the Cavalry in 1945, the time when the Pakistan Movement had begun to gather momentum, under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The Muslim soldiers, who constituted the bulk of the Army in undivided India, owed complete allegiance to the father of the nation. Imbibing the spirit of Muslim nationalism, the young Zia

grew into an upright officer, suave, austere and dignified. His bearing was always the bearing of a soldier with mind and body keyed to a sense of duty.

During World War II, Zia saw action in Burma, Malaya and Java. In 1955, a decade after the war, he graduated from the Staff College, Quetta, and had the distinction of serving as an instructor in this premier institution, the alma mater of many outstanding army leaders. Here he developed his ideas and became an accomplished military theoretician. In 1963 he attended the US Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. In his early career, Zia served as a Brigade Major in an armoured brigade and as a staff officer at the GHQ. In the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict, he was a Lieutenant Colonel. Within the span of a decade, he was promoted to Colonel, given the command of an armoured brigade, put at the head of an armoured division and elevated to Corps Commander. The most coveted honour came to him in the mid-1970s when he became the Army Chief of Staff, a position accorded him because of his merit and military professionalism.

As a professional soldier, General Zia could not but disdain the idea of staging coups, which were alien to his idealism and sense of basic values. But these very values, it seems, prompted him in July 1977 to cut the Gordian knot of the political crisis in Pakistan with the axe of martial law and lift the spectre of civil strife from the land. It was not to usher in a new era of Bonapartism, or to repeat the history of 1958 and 1968, that Zia came to the helm. The object of Operation Fair Play was to avert a total collapse of national polity and help the nation regain its balance and sense of direction. It is worth noting that the Supreme Court verdict of November 1977 endorsed the army takeover under the "Doctrine of Necessity" and upheld the 1973 Constitution.

The Constitution was not abrogated, though the operation of some of its provisions was held in abeyance. In fact, President Zia remained committed to his solemn declaration that "supremacy belongs to the people" and "the survival of this country lies in democracy". But his dilemma was between the short-term commitment to seek the verdict of the ballot box and the long-term commitment to restoring suitable conditions for a stable democratic order with an Islamic orientation.

President Zia firmly believed that Pakistan had been created in the name of Islam and could survive only as an Islamic Republic. This was an article of faith with him. Spelling out the far-reaching measures he initiated to make Pakistan an Islamic Republic, he undertook three radical reforms:

- 1 The reshaping of education policy to rear a new generation steeped in Islamic ideology.
- 2 The Islamization of the legal system by setting up Shariat Courts and Qazis and enforcing Hudood, or Islamic punishments, to raise the moral tone of society.
- 3 The introduction of Zakat and Ushr in keeping with the welfare system of Islam, followed by the institution of an interest-free banking and economic system.

As an exponent of Islamic ideology and as a devoted Muslim, President Zia looked beyond national horizons. He stood for the cohesion of the Muslim world to face contemporary challenges. He spoke passionately in public and in private of the wave of resurgence that has recently swept the Muslim world and on Pakistan's role, as a fortress of Islam, in cementing the unity and solidarity of the ummah.

Since the new order was to be based on and rooted in Islamic tenets, President Zia strived to clear the decks for the new system. Local elections were held on a non-party basis to raise the democratic edifice from the bottom upwards. Political adventurers who had misused power in the past were screened to bring a measure of rectitude to public life. General elections on a non-party basis were held in March 1985 and Zia did something which no military dictator had ever done – he liberally, gracefully and ceremonially transferred the powers of the chief executive to Mr Muhammad Khan Junejo as Prime Minister of Pakistan.

To strike a personal note, it was an experience to talk to him in his drawing room – small but tastefully furnished with chesterfields, army trophies and portraits of world leaders. One of his pet themes was the impact of Islamic renaissance on world civilizations, past and present. As he put it, Islam inspired revolutions through the ages and gave impetus to the evolution of

human rights. Today's Muslim world is a third force in the global battle between communism and capitalism – a force which presents a high-minded view of the world, a good world of good nations bound by good terms. Zia stressed this point as a man of conviction.

When out of uniform, sporting shalwar and kamiz, and Peshawari chappals, he dropped the mask of office and engaged you in an animating dialogue. To make a point he would put his hands on his chest, gesticulate with both hands, fix his penetrating eyes on you and raise his voice to a lively pitch. You could enter into a contentious debate with him at the Chief of Staff's house, criticize him for acts of omission and commission, and he would react with his characteristic smile. But when he took his turn at polemics, he marshalled weighty arguments in favour of his thesis, leaving you disarmed.

As President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, he was remarkably persistent and did not lose nerve even when things looked bad. At crucial meetings and mammoth conferences, his manner was quiet, sensible and matter-of-fact. He sat through marathon sessions, listened in silence, hour after hour, to what demagogues and tub-thumpers had to say. In the end, when he rose to speak, he invariably warmed to his subject and his eloquence was like a flame. But Zia worked more than he talked; often 16 hours a day, without a hint of fatigue or boredom. He seemed to love life; every day of life. It is not widely known that he was a keen sportsman – he played tennis and golf – a loving father to two sons and three daughters, a book-lover and, of course, a man of the world. Above all, he had a robust personality which could meet all the challenges of life.

All those who came in close touch with him found him a warm-hearted man who made things simpler and easier. Exuding confidence, self-reliance and optimism, he was confident that Pakistan would come through all its troubles, ride out all storms and ultimately become a pillar of strength for the Muslim world. In President Zia the world of Islam found not only a soldier-statesman, but a man of vision, a man of action and a great protagonist of the unity of ummah, the ummah which is already a potent factor in this fast-moving and changing world.

Zia-ul-Haq's presence, even after handing over power, made itself felt not by virtue of his position but by the sheer force of his simple and straightforward personality. Over the years he came to wear the mantle of a popular leader. Imbued with a sense of commitment to Islam, Muslims and Pakistan, his plain speaking had a dimension of eloquence which had a stunning effect. He became a power to be reckoned with, nationally as well as internationally.

The event which dominated the innumerable achievements of General Zia was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; his name has become irretrievably linked with Afghanistan. He will live in history as its saviour and liberator. (His comrade-in-arms, General Akhtar Abdur Rehman, the other hero of Afghanistan, died in the same plane crash in which Zia was killed.) The liberation of Afghanistan is indeed the greatest event of our time and it augurs well for an Islamic future of extraordinary vitality for this region.

Zia-ul-Haq was killed on 17 August 1988 in a plane crash that was an act of sabotage. He was buried in the compound of the Majestic Faisal Mosque at Islamabad on 20 August. His impact on the minds and lives of the people of Pakistan was reflected by the size and kind of crowd that gathered on the day of his funeral. For miles around Faisal Mosque one could see only a vast sea of people, over a million of them, who had travelled from afar for no other purpose than to pay homage to Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq. He died with his boots on in the service of the nation and Islam. Inna lillahi wa inna ilahi rajeon.

A Leader with Faith and Vision

Z. A. Suleri

Zia-ul-Haq's true impact on the minds and lives of the people of Pakistan was reflected by the size and kind of crowd which gathered on the day of his funeral – the day of the last bugle, the last hurrah and the last salaam. The crowd on that occasion was not an everyday affair: it had a quality of its own. This crowd did not comprise ordinary young men and women, frail old people and innocent children: the people appeared poor, but they were not the sort one usually comes across in villages, hamlets and towns. They fell into a wholly different category. They wore a different complexion; sun-baked and dry-grey, as if they had suddenly emerged from the submerged humanity which is not generally exposed to urban eyes. They had obviously travelled from afar for no other purpose than to pay homage to Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq. That they should have come from obscurity to present themselves at the focal point of national life in the federal capital – the Faisal Mosque – gives some measure of how far the late President's influence had permeated the landscape of Pakistan. Far from being known to him, these people were not even seen by him. They had simply heard of him and had a vague notion of his work for Islam, Pakistan and Afghanistan. But they were sure that he was a good man.

There may be two reasons for the sudden revelation of his phenomenal popularity that day. One reason is perhaps that he was himself an ordinary person, so ordinary that even as the President of Pakistan he did not cut a dashing figure. He did not have a commanding personality. His ordinariness was enhanced by the fact that he wore the clothes of the common man – shalwar, gameez and waistcoat – and also spoke the language that the common man spoke. Instead of imperial English, he addressed the people in Urdu, which the Quaid-i-Azam had ordained the national language but which no Pakistani ruler before him had owned.

The second reason for his appeal lay in his utter commitment to Islam. He never tired of speaking of Islam. He spoke of Islam as if that was what life was all about. (The people gathered on the day of his funeral might have heard that Zia raised the clarion call of Azan in the United Nations' auditorium, inviting the representatives of 150 nations to ponder the beauties of Islam. Had the world Muslim community chosen a preacher or a President to represent it before the bar of international opinion?) Many sophisticated people called him a Maulvi; and well he might be, for he was the son of a Maulvi and attachment to Islamic traditions was ingrained in him. But he was no idle preacher: he practised what he preached. He would not miss his prayers for the world. The business of state could wait, but the punctuality of prayer-time must be observed. Every so often Cabinet meetings, which always started with a recitation from the Holy Quran (an innovation he introduced the day he took over) broke up for a prayer recess. Not once in 26 years did he miss tahujjad (the midnight prayer). During Ramadan (the month of fasting) he remained awake almost the whole night. His visits to Harmein-Sharifain (Mecca and Madina) were as frequent as he could make them. All in all, he was a patriotic and proud Pakistani, the salt of the earth; there was nothing alien about him that might put him out of your reach.

Zia-ul-Haq was a gentleman. The phrase "a gentleman to his finger-tips" does not do him justice, for his gentlemanliness lay in the core of his heart and soul, the sterling genuineness of his character. He would receive a visitor in his room with a warm

handshake and a broad smile which lit with pleasure the rugged features of his face: and at the end of the visit he would watch until the visitor's car moved out of the porch. He observed this self-imposed routine many times a day, month in and month out, year in and year out. How many thousands of people he must have thus received and bade farewell!

But what was remarkable and, I would say, unique in a man of his exalted position and multifarious duties was that he never let you feel that you were a burden on his time. He listened with rapt attention until you had had your say. How many rulers show such courtesy and consideration to their visitors? But what won your heart completely was the compassion he would show to his little underdeveloped daughter Zain. She would barge in while he was in the midst of discussion with outsiders or editors, but he would never ask her not to bother him and leave him alone to attend to his visitors. He would first, naturally and amiably, quite unmindful of his audience, humour her fancy and put her at ease; only when she was satisfied and prepared to go would he resume his business. Another rare characteristic, which I noticed on these and many other occasions, was that, though a military dictator, he had an immense capacity for putting up with the harshest criticism of his administration's errors of omission or commission and of his own personal conduct. He bore with irrelevant harangues and even untimely recitations of poetry: once, I recall, a semi-literate poet felt the urge to entertain the President with his blank verse, which he did at length without a murmur of demur from the President. He had a voracious appetite for criticism, points of which he would diligently note down on the small pad ever present on his table. Yet, gentle and kind as he was, Zia-ul-Haq was also a man of iron will; he would not budge an inch from his principles. When the Supreme Court found Bhutto guilty of conspiracy to murder nothing would persuade him to interfere with the judgement, not even appeals from almost every leader of the world. "What must be, must be": that summed up the man.

II

Zia's rule was sandwiched between two Bhutto regimes. He took over from the father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and – indirectly –

bequeathed his power to the daughter, Benazir Bhutto. The period preceding Zia's rule was stormy. Although Zia is accused of having perpetrated a military dictatorship, the truth of the matter is that, but for the dangerous mess Bhutto had made of democracy, which threatened the integrity of the country, the obedient and disciplined soldier would never have dreamed of overstepping the bounds of duty. (It was precisely for his qualities of discipline and unquestioning commitment to duty that Bhutto had chosen him over his seniors as the Army Chief.) But the same acute sense of duty which impelled him to support the Bhutto government when it was in trouble with the agitation of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) also compelled him to take the step he took in defence of the country. The Bhutto-Zia confrontation was not really one of democracy versus authoritarianism. Had true democracy obtained under Bhutto and peace prevailed in the country, Zia would no doubt have been open to the charge of acting disloyally. But was democracy really operative under Bhutto? It is imperative to settle this question because otherwise the merits or demerits of Zia's regime cannot be properly appraised. We have to consider the chapter of history chronicling Bhutto's rise to power and the genesis of his rule. Without reading this chapter, we cannot understand the next chapter – Zia's rule.

Bhutto was certainly not carried into power by democratic means. Bhutto's party, the PPP, had not won a majority of seats in the National Assembly in the 1970 elections. He had only 87 seats in a House of 250. The majority of seats (149) belonged to the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. In the natural course of a democratic process, the leader of the majority party, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, should have been called upon by the then President, General Yahya, to form the Government. But the obvious democratic course was not taken. Instead Bhutto issued the pre-emptive statement: "Idhar hum, udhar tum" (We rule here in West Pakistan and you, Mujib, rule there in East Pakistan.) Thus the seeds of partition were sown at the outset. Subsequently, when the National Assembly met in Dacca on 8 March, Bhutto boycotted the meeting, thereby confirming the intention indicated by his slogan. Bhutto claimed that he was chary of the Assembly session because he feared that Mujib would push through a Six

Point (election manifesto) Constitution (it was alleged that a draft constitution had already been prepared), which would be ruinous for the country. Here two points must be noted. First, of the Six Points, which Bhutto pronounced would ruin the integrity of the country, he had already conceded five and a half points. Only half a point, bearing on foreign trade by the province, was in dispute. Bhutto was straining at a gnat after having swallowed the camel. The Six Points dispute between the two contenders for power had become quite innocuous. Second, had the Assembly met, there would have been a distinct possibility of Mujib coming to terms with some of the non-PPP West Pakistani members on a reasonable level of provincial autonomy which would have preserved the unity of the country. It was also possible that the Assembly might have failed to reach a consensus. What was, however, essential to national survival was that the Assembly be given a chance to function. The gravamen of popular indictment against Bhutto is that he denied it that chance: it was made non-functional by his boycott. What was palpably wrong was that action against the Awami League was ordered before the Assembly had met and Mujib's *mala fide* proved. But Bhutto was averse to the whole idea of an Assembly Session. He was out to pre-empt any agreement that might have been reached between the parties by killing the Assembly. It must, however, be put on record that Yahya was no less guilty: if he had not been privy to the conspiracy the Assembly Session could not have been postponed. In this context, the charge that the West wanted to oust the East from Pakistan sounds valid. Military action ("Thank God, the country has been saved" gleefully commented Bhutto) was taken without first seeing what the National Assembly could do to resolve the crisis. The only conclusion that can be drawn from omitting to involve the National Assembly is that Bhutto was bent on separating East Pakistan: otherwise he would not be able to rule West Pakistan, let alone Pakistan. It was only after having effected national disintegration that he could come to rule the remnant of Pakistan: and that not democratically! No sooner had the decks been cleared by the generals for his take-over than he donned the uniform of a Chief Martial Law Administrator. Obviously he was not confident that his civilian administration could cope with the grief-stricken

people who had viewed the humiliating scene with helplessness and shame and blamed him for having rent the country asunder. The Constitution did not come into being until 1973. In the meantime, therefore, his rule was anything but a model of democracy.

Apart from the dictatorial tone and tenor of Bhutto's six-year rule, its undemocratic character was finally exposed during the 1977 elections when large-scale rigging was organized under official auspices. This gave birth to country-wide agitation, which claimed many lives. Ultimately the PPP bowed to the PNA's demand for fresh elections, but an agreement to that effect could not be signed. Bhutto wanted to keep the other party on tenterhooks and went on a tour of four Muslim countries at the point when the agreement was scheduled to be finalized. What seemed to have transpired was that, having manoeuvred a halt in the opposition movement, he intended to use it as an opportunity for a renewed attack on his adversaries. The stage had been set for a civil war. At this critical moment the conscientious gentleman-soldier Zia-ul-Haq decided to come to the forefront to stop the march to self-destruction on which the country seemed to have embarked. Zia did not appear on the scene a moment too soon.

Apart from what Bhutto had done towards the disintegration of the country – pulverizing the economy through the ill-concieved policy of nationalization of industry, which put capital to flight and drove entrepreneurs out of the country; and establishing a ruthless authoritarian one-man rule, climaxing in the rigging of the elections – perhaps his worst offence was the imposition of a secular policy on a society which took its "habitation and name" from the direct inspiration of Islam. Pakistan came into being on the basis of Muslim nationhood, making the enforcement of Islamic mores the *raison d'être* of the country and the paramount objective of its emergence, and alone marking the real boundary and frontier between Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India. A secular Pakistan was indistinguishable from a secular India and might as well not have been carved out of the subcontinent. Bhutto tried to demolish this ideological line of demarcation: first by breaking Islamic bonds with East Pakistan, which prompted Mrs Indira Gandhi to remark that the two-nation theory of the Muslim League

was hollow; and second by propounding ideas which negated the origins of Pakistan. The trinitarian manifesto of the PPP compartmentalized life into three distinct parts: the economy belonged to the preserve of socialism (which Mrs Nusrat Bhutto, now Chairperson of the Party, admitted was born of Marxism); politics fell under the category of western democracy; and Islam fitted the species of religion in exactly the same way in which the Church was accommodated in secular western states, where it had nothing to do with mundane matters. Not only did the manifesto undermine the ideology of Pakistan, which envisaged a polity whereunder Islamic values would operate in all departments of life, it also struck at the roots of national identity by eliminating the concept of Muslim nationhood on which the country was based. That Bhutto did not believe in the integrity of the country – even of the remnant Pakistan – is manifest from the campaign he unleashed in support and advancement of his philosophy of a “pluralistic society”. In other words, not only was Pakistan no longer the abode of Muslim nationhood: on the contrary, it was the habitat of various nationalities and conflicting regions. Thus Bhutto created a climate of feeling in which anarchy of thought flourished. Islamic values and values of national consolidation were downgraded, and a premium was placed on bias and bigotry, intolerance and conflagration. Against this background the PNA movement, which originated in protest against the rigging, soon took on the complexion of a religious agitation in total rejection of all that Bhutto stood for. The leaders of the movement came to regard Bhutto a serious security risk, not only to democratic politics and a healthy economy, but also to the integrity of the country. Pakistan was on the brink of a civil war when General Zia-ul-Haq was called upon to handle an extremely difficult political and ideological situation.

III

It was not hard to restore law and order with a unitary military leadership. What was an uphill task, however, was reconstructing the country's ideology and regenerating its economy, both of

which were in complete disarray. In addition there was the situation of strained relations with foreign countries, particularly traditionally friendly ones such as the United States. Zia responded to the challenge with characteristic firmness and aplomb. He quickly re-inspired confidence in the economic sector, which had been hard hit by nationalization. He was equally successful in mending relations abroad. But his main concern was putting Islamic values into a practical mould. He began by instituting Salat (prayer) committees all over the country, reviving Zakat and enacting Hudood laws. He used the media to create a new ethos of Islamic living. Soon the Azan and Dars-e-Quran from the radio and television wholly changed the country's ideological horizons. The Islamic Ideological Council was set new targets and it made a valuable contribution. His very last job was to prepare, in consultation with the Ulema of all schools, an ordinance for the enforcement of Islamic laws in their totality.

It often happens that, while a man can be credited with many qualities and attainments, his name comes to be enshrined in history by one peculiar achievement. For example, any of the facets of the Quaid-i-Azam's multi-dimensional personality could testify to his greatness – an astute lawyer, an outstanding politician, an authority on Islamic laws and a liberal philanthropist. But the pedestal on which history has put him is the creation of Pakistan: his greatest achievement. Whatever else might be forgotten, he will always be remembered as the father and founder of Pakistan. Similarly, Zia-ul-Haq became associated with an eventful phase of recent history which put in the shade all the many other things that could be said about him as the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Islamic reformer, innovator of the Shoora variety of legislature, a military commander of exceptional tactical skill and a dictator who voluntarily surrendered power to a popularly elected National Assembly. The event which made Zia-ul-Haq an eminent world figure – to the exclusion of all his other achievements – was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and he will be remembered as its saviour and liberator. The dimensions of his contribution to the revolution in South Asia with respect to Afghanistan are yet to be gauged but, as the great Algerian leader Ben Bella said, he was greater than Churchill because while the

British leader had the unstinted and full-scale moral and material support of the United States, Zia fought the Soviets all on his own. The withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the small backward country of Afghanistan which, unlike Vietnam, shared its borders, was no small achievement. The liberation of Afghanistan bears comparison with the greatest events of our times, especially the emergence of Pakistan; both were significant as harbingers of an Islamic future of extraordinary vitality.

IV

When, in late December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, Zia-ul-Haq's sharp vision at once grasped the far-reaching repercussions of the event. He saw that the traditionally-conceived southward Soviet move that brought the Russian troops into Afghanistan was not yet far enough south to protect Moscow's soft belly. The Russians must therefore, he concluded, move further south to meet Moscow's perceived security requirements: the move into Afghanistan was a prelude to the onward Soviet journey to the long-sought destination of Pakistan. From there the USSR would at last be able to fulfil its ambition to secure access to the warm waters of the Arabian Sea. Zia-ul-Haq fitted the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan into its framework and lost no time in declaring that the Afghan Mujahideen were fighting the battle of Pakistan's defence and deserved the unqualified support of the country and the people. The Mujahideen, who raised the first cry for Islam in the Pakhtoonistan-infested ethos of Kabul, had in fact started their work much earlier, in the days of Sardar Daud Khan who, by his pro-Soviet policies, paved the way for the so-called Saur (Communist) revolution. And it was with the connivance and armed assistance of Moscow-trained officers that the Khalq and Parcham Parties installed Tarakai and Hafizullah Amin before Babrak Karmal made his appearance on a Soviet tank. Normally every patriotic citizen should have risen in revolt against the Soviet invasion: but the fact that this did not happen lent credence to the propaganda that a genuine native revolution had taken place in Afghanistan. In fact the only thing native about it was the

gloss of Communism which the Khalq and Parcham elements had given to a society which was heart and soul Muslim. The truth was that the Soviet invasion was a direct ideological Communist challenge to the religion of Islam. The armed Soviet backers of the "revolution" intended to plant Communism and uproot Islam. The impact of this "revolution" could be felt only by those who were sensitive about Islam, saw the danger to Islam and were prepared to risk their lives to save it. All the groups, however varied in their persuasions and composition, which took an active part in Jihad-e-Afghanistan were Islamic in aim, essence and character. This was another facet of the situation in Afghanistan which struck Zia with great force: it meant that at long last a movement of Islam had arisen which could counter the narrow-minded band of secular Pakhtoon nationalists who, at the instigation of Ghaffar Khan's anti-Pakistan crusade, had raised the demand of Pakhtoonistan.

Zia-ul-Haq single-mindedly devoted himself to the cause of Afghanistan's liberation from the Soviet Union. No price was too great for this struggle. The ever-increasing number of Afghan muhajreen was provided sanctuary: over three million were sheltered and fed. Pakistan's foreign office was directed to the sole objective of pursuing the cause of Afghanistan. Later, other western countries began to take an interest in Afghanistan, but for the first two years, Pakistan stood alone behind the jihad in Afghanistan. At the outset of the struggle, President Carter did send his Security Adviser, Mr Brzezinski, with an offer of aid which President Zia-ul-Haq considered too petty to accept, and which he declined with the caustic remark: "Peanuts". (In private life President Carter was a peanut farmer.) It was not until the Reagan administration that the realization dawned that the Mujahideen were resisting 150,000 Soviet troops: now the need for sustaining them began to be felt and help began to pour in. The Mujahideen were quick to learn the use of new weapons such as the stinger, which soon cleared the skies of the menace of Soviet gunship helicopters.

With the rise of Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin had come to see the light about the Afghan venture. Gorbachev called it "a bleeding wound". Though he realized the gravity of the

situation, he did not give in straight away. On the contrary, while on the one hand he gave his generals the utmost latitude and provided the wherewithal to finish the job, on the other he ordered Najib to hold out the olive branch of reconciliation to the Mujahideen. But as time passed and neither tactic bore fruit, it was no longer enough to make self-disparaging statements (the invasion being described a "sin") while carrying on the business of war. Gradually Gorbachev began to move towards calling a halt to the Soviet adventure, but he wanted a *quid pro quo* from the United States. Washington was ready to do a deal with Moscow if it agreed to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan: this would relieve American worries about the Russian presence in the proximity of the oil-rich Gulf. The deal that was struck was that while the Soviet Union would withdraw its troops, the United States would not support the installation of an Islamic government of the Mujahideen in Kabul. The Soviet Union did not want an Islamic government since it would signify its complete failure to sow the seeds of Communism on the soil of Afghanistan, despite the mighty force it had deployed for that purpose, but the United States was no less allergic to the emergence of yet another "fundamentalist" Islamic state after its bitter experiences with Teheran. Thus the anti-Islamic bias of the two superpowers created a rapport between them. The result was that after Gorbachev's unilateral declaration of withdrawal of the Soviet troops within a year, the Geneva negotiations were resumed. The outcome was the Geneva Accord, under which Pakistan and Afghanistan committed themselves to non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the United States and the Soviet Union agreeing to act as guarantors. But the irony was that the signing of the Accord neither ended the war nor helped form an interim government to replace the puppet Najib regime.

The truth of the matter is that, without the simultaneous scrapping of the regime which they had foisted on Afghanistan, the Soviet commitment to withdraw the troops was a farce. The withdrawal was not really genuine. The result was that the bloodshed in Afghanistan continued. Why did this happen? In the first place, the Mujahideen were not a party to the Geneva Accord – the Soviets would not talk to them even though the Mujahideen

repeatedly expressed a desire to have direct talks, since they were equal parties to the war – and they could not possibly abide by an agreement in which they had no part. They certainly could not cohabit with the Najib government, which was not only Soviet-imposed but also responsible for killing a million and half Afghans and devastating the country. The second reason was of course the Russo-American community of interest in putting a check on the formation of an Islamic Mujahideen government.

There was also a third, domestic reason, which related to the Junejo Government's policy of soft-peddling Russo-American reactions to a Mujahideen government. Junejo had been hand-picked by Zia-ul-Haq from among the 250-odd members of the 1985 elected National Assembly. Zia then did something which no military dictator had ever done; literally and ceremonially transferring the powers of the Chief Executive to his nominated Prime Minister. (The ceremony was duly televised and shown to the nation.) But Junejo did not appreciate this gesture, either as a human being (who should have shown some gratitude to the man who brought him out of anonymity to make him the first man in the realm) or as a shrewd politician and capable administrator realizing that he could benefit from the advice of someone more experienced, much less as a skilful strategist in handling foreign affairs. It has been said that the Eighth Amendment made the President the most powerful man in the administration. How powerful Zia-ul-Haq actually was is evidenced by the fact that the 1987 budget was not even presented to him for his formal sanction and signature as required by the Constitution: and Zia-ul-Haq's appointed Foreign Minister, Sahebzada Yaqoob Khan, was unceremoniously dismissed without care or concern for the reaction of the Head of State. The powers that Junejo came to wield were enormous and exclusive, and the President was almost helpless. Yet he still faced the charge of exercising dictatorial powers. On the other hand, vast as Junejo's authority was, he suffered from an incurable inferiority complex. President Zia-ul-Haq, for his part, had over the years learnt the knack of reaching the people's hearts through the spoken word. Unsophisticated and homespun, but imbued with a sense of commitment to Islam, Muslims and the country, his plain speaking had acquired a dimension of

eloquence which had a stunning effect. Whatever authority he lost constitutionally was made up by his oratorical appeal, which he used as often as he could. Whenever, on a public occasion, he turned from the official text of a speech to make some off-the-cuff remarks, he created a sensation. Since what he said came from the heart and had an uncanny relevance to the situation on the ground, he invariably raised a roar of approval. Since this down-to-earth oration was such a refreshing treat, the people looked forward to his next performance. He had developed a presence which made itself felt not by virtue of his position but through the sheer force of his simple personality. No doubt he was a leader of men, of his own kind, hewn from a timber not commonly grown in Pakistan. Actually he had matured to wear the mantle of a popular leader and became a power to be reckoned with in his own right. He certainly proved too overpowering for the maverick Junejo, who began to nurse a grievance against his benefactor that was, of course, richly nourished by his mentors and minions alike.

It was a desperate gesture of self-assertion when Junejo dismissed Foreign Minister Yaqoob Khan and himself took charge of the country's foreign policy: a take-over that turned into a tragedy. It was soon put to the test when Gorbachev made his unilateral announcement of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Though universally applauded as a grand gesture of peaceful Soviet intent, the announcement was nothing short of an acknowledgement of Russian defeat by the Mujahideen. Zia-ul-Haq was neither taken aback nor taken in by it. He knew the real situation pretty well, and was only awaiting its official confirmation. He was preparing his next move – to press for the formation of a Mujahideen interim government. Such an Islamic government could build bridges between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Zia was looking far into the future. He advised Prime Minister Junejo to take Gorbachev's announcement in his stride and not to over-react; even if some light was visible, it was not the end of the tunnel. The Soviet announcement of withdrawal was no doubt important but it was only a step towards the final outcome, the handover of power to the true inheritors, the Mujahideen. He urged Junejo not to sign the Geneva Accord immediately, but to make its finalization contingent on the agreement on the formation

of an interim government. The President argued that it was now or never and that it was quite practicable to achieve that goal. He also indicated that the way to set about it was to urge the Americans to pressurize the Russians to take the necessary steps in that direction. Zia-ul-Haq's confidence in his prescription lay in two facts: American public opinion was on the side of Pakistan and the Mujahideen – the Senate's unanimous vote to that effect confirmed his prognosis – and Moscow was amenable to Washington's influence because the fate of Gorbachev's socio-economic reforms hung on the goodwill of and good relations with the United States. All that was needed, the President said, was to mark time while holding fast to their resolve and, most important, not to be stampeded into an empty, premature agreement.

But for his part, Junejo was dying to make his debut on the world stage and to find a feather for his cap. It was the chance of a lifetime to wear the crown of international recognition. Just as he had falsely claimed credit for lifting martial law (he did not have the common sense to realize that only the one who imposed it had the power to lift it!) now he was poised to claim that he had brought off an international coup. In order to lend a sense of popular support to his decision, and to isolate the President, Junejo devised a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, he called the National Assembly Session for the apparent purpose of discussing the issue with the people's representatives. On the other, he convened a round-table conference of political parties to take the opposition into his confidence. Democracy was vindicated from the point of view of both anti-Zia forums (Junejo had the National Assembly at his beck and call: he had granted an annuity of five million rupees to each member; and he formed a Muslim League parliamentary party, which was by law prohibited from voting against the government) at the grievous cost of the national interest. Both forums unhesitatingly recommended the signing of the Geneva Accord without insisting on securing a prior commitment from the Soviet Union on the formation of an interim government – which was the crux of the matter. A visionary realist was defeated by an intriguer who could not see beyond his nose. A potentially epoch-making moment was lost. What happened instead was the Russo-American agreement on symmetry –

negative and positive – in the supply of arms to their respective Afghan allies, which had nothing to do with the cessation of war or the formation of an interim government in Kabul.

This hurt pierced the heart of Zia. All his great, historical work seemed to lie in ruins. He could not have helped thinking that, in the context of Afghanistan, he had transferred power much too early: had he been at the helm at the crucial time, that tragedy would not have happened. As it was, the bloodshed continued and the Soviet Union secured valuable breathing space for reinforcing its diplomatic, publicity and military efforts in Afghanistan. This anti-climax to all that the Mujahideen and Pakistan had achieved drove President Zia-ul-Haq to react with his customary vigour and dismiss the Junejo Government and the assemblies. What he now wanted above all to do was to contain the damaging consequences of Junejo's fiasco and to pursue jihad with renewed zeal before the decisive hour passed. He wanted to bring matters to a conclusion so that Pakistan and Afghanistan could lay the foundation of an Islamic alliance before India's threat to the region assumed dangerous proportions. But that was not to be. Zia-ul-Haq's resolve was in direct conflict with the combined strategy of America, Russia and India. They feared that if Zia-ul-Haq was allowed to have his way, he would go far – perhaps too far – to establish an Islamic government which would truly pinch Russia's "soft underbelly", and create the infrastructure of an Islamic bloc which might jeopardize their scheme of things. Even as Zia was preparing for the final struggle, he was assassinated. And as he always desired and prayed, he died with his boots on in the service of his nation and Islam. "Inna lillahi wa inna ilahi rajeon" (from Allah do we come and to Him shall we return). Aptly the Islamic Union of Afghan Mujahideen inscribed on his tomb the epitaph, "Shaheed-e-Jihad-e-Afghanistan"

V

Zia-ul-Haq died in the prime of life with his Afghan mission unfinished: but he left footprints on the sands of time which cannot be easily obliterated. What he began is certain to continue – the

spirit and momentum of the Afghan Jihad is unquenchable – and the movement will not brook secularist hurdles, whether foreign or native, nor will it be stopped by Soviet manoeuvres or threats, for which the present government's policies (e.g. non-recognition of Mujahideen's interim regime) have created ample room. This episode is destined to release a chain of events which will make Zia's name memorable in history.

As I noted at the beginning of this essay, Zia's funeral drew a crowd from the deepest recesses of Pakistan's neglected and forgotten populace. These people, living in forsaken places, might have been screened from the view of the elitist urban classes but they were certainly not outside the knowledge of Zia-ul-Haq, for his influence, embodied in his devotion to Islam, had spread far and wide. Now, for the first time, these people were on the national stage. Their presence both testified to the impact of Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq and signified that they will not vanish away, but stay to see that his aims and goals are accomplished. They looked like a wave which was not only daily increasing in depth, volume and sweep but also enveloping and overwhelming political platforms.

"Ziaism", as opponents named the phenomenon, was filling the hearts of political opponents with dread: the martyred Zia-ul-Haq seemed more potent than when he was alive. They all put their heads together to find a plan to stem the rising tide of his message and mission. The High Court was asked to pronounce whether Zia's action of dissolving the Assemblies was legal. The case did not take long to decide because the government, which was expected to defend, failed to make a plausible case. In other words, the case went by default and the High Court was left with no alternative but to return a verdict of guilty. Zia's dissolution of the Assemblies was held illegal: (It took no time for the High Court verdict to be confirmed by the Supreme Court because the defence plea was as fragile as in the lower court.) Logically, if the dissolution had been illegal the defunct assemblies should have become operative, electing old or new rulers from amongst their members. This would have meant that, in any case, assemblies created by Zia would have held sway until March 1990. But this prospect did not seem to be the liking of those in power: so the

Courts said further that, since what was dead could not be quickened to life (ironically, returning a verdict of guilty on the dissolution amounted exactly to that act), the resurrection of the old assemblies was held to be out of the question. New elections were decreed and scheduled and the PPP's way was paved for return to power. The much-sought-after verdict had the effect of raising a wall against the swelling wave of Zia's urgent and contagious popularity. But that served only as a temporary check; for it is not a dam which cannot be smashed by the overflow of a resurgent wave.

The main business of the emergent PPP government seemed to undo everything Zia-ul-Haq had achieved during his eight-year rule (1977–85). With that aim in view, it has unleashed a campaign of vilification against Zia, and has created the same atmosphere of a secular culture which characterized the Bhutto rule during the 1970s. The main industry with whose development the Government seems concerned is propaganda. "Progressives" have been put in charge of this bandwagon, which on the one hand seeks to deface Islamic values and on the other to suck in the western norms of promiscuous thinking.

Worse, the Afghan Mission is being muddled. Pakistan made the greatest sacrifices a nation has ever been called upon to make for the liberation of another. Altruism was no doubt mixed with self-interest, but the ultimate aim – to help create an Islamic alliance in this highly strategic area – was held in common. The PPP Federal Government, fixed as it is between the IJI-run Punjab and the armed forces, is trying its best to put the whole Afghan issue on a purely secular plane. While the Islam-loving Afghan Mujahideen are barred from establishing themselves in Kabul, the door must remain ajar for the entrance of the Communist PDPA or Zahir Shah as well as for strengthening Islamabad's bonds with India, whom Russia and America have designated the super-power in a region where lives the largest concentration of Muslim population. The process of de-Islamization of the country continues, as does defamation of the person of the Shaheed President. However, the impact of Zia-ul-Haq has proved so indestructible in the mores of Pakistan, whether in the field of Islamization, politics, Afghanistan or policy towards India, that

nothing can alter the course he set. That course is like a river which will keep flowing after the blocks put up by anti-Islamic elements are removed by the pro-Zia torrents. When it flows over the artificial barricades, it will usher in the day when Zia-ul-Haq's ideological heritage will come into its own, whoever might rule Pakistan: and that is in what a human's greatest triumph consists. A mortal contest has been joined between Islam and secularism – all anti-Islamic forces have joined together to sustain the secularist school of thought – but it is only a matter of time until the genius of the people will express itself to preserve Pakistan with the same tenacity of purpose as it asserted against Hinduism to win Pakistan. To my mind, Zia-ul-Haq is the only leader to date who can take a place next to the Quaid-i-Azam. Like the Quaid, Zia has opened another chapter of Islamic renaissance.

Zia The Soldier

General Khalid Mahmud Arif
(Former Vice-Chief of Staff, Pakistan Army)

It was a sea of sobbing, weeping, stunned humanity. The funeral was massive: over a million people joined the last rites of President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq in the vast compound of the newly built Faisal Mosque, at the foot of Margalla Hills in Islamabad. The mourners included a large number of Afghan refugees paying homage to the late President who had given unflinching support to the cause of the nine-year Afghan struggle against Soviet military aggression. Millions of Pakistanis saw the funeral proceedings live on television or heard the running commentary on the radio.

August 20 was a hot and sultry day. At 2 p.m. General Zia's coffin, wrapped in the green and white national flag, carried on a gun carriage and flanked by senior military men from the three defence services, including their service chiefs, reached Faisal Mosque. This was Zia's journey, with full military honours, to his final resting place. The coffin was then carried on shoulders close to the last abode of the departed leader. The funeral prayers over, a twenty-one gun salute was given. In the presence of President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, delegations from 35 foreign countries and his former colleagues, friends, associates, subordinates and some critics, General Zia's mortal remains were lowered into his grave, which had been dug by a group of soldiers he had had the honour to command in life. It was a touching scene. A smartly turned out

tri-service contingent fired three salvoes. A group of trumpeters, dressed in their glittering ceremonial clothes, played the last post. The grave was then submerged in a heap of floral wreaths laid by the assembled dignitaries.

The Zia era had come to an end. He was honoured by the Federal Cabinet, buried in the compound of the Faisal Mosque "as a recognition of his meritorious service for promoting the cause of Islam and implementing Islamic laws in Pakistan". Zia, at 64, had ruled Pakistan for 11 years as Chief Martial Law Administrator and President. He had served in the army for 44 years, for 12 years holding the coveted appointment of Chief of Army Staff, the highest professional post in the army.

The last day of Zia's life, 17 August 1988, was appropriately spent witnessing field tests of the US-made M1 Abrams tank, which the Pakistan Army was evaluating for purchase. The trials were held on the Tamewali tank firing range, close to the desert city of Bahawalpur. Those who attended the tank performance tests included the US Ambassador Arnold Raphel, 45, Chief of the US military mission in Pakistan, Brigadier General Herbert Wassom, 49, a group of Pakistan Army generals, and other officers. On the conclusion of the field tests the entourage returned to Bahawalpur by helicopter to board the waiting, ill-fated American-built four-engined Hercules C-130 military transport aircraft to fly back to Rawalpindi. This was the same aircraft that had brought Zia and his party from Rawalpindi that morning.

On the afternoon of 17 August 1988 the VVIP flight, Pak One, with 31 persons on board, took off from Bahawalpur Airport. The take-off was routine, smooth and trouble-free. The aircraft continued to gain height during the first 2 minutes and 30 seconds, the pilot remaining in touch with Bahawalpur control. Then disaster struck. Radio contact was suddenly broken. The turbo-prop, reputed for its safety and reliability, remained airborne for another two minutes. Those mysterious and unexplained 120 seconds must have been agonizing for the highly experienced cockpit crew and the Presidential entourage on board. Some eye witnesses on ground saw the aircraft behaving erratically, bouncing up and down like a small toy, before hitting the sandy plain, nose down, with tremendous velocity. So hard was the impact that the engines

were buried 20 feet into the ground. The aircraft disintegrated completely and its pieces were spread, all burning profusely, in a massive ball of fire which engulfed the area. There were no survivals. The rescue operation barely managed to retrieve parts of human bones and flesh, which were mauled and charred, creating considerable problems in indentifying the dead. The death toll was heavy (31) including the President of Pakistan, five other general officers and two US nationals. Zia died with his boots on, while performing a task connected with the defence of Pakistan. His Shahaadat (martyrdom) elevated him from the rung of an ordinary mortal.

Zia was lucky in life. From a humble beginning, he was promoted to the highest rank in his chosen profession on the basis of his demonstrated performance. He was a self-made man with no prior connections in the army. His merit lay in the professional field. Through a combination of circumstances he remained the Chief of Army Staff for an unprecedented duration of twelve years and he died holding that appointment.

Viewed with cold logic, Zia was also lucky in death. He died at the height of his power and authority. His popularity graph with his supporters was high. He had given a sense of direction to Pakistan, to what he stood for in life. No doubt he had his opponents: and the prospect of his opponents coming to power in his lifetime might have been distasteful to him.

Zia will be remembered differently by different people. He was a loving and affectionate father, a religious zealot, a staunch Muslim nationalist, a controversial politician, a dedicated Pakistani, a pleasant conversationalist, a trusting, patient, and humble human being, an individual with a personalized style of working, a strong supporter of the Afghan freedom fighters, the builder of Pakistan's nuclear programme, a leader who gave a system to the country which did not endure after his demise, a person who seized strategic opportunities, a soldier turned politician who understood the game of realpolitick, and an idealist, excelling in perfection and quality of work. Zia has left behind both admirers and critics. We are still too close to his death for an objective assessment of his performance. He has become a part of Pakistan's history, and his role cannot be erased. It will continue to be debated, appreciated and criticized in the future.

For the present, let me confine my observations to Zia the soldier. Zia was born on 12 August 1924 into a non-military middle-class religious family residing at Jullundur in the Indian Punjab. After his early schooling, his father mustered resources to get his son admitted to St Stephen's College, Delhi. Zia used fondly to recall his stay in that college, which groomed him to enter adult life. While at college, the young Zia maintained his interest in religion and was regular with his daily prayers.

World War II encouraged Zia to join the Indian Army. At that time he was studying in the fourth year. After completing his military training at the Officers' Training School, Mhow, India, he was granted his commission on 12 May 1945 and posted to the 13 Lancers, then serving in Burma.

Second Lieutenant Zia soon landed himself in trouble. On Eid day, he visited the Junior Commissioned Officers of his unit in their mess, wearing Indian clothes. In those days the unwritten custom demanded that loyal Indian officers invariably wear English clothes when outside their places of residence. By wearing national clothes, even on a holiday, Zia had committed an "unofficer-like crime". His commanding officer, an Englishman, would not accept such an irregularity from a youngster. As an admonishment, Zia was posted to another unit – the 6 Lancers. By the close of World War II, he had served briefly in Malaya and Java. After the surrender of Japan, the Indian Army units returned to India. In August 1947 Lieutenant Zia was posted to the Technical Training Wing of the Armoured Corps Centre.

The Axis Powers had been defeated in World War II and were now licking their wounds. The Allies, victors in war, had suffered no less. With the exception of the United States of America, the economies of the victor states were in dire straits. The war had also had its political fall-out, in creating a political awakening in the former colonial possessions in Asia and Africa. Great Britain could no longer retain India under her imperial yoke. Faced with an inevitable choice, the Union Jack was finally lowered and India and Pakistan gained independence. Zia opted to join Pakistan. Dispossessed of their worldly belongings, his family migrated to the safe haven of Pakistan, in the thick of the senseless communal riots that ensued, in which millions of innocent people were killed

and many more uprooted. Zia travelled by train from India to Nowshera in Pakistan, along with some armoured corps personnel, to join the soldiery of the new country. The journey was long and hazardous. En route, the train was fired at more than once by Hindu communal chauvinists. On arrival in Pakistan in December 1947, Captain Zia was posted to the freshly raised Armoured Corps Centre, where he commanded the Boys' Wing at Cherat. Zia took measures to develop qualities of leadership in the young boys by delegating administrative responsibilities to their appointment holders. He introduced a system by which the first parade was always preceded by a brief recitation from the Holy Quran, given by one of the recruit trainees. By the time Zia was posted out in September 1950, the Armoured Corps Centre had developed into a reasonable training institution to meet the recruiting demands of the six armoured corps regiments comprising the armour component of the Pakistan army.

Zia married Shafiq, his cousin, at Lahore on 10 August 1950. The marriage ceremony was simple and private, attended by relatives and some close friends. The couple developed an enviable understanding and comradeship which matured fast and remained firm to the end. Their union produced five children – two sons and three daughters. Zain, the youngest child, a handicapped daughter, was the darling of her affectionate father. Unconcerned by the trappings of protocol, she had access to the President's office and some ceremonial functions. At times, she would enter the drawing room of the Army House, interrupting Zia's informal meetings with his visitors to demand his attention on personal matters which she thought were of an urgent nature. Zain, hard of hearing and distorted in her speech, displayed remarkable courage on the sudden death of her adoring and lovable father.

In September 1950, Zia was posted to the Guides cavalry located at Kohat. It was a reconnaissance regiment equipped with light tanks and armoured cars. His first appointment in the unit was that of Quarter Master. In that assignment, the ammunition held by the unit was under his charge. He fully trusted his subordinates in the accounting and handling of this lethal cargo. They never betrayed the trust he reposed in them. He served in this unit for

the next ten years and developed a lifelong close understanding and friendship with some of his brother officers. Pir Abdullah Shah, Hashim Ali Khan, Abbas Durrani, Ali Imam, Fazle Haq, A. G. Janjua and some others maintained their personal contacts with Zia even after their retirement from the army. The old group occasionally met, talked of the early days, laughed to their hearts' content and parted, to meet again. Despite his elevation in life, Zia talked to them on equal terms. On their part, they responded by giving him due respect.

Zia graduated with credit from the internationally respected Command and Staff College, Quetta, in 1955, having sailed through the tough course. His problems lay elsewhere. Punctuality was seldom the hallmark of Zia's military life and, like some other junior cavalry officers of that time, he was fond of wearing multi-coloured socks with uniform. These two traits once combined to create a scene. Zia was five minutes late for the first period – a Sand Model Discussion – which was attended by the whole course. He quietly entered the model room, apologized for being late and slowly walked up the steps to take his allotted seat in the top row. With a hush of silence, nearly one hundred and sixty eyes noticed Zia's arrival. The instructor conducting the Sand Model Discussion, Attiqur Rahman, was not the type to let the omission go unchecked. He looked at Zia with a poker face and politely asked him to rise and lift his trouser bottoms. The embarrassed Zia dutifully complied with the demand. Attiq let out a loud laugh, with the remark, "Thank you, Zia, I admire your pair of socks. You may like to take your seat".

Zia's professional performance in the Staff Course earned him staff assignments in his subsequent military life which were the envy of any career officer. He served as Brigade Major in 3 Armoured Brigade (1956–67), General Staff Officer 2 (Major) in the Military Operations Directorate at the General Headquarters (1960–63), General Staff Officer 1 (Lieutenant Colonel) in 1 Armoured Division (1966) and Colonel Staff in 1 Armoured Division (Colonel) (1968–69). He also served as an instructor in the Command and Staff College, Quetta (1963–65), which in the army is considered a prestigious assignment. His normal three-year tenure was cut short by the Indo-Pakistan War in September 1965. Zia was posted

as Assistant Adjutant and Quarter Master General of a newly formed infantry division. Zia attended two courses in the United States of America, including the Associate Command and General Staff Officers' Course in 1963. In different staff appointments, Zia earned the reputation of being a meticulous staff officer. He would not hesitate to delay the submission of a report until he was satisfied with the quality of its input.

An incident that took place in November 1958 illustrates Zia's approach to life. He was travelling with Brigadier (then Major) A. G. Janjua from Rawalpindi to Kharian in a military vehicle driven by an army driver. The vehicle met with an accident near Jhelum in which a pedestrian sustained a leg injury. Zia took the wounded man to the hospital, visited him while under treatment and gave him some presents. The person turned out to be a greedy man. He filed a false suit in court alleging that the vehicle which had hit him was in fact driven negligently by Major Janjua. During the trial, Zia gave his evidence as a defence witness and stated that Janjua was a passenger, not the driver of the vehicle. He went on to add, "I was the senior military occupant of the army vehicle. In my judgement the driver was not to blame for the accident. In any case, as the senior occupant, I accept total responsibility for what had happened." Janjua remembers this incident with nostalgic feelings of admiration and gratitude.

In the Pakistan Army, most officers hope to command units in which they have served. This pleasure was denied to Zia by a peculiar development. Major General Gul Hassan was a hard taskmaster: he was not satisfied with the performance of one unit under his command and decided to change its commanding officer. Zia, then serving as a staff officer with General Gul Hassan, was posted to command 22 Cavalry. He accepted the challenge cheerfully, worked hard, and in 18 months brought the regiment to a high state of operational readiness. His contribution earned him respect in that Division. Zia liked 22 Cavalry and maintained regular contact with that unit. The rank and file of that regiment virtually fell in love with him.

Promoted to Brigadier in May 1969, Zia took command of 9 Armoured Brigade at Kharian. His command was cut short when he went on a deputation to Jordan in October that year. He stayed in that country for over two years.

Zia commanded 1 Armoured Division for three years (1972–75). His style of command was personal, direct and at times unconventional. To quote one example, his regular meetings on military matters were invariably attended by the brigade and the unit commanders, apart from the staff officers, in the division headquarters. Normally, unit commanders do not attend routine meetings presided over by a division commander. Such meetings were seldom less than six hours in duration. Their atmosphere was cordial and freedom of expression was exercised by all participants. Zia had the habit of taking copious notes throughout the proceedings and was seldom brief in summing up the deliberations.

The armoured division followed a hectic training programme in which commanders at all levels took personal interest. Zia knew most officers by name. He personally attended each year at least one exercise with troops, set for every squadron and company commander. Each exercise was followed by an in-depth critique. At higher levels, every unit and brigade were put through an exercise with troops once a year. The divisional headquarters participated in signal exercises twice every year. In such exercises, in violation of radio procedure, Zia preferred to speak to his commanders directly as “Zia to Arif”, etc.

Zia was a patient listener. Normally he kept his composure, praised good work and did not hesitate to criticize faults. The training of troops and their welfare were high on his list. He made generous financial donations and took steps to enhance the pride and dignity of soldiers. Troops responded well to his calls for hard training and respected him for his simplicity, frankness and qualities of leadership. During the course of training, whenever an accident took place, his first enquiry would be about the safety of the people. The loss or damage of transport was a matter of secondary concern to him.

Zia was no less interested in spiritual training. His addresses to officers and troops were always studded with quotations from the Holy Quran. As Chief of the Army Staff, he introduced a system to send an army contingent for Hajj every year. It travelled by road and became popular with troops. He encouraged army officers to perform Umra during the off-Hajj season while going abroad or returning from foreign duty.

In his early years, Zia was an excitable and irritable man: a wrong act would touch a raw nerve and cause loss of temper. He would not hesitate to use unprintable military language to unburden his load. With the passage of time a transformation occurred. Experience and responsibility mellowed him. He became tolerant and understanding beyond measure. A Pakistani ambassador who knew Zia well from his early years once asked him the secret to the change in his temper. With humility, Zia confessed, "while in the House of God, I always silently seek His help not to be rude to any person". He did not disclose how profusely he used to weep on such occasions.

Under his visibly calm exterior lay a kind heart pulsating with love and affection for his family. Zia's daughters were dear to him. Zia's brother-in-law, Dr Basharat Ellahi, recalls the time in 1972 when Major General Zia used to travel from Multan to visit his daughter, Qurat ul Ain (Ainy), who was studying as a boarder in a Lahore College. Their parting was seldom easy. Zia's time of departure was invariably an occasion of emotional upsurge for both father and daughter. Ainy would hug her father, tears rolling down her cheeks, and Zia would make a vain attempt to hide his eyes behind a handkerchief.

Zia commanded 2 Corps at Multan for about a year before being promoted to the rank of a four star general in March 1976 to become Chief of the Army Staff. Multan is a city of saints and shrines. It has a short, mild winter with a prolonged and unkind summer. Zia loved Multan despite its oppressive weather. He drew psychological and spiritual satisfaction by visiting the graves of saints and praying there: he usually meditated at night.

It is the height of the professional ego of an officer to command the army of his country. Zia was blessed with such an honour. He started his assignment with gusto and innovative ideas, bringing a breath of fresh air to General Headquarters, and initiated a number of measures to enhance the operational capability of the army and its logistic needs. Health facilities continued to engage his attention. Within a year of his assumption of the army's command, Pakistan was crippled by the political turmoil which had suddenly erupted as a consequence of rigged elections held in March 1977. The country came under martial law in July 1977,

which was lifted in December 1985. Even thereafter, Zia remained the Army Chief till he died in the tragic aircraft crash on 17 August 1988. Zia thus became the first Pakistani to hold the appointment of the Chief of Army Staff for over 12 years. During his prolonged tenure, the Pakistan Army witnessed numerous changes in the fields of operation, training, intelligence, administration and personnel. Such changes are beyond the scope of this brief narration.

Zia was a trusting senior. He believed in what others told him unless they were proved wrong. At times, this approach led him into difficulties: people took advantage of his trusting nature for their vested interests and obtained favourable orders from him by misquoting or underplaying facts. While some such decisions were checked and subsequently reversed in the process of administrative routine, many others remained undetected. Zia did not hesitate to modify his earlier decisions, if he was convinced that those were based on inaccurate information.

Zia was gifted with considerable stamina for sustained effort. He could keep awake all night without showing signs of fatigue and had developed the knack of sleeping while travelling or in a chair. After intercontinental air journeys he appeared fresh and alert and ready to attend the plethora of meetings that usually awaited his arrival. He liked comprehensive, well-prepared presentations and oral briefings. He liked reading books, magazines, and newspapers but could not get down to reading bureaucratic situation reports and files. Consequently, his file work was usually in arrears. Taj, his Personal Assistant for 17 years, recalls Zia's love for meticulously neat and error-free typed letters. He would read each word carefully and seldom sign a letter in a hurry. Any flaw in the draft would invite the remark, "it is good to be awake while typing". Zia had a sharp memory and he liked to be kept informed about the progress of work. He once asked Taj if a certain work entrusted to him had been completed. A negative response from his erring subordinate earned him the witty reprimand, "don't forget that the Rawalpindi jail, despite being new, is not very comfortable".

Zia was a broadminded practising Muslim who performed his religious obligations, liked music and movies, and played tennis, squash and golf. He did not impose his belief on others. Advancement in age continued to strengthen his faith in the pan-Islamic

concept of his religion. As President of Pakistan, he considered it his moral and religious duty to preach Islam to his co-religionists. As Chief of Army Staff, he issued a command communication to his formation commanders listing useful books on religion for study by all ranks in the army. The long list included some books written by Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi, and Zia soon had to explain to Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto that he was not affiliated with the political party which the author of the books led. (Mr Bhutto and Maulana Maudoodi were arch political rivals.)

Shafiq and Zia were a loving couple – humble, smiling and hospitable. They entertained well, despite the fact that until late in life they could not boast of a healthy bank balance. Both possessed disarming manners which helped to place their visitors instantly at ease. When away from home, Zia would call his wife every night, and when the exigency of service separated them for a long period of time, he would write her long letters. In the true spirit of an eastern wife, she kept his letters for rereading in the leisure of her loneliness. They are her treasured assets now. Shafiq Zia had promised to let me reproduce a sample of Zia's letters to her in this article, but her emotions did not allow her to muster the courage to read the letters once written to her by her departed husband, to select them for reproduction.

Zia inherited senior military subordinates who, by and large, served him loyally and uprightly. The issues placed before them were discussed and their advice was provided without any reservation, hesitation or sugar-coating. The prolongation of Zia's rule took its toll. His senior colleagues retired from military service and new faces took their places. The seniority gap between the Chief and his formation commanders continued to widen. The new incumbents were no less sincere and loyal, but they were mostly removed from the administration of the country and lacked the intimate knowledge to offer well-considered advice on the numerous knotty political and administrative problems faced by Pakistan. In the closing years of his life, Zia came to rely heavily on the filtered advice of a handful of his shrinking inner circle of friends. Some of them had their own vested interests to protect. Others held positions beyond their capacity to handle.

About three weeks before his death, Zia told the author that

some persons in whom he had reposed confidence had betrayed his trust. The realization had come to him too late. But such was his nature. His close friends recall that a contemporary military officer had, in a way, harmed Zia: but after becoming President, he rewarded the officer with a lucrative assignment.

Who organized the crash remains undetermined. Soon after the mishap, the Ishaq Administration detailed a Board of Inquiry to investigate the technical cause of the crash. The Board was assisted by a US team of six airforce accident investigators. After an eight-week investigation, it submitted a comprehensive report to the Government of Pakistan. A part of the report, mostly dealing with security lapses, was withheld from publication. The Board concluded that "the most probable cause" of the crash was a "criminal act of sabotage perpetrated in the aircraft leading to the crash of the aircraft". The Board had hypothesized numerous other possibilities which were discarded one by one by a process of elimination, backed by cogent reasons and analysis. The composition of the Board was limited. So was its charter of responsibility. It did not have the services of criminal, sabotage, legal or counter-terrorism experts. It was therefore neither able nor qualified to identify the perpetrators of the crime. Since the crash, inactivity and lack of interest to dig out the truth have consigned the accident to oblivion. The Benazir administration has made no visible attempt to detect the perpetrators of the crime.

The Board of Inquiry's finding of a criminal act of sabotage leading to the loss of control of the aircraft by the well-qualified and highly experienced airforce crew of Pak One was reinforced by the forensic report. Some parts of the aircraft's wreckage were found to be contaminated with strong traces of antimony, sulphur and, more significantly, pentaerythritol tetranitrate (PETN), an explosive used in sabotage activity. The Board concluded that a low intensity detonation inside the aircraft could have caused bursting of an innocent looking flash or container kept in the cockpit, apparently filled with soft drinks, perfumes or fresheners, but in fact containing some odourless poison gas to incapacitate the cockpit crew. The effect of the gas used was so sudden that the pilot had no time to give even the "Mayday" signal. The official silence has given birth to speculative reporting on who killed Zia. Different theories are in circulation.

Some writers have accused KGB agents of masterminding the crash, with or without Afghan WAD support. They argue that Zia's pro-Afghan Mujahideen policy had earned him the wrath of the Soviet Union to such an extent that he was no longer considered tolerable. They take support from the report of the Board of Inquiry which stated that, "the use of ultra-sophisticated techniques would necessitate the involvement of a specialist organization well versed with carrying out such tasks and possessing all the means and abilities for its execution." It is claimed by them that the KGB possesses the technical skill and organizational capability to undertake a complicated operation of the type which destroyed the PAF aircraft.

The Indian Intelligence Service had created RAW, which is known to be operating in Pakistan. This agency could have carried out the sabotage act. Zia had all along been an irritant, questioning the hegemonic intentions of India – the big brother of the subcontinent. Two days before the fatal crash, Rajiv Gandhi had issued a stern warning to Pakistan that she would have reasons "to regret her behaviour" for allegedly providing arms to Sikh militants in India.

The third possibility could be the internal factor. Some of Zia's opponents, working independently or, more likely, acting as agents to some external agency, could have caused the crash. One extremist organization did in fact first claim credit for the crash but subsequently retracted the claim. Whereas the participation of local elements in the sabotage cannot be ruled out, the level of sophistication pointed out by the Board of Inquiry makes it improbable that the plan was entirely indigenous in nature.

The possibility of the CIA's involvement in the crash cannot be ruled out. Some inexplicable acts of omission and commission in America have created doubts. Two US nationals died in the Pakistani aircraft crash; the free American society abhors terrorism, holding human dignity and lives dear; the USA has been trying to bring home the mortal remains of soldiers killed in the Vietnam War. Despite such compassionate factors, the US Administration expressed hesitation, by its conduct and behaviour, to ascertain the cause of 17 August's crash. Why it acted that way remains unexplained. Under American law, the FBI enjoys statutory

authority to investigate accidents involving American nationals. Secretary of State George Shultz prevailed upon the FBI not to involve itself in the investigation. Also, interestingly, the Board of Inquiry report was leaked to the American press before it was officially released in Islamabad. The pre-emptive story in the New York Times of 14 October was aimed at creating confusion by suggesting that the Zia crash was caused by malfunction of the aircraft. This theme was also subsequently projected by the influential weeklies *Time* and *Newsweek*.

If the CIA had a hand in the episode, what were its motives in eliminating Zia, who was once claimed a strong supporter of America? There could be five plausible reasons:

- 1 The Soviet agreement to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan had achieved the main US strategic objective in the region. Zia was now dispensable.
- 2 The prospect of fundamentalists ruling Afghanistan did not serve US interests. Under the changed circumstances, Zia's continued strong support to such elements had become irritating to Washington.
- 3 Pakistan's nuclear programme, ab initio, did not find favour with America. For the duration of the Afghanistan crisis, Washington opted for the lesser evil, supporting Islamabad, despite the nuclear hurdle, for tactical reasons. Zia's exit, in US assessment, would provide an easier alternative to extracting concessions from the emerging new leadership, by exploiting the vulnerabilities of the new administration.
- 4 The US Administration did not wish to rock the boat at the superpower level and in its relations with India.
- 5 Zia's pan-Islamic approach clashed with US interests in the Muslim world.

The two American crash victims had initially been scheduled to travel separately in their own aircraft. Their travel itinerary was modified on 16 August.

General Zia did not die alone in the air crash. Thirty other persons met the same fate with him. Their families and dependents justifiably wish to know the cause of the crash. It would set a wrong

precedent to deny them this right: and it would encourage international terrorism. Yesterday, Zia and his entourage were the victims. Tomorrow, some other innocent person might meet the same end.

Zia the soldier was a human being, as frail and as strong as human beings can be. He has left Pakistan Army a stronger and more confident force. We are still too close to the event to pass an objective judgement on his performance. He has since become a part of history: let history judge him objectively.

Zia As I Knew Him

Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif

To write about General Zia-ul-Haq is a formidable task. He possessed a many-sided personality and was endowed by nature with a mixture of humility, kindness, love for humanity, concern for the less fortunate, the handicapped and the needy, which endeared him to the people, yet he could command and exhibit considerable firmness and could be very uncompromising where the question of upholding the cause of his country or his adherence to principles was concerned. He was a man of many parts: to define each part of his nature is an uphill task, especially for a man who knew him so closely. On the one hand it is contended that the analysis of any person or event should be objective and not by one who held that person in great esteem or one who had lived through and participated in that event; yet if those who are linked with the currents and cross-currents of life do not, who else will portray history? Therefore, I am both qualified and unqualified to say something about a man who successfully steered the ship of the State of Pakistan for 11 years and died in its service.

Background

Before embarking on an evaluation of the achievements of General Zia-ul-Haq and the problems he had to face, it is worthwhile to consider his background. He was not a feudal lord or an industrialist,

and he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He belonged to the lower middle class, and worked slowly and steadily, honestly and bravely to reach the highest office in the land. That was possible not only because he came from humble stock but also because he had little love for worldly possessions. This was inculcated in him by the force of religion, Islam, which pervaded his entire personality from childhood. He had been taught and had assimilated the message that, in the eyes of the Almighty, greatness was measured by the piety that one exercised, not the riches one accumulated. He once told me, shortly after he turned 64, "I will have to face my Maker soon, but what shall I answer when He questions what I had brought with me? I am a sinner, you know." He was constantly aware of the fact that in the balance sheet of his good and bad deeds, investment in the former was needed every day, every minute. He was not a fundamentalist: he was conscious of the fact that Islam had to be interpreted and projected in accordance with advances in science and technology the world over. Like Iqbal, he believed in the reconstruction of Islamic thought in the modern world.

Most people think Zia was ambitious. Nothing could be further from the truth. The problem with us is that we, as a people, are too emotional; the result is that the realities of life, more often than not, are absorbed into our preconceived notions without reference to hard facts.

Let us look at the point in our history when Zia took over the reins of power. The opposition had mounted a campaign saying that the ruling party had rigged the polls and that they would not allow the newly elected Legislature to function. The ruling party denied the allegations and wanted to hold meetings of the Assemblies. This led to a further rupture, ending in the introduction of martial law in Karachi and Lahore by the civilian government. When the High Court declared this step illegal the country was standing on a precipice. The Constitution then in force (some would like its provisions to govern their lives once again) appointed President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry to preside over affairs of state as a silent spectator. He could not mediate or order the sad state of affairs because the law made him an ornament, with no power to act. What, then, was the answer? Many who

would try to argue from a legal standpoint forget that the law had to be applied within the framework we call Pakistan – and Pakistan itself was endangered. Zia's conscientious nature would not allow political bickering to stall the progress of the country whose very existence – geographical, economic and ideological – was seriously jeopardized. For him Pakistan was the be all and end all of life: "I am Pakistan's best salesman," he once joked.

The Statesman

Few could have imagined that Zia had such foresight, comprehension and skill in handling human affairs at both national and international level: but, as time passed, observers felt the impact of his excellent qualities of head and heart. He took over at a time when he had to face traditional Indian hostility, which had been heightened by the 1971 treaty between India and the Soviet Union. While he was trying to establish a rapport with the Indian leadership, based on respect for each other's sovereignty, came the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This encircled Pakistan on both the western and the eastern side. Pakistan was sandwiched between a superpower and a mini-superpower. Many argued that Pakistan should not stick its neck out, should follow a policy similar to that of India regarding the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and should act with great caution. After all, it was widely said, Afghanistan, not Pakistan, had been invaded. Why on earth was Pakistan concerned? No amount of pleading, pressure tactics, newspaper reports, resolutions of various organizations or diplomatic pressure could move Zia. "If rape is committed in my back yard," he said, "should I remain a silent spectator?"

Pakistan's policy on Afghanistan was tailored, engineered and implemented by Zia himself. He had decided to oppose the occupation of Afghanistan by a superpower at every conceivable forum. To the world media he appealed, "keep the Afghanistan issue on your front pages, please." He wanted to awake the conscience of the international community. Exactly 18 months after the formulation of the policy, Washington became attracted to it. The initial reaction was an offer of \$400 million by the Carter

administration. "Peanuts," was Zia's answer, a reply that rocked the media the world over. The same United States that had cooled off towards Pakistan and considered that it could not stand by it because it lacked a democratic government, and was pursuing a policy negated by the Symington amendment to the US Constitution out of the fear that Pakistan might well become another Iran, had now started looking at the region in a different perspective. Emissaries began visiting Pakistan, visits which culminated in a stable relationship with the US, which on the one hand gave Pakistan a shot in the arm and on the other gave it respectability in world forums. Zia's message, his appeal to the international community, was appreciated far and wide. Apart from a handful of countries, the international community responded to his plea. This is evident from the voting pattern at the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the ASEAN and other forums. Eventually the Soviets made a decision which they had never taken before: the withdrawal of troops from an occupied territory. Immediately this happened, Zia picked up the next thread, the setting up of a broad-based government in Kabul. He was now thinking in different terms. If the Islamic Republic of Iran, a genuinely Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan joined to form a single bloc, it could become a mighty force – a group of countries to be reckoned with and which could play a significant role in the maintenance of peace in general and the projection of Islam in particular. Whether Zia's dream will now become reality is difficult to judge.

Zia was conscious that he had taken a principled stand which had an impact on the western side of Pakistan, and he took meticulous care to keep his cool with India. His peace offensive with India and the cricket diplomacy are too well-known to be recounted. But the important point is that while he secured a trouble-free relationship with India, he did not compromise on principles. He wanted friendly and peaceful relations with India, but he would not allow hegemonistic tendencies to develop. All countries, big or small, he maintained, were equal and had to respect each other's sovereignty.

But when the question of the formation of a new Government in Kabul, consequent upon the withdrawal of Soviet troops, cropped

up, he said, in no uncertain terms, "Big or small, India or no India. You have been quiet on this issue for eight years when we kept on pleading with you to support us, now you have no business to poke your nose in the post-Soviet withdrawal period."

The Armed Forces

At the same time Zia was conscious that superior diplomatic skill was no substitute for armed might. In fact, foreign strategy was only an extension of the armed might of the country: both went hand-in-hand. Therefore, on the one hand he pursued diplomacy in foreign affairs, and on the other he took meticulous care to refurbish the armed forces. Anyone who has any knowledge of Pakistan would unhesitatingly say that the armed forces of Pakistan today are far superior in strength as compared to 1977. Zia took extra care about the expansion, training and morale of the forces. "While I would keep on talking of peace and make real progress on this issue you would please remain alert and prepared to defend the motherland tomorrow, if need be," he counselled his commanders. It was in pursuit of the process of strengthening the armed forces that he met his Maker.

Economic Policies

Zia was keen not only on capital growth, industrialization and boosting the economy but also on the redistribution of wealth. A true believer in egalitarianism, he wished to secure the greatest happiness for the largest number. For the first time the concept of Ushr and Zakat were introduced in Pakistan, and this went a long way towards ameliorating the lot of the less fortunate classes of society. Thousands upon thousands of widows, orphans, the handicapped, senior citizens, the infirm and the invalid benefit even today from the schemes initiated by him. The schemes were in essence additional taxation, as laid down by Islam, on the well-to-do classes with a view to helping the less fortunate, the weak and the destitute. He emphasized that the policy he wished to pursue was to usher in an era of Adl and Ehsan (justice and kindness). Though

Zia is gone, a considerable number of people have benefited from these excellent legislative measures and continue to make use of them. Little wonder that there were hundreds and thousands of these people attending his funeral with moist yet grateful eyes.

The Political System

It is exceedingly strange that the media in the West and at home have, so soon after Zia's death, given the rash and superficial verdict that he was a dictator who left behind no system. A little reflection and study would reveal that it is only the system left behind by Zia which has been responsible for allowing the President to take up the office of Head of State, the holding of elections, the entry of the new Prime Minister, the appointment of Governors, Chief Ministers, Federal Ministers etc. After all, no new legislation has been enacted since his death. Is it, then, fair to make the unguarded and unqualified statement that he was a dictator who left behind no system and to assert that democracy has only now been ushered in? The fact is that since 1985 a system has been in force in Pakistan, of which the present government is an outcome. One might have doubts about the efficacy of the system, but it is much in evidence and it provides the framework for the running of the state. A little introspection by the media would only help matters and lead to rational conclusions.

It seems that there is a deliberate design to malign President Zia, to make unfounded allegations against him and to besmear his image. For the sponsors of this campaign, it is an easy task, for the dead tell no tales. One is reminded of the words of Antony in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar:

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

Little do such critics of Zia know that truth never dies, that piety shines in darkness, that sincerity is a jewel worth preserving, that patriotism is a virtue worth emulating and that in forbearance and kindness lies strength. Zia was an emblem of all these, as the verdict of history will show.

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed

Mian Tufail Muhammad

Whatever contact I had with General Muhammed Zia-ul-Haq was through the PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) and its leadership. I had hardly known him before nor had had any occasion to meet him in any other capacity. I believe that it was only after the declaration of martial law in 1977 that the general public in Pakistan had a chance to learn that there was a general in the Pakistan Army by the name of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq.

With reference to martial law in Pakistan and the assumption of power by General Zia-ul-Haq, the whole Pakistani nation is a witness to the fact that General Zia had taken this extreme step only when Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in an attempt to prolong his autocratic rule and to stay in power as an unopposed leader, had rigged the 1977 general elections so crudely and blatantly that the whole Pakistani nation stood against him and had taken to the streets. In a further attempt to stem this wave of national unrest against him Mr Bhutto then resorted to the use of brute force, from the stick to the bullet and from intimidation to imprisonment. Without consideration of sex, age or status, thousands of innocent Pakistanis were shot dead, wounded or put behind bars. Even the mosques – an acknowledged sanctuary – could not escape his wrath and vengeance; there too the innocent

blood of religious leaders and ordinary people was spilt without any compunction. This wave of terror had spread so far that not only the general public but their leaders as well had started praying for the intervention of the armed forces against Mr Bhutto's FSF (Federal Security Force) and its armed lackeys. The whole country at that point was resounding with the prayer, "Rabba Saadhi ek dua; Bhutto sadhe magror la" ("Oh Our Lord! we have only one favour to ask; Please rid us of Bhutto"). There was a general impression and widespread fear in the country that on 5 July 1977 there would be a general massacre of thousands of opposition leaders, especially the most prominent ones. On the morning of 5 July, when Pakistan heard that the Army had taken control of the country, saving the public from Bhutto's terror, the whole nation exploded into rejoicing on a scale never seen before. Every soul in the country breathed a sigh of relief. Feasts and parties to celebrate this occasion were thrown and sweets were distributed among friends and the poor. This happened on such a grand scale throughout the country that simply due to the sudden increase in the consumption of sweets there occurred a temporary but acute shortage of sugar and semolina (the two basic ingredients of Pakistani sweets). The late Mufti Mahmood, President of the PNA, had to appeal to the public to stop cooking so much to celebrate. In July 1977 the Pakistan Army assumed power in answer to the prayers and popular support of the Pakistani nation of their leaders. It rescued the nation from a dreaded massacre, a minor rehearsal of which had already been enacted by the ruling party in Lahore.

Those who claim that a compromise had been reached between Mr Bhutto and the PNA, which sabotaged the army by proclaiming martial law, should read the book *Martial Law Imposed Once Again* by the then PNA Secretary General, in which the whole course of events is fully documented. The book explains where Mr Bhutto and the opposition parties stood on 4 July 1977. Khan Muhammad Ashraf Khan has also tried to jog our memory by reminding us that on the night of 4 July 1977 all the PNA leaders were assembled at a dinner party at the residence of Sardar Abdul Qayyum. There followed a prolonged discussion about various proposals by Air Marshal Asghar Khan and others, but no

consensus had been reached; the leaders had dispersed without deciding whether an agreement with Mr Bhutto was possible or whether a national campaign against him should be started. The PNA leaders had their doubts about whether the People's Party was to be trusted, even after a compromise agreement with Mr Bhutto had been signed. The People's Party's credibility had become doubly doubtful because on the one hand its leaders were negotiating for a compromise with the opposition, and on the other they were unashamedly arming their workers at an alarming rate in preparation for an armed confrontation; drawing lines with the help of like-minded bureaucrats; and their senior leaders were constantly issuing threatening statements.

The issue of General Zia-ul-Haq's failure to hold general elections within 90 days of the imposition of martial law (as he had promised) carries no weight at all: some of the senior leaders of the PNA had started clamouring, "Retribution first; elections next!" They reasoned that if elections were to be held without clearing the political field of corrupt and disgraced elements then the same elements would somehow gather again and the whole purpose of martial law would be defeated. Though some people today argue that the army used this excuse as a ploy to postpone elections and thus prolong its own rule, no sensible person can deny the efficacy and weight of the PNA's reasoning and that this reasoning may have been accepted by the army in all sincerity of purpose. Then the question arises of why the retribution did not take place. One reason could have been the fact that in Pakistan there is no tradition of taking penal action against big fish. In Pakistan one can strike a deal with outlaws, kidnappers and black marketeers and get their victims released, but no one has ever dared take any punitive action against their godfathers. This can only happen when a team of God-fearing people who believe that one day they will be answerable before Allah for their deeds in this world rules the country. Throughout his eleven-year rule General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq said that the entire edifice he had inherited was rotten. Anything which could have been done or obtained for 50 rupees before now needed 500 rupees. The few steps which President Zia-ul-Haq did succeed in taking to uplift the nation and in relief work are now being phased out by the present so-called "Peoples' Government"

It is generally alleged that General Zia-ul-Haq was a dictator. Ironically, it was this dictator who, during his eleven years in power, staged local elections three times and repeatedly tried to re-install Parliament in the face of fierce opposition from the so-called standard-bearers of democracy. Undaunted by these hardships he twice succeeded in getting Parliament elected: he lost his life during the process of the third election. Even during the martial law period the Pakistani press was fully free. He was such an uncommon dictator – if indeed he was – that a man from the lowliest place could have spoken his mind to his face. He never showed any anger or displeasure even at the most vitriolic criticism of his personality or actions and was never known as a vindictive person.

The gravest allegation against General Zia-ul-Haq is the hanging of Mr Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. In this regard I would wish to ask a simple question: was Mr Bhutto himself the cause of his own hanging, or was it General Zia-ul-Haq who put the noose around Mr Bhutto's neck? What was the real role of Zia-ul-Haq in this episode?

Four members of Mr Bhutto's FSF (Federal Security Force) attacked one of his own party's respected members when he was returning home in a car with his father after attending a marriage party. Mr Bhutto wanted to eliminate Ahmad Raza Qasoori, but the bullets fired at Ahmad Raza instead hit and killed his father Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan. The same night Ahmad Raza Khan filed an FIR at the Ichhra Police Station, claiming that the attack was ordered by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and that Bhutto once before tried to have him assassinated in Qasur. Because Mr Bhutto was the Prime Minister no action was taken on Mr Ahmad Raza Khan's FIR and the case was shelved for the rest of Mr Bhutto's rule. It was not until the government changed that Mr Ahmad Raza Khan took the case of his father's murder to a court of law. As the case was against a Prime Minister and thus a very important person it was transferred to the High Court for trial: due to the gravity of its nature it was heard by a full bench of five learned judges. The entire hearing took place in public, the press had full freedom to witness and report it and the accused was given full liberty to defend himself. The full bench of judges declared Mr

Bhutto responsible for the murder of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan and sentenced him to death by hanging. This historic verdict has been recorded and published in the PLD and is there for everyone to see. Mr Bhutto appealed against this verdict in the Supreme Court. The appeal as well was heard, over almost a year, by a full bench consisting of nine learned judges in an open hearing and it was witnessed by members of the national and international media. Mr Bhutto once again was given full opportunity to hire legal experts to defend him. He wanted to plead his case himself as well as being represented by some renowned lawyers. He even asked the court to put on record his statement that he was fully satisfied with the hearing and had no objection and that he would accept as final whatever decision the court made. The Supreme Court upheld the verdict of the High Court.

The supporters of Mr Bhutto complain that Zia-ul-Haq could have overruled the verdicts of the High Court and the Supreme Court and could have set Mr Bhutto free. Why did he not do so? Emotions cannot be reasoned against, but can any sensible, God-fearing and fair-minded person support a head of government (whose first and foremost responsibility is to safeguard and protect the lives and honour of the country's citizens) who himself transgresses so much as to order the killing of an innocent citizen? Who could be a greater oppressor than such a head of government; and who deserves worse punishment than him?

Two previous attempts had been made on the life of Mr Ahmad Raza Khan on the instigation of Mr Bhutto. Before this a long list of political murders, including those of Dr Nazeer, Khwaja Rafiq, Maulana Shamsuddin and Mr Abdus Samad Achakzai, had already been credited to Mr Bhutto's account, in addition to the murders of many factory workers, students, ordinary men and women and even religious persons murdered inside mosques ordered by the Prime Minister. The case brought against Mr Bhutto was neither initiated by General Zia-ul-Haq nor was it in any way instigated by him. It was brought against Mr Bhutto by one of his own colleagues whom he had failed to eliminate. In the circumstances, if General Zia-ul-Haq had overruled the High Court and Supreme Court and pardoned Mr Bhutto it would have been a travesty of the sanctity of law. We were greatly saddened

by the tragic end of Mr Bhutto's life. Allah had bestowed in him great capabilities which if put to good use could have greatly benefited the nation. Maulana Syed Abul A'ala Maudoodi had tried his best to show Mr Bhutto the right path, but Mr Bhutto failed to take notice of this guidance and did not rectify his ways or attitude. I myself received extreme ill-treatment in Lahore jail, at the insistence of Mr Bhutto, from Mr Khar, the then Governor of Punjab. Later, in the Government House in Lahore, he tried to apologize to me for what had happened. I told him that whatever we had done was for the pleasure of Allah and for whatever indignity we had to bear we expected reward from Allah; we had no complaint against him nor did we want revenge. With that I advised him and his colleagues to think over their own behaviour and try to rectify it.

I would similarly ask Mr Bhutto's supporters and relatives, instead of abusing General Zia-ul-Haq, to use their money and energies for something good and constructive in the name of Mr Bhutto so that both they themselves and posterity could benefit. Continuing to accuse General Zia will achieve nothing.

The spontaneous and unprecedented international demonstration of solidarity at the funeral of General Zia-ul-Haq clearly showed the world that Muslims all over the world had a high regard for him. Only Allah knows whether we will ever be lucky enough to have another ruler of the calibre and piety of Zia. It must be as a punishment for the Pakistani nation's ingratitude that Allah took Zia-ul-Haq from us and has imposed upon us an inexperienced woman who hates Zia-ul-Haq and is his opposite in qualities and nature. Moreover the first thing which Allah made this woman do was to welcome in Islamabad the Prime Minister of the same Bharat (India) against which her own father had boasted to wage a thousand-year war. The second humiliating thing she has done is to bow before Britain and lick back what her father once so contemptuously spat out.

The high honour which Allah has bestowed upon Shaheed Zia-ul-Haq has now become printed on the pages of history. It is due to his unfaltering support for the Afghan Mujahideen against the Russian invasion and the atrocities inflicted on the innocent Muslims of the country. Zia-ul-Haq had decided to support and offer sanctuary in Pakistan to the Afghan Mujahideen at a time

when the whole world was unanimous in the view that even to think of opposing an oppressive and unscrupulous superpower like Russia was tantamount to inviting destruction. What Zia-ul-Haq had to fall back on was his firm faith in Allah. He had made his decision after considerable deliberation and remained steadfast in his promise of help to the Mujahideen. It was the result of Zia's firmness of faith in his Allah that ultimately Russia publicly admitted defeat and had to withdraw its forces. Allah granted General Zia-ul-Haq an honour greater than which can never be imagined. The honour is that on the Day of Judgement, dressed in the uniform of the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by 1.5 million other martyrs of Afghanistan and flanked by his other generals General Zia-ul-Haq will present himself before his Allah. In the contemporary world no one else has ever reached the status of a Field Marshal in the true sense: Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed, with the help of Afghan tribal militia groups, defeated and humiliated the world's greatest superpower. History will record the fact that in Islamic history after the first epoch and after the great Muslim General Salahuddin Ayyubi only General Zia-ul-Haq, helped by Allah, has performed such a great feat.

General Zia-ul-Haq never claimed he had no human weaknesses. He always maintained that he was a faltering and erring human being. He acknowledged that he had promised again and again to introduce Islamic Shari'ah laws but, despite his best efforts, had failed to do so. However, in the domain which was fully in his control (his own soul and body and his household) he did succeed in imposing shariat fully.

Despite his own admission of his failure to impose Islamic laws in Pakistan Zia-ul-Haq, when the nation unitedly supported him, was within a span of eight months able to introduce Islamic laws governing the following.

- 1 Allegation of adultery.
- 2 Adultery and fornication.
- 3 Dacoity.
- 4 Theft.
- 5 Gambling and alcoholism.
- 6 Witness.

- 7 Establishment of prayers and provision of facilities for prayers in government offices.
- 8 Collection and distribution of Zakat and Ushr.
- 9 Shari'ah Courts.
- 10 Establishment of an International Islamic University at Islamabad.
- 11 Making the certificates and degrees issued by religious institutions equivalent to those issued by other university colleges and making them acceptable for obtaining jobs etc.
- 12 Putting an end to emergency rule in such a way that, Allah willing, no one will ever again dare to declare it in Pakistan as Mr Bhutto had done.
- 13 Giving the press an independence not only after but also during martial law: this had never been seen during any so-called democratic rule.
- 14 Banning alcoholic drinks from government houses and official mess and government receptions.
- 15 Establishing the recitation of prayers before take-off on all flights of Pakistan International Airlines.
- 16 Establishing Seerah Committees on the governmental level and holding Seerah Conferences on the international level.
- 17 Giving Presidential Awards to the best books published on the life of the Prophet in the different languages of Pakistan.
- 18 Honouring and respecting the ulema and religious leaders commensurately with their status in national life.
- 19 Giving dignified status to the national language and dress in the country and abroad.
- 20 Observing Islamic etiquette during private and formal congregational assemblies and even the General Assembly of the UN.
- 21 Trying to clean up the governmental media departments such as radio, TV and the Press Trust of atheistic and anti-Islamic attitudes and making them abide by an Islamic and Pakistani viewpoint.
- 22 Holding elections on a non-party basis.
- 23 Making efforts to hold elections for paving the way to lift martial law. A resume of events in this regard is as follows:
 - a) In November 1977 the political leaders themselves made him postpone the elections with the demand, "retribution first; elections next"

- b) By November 1979 arrangements for general elections had been completed, nomination papers filed and polling dates announced, but because of the boycott by some political elements, including some important parties within the National Alliance, the elections had to be postponed.
 - c) After this fiasco an experimental step was taken to establish democracy in the country by nominating a parliament.
 - d) In February 1985 when political wrangling in the country had greatly increased, national and provincial assemblies were elected on a non-party basis. During this period, despite all the hindrances created by the so-called standard-bearers of democracy, elections for local bodies were held three times and thus was established a strong system for local self-government in Pakistan, which even today is working with admirable efficiency.
 - e) In November 1988 arrangements were being made for the fifth time for holding general elections.
- 24 Foremost of all General Zia-ul-Haq's achievements is the great and unforgettable success in the Afghanistan Jihad. No achievement by any other Pakistani leader in the entire history of the country can match it in importance.

The West's Debt of Honour

Zbigniew Brzezinski

President Zia's death is not only a personal tragedy but an event of great geostrategic importance. The architect of the Soviet Union's greatest political and military defeat — the failure of its eight-year war against the Afghan Mujahideen — has paid with his life for his determination and courage.

At the same time, Pakistan's military command has been almost completely wiped out, removing the key men who orchestrated Pakistan's quiet but relentless support of the Afghan resistance. Last but not least, the country astride Soviet access to the Indian Ocean has been potentially destabilized.

I knew President Zia quite well and considered him to be a friend. He was a man of great personal integrity and modesty. In 1980 I spent several days with him in Islamabad when I headed the American delegation to Pakistan, sent by the US President to coordinate a joint response to the Soviet attack on Afghanistan. I took part not only in formal discussions when Zia visited Washington later that year but also in the very sensitive private talks between Zia and President Carter. After leaving office, my wife and I visited Pakistan as President Zia's guests and had the opportunity to get to know him on a more intimate basis.

When I first met Zia, Pakistan was in grave danger. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan posed an obvious security threat to his country from the north-west. The earlier fall of the Shah made Iran

unstable and unpredictable. Pakistan's relations with India were tense. And American-Pakistani relations had deteriorated over the preceding several years. Pakistan was thus very much alone, except for its good relations with China.

Before my first visit in late January 1980 I had obtained President Carter's approval to reiterate publicly on American television and radio the US commitment, made in the 1950s, to Pakistan's security. The President accepted the view that the Soviet aggression could not be viewed as an isolated event of limited geographical importance but had to be contested as a potential threat to the Persian Gulf region. The uncertain scope of Moscow's final objective in its sudden southern plunge made the American stake in an independent Pakistan all the more important.

But the fact remained that, in the final analysis, Pakistan still stood alone. The American guarantee, which I repeated and discussed in more detail during my first visit to Islamabad, did not alter the fact that Pakistan was now exposed to a twin danger: its fear of India prompted Pakistani forces to be deployed largely along the eastern border, while in the meantime Afghanistan was being transformed into a Soviet province. The temptation to acquiesce and to accommodate, especially given the understandable Pakistani uncertainties at the times regarding American firmness, must have been enormous.

Yet Zia did not waver for a moment. It was clear from the very first conversation with him that Pakistan would not turn its back on developing Afghan resistance, that it would reject Soviet blandishments, and that it would not be intimidated by Soviet threats. I remember being deeply impressed by the man's quiet determination not to permit the Soviet Union to become the geopolitical master of South-West Asia. It was evident to me that Pakistan would stand firm, and that therefore an American-Chinese-Arab coalition of support for the Mujahideen would not be an undertaking in vain.

It is important to reiterate this point. It is easy to forget how paramount the Soviet Union looked at the time, how uncertain the constancy of the United States appeared, especially in the light of the collapse of the pro-American regime in Iran. Yet Zia realized at once the stakes in "the great game" that was now unfolding as the

result of the Soviet military plunge southward. This was the basis for the coalition that was then forged, and that ultimately made possible the successful sustaining of the heroic resistance of the Afghan people.

Zia was determined to see that "game" played to the very end. He was not prepared to settle for an Afghanistan that remains a Soviet satellite even after the Soviet army's withdrawal, and in the very last weeks he rebuffed the most threatening and dire Soviet demands that he discontinue his support of the Mujahideen. He felt strongly that the region's security demanded the re-establishment of a truly independent Afghanistan, Islamic and neutral, which would give Pakistan the needed strategic depth with regard to both the Soviet Union and India.

Zia's assassination — even if it was the handiwork of his domestic enemies — now poses the possibility that the Russians may accomplish what Zia's fortitude prevented them from achieving. His successors may, first, be intimidated into forsaking the goal of a truly independent Afghanistan and accept the Soviet formula for either a partitioned Afghanistan or one that remains controlled by a Communist regime with a thin Islamic veneer; and, second, Pakistan may be plunged into a prolonged period of instability, to the point even of threatening its political integrity. All this makes strong and clear-cut western support for Pakistan all the more important.

The West, notably the US and the EEC, as well as Japan, should promptly increase economic assistance. The US should maintain and step up military and political support. The Pakistanis must be reassured that in this moment of trial the country does not stand alone, and that its foreign policy will not be determined by murder.

If more facts regarding what actually happened do surface, they should be presented to the United Nations for full vetting. The international process would become poisoned if the law of the jungle were to dominate world affairs. The international community has a major self-interest in exposing and condemning such lethal methods.

The West more generally should be sympathetic to Pakistani efforts to strike a new internal political balance. Filling the vacuum

created by Zia's death and the decapitation of the country's military high command will not be easy. Pakistanis should not be pressured by outsiders to move precipitously towards "democracy", for that, given the ethnic and political hatreds inherent in Pakistan, could actually intensify domestic tensions.

A period of political consolidation will now be needed, and only the Pakistanis should determine what form it must take. Even if the younger surviving senior officers should move to create a transitional regime, Pakistan deserves the West's sympathetic encouragement, not strident lectures. It is only with such support that Pakistan can evolve towards a truly constitutional regime while staying on course in its foreign policy. It is only with such support that one can make certain that Zia's death will not acquire geostrategic significance.

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The Islamization of Laws in Pakistan

Muhammad Taqi Usmani

In an immature political atmosphere like that prevailing in Pakistan, it is difficult to make a positive evaluation of the policies of a government objectively and academically. The basic reason for this is that as soon as an eminent leader appears on the scene the people immediately divide themselves into two camps: supporters and opponents. The members of the first camp always strive to inflate their leader as ideal, a genius who never makes a mistake. The second camp deems it necessary to deflate him in all respects and is never prepared to concede a single word in his favour.

What is even more unfortunate is the fact that these extreme opinions are easily interchangeable, and subject to changes in political affiliations. An enthusiastic admirer of a leader, when he alters his party affiliation, becomes a deadly opponent of the person he formerly praised.

As a humble student of Islam, I have never endorsed this approach or made myself a party to either of these political camps. My main interest in state affairs has always been limited to their Islamic aspect, which, in my opinion, is the most crucial aspect, not only for the betterment of the country, but for its very existence and survival.

It is against this background that I give here a brief resumé of the process of Islamization of laws in Pakistan, with special reference to what has been done in this field by Shaheed General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq during the 11 years from 1977 to 1988.

It is an established fact that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam. The basic purpose for its separation from India was to establish a state where its Muslim citizens could order their lives in accordance with Islamic teachings, where a pure Islamic society could develop and where all spheres of life could be governed by the dictates of the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

Islam, unlike other religions, does not limit the scope of its instructions to certain religious rites or ways of worship. On the contrary, it gives a complete code of commands in every sphere of human life. It offers a comprehensive set of principles which, if applied with devotion and sincerity, can solve the problems of the rapidly changing life of the modern age. Voluminous books of *Fiqh* are available to explain the Islamic Injunctions: a glance at the contents of any of them shows that only one-fourth of it relates to religious rites and the ways of worship; the remaining three-fourths extensively deals with the economic, social and political aspects of human conduct.

Therefore, Muslims are required not only to carry out certain rituals, but also, at the same time and with the same emphasis, they are bound to submit themselves to the commands of Allah and His Prophet (peace be upon him) in their political, economic and social life. Without obeying this part of the Islamic Injunctions they cannot be treated as true Muslims. Thus, the Islamic way of collective life cannot be enforced in its entirety unless there is a state governed by the injunctions of Islam.

This was the basic cause for which the Muslims of India demanded for themselves a separate land where they could give full effect to their doctrines. When the British imperialists were forced to leave the subcontinent, the majority of Indian Muslims did not endorse the theory of a United India, ruled by the Hindi majority or by a secular democracy, because under such a government they could not enforce the Islamic way of life in its entirety. Pakistan was established on this sole ground. Had there not been the concept of a truly Islamic state, there would have been no

justification for separating Pakistan from India, or for dividing the provincial units (such as Punjab and Bengal) into several parts.

Against this background the first constituent Assembly of Pakistan adopted in March 1949 the historic resolution commonly known as the Objectives Resolution. It reads as follows:

Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; this Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent state of Pakistan;

Wherein the state shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;

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 Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures;

Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

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;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Wherein the independence of the Judiciary shall be fully observed;

Wherein the integrity of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.

The contents of this resolution have been incorporated in the preamble of every constitution framed or enforced thereafter.

This was the first step in the right direction. It was followed by a number of other provisions later incorporated into the Constitution. It will be useful to reproduce some of them.

- 1 It was declared in Article 2 of the Constitution (1973) that "Islam shall be the state religion of Pakistan."
- 2 It was resolved in the principles of policy (Article 31(2) of the Constitution) that "The State shall endeavour, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan:
 - a) To make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of the Arabic language and to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran;
 - b) To promote unity and the observance of the Islamic moral standards; and
 - c) To secure the proper organization of Zakat, auqaf and mosques."
- 3 It was also resolved in the Principles of Policy (Article 38, clause F) that the state shall "eliminate riba as early as possible."
- 4 Article 227 of the Constitution provided that "All existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, in this part referred to as the Injunctions of Islam, and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such Injunctions."
- 5 It is provided in the Constitution that a person shall not be qualified for election as President of Pakistan or as Prime Minister unless he or she is a Muslim. Their oath of office

prescribed in the third schedule of the Constitution includes the following words:

"I, — , do solemnly swear that I am a Muslim and believe in the Unity and Oneness of Almighty Allah, the Books of Allah, the Holy Quran being the last of them, the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) as the last of the Prophets and that there can be no prophet after him, the Day of Judgement, and all the requirements and teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah: . . . That I will strive to preserve the Islamic Ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan."

The last sentence also appears in the oaths of office of Federal and Provincial Ministers, Speakers, Deputy Speakers and the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies and the Chairman and members of the Senate.

These are the express pronouncements in the Constitution unanimously adopted in 1973 which clearly admit the fact that Pakistan is not a secular state and that the basis of its creation is nothing but Islamic ideology.

Although similar provisions had been made in the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962, yet the 1973 Constitution was more precise and extensive in this respect and laid more emphasis on the Islamic nature of the State.

All this clearly shows that the rulers of the country were obliged to Islamize Pakistan's legal system as well as the political, economic and social spheres. But an examination of the practical steps taken by governments in this direction shows that the aim of the Islamization of Pakistan has been chronically neglected throughout its history. All the provisions of the Constitution quoted above were, in practice, ignored. They remained as ineffective as the boastful claims and promises in the manifesto of an irresponsible political party which, after winning the elections, never implements them. All that was done in the field of Islamization was to include these provisions in the Constitution: not a single law was framed on the basis of the Islamic Injunctions. Not a single section of a law was changed on the basis of its repugnancy to Islam. No serious attempt was made to tackle the problems of

Islamization. It was only in 1977, after 30 years of independence, that it was announced that Friday would be observed as a holiday.

During the 1977 election, however, a strong popular movement was launched which claimed to aim at establishing the long-awaited true Islamic order in the country. Faced with this movement, the then Prime Minister, Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, took three major steps towards Islamization:

- 1) Alcohol was prohibited for Muslims.
- 2) Night clubs were closed.
- 3) Betting on horse races was banned.

The movement, which actually aimed at overthrowing the Bhutto regime, was not satisfied by these steps and it led to martial law under General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. When General Zia came to power he announced that his first aim would be to bring Islamic order to the country. He was basically a religious man and seemed to be serious in his intention of Islamization.

There may be different opinions about his politics but it cannot be denied that during his regime Islamization was, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, fully included in basic state policies and that certain practical measures were taken to implement these Islamic policies. It is true that, despite the commitment of the government, the process of Islamization was very slow: proper planning seemed to be lacking or deficient; the order of priorities was not adequately considered; and there was a miserable want of wise and efficient follow-up of new policies. Yet the fact remains that the volume of work done in this period of 11 years exceeded the total volume of what had been done during the past three decades. The scope of this article is too short to comment in detail on all the measures adopted during this period, so only a very brief account will be given.

After taking over the government, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq reconstituted the Council of Islamic Ideology (hereinafter referred to as the Council). This Council is a constitutional body consisting of not less than eight and not more than twelve members: there must be judges of a Superior Court, at least four ulama representing various schools of thought and at least one woman.

The functions of the Council are described in Article 230 of the Constitution, which reads as follows:

The functions of the Islamic Council shall be:

- a) To make recommendations to Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and the Provincial Assemblies as to the ways and means of enabling and encouraging the Muslims of Pakistan to order their lives individually and collectively in all respects of Islam as enunciated in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.
- b) To advise a House, a Provincial Assembly, the President or a Governor on any question referred to the Council as to whether a proposed law is or is not repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam.
- c) To make recommendations as to the measures for bringing existing laws into conformity with the Injunctions of Islam and the stages by which such measures should be brought into effect.
- d) To compile in a suitable form, for the guidance of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and the Provincial Assemblies, such Injunctions of Islam as can be given legislative effect.

The Constitution of 1962 contained similar provisions, and the Council had been in existence since 1962: but because the government had been indifferent to Islamization, the work done by the Council up to 1977 was not very significant. According to the 1973 Constitution the Council should have submitted an annual report, the final report to be completed and submitted within seven years. Parliament was supposed to discuss it in the House and "enact laws in respect thereof" (Article 23, clause 4): but no report was either presented before or discussed in the House, and no laws were enacted.

In late 1977 General Zia reconstructed the Council, with Justice Muhammad Afzal Cheema as its Chairman, whom he directed to expedite its work. The Council met the challenge, submitting several valuable reports during one year. New Islamic laws were drafted with the assistance of the Ministry of Law. A panel of economists and bankers was set up by the Council to prepare a

detailed report on the Islamization of the economic system. Emphasis was given, in this respect, to the establishment of the system of Zakat and the elimination of Riba (interest). A detailed report on the Islamization of the education system was prepared, and comprehensive recommendations were made on reshaping policy related to the media.

In 1979 a package of several Islamic laws was introduced on the basis of the work of the Council. Some of the Islamic Injunctions were given legislative effect for the first time, and a number of Islamic laws appeared on the statute books.

The Council also recommended making some important amendments to the constitution to make the Islamic provisions as operative as any other constitutional provision.

The Council submitted an exhaustive report on eliminating interest and switching banks and financial institutions to the interest-free system based on Islamic principles.

When it was reconstructed under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Tanzil-ur-Rehman, the Council continued its work with the same enthusiasm. It revised most of the existing laws in the light of the Islamic Injunctions and prepared detailed recommendations on bringing them into conformity with the Holy Quran and Sunnah. It also prepared recommendations on how to solve the practical, day-to-day problems arising out of the implementation of certain Islamic policies. The extensive work carried out by the Council during the period 1977–85 was so valuable that it can rightly be called an academic foundation for Islamization. Had all its recommendations been enforced, the dream of an Islamic order would have begun to emerge in reality: but only a small proportion of its total work was adopted. That is why the desired results could not be achieved in full. However, the following measures taken by the government on the basis of the Council's work cannot be overlooked: despite all their shortcomings, they had no parallel in the previous three decades.

The Law of Zakat and Ushr

The process of the Islamization of the legal and economic system was started by the promulgation of the law of Zakat and Ushr in

1979. Zakat is the second pillar of Islam and is one of the institutions intended to eradicate poverty and balance the distribution of wealth. It is the basic duty of an Islamic state to collect money, as Zakat, from the rich people and distribute it among the poor. There was a strong apprehension that if the collection and distribution of Zakat were carried out by government employees, the money collected could be at the mercy of the corrupt. To avoid this as far as possible an autonomous Zakat Council was established under the supervision of a judge of the Supreme Court. The Council, which had nothing to do with government employees, consisted of eminent persons from different fields, and the administration of Zakat was entrusted to it. The Zakat fund has been kept separate from the public Exchequer and local Zakat committees were formed at all levels. The members of these committees were selected from the public in open elections carried out generally in the mosques.

Although there are still complaints that corruption creeps into the system, yet it is fair to say that the system adopted was the safest in a society where corruption is so rampant. Millions of rupees have been distributed among the poor and needy, and thousands of them have been provided with resources for permanent earnings.

Because it is the first modern experiment of its nature, the existing system of Zakat is, no doubt, subject to certain criticisms and a number of improvements have yet to be made. Still, the institution has been established and a workable structure created. Work has started in the right direction. What is needed now is a constant and careful study of the system's pros and cons, and a wise follow-up of what is learnt from the experience. No system can claim to be perfect right from the beginning. It is practical experience, with a gradual process of additions and omissions, that achieves success.

Hudood Laws

The second important set of laws promulgated in 1979 was the Hudood Laws, under which a substantial part of Islamic criminal

law was enforced. The punishments for theft, robbery, adultery, imputation and drinking prescribed by the Holy Quran and Sunnah were enacted as the law of the land. Western propaganda against Islamic punishments has been so widespread that western-minded rulers have always been scared to enforce them. The government of General Zia-ul-Haq, however, never hesitated to enforce them and did so with courage and confidence.

It is an unfortunate aspect of our system that the police and other investigating agencies seldom perform their duties with honesty and efficiency. That is why the crime rate is very high and why very few offenders meet their legal fate. The crime news in any newspaper shows that nearly a dozen thefts and robberies are reported daily. Yet, compared with these reports, very few cases are registered. Most offenders either escape or are acquitted after the preliminary investigations.

It is due to the defects in the system that cases of Hudood have always been few in number. On the other hand, Islam, while prescribing extreme punishments, has laid down a strong standard of evidence and imposed certain conditions without which these punishments cannot be carried out. The law of Hudood is subject to all these conditions. This is the basic reason for the fact, which is generally criticized, that not a single punishment of hadd has been executed so far. The promulgation of Hudood laws should have been accompanied by an exhaustive reformation in the system of investigation and trial. Ignoring this important aspect has resulted in the situation as it stands.

However, this does not mean that these laws remain totally ineffective. Although the punishments of Hudood have not been carried out so far, yet other punishments prescribed in these laws by way of *Ta'zir* are frequently enforced, and this has helped to reduce the crime rate in their respective fields.

In short, the criminal law of Pakistan is now mostly based on the Injunctions of Islam, and when we succeed in reforming our system of investigation and trial, these laws will surely bring the desired result.

The Federal Shariat Court

Another very important measure towards the Islamization of our laws was the establishment of the Federal Shariat Court.

As mentioned earlier, it was provided in every Constitution framed after independence that "the laws of Pakistan shall be in conformity with the Holy Quran and Sunnah, and that no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam." But these provisions were not made as operative and justiciable as other provisions of the Constitution, and no law could be challenged in a court on the basis of repugnancy to the Injunctions of Islam.

It is obvious that all the laws of a country should strictly conform to its Constitution, and that any law enacted in contravention of the Constitution can be challenged in a Superior Court and be declared *ultra vires* and void. No such protection was given to the Islamic provisions of the Constitution. Thus there was no check on the government against enforcing un-Islamic laws, the Islamic provisions of the Constitution were devoid of all legal force and their status in the legal framework was no more than theoretical: there was no mechanism to implement them.

Islamic circles have always demanded that these provisions should be made justiciable like any other provision of the Constitution. The Council of Islamic Ideology was also in favour of this proposal. This recommendation was for the first time accepted partially by General Zia and for the purpose a separate superior Court, the Federal Shariat Court, was established, and chapter 3A added to the Constitution, with effect from 25 June 1980, to provide for its composition, jurisdiction and powers.

The maximum number of its judges, including the Chief Justice, is eight, out of whom three judges should be from among the ulama well versed in Islamic Shari'ah, and four from among persons who have been or are competent to be judges of a High Court.

The main constitutional function of the Court is described in Article 203D of the Constitution:

The Court may, either of its own motion or on the petition of a citizen of Pakistan or the Federal Government or a Provincial Government, examine and decide the question whether or not any law is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet, hereinafter referred to as the Injunctions of Islam.

It is provided in the next clauses of this Article that, when the Court takes up the examination of a law on the touchstone of the Injunctions of Islam, it will give notice to the relevant government (federal or provincial) and give it adequate opportunity to appear and put its point of view before the Court. If the Court, after hearing the parties, decides that any law or provision of law is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam, it shall specify the day on which its decision shall take effect, whereby the relevant law, to the extent to which it is held to be repugnant, shall cease to have effect.

It is also provided that the relevant government, after such a decision has been passed by the Court, shall take steps to amend the law to bring it into conformity with the Injunctions of Islam.

The decision of the Court has been made subject to an appeal before the Supreme Court and for this purpose a special bench, called the Shariat Appellate Bench, has been constituted. This Bench consists of three Muslim judges of the Supreme Court and two Ulama judges taken from the Federal Shariat Court. This is a unique jurisdiction conferred on the Federal Shariat Court and the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court. It is a remarkable advance towards Islamization of the law, and Pakistan has the honour to pioneer it before any other country in the world.

However, a number of laws were still kept outside this jurisdiction. Apart from the Constitution, procedural laws and the Muslim personal law were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Federal Shariat Court. Fiscal laws and the laws relating to banking and insurance were also kept outside the sphere of the Court for a period of 10 years (ending in 1990). This was due to the fear of a flood of petitions which could (in the view of the government) create practical problems especially in the economic field. In 1988 there was a strong move to do away with these restrictions on the

jurisdiction of the Court, and some bills in this respect were pending before Parliament when the National Assembly was dissolved and the matter deferred.

The Federal Shariat Court and the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court were also given the appellate jurisdiction in cases relating to the Hudood laws, but their main function was to examine the laws in the light of the Islamic Injunctions.

Although the Federal Shariat Court and the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court could not examine a considerable number of important laws which were exempted from their scrutiny, yet in the field of their jurisdiction they have delivered historic judgements which have helped to bring the existing laws into conformity with Shari'ah and to give the judiciary and the bar a new approach to adjudication.

As explained earlier, during the four decades of the history of Pakistan not a single law was changed by parliament on the grounds of its repugnancy to the Shari'ah, neither was a single law enacted to enforce an Injunction of Islam. Political upheavals never left enough time for the members of parliament to do such constructive work, which requires an atmosphere more conducive than existed. But through this jurisdiction, the Federal Shariat Court and the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court have brought a considerable change in a number of laws. Some of their judgements were so important that they affected thousands of cases pending in different courts and thousands of litigants were given a relief which would otherwise not have been given.

The list of the laws changed through this process is very lengthy and includes certain important criminal laws and laws relating to contracts, sale of goods, partnership, pre-emption, tenancy, the civil service, press and publications, security measures, army rules, inheritance etc.

Moreover, the judgements delivered in such cases have laid down many basic principles of the interpretation of the Holy Quran and Sunnah, and have developed a new approach to the solution of legal problems and, in that process, have induced the lawyers to seek access to the Islamic jurisprudence.

There are certainly a number of loopholes in the constitutional provisions relating to the composition, status and jurisdiction of

these forums. But the idea was (rightly or wrongly) to introduce this system by a gradual process: subject to the true intention to proceed towards Islamization, these loopholes can easily be removed in due course, allowing the system to bear its full fruits.

Objectives Resolution

The beginning of this article described the adoption of the Objectives Resolution as the first historic measure towards Islamization. The Resolution was passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. The late Quaid-e-Millat Liaqat Ali Khan, addressing the Assembly, remarked on the passing of this Resolution as follows:

I consider this to be a most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence. We only won the opportunity of building up a country and its polity in accordance with our ideals. 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: "Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of the subcontinent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teaching and traditions of Islam, because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today.

In the words of Mr A. K. Brohi, a renowned jurist in Pakistan, the Resolution was "the cornerstone of Pakistan's legal edifice." However, when the Constitution was framed, this important document was incorporated in it as a preamble, not as a substantive and operative part of the Constitution, reducing its legal status to a guideline for the interpretation of the Constitution.

The Superior Courts of Pakistan, in a number of cases, have discussed the Objectives Resolution and appreciated its importance. For example, it was observed by Justice Hamood-ur-Rahman, Chief Justice of Pakistan, in the famous case of Miss Asima Jilani:

Our own ground norm is enshrined in our own doctrine that the legal Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority exerciseable by the people within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust. This is an immutable and unalterable norm which was clearly accepted in the Objectives Resolution.

The importance of the Resolution was more vehemently expressed in the judgement of Mr Justice Sajjad Ahmed Jan, delivered in the same case:

Our ground norms are derived from our Islamic faith, which is not merely a religion but is a way of life. These ground norms are unchangeable and are inseparable from our polity . . .

The state of Pakistan was created in perpetuity based on Islamic Ideology and has to be run and governed on all the basic norms of that ideology. Unless the body politic of Pakistan as a whole, God forbid, is reconstituted on an un-Islamic pattern, which will of course, mean total destruction of its original concept.

The Objectives Resolution is not just a conventional preface. It embodies the spirit and the fundamental norms of the constitutional concept of Pakistan.

Despite these weighty remarks on the contents of the Objectives Resolution, the Courts were forced to say that, because it is a preamble, they cannot control the written law of the country. Mr Justice Hamood-ur-Rahman, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, in a later case (Zia-ur-Rahman) clarified his earlier judgement of Asima Jilani's case:

In my view, however solemn or sacrosanct a document, if it is not incorporated in the Constitution or does not form a part thereof, it cannot control the Constitution . . . It follows from this that under our own system too the Objectives Resolution of 1949, even though it is a document which has been generally accepted and has never been repealed or renounced, will not have the same status or authority as the Constitution itself until

it is incorporated within it or made part of it; if it appears only as a preamble to the Constitution, then it will serve the same purpose as any other preamble serves, namely, that in the case of any doubt as to the intent of the law-maker, it may be looked at to ascertain the true intent, but it cannot control the substantive provisions thereof.

It was against this background that General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq took another important step towards Islamization; the incorporation of the Objectives Resolution into the Constitution as a substantive part of it. For this purpose Article 2A was added to the Constitution in 1985. This Article reads as follows:

The principles and provisions set out in the Objectives Resolution reproduced in the Annex are hereby made substantive part of the Constitution and shall have effect accordingly.

The intention behind this change was to remove the deficiency in the legal status of the Resolution which, according to the judgement of the Supreme Court, had created a hurdle in the way of its full legal operation.

On the basis of Article 2A, some superior courts have delivered certain judgements to the effect that this Resolution, after becoming a substantive part of the Constitution, is fully justifiable, and on this ground they have held that the laws contravening a provision of the Resolution can be struck down and be made subject to such adaptations as bring them in conformity with it. These judgements have refused to give effect to some un-Islamic laws and have instead enforced the common Islamic law in cases before them.

The matter, however, is not finally settled and is being discussed at different levels of the Judiciary. The Supreme Court has not yet pronounced a decisive interpretation of Article 2A, and its tangible effects are still awaited.

However, without discussing the delicate questions of interpretation involved, it can safely be anticipated that the change made in the status of the Resolution, especially against the background of the earlier judgements of the Supreme Court, will have

to be given some meaning and some effect which was not available before. This new interpretation of the status of the Resolution can help achieve the goal proposed by it, including the establishment of an Islamic order based on the strong belief in the Sovereignty of Allah Almighty.

Change in the Banking System

Another change made during General Zia's leadership by the process of Islamization was that made to the banking system.

It was mentioned earlier that the Council of Islamic Ideology had prepared a detailed report on the elimination of interest from the national economy. The government planned its own strategy to implement this report and first opened a Profit and Loss Sharing Account (generally known as a PLS account) in each commercial bank and claimed it to be free of interest, while other accounts were allowed to run in the conventional manner based on open interest. After a considerable time the government announced that all existing accounts would be converted into PLS accounts. All banks, national and foreign, were forbidden to run interest-bearing accounts or transact interest in any form.

This was apparently a revolutionary measure taken in the process of Islamizing the economy, but unfortunately it suffered from a number of errors which rendered it the weakest point in the progress of Islamization during these eleven years.

The basic cause of this unfortunate situation was that, when planning the new system, no forum was constituted to supervise the whole process in the light of Shari'ah and to solve the practical problems arising out of the new policy. The State Bank announced twelve instruments as a substitute for interest, and these were given with no detailed directions. The banks adopted these instruments with little care to keep them in conformity with the requirement of Shari'ah. For this reason Islamic circles, especially the Ulama, rejected this system and strong criticisms were made to the effect that the new system was nothing but a change of words, and that interest was still involved in transactions, under the different name of mark-up.

The criticism was not unjustified. The system adopted was not in line with the one proposed by the Council of Islamic Ideology and its panel of bankers and economists. The changes introduced were mostly of names, with no effort to avoid interest in real terms. But in spite of all the errors and shortcomings of the system, it cannot be denied that it was for the first time in the history of Pakistan (probably even in the history of the Muslim world) that the concept of interest-free banking was officially recognized in principle, and the controversy about the permissibility or otherwise of banking interest came to an end. It was settled on government level that interest is forbidden under Islamic Injunctions and, as such, it cannot be made a basis for the economy of the country.

Now the question that remains relates to the application of this principle, and it can be hoped that, subject to the continuance of the policy of Islamization at government level, errors in the application of principles can be removed in future.

These are the basic features of the steps taken by the government during 1977-88 towards the Islamization of laws in Pakistan. Many other steps were taken during this period in the spheres of education, social and economic life and in the administration, but the present study was intended to explain only those measures which brought some change in the statutes in order to Islamize them.

Although most of the measures explained here suffered from a number of defects, for which they have always been criticized, no objective criticism can ignore the fact that the progress made in this period, if compared with the past 30 years, was undoubtedly a serious, positive and meaningful progress which the country had never before experienced.

Pakistan's Atomic Programme and General Zia-ul-Haq

Zahid Malik

Had there not been the Bahawalpur aircrash on 17 August 1988, Pakistan's atomic programme would definitely have a different fate. This is not only the personal conviction of this author: an in-depth study of Pakistan's atomic programme, as developed by the late President General Zia-ul-Haq, would lead anyone to this conclusion.

The Bahawalpur aircrash in which President Zia lost his life still remains a mystery, but history may reveal that the crash was part of a conspiracy to deter Pakistan from making and detonating an atom bomb. Obviously, removing General Zia from the scene could have served that purpose – which had not been achieved in his lifetime, despite all sorts of pressure put on him from various world capitals. It would be logical to conclude that his physical elimination was considered to be the only way to keep Pakistan out of the nuclear club.

I will confine my discussion here to the major objective of

Pakistan's atomic programme, which was implemented as an integral part of the policy objectives charted by General Zia for the purpose. President Zia was a latecomer to Pakistan's atomic programme, which had been initiated by his predecessor, the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. However, General Zia followed it through its most critical and crucial phase, and in the face of tough opposition, not only from two superpowers – the United States and the Soviet Union – but also from two powerful anti-Pakistan lobbies – India and Israel. The late President not only implemented the programme but also gave it a new dimension.

Back in the formative stage of Pakistan's atomic programme, General Zia-ul-Haq, then the chief of the Pakistan Army, came into contact with Dr A. Q. Khan, the scientist who placed Pakistan on the world's nuclear map. Dr Khan, who had gained his knowledge of the centrifuge method of uranium enrichment during assignments in Europe, was given the task by the then Government of setting up Kahuta Research Laboratories, near Islamabad, for practical work on this method of nuclear fission. The year was 1975. General Zia extended a helping hand to Dr Khan by placing at his disposal the services of two senior army officers, Lieutenant General Zahid Ali Akbar Khan and Major General Anis Ali Syed, to raise an infrastructure for the Kahuta Research Laboratories in a short period of time. At that time, it appeared casual help from the army chief to a leading scientist: who knew then that only three years later, General Zia, as head of state, would chart the nation's nuclear option on the basis of the achievements made at these very laboratories.

Before discussing the details of the development of Pakistan's atomic programme under the direct patronage of General Zia-ul-Haq, it is necessary to know what he thought about Pakistan's atomic programme and how he developed it in the face of world-wide opposition. It is said in certain quarters that political elimination of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was sought as a means of keeping Pakistan out of the nuclear way: Mr Bhutto had been very vocal about Pakistan having an atomic bomb. If this is true, it must have been expected that Mr Bhutto's successor, General Zia, would conform to the anti-Pakistan lobbies in the nuclear field. But history was to bear testimony to the contrary: General Zia, without being vocal, was taking Pakistan's atomic programme to its logical conclusion.

Long before Pakistan's real atomic programme was known to the outside world, General Zia had to face the ban on American aid to Pakistan over the issue of the French nuclear reprocessing plant, on which there was a worldwide furore during the first months of General Zia's rule. Taking advantage of the world's focus of attention on the reprocessing plant, which served as camouflage for Pakistan's nascent atomic programme, then being secretly implemented at Kahuta, General Zia kept all his efforts focused on the development of the nuclear plant at Kahuta, for which he was giving all his support to Dr A. Q. Khan.

At this point, it is necessary to throw some light on General Zia's inclination towards the nuclear option. Usually, a military General at the helm of a nation's affairs would opt for military superiority against potential enemies. General Zia was no exception, but there were other important factors which led him to the nuclear option. First, any true Pakistani who believes in the two-nation concept as the basis of Pakistan invariably feels that Pakistan can exist only as an antithesis of India, politically and militarily. General Zia, a true believer in this precept, knew that after the 1974 Indian atomic explosion, Pakistan's political existence would remain neutralized without a matching military deterrent. For this, a matching, if not superior, nuclear capability was necessary. Incidentally, Pakistan's nuclear capability, achieved through the centrifuge method, is considered far superior to the conventional nuclear capability of India.

General Zia was, at the same time, a believer in the renaissance of Islam, as conceived by the poet-philosopher Allama Iqbal. Scientific achievements are the prerequisites for such a renaissance in the modern world. In this respect General Zia wanted Pakistan to be a pioneering country in the Islamic world. Incidentally, the philosophical concept of "Marde Momin" as conceived by Allama Iqbal, an Islamic equivalent of the German philosophical concept of "superman" and the French concept of "élan vital", was ascribed to General Zia for his contribution to the Islamic renaissance: in general terms at the philosophical level; and in particular at the level of achievements in nuclear science.

General Zia sought nuclear capability for Islamic civilization and he actually accomplished it by attaining nuclear capability for

Pakistan. He gave material support to the concept to the extent that the Muslim countries are seeking relatively advanced technologies from Pakistan. His role in this respect was recognized by making him the Chairman of the Scientific Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

However, conceiving is one thing; achieving is quite different. It is said that if Pakistan achieved miracles by enriching uranium at the weapon grade by the centrifuge method, a non-conventional and highly sophisticated technology, the bold way it has faced the opposition from the world for this is no less miraculous. The opposition against Pakistan's nuclear programme came on at least three fronts, all formidable in their own right. On one front, the attack on Pakistan's nuclear programme was launched by the world media, whose stance in this respect was anti-Pakistan and anti-Islamic. On the second front, Pakistan was made a subject of attack on the platforms of international organizations for not signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). And on the third front, the attack was on aid to Pakistan.

We saw earlier that, initially, the attack on Pakistan's nuclear programme was based on the promised (and later refused) delivery of a French reprocessing plant, although at that time the work of Kahuta Research Laboratories had already begun in secret both at the infrastructure and enrichment process. However, this secrecy could not be maintained for long. It was leaked from a British firm, Emerson-Electric Co., which was asked by Pakistan to supply improved inverters, for which specifications and designs were given by Pakistan itself. From this, the West got wind of Pakistan's atomic programme, and the whole western press, led by *Nucleonics Week*, pounced on it. The other newspapers which spearheaded the campaign against Pakistan's nuclear programme included the German newspaper *Der Spiegel*, the London *Observer*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *New York Times* and *Financial Times*. This coverage was followed by the book *Islamic Bomb* and the BBC Panorama film *Project 706 – The Islamic Bomb*, which gave a terrifying story of the making of Pakistan's atom bomb. This propaganda against Pakistan's nuclear programme had an adverse impact on Pakistan's relations with the West. A case was initiated, taking a clue from these media reports, on the

urgings by Israel, in Holland, against Dr A. Q. Khan for alleged theft of nuclear information. The case, which had legal complications, had a moral bearing on General Zia's government, the employer of Dr Khan. This put psychological pressure on Zia's government. Dr A. Q. Khan's appeal was pursued vigorously at The Hague Court: General Zia's diplomatic approach and Dr Khan's exoneration lifted the pressure. At the same time, bans were imposed in western markets on the sale to Pakistan of any item with any relation to nuclear technology. And there were also cases, particularly in Canada and the United States, against persons allegedly involved in smuggling such items to Pakistan, presumably for use in Kahuta Research Laboratories. General Zia boldly faced this tremendous psychological and diplomatic pressure on Pakistan. He could not be deterred from the nuclear path.

At the same time, pressure on General Zia to sign the NPT continued in all available forums. The United States led those countries that put pressure on Pakistan. Every time there was a debate in the United Nations General Assembly on the subject, the Americans, supported by the Indian and Israeli lobbies, raised a hue and cry against Pakistan's nuclear programme. New stories were planted in western newspapers. Pressure from the United States also appeared whenever there were proposals for American aid to Pakistan. Pakistan was asked to sign the NPT before the Carter administration stopped aid to the country in 1979. In 1981 Pakistan was again asked to sign the NPT before the USA resumed aid (in a situation changed by the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan) amounting to a five-year package of 3.2 billion US dollars. Pakistan was once again pressed to sign the NPT before the post-1987 aid package of 4.02 billion dollars was put before Congress. In the latter case, the then American Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr Deane R. Hinton, even warned Pakistan, in his famous speech at the Institute of Strategic Studies at Islamabad on 16 February 1987, that unless Pakistan signed the NPT the US Congress would not approve the aid package. General Zia faced these pressures in his usual gentle but stubborn diplomatic way. While his Foreign Minister was advocating nuclear non-proliferation in a more meaningful way in various forums of the United Nations, General Zia himself was trying, often successfully, to neutralize

world pressure by tagging Pakistan's nuclear programme to India's nuclear designs. His conditional offer to sign the NPT in 1985 has become an oft-quoted document in world forums on the subject. He offered to sign the NPT provided India did so. Indeed, Zia's five-point proposal on the subject served as a practical rejoinder to world pressure on Pakistan to sign the NPT. He proposed that:

- 1 South Asia be declared a nuclear-free zone.
- 2 India and Pakistan should sign the NPT simultaneously.
- 3 They should sign a bilateral nuclear non-proliferation treaty.
- 4 They should agree to an international inspection team which would visit and inspect each and every nuclear facility in each of the two countries.
- 5 They should renounce the use of nuclear weapons.

This proposal took the force out of international pressure on Pakistan to sign the NPT: but in the United States the aid lever continued to be used to make Pakistan abandon its nuclear programme. A powerful lobby was engaged in using the concerned committees of the American Congress and the Senate to harp on Pakistan's nuclear designs whenever the aid issue was raised. Those who did so included some big names in the American Congress, such as the President of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

President General Zia continued to meet these pressures with an unprecedented show of diplomatic sense. Even on the achievement of the Kahuta nuclear plant, his diplomatic handling often kept the anti-Pakistan lobbies at bay. At least three times he admitted Pakistan had nuclear capability: first, during an interview with the *Sunday Times* of Calcutta; second, by defending Dr A. Q. Khan who, in an interview with the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, gave, for the first time, a professional account of how nuclear capability was achieved in the Kahuta Research Laboratories. The third occasion was in his famous interview with *Time* magazine in March 1987 after which the interviewer concluded that "Pakistan can make a bomb whenever it wishes".

At the same time, General Zia's attention was focused on what was coming out of Kahuta. It was mentioned earlier that General

Zia came to know of the Kahuta plant when he was the Chief of the Army. After coming into power, he placed all available resources at the disposal of Dr A. Q. Khan. The then Foreign Minister, Agha Shahi, and the Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan (now President of Pakistan), were asked by General Zia to provide all possible help to Dr A. Q. Khan. But Zia's real honeymoon with Pakistan's nuclear programme began in 1978 when Dr Khan submitted a memorandum to Ghulam Ishaq Khan describing the initial success in enriching uranium by his centrifuge method. When Ghulam Ishaq Khan forwarded this memorandum to General Zia, he complimented Dr Khan on the job and described the day as the most important day for Pakistan. In 1981, during a visit to Kahuta Research Laboratories, which he named on the occasion A. Q. Khan Research Laboratories – a rare honour given to a living scientist – General Zia said he was convinced that Pakistan had attained the capability of making an atom bomb. Since then, he was determined to bring the programme to its logical conclusion, taking measures in the meantime that the Kahuta plant could be defended against air attacks, in the pattern of the Israeli demolition of Iraqi nuclear plants which were speculated about and even warned of many times.

But was General Zia satisfied with nuclear capability alone? There were many speculations that Pakistan had not only acquired the capability but also had the bombs, and there were suggestions that test sites had been prepared. One cannot vouchsafe for the truth of these speculations. But it can be said with some certainty that General Zia was preparing to make a bold decision on the subject. After the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, he was feeling more free to make a decision of his own on the subject. Such an occasion could have come after the November 1988 elections, which he had announced before his death in the air crash at Bahawalpur. The 17 August incident thus snatched away the opportunity General Zia was waiting for.

How far the present government, headed by Ms Benazir Bhutto, has deviated from the nuclear programme and strategy of the late President Zia-ul-Haq is not a subject for this article.

Zia – A Shining Star in the Islamic Galaxy

Muazzam Ali

After Muhammed Ali Jinnah, who in 1947 created Pakistan, the first Islamic state in contemporary history, another shining star appeared three decades later in the person of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. Few rulers in modern times have achieved such universal respect and few have been so deeply committed to the ideals of Islam. He was simple and austere in his personal habits, embodying the Muslim virtues of humility, generosity, courtesy and piety. His passion in life was service to Islam and the Muslim world, and nothing could persuade him to deviate from this path. By championing this cause he created many enemies, and on 17 August 1988 he lost his life in a plane crash contrived by his foes. Little did the enemies of Islam realize that assassination would be counter-productive; it would strengthen rather than weaken his mission. Muhammed Zia-ul-Haq has become Shaheed or martyr, serving as a beacon of light for the Muslim ummah in its efforts to re-establish Islamic identity: his mission shall be carried forward from generation to generation.

President Zia was a man of integrity who insisted that his dedicated pursuit of Islam would never be compromised: "Our commitment to Islamization is a covenant with Allah. It is unconditional, non-negotiable, a matter of faith, more sacred than

any secular ideology." He did not agree that Islam was an impediment to international relations. "If the West can have good relations with countries having such divergent ideological goals and economic systems as the USSR, Yugoslavia, China and Japan we see no reason why the West should not be able to have similar bonds in their relations with Islamic countries." Zia was enthusiastic about "the long-awaited Islamic renaissance" which he thought could be achieved by combining modern technological methods with Islamic principles such as those of an interest-free economy and a legal system conforming to the Shari'ah. He believed that modernization was by no means incompatible with Islam, as some critics have asserted. He believed that "going back to Islam faithfully would open up for us all avenues of progress and development without having to face the ill effects of modernization which have plagued the West." He did not confine opinions such as these to interviews and statements in the Islamic media but voiced them at international forums such as the United Nations General Assembly, which he addressed in 1980 on behalf of the Muslim world. This was the only occasion on which the proceedings of the General Assembly were introduced by a recitation from the Holy Quran.

President Zia cannot be accused of indulging in empty rhetoric. He knew he could not ask his people to follow the principles of Islam if he did not practise them himself. In his personal life he endeavoured to set an example, and under the impact of his leadership the whole pattern of life in Pakistan began to change. Mosques were packed with worshippers; more people visited the holy places in Mecca and Medina; women dressed more modestly; alcoholic drinks were no longer served; gambling casinos were closed down; Zakat, the Muslim alms tax, was collected and distributed for the benefit of the poor and needy. As Islamic values came to prevail in all walks of life Pakistan's economy improved dramatically; between 1980 and 1988 industrial production increased by nine per cent per annum and the country became self-sufficient in food.

Neither the western bloc nor the Soviet Union, however, welcomed this process of Islamization in a country of such strategic importance and with a population of a hundred million people.

Neither did they welcome the possible emergence of a united Islamic bloc of countries which President Zia seemed to advocate. More worrying still was Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear technology. It was even rumoured that an important stage in the development of nuclear technology would have been reached in November 1988. It is related that a few weeks before President Zia's death a high-ranking official of a major country called on him and asked him to abandon his programme. He declined to do so, saying that as long as Pakistan's neighbour did not abandon its programme he could not jeopardize his country's security. After much cajoling, which made no impression on Zia-ul-Haq, the official reportedly warned him of the grave consequences of refusing to alter his stance. When the official had departed, the President told his family that an attempt might be made on his life; but he reminded them that life and death are in the hands of Allah and that if he were to attain Shahadat defending Pakistan and Islam, he would consider himself the luckiest man. If this story is true, his words were indeed prophetic.

Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq

Dr Ahmad Muhammad Ali

The late President (may Allah bless his soul) was recognized by everyone as a veritable soldier of Islam, especially for his commitment to the unity and solidarity of the Muslim ummah. He gave his full support to all liberation movements of Muslim peoples, particularly the peoples of Palestine and Afghanistan. His commitment to the Afghan Jihad was total and his exemplary hospitality to over three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, who were given shelter and succour by the Pakistan government, is too well-known for comment.

I had the privilege to meet the late President Zia-ul-Haq on many occasions and I was deeply touched by his extreme humility and his thorough commitment to Islamic causes. He was a pillar of strength for all international Islamic institutions, which benefited greatly from his support.

Zia-ul-Haq

Ayesha Lemu

The sense of shock and grief throughout the Muslim world on the sudden death of President Zia was spontaneous and heartfelt.

To many Muslims, Zia represented a gradualist, peaceful and piecemeal approach to Islamization. He was in the process of proving that Islamization could be achieved without violence or shedding blood, and in so doing risked and ultimately lost his own life. He was in the true sense a martyr who died for his beliefs.

We heard and read of Zia's unstinting provision of refuge to the Afghan people in their struggle, and his whole-hearted support for the Mujahideen, even though Pakistan was already faced with a host of its own economic problems. We watched with admiration the establishment of an Islamic banking system in the country as a viable and popular alternative to interest banking, which it could ultimately replace.

Perhaps the greatest praise should be reserved for Zia's taking on the westernized legal profession, with its power, privilege and pride, in an attempt to reinstate Shari'ah as the ultimate code by which a Muslim nation should direct its affairs. His moves to revitalize the basic Islamic institution of Zakat were also of great value in helping Muslims to fulfil one of their fundamental duties and in easing the condition of the poor. In the educational sphere his influence was also felt in his support for the process of the Islamization of knowledge and of the educational system. Pakistan became the venue for many conferences on Islamic themes.

With every facet of Islamization, it seems that Zia was already there, prompting change and applying a practical mind to the problem of implementation. Muslims worldwide could not fail to admire a Muslim leader who acted like one, and gave substance to their dreams and aspirations. Actions spoke louder than words – there was no need for rhetoric or stormy speeches. Pakistan began to look like a country that was established as a place for Muslims to try and live as Muslims.

Now he is gone. Muslims hope that what he started has gone far enough to gain its own momentum. We pray that his successors may be aware of the eyes of the Muslim world watching to see what they will do with Zia's legacy. May Allah guide and help them and shower His blessings and mercy on His faithful servant Zia-ul-Haq.

Zia-ul-Haq – A Defence Planner

Ibn-ul-Hasan

Zia-ul-Haq left the defence arrangements of Pakistan in a state which can be the envy of any country in the region. He started commanding the Pakistan Army when he was appointed its Chief of Staff in the late 1970s. Subsequently, when he became the President of Pakistan he was Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces until he died in a plane crash near Bahawalpur in August 1988. The three services are today fit, dynamic and self-confident. Their organization is modern and well-adjusted. Their equipment is up-to-date and effective. Their morale is high. They understand their task and are in no doubt about it. They are clear about their role and proudly and quietly accept it.

While Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, is called the architect of Pakistan's military machinery and defence system, General Zia-ul-Haq will be remembered as its builder, reformer and consolidator. Ayub Khan had developed it from a scattered, disjointed and inadequate organization. Zia-ul-Haq raised it from its ashes and rebuilt it.

In 1950 Ayub Khan's task as the Commander-in-Chief of the army was virtually to raise and equip a balanced military machinery for the country. The partition of the subcontinent had

so affected the organization of the army that it was a very depleted, unbalanced and incomplete military organization, and he had to reconstitute it. There were gaps to be filled, training facilities to be created, standard weapons and equipment to be procured, virtually everything had to be done almost from the beginning. General Muhammad Ayub Khan did a pioneering job. Two factors helped him accomplish his task. First, his was a winning personality which could influence people and thus ensure the support and cooperation of the highest in the Government and secure international cooperation. Second, the Cold War situation in the 1950s threw up the opportunity for the country to solicit the interest of the West in the defence of Pakistan under the regional security programmes. This afforded the armed forces of Pakistan the resources and facilities to emerge as a well-knit, well-equipped and well-trained fighting force. The 1965 Indo-Pak War in which the Pakistan armed forces were able to defend the country against a much bigger and better-equipped aggressive force (the Indian military might was almost six times the size of Pakistan's), proved a very costly event. It was this war which caused the decline and the weakening of the defence and security of Pakistan, both organizationally and in terms of resources. US military cooperation was suspended, so that the damage sustained in the war by the defence services of Pakistan could not be repaired. The war machinery of Pakistan once again became unbalanced and depleted.

Ayub Khan left the defence services and the country in the hands of a very careless and irresponsible group of people. Their mismanagement of the affairs of the state and its defence and security resulted in the break-up of Pakistan in December 1971. This shattered the morale of the armed forces and robbed them of their reputation. Their self-confidence was completely shaken and their professional competence became generally questionable.

With the eastern half of Pakistan gone, what was left of Pakistan fell into the hands of a government which did not regard defence and security necessarily as its top priority. The new rulers were too deeply involved in the acquisition of political power and its consolidation and perpetuation. All other problems appeared secondary. They did not hesitate to use even the armed forces as an instrument in their political pursuits. Zia-ul-Haq was appointed

as the Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Army in the last years of that government. His main task appeared to be to provide power to the prime minister. Organizing the army as an effective force for the defence of the country seemed a subsidiary responsibility.

In 1977, when the political system in the country broke down and General Zia-ul-Haq had to step in as Chief Martial Law Administrator and President of Pakistan, he began to attend to reorganizing and rebuilding the security and defence of the country in earnest. In the next eleven years, he was able to do this with remarkable success. In a philosophical sense he virtually resurrected the armed forces from their ashes, and conceptually he rebuilt the security and defence of the country from its ruins. He fully exploited whatever geo-strategic opportunity came his way in these years. In many cases, his initiatives proved uncanny and amazingly productive.

Even before he took over as the Chief Martial Law Administrator and President of Pakistan around the middle of 1977, Zia-ul-Haq had undertaken what could be called the task of moral reinforcement of the officers and men of the army. His objective seemed to be to provide the man in uniform the essential sense of his identity with his country and faith in his religion and his profession. It was common knowledge in those days that he was carrying out some sort of moral and intellectual indoctrination of the serviceman. For this purpose he assigned some known scholars of religion and social sciences to visit military establishments and lecture the officers and men on Islamic history, the essentials of the Islamic faith, the spirit of the Pakistan Movement and the ideology of Pakistan. He also encouraged the practice of religion among officers and men, and inspired and instilled national, religious and moral spirit in all ranks.

His efforts soon brought about a distinct change in the general atmosphere in the military establishment: a sense of purpose was displayed by all ranks in their bearing and deportment. They were no longer down and out, but imbued with a new national zeal, and they had rediscovered their *esprit de corps*.

Zia-ul-Haq knew that the average Pakistani soldiers and officers belonged to a social background which could be trusted to respond to the philosophical and moral reconstruction programme,

and indeed the response was prompt and effective. It is a well-known fact that today the Pakistan armed forces are an exceptionally steadfast community, completely committed to Islam and Pakistan. Zia-ul-Haq's defence policy was largely built around this commitment.

It had to be admitted that the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan at the end of 1979 proved to be Zia-ul-Haq's real opportunity materially and technologically to reconstruct the security and defence of Pakistan. What looked to be the most ominous threat ever was used by him as an event well worth exploiting. It provided him with the opportunity to modernize the armed forces of Pakistan. He was able to obtain the best possible training facilities for them, the latest weapons and equipment and a reasonably advanced technology. But the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan also confronted the armed forces of Pakistan with a formidable sense of danger and threat – and that from a superpower – so that they were required to use a great deal of ingenuity and grit to face the new situation.

Until this development in Afghanistan, the main defence problem of Pakistan was related to the country's eastern border. It used to be the Indian military might against which the Pakistan armed forces had always prepared themselves. All their doctrines, plans and weapon systems were catered to contain the threat from India. The emergence of a belligerent Soviet-Kabul regime, the continuous influx of millions of Afghan refugees into Pakistan and the war of resistance in Afghanistan, where Mujahideen were carrying out large-scale operations against Soviet-Kabul forces, turned Pakistan suddenly into a front-line state in the region. Zia-ul-Haq recognized its significance and was able to convince the West and the Muslim world how important and urgent it was to support Pakistan in its new role. He managed to manoeuvre the lifting of an embargo on the sale and supply of US arms to Pakistan and entered into a bilateral arrangement with the USA, under which sizeable credits and grants were sanctioned by the United States for the economic development of Pakistan and the reorganization and re-equipping of the armed forces of the country. He ensured that the arrangement did not compromise Pakistan's newly acquired status as a Non-Aligned State. It was he who had

won for Pakistan membership to the Non-Aligned Movement. He did not want to forego the advantage of whatever prestige this membership yielded in the community of the Third World countries. During the years that followed Zia-ul-Haq demonstrated exceptional expertise in handling the task of reorganization and reconstruction of the security and defence of Pakistan in the situation of a two-pronged risk from the Soviet– Kabul regime on the north-western border and from India on the entire eastern border. He concentrated all his efforts on maintaining the tempo of international goodwill for backing his Afghanistan policy and supporting his peace initiative towards India.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference was with him: so were the African countries, South-East Asian, South Asia (except India) and Far Eastern countries. Europe and the Americas were with him. At the last count in the United Nations in 1987 as many as 126 member states voted for his policy on Afghanistan. Although he did not see the Soviet withdrawal in February 1989, some six months after the fatal plane crash in August 1988, yet he knew that it was coming. His Afghanistan policy would some day be discussed and analysed by observers and analysts as a piece of brilliant planning and bold execution. It was due to his faith in the objective and his trust in the Almighty that with practically no resources and a very weak political situation at home he adopted that policy and stuck to it.

We are too close to the events to give a final verdict. A proper estimation will be possible only when the situation settles down in that war-torn country and when politics in Pakistan is able to rationalize itself to a more objective and less emotive approach. The facts will certainly emerge in the course of time and the world will know the contribution of Zia-ul-Haq, both as a builder of the new concept of Pakistan's in-depth defence in the regional context and as a champion of the freedom and independence of a besieged neighbouring people.

It is amazing that in a state of exceptionally complex and time-consuming political confrontation, which President Zia-ul-Haq was made to face throughout his 11 years of power, he could attend to the task of virtually creating a new defence apparatus for the country. Perhaps his strong background as a career army

officer and having the temperament of a strategist helped him in planning and implementing the defence programme that he conceived while also dealing with the domestic political situation. As an Armoured Corps officer it must have been his belief that the army should be a mechanized and mobile force. This is evident from the fact that he provided it with a high degree of mechanization and mobility, backed by tremendous fire power and very efficient logistic support; characteristics which the Pakistan Army had always wanted but could never before acquire. He also ensured that actions on the ground had in readiness the promptest possible air support within the army and also from the PAF. The speed and accuracy of the Pakistan Air Force today distinguishes it as one of the most advanced tactical air forces in the world. There are air forces larger in size and better endowed in resources but, considering the quality of the equipment, technological training and ability to perform its role, the PAF is widely regarded as a force which is very dynamic and in full control of its airspace. It is a combat force which is confident of its task, handling expertly the world's most advanced and sophisticated planes, electronic and laser equipment, and missiles which it mans and maintains to optimum advantage.

The coastal defence of Pakistan, however, continues to be the weakest element in Pakistan's defence system. It has yet to be reinforced against the threat of blockade and aggression that the country faces from a very large and constantly growing Indian Navy. The current Indian naval build-up is causing concern to the great as well as the small powers of the world that have maritime interest in the Indian Ocean. President Zia-ul-Haq, it seemed, temporarily set aside the Pakistan Navy in his priorities of defence reorganization, presuming perhaps that the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, in which the Pakistan Navy operated, were too important an international concern for all the trading nations of the world to be allowed to be disturbed by a unilateral action by India. The presence of the US and Soviet naval bases in the Indian Ocean, the existence of international oil interests in the Middle East and the Gulf region and the link between the seafaring nations operating all the way from Madagascar to the Strait of Malacca, must inhibit the Indian Navy from being too adventurous in the

Indian Ocean, notwithstanding its acquisition of Soviet nuclear submarines and possession of three aircraft carriers. But President Zia-ul-Haq was not unmindful of the need to modernize and strengthen the Pakistan Navy. In 1987–88, he had actively started negotiating with Britain, the United States of America and France to assist Pakistan to raise the status of its navy. Whatever progress takes place in future is likely to be on the basis of the groundwork which he had nearly completed in 1987–88.

It is not necessary to look closely at the inventory of the weapons and equipment – types, grades, sophistication and scope – which the three services in Pakistan possess today. The tanks, guns, ammunition, missiles, aircraft, radar system, ships etc. which are in use in the defence of Pakistan would interest only the technicians and the professionals. The important thing to know is that the entire range of arms and equipment in use by the three services in Pakistan is modern and totally standardized, easy to master and maintain. These features contribute to the professional skill of the fighting forces and are generally lacking in countries which, like Pakistan, are not self-reliant in their military supplies and have to depend on external sources for them. Of course, the defence production in Pakistan today is far more advanced than it was 10 years ago. The country has already started producing a variety of armaments, missiles, rockets and ammunition for its own use as well as for export. Its tank and aircraft rebuilding factories have reached the stage at which, resources permitting, they can be converted into fully-fledged manufacturing units. But the sophisticated character of the weapons system and the equipment of defence machinery in Pakistan is largely dependent on procurements from abroad. Zia-ul-Haq's vision had always been to make the country self-sufficient and self-reliant in its defence needs. He wanted to give the country an efficient and up-to-date defence industry. This was a tall order, but from his international negotiations it did not look an impossible proposition.

Zia-ul-Haq knew that the destiny of Pakistan lay with its western neighbours, not with India in the East. He had a deep understanding of the meanings and consequences of the partition of the subcontinent when the areas which constitute Pakistan had unlinked themselves from India physically and culturally. With

this conviction about Pakistan's regional identity Zia-ul-Haq undertook the plan of a more intimate familiarization of Pakistan's armed forces with the Islamic world. He introduced language programmes for all ranks to enable them to acquire a working knowledge of Arabic, so that when he arranged the stationing of military contingents – mostly training teams – from Pakistan in the Gulf and the Middle East, the elementary knowledge of this language would prove useful for personnel operating in Arabic-speaking areas. He also opened training facilities in military establishments in Pakistan to trainees in the three services from Arab and African countries, and raised the training level in these establishments to attract international interest in them. These institutions received sizeable numbers of trainees of varied seniority and status, right up to the highest level of staff and command ranks. In recent years, Pakistan's armed forces, their capabilities and the quality of training available in their establishments have become widely known and admired in the region.

One of the most important elements in defence planning which Zia-ul-Haq carried out, and in which he employed the greatest degree of skill, was the development of nuclear research and optronics. He had to bear the most vicious international pressure against his nuclear research project. The Indo-Israeli lobby threatened him with all manner of dire consequences, economic sanctions and physical actions if he did not stop the programme, but he withstood all the pressures and bullying. At long last he was able to convince the better part of international political opinion of the justifications for Pakistan's nuclear programme. It is now generally accepted as a regional issue.

In the context of the national defence which Zia-ul-Haq had organized two important operations during this period need to be mentioned. First was the Siachin Glacier operation. India had occupied an unattended post by crossing the international border at a height of over 20,000 feet, snow-bound and acutely short of oxygen. Opposition politicians accused him and the Pakistan Army of neglect in this case, saying that an important strategic post was lost to India as a result. It is overlooked that Siachin is the product of a carelessly executed demarcation of the line of control during the finalization of the Simla Treaty agreed between the late

Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi of India and the late Prime Minister Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan. No one expected the glacier at that height to be permanently manned and that India would take advantage, several years later, of the lapse committed by the cartographers who demarcated the "Line of Control" at that point not specifically but only generally. But India has not been any wiser in outraging the bilateral understanding and in its sheer disregard of a tacit treaty arrangement. It has already lost heavily in men and materials while trying to retain the occupied post. They are completely locked in and isolated. Even essential supplies cannot reach the troops except through uncertain airdrops. Weather is taking a heavy toll. The Indian Army is facing the cruellest possible attrition at Siachin, and the scale of regular loss is very telling.

The second encounter was in 1987 when the Indian Army held manoeuvres (Exercise Brass Tacks) along the Indo-Pakistani border. The exercise led the two countries to the brink of war. The way the Pakistan Army out-maneuvred the Indian military in their attempt to plan a war in the guise of "war games" should interest all military experts and strategists. India thought that since Pakistan was preoccupied on its western border with the situation in Afghanistan, a massive build-up of forces on Pakistan's eastern frontiers would inflict a crushing psychological blow to the Pakistani nation as well as to Pakistan's defence apparatus. This would thus enhance the prestige of India. It would help establish its hegemony status in South Asia. It was a strategic deception of some magnitude which was aimed at disrupting and destabilizing Pakistan. The General Headquarters of Pakistan took timely note of the threat and moved certain formations of the Pakistan Army, and the surprise element of the Indian plan was foiled. Thus an expensive manoeuvre by India failed completely and not a bullet was fired by the Pakistan Army. This demonstrated to India the battle readiness of Pakistan's defence system and also afforded a chance for Pakistan to test the capacities of its military machine.

The building of some new cantonments in southern Pakistan, enlarging and reinforcing the Special Service Group and the mechanized elements in the army were features which are owed

entirely to Zia-ul-Haq's vision of the physical presence of the defence force in areas where an enemy could try to inflict injury. He believed in pre-empting and forward planning. He was the first of his kind in Pakistan. Let us hope he was not the last.

An Evaluation of General Zia's Leadership in the Context of Pakistan and the Islamic World

Muhammad Salahuddin

More than a year has passed since the martyrdom of the President of Pakistan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. He is now with his God, along with his account of his deeds (*تاريخ أعمال*). In the hereafter only Allah will judge him, but for the here and now two responsibilities devolve on to those of us who are left behind him. The first is to conduct a complete and comprehensive enquiry into the causes of this tragic accident in which the President, his accompanying colleagues and friends lost their precious lives; to find out whether it was a result of a conspiracy and, if so, who were the conspirators and what was their motive; and to apprehend those conspirators and punish them justly. The second responsibility is to determine the Shaheed President's place in history, especially in Muslim history.

The first task can be accomplished only if the political group holding the reins of power in Pakistan, together with the competent military authorities, with full realization of the

importance and necessity of such an enquiry, discharge their duty with unwavering responsibility. At present, unfortunately, there seems no indication or possibility of that. On the contrary, the present government has so far made every possible effort to make the people believe that it was simply an accident and has thus tried to diffuse the findings of the enquiry conducted by a team of the armed forces, which clearly declared it was a conspiracy.

The second task on hand is outside the purview of the official circle and has to be conducted and accomplished by contemporary historians. Today's chronicler is faced with a grave dilemma. With the communication explosion the world of today has ironically become a pawn of the media and is virtually ruled by it. While freedom of expression and modern means of communication have on the one hand made the availability of news and information easy and swift, on the other hand it has helped to unleash an unlimited propaganda machine able to distort facts with such dexterity and skill that at times it is almost impossible to distinguish fact from fiction. Not all the items of news, reviews and analysis which are fed into newspapers, journals, electronic publications etc. are based on facts. The brains controlling the media manipulate them in such a way that whatever is printed, published or broadcast reflects only what they themselves desire. They have their own ideas to be imposed, concepts to be accepted, notions to be popularized, intentions to be materialized, motives to be fulfilled and objectives to be achieved. It is the result of their calculated manipulation that General Suharto, who has been ruling Indonesia with an iron hand for 25 years and has imposed the worst kind of dictatorship in his country is scarcely mentioned or criticized in the "democracy-loving" western media, while the late President Zia-ul-Haq was in his lifetime and is still after his death presented as a great tyrant and dictator. Why this contradiction in approach and presentation? The reason is simple and of course obvious. The dictatorship of Suharto is helping to demolish Islam and Islamic values and instead is trying to propagate Christianity, develop secularism and promote western ideas, while President Zia-ul-Haq's rule was devoted to the establishment of the supremacy of Islam: he supported wholeheartedly the Jihad in Afghanistan and strived to bring about unity among Muslim countries.

Most of this type of indoctrination is done under the banner of public relations. Agencies on the pattern of Saatchi and Saatchi have mushroomed in modern times: they are willing, for money, to build someone's image or assassinate someone else's character. These agencies employ the latest scientific, including computer, techniques of propaganda to brainwash the innocent and unsuspecting public.

Such a state of affairs has made the task of the historian doubly difficult. It no longer remains an easy job to pick out the real facts from the avalanche of propagandist material. Nor it is any more easy to make out the real face behind the facade. In the case of President Zia-ul-Haq it has become a thousand times more difficult because his personality has been a target not only of propaganda from outside Pakistan but also a tirade from within. During the last decade the one person in the world who has been made a target of the severest criticism, with blatant lies and cooked-up stories, and who was made the centre of a hate campaign was the late President Zia-ul-Haq. In a situation like this it can hardly be an easy task for the historian to sift facts from fiction out of a heap of propagandist material.

Historians of other countries of the world will evaluate the late President and his period according to their own prejudices — their social and moral values, political leanings, religious outlook etc. — and determine whether they are favourably or adversely inclined towards him.

The question for us Pakistanis is: what should *our* criteria be in evaluating the personality, place and position of President Zia-ul-Haq in history?

The references for our recognition in the world as a separate entity, much to the dislike of our enemies, are *Islam* and *Pakistan*. Our identity, as individuals or as a nation, could not and should not omit these two elements, which can be described as the touchstones of our character. Therefore we should also apply these two touchstones to the evaluation of President Zia-ul-Haq's, and find out whether he was a good Muslim, a good Pakistani and a good and benevolent ruler, rather than judge him on formulae framed by the West or on the basis of personal preference.

The late President Zia-ul-Haq was a part of our own Muslim

society. He had the same human weaknesses which any of us may have. The differences in thinking and points of view which we see among ourselves also existed between him and others. What we have to find out is whether in his person *virtue* or *evil* was the dominant factor, and what sort of Muslim and Pakistani was he?

A general trend among Muslim critics of the region is that they always try to judge their rulers on the norms established by Khulfa-i-Rashidin (the Divine-guided Caliphs of Islam) unmindful of the conditions prevailing in their own times. It is, however, very encouraging to note that even in today's world the criterion for Muslims to judge their modern rulers has not changed from that of centuries ago. Objectivity, though, demands that we should judge a ruler in comparison with other contemporary rulers. If we go by the standards of Khulfa-i-Rashidin we are bound to be disappointed: and if we make our judgements with the time factor in view the possibility is that we might reach a rather more authentic and objective finding.

In this regard there is one other very important point to be kept in mind when we pass judgement on a ruler. As a matter of general practice we evaluate the rulers with reference to the form of government by which they ruled or which we ourselves prefer. We categorize rulers on the basis of prevalent terminology, such as "democracy" or "dictatorship". The Holy Quran, however, contrary to these norms, lays emphasis on the character and qualities of the ruler rather than on the form of government. The Holy Quran thus decries kings like the Pharaohs, Nimrod and Shaddad, who were oppressors and tyrants, but eulogizes other kings such as Hazrat Taloot (Saul), Hazrat Dawood (David), Hazrat Sulaiman (Solomon) and Hazrat Yusuf (Joseph) (peace be upon them all). The Holy Quran does not decry or reject a person simply because he happens to be a king.

After Khilafat-i-Rashida, for about 1300 years the Muslim world witnessed various periods of monarchy. In these 13 centuries of autocratic rule was the period of Umayyid dynastic rule, and in that monarchic rule there was an island of only about two and a half years when the renowned Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz ruled as Khalifa. We almost unanimously regard this small period of dynastic rule as a continuation of Khilafat-i-Rashida, though there

was a gap of about 61 years between Khalifa Umar bin Abdul Aziz and the fourth Khalifa of Islam Hazrat Usman (RA). The reason for this was not any change in the form of government, e.g. from kingship to democracy, but simply a change in the personality of the ruler. Similarly, Ameer Subughtageen, Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi, Emperor Aurangzeb Aalamgir and Tipu Sultan Shaheed were the product of various monarchies. Could we therefore decry them simply because they were kings? From the recent past we can quote the example of King Faisal Shaheed of Saudi Arabia, who led not only his own country but also the whole Muslim world with great insight, intelligence and extraordinary courage while leading a personal life of unblemished character. Could we ignore his services to the Muslim world or his personal virtues just because he did not conform to the norms and requisites of the framework of western democracy? History is full of instances where an individual with an unblemished personal life became instrumental in reforming a bad government, served his subjects with great compassion and fear of Allah, and thus proved to be a benevolent ruler. On the other hand, history fails to produce even a single instance where a good form of government handled by an individual of questionable character ever produced good results. A bad ruler, because of the consequent abuse of the system, damages the good system itself. An outstanding present day example in this regard is that of the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He came to power through democratic elections and was thus a constitutional ruler: but because of his arrogance and disregard for the democratic rights of the public he became a scourge of the country and thus defamed democracy. Hitler and Mussolini were also elected leaders, but in practice, because of their personal waywardness, became the worst ever despots and dictators.

In the West, along with the democratic form of government, the personal qualities of rulers are keenly monitored. In Britain, when the Profumo scandal came to light, not only the minister concerned but the entire government had to resign. With the revelation of the Watergate theft a very popular president was impeached and had to resign in disgrace. In 1989 the Japanese prime minister lost his job and face as a politician simply because of his alleged affair with a geisha girl. In the Third World, however, the entire debate

revolves around the form of government: no one looks at the personal character and qualities of the rulers themselves.

We have seen that the Holy Quran lays emphasis on the personal character and qualities of the individual rather than on any particular form of government. It deals with the issue at some length. It also determines the individual ruler's sphere of operation. On the Day of Judgement, the Holy Quran declares, the accountability of rulers will be on the basis of their performance and not on the basis of the form of their government.

Among the qualities considered necessary for any ruler the priority is given to piety (49:13, 38:28); eligibility (4:58); qualifications for competency (4:58); dispensation of justice (4:58; 38:26); statesmanship and sagacity (39:9, 4:5); knowledgeability and good health (2:247); and vigour, energy, honesty and veraciousness (27:39).

Every ruler according to the faith of Islam will be judged on the basis of the standard set by the Holy Quran, whether he is a king, an elected prime minister or president or a ruler-in-uniform. No king will be maligned or condemned simply because he did not fulfil the condition of being elected, nor will any prime minister or president deserve approbation because he/she had the honour of being elected, nor will any ruler from the armed forces be decried only because he was a general and wore military uniform.

In contrast to the western world, democracy is not an article of faith in Islam. It is no doubt a refined and enlightened mode of electing a representative government or ruler, but if an evil person captures power should he or she be tolerated for the simple reason that he or she was elected? Every form of governmental system prescribes ways to depose such a ruler: and Islam allows revolt against such a ruler (i.e. he or she can be removed from office by use of force). If the people (ummah) have the power and means to oust him or her they have an obligation to do so. If not, then any office-holder or army commander should use the requisite force to remove the leader. In Islam the emphasis is on banishing mischief and wickedness and restoring peace and social justice. In the terminology of the Holy Quran it is the obligation of "enforcing virtue and eradicating evil". Here the question of the mode of ascendancy to power is thus a non-issue. If a ruler propagates evil

and tries to subdue virtue then, in a Muslim society, he or she loses the right to govern. In a situation like this it becomes obligatory for Muslims to reject and remove such a ruler, whether a king, an amir, an elected president or prime minister, even at the cost of life. The entire emphasis is on the conduct and character of the ruler: nothing is left to the discretion or judgement of the people. Instead it has been specifically and clearly demarcated. The Holy Quran not only enumerates the qualities of a good ruler but also designates the area of his operation: "Those who, if We give them power in the land, establish prayers, pay the Poor-due and enjoin kindness and forbid iniquity . . ." (22:415).

Not only rulers but also the whole ummah has been given the same mission to fulfil: "Ye are the best of peoples, evolved for mankind – Enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and believing in Allah" (3:110).

It is also made clear to Muslims in general and their rulers in particular that their task is not to satisfy their own desires or work according to their personal wishes but to enforce the commandments of Allah. "So judge between them by that which Allah hath revealed, and follow not their desires away from the truth which came unto thee" (5:48). The reciprocal interaction (the basic philosophy of the society) between Muslims and their rulers is this very edict: enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong.

History shows that whenever there has been a tussle between Muslims and their rulers the point of contention has invariably been the conduct of the ruler. There are many examples: from the famous incident of Hazrat Umar's shirt to the tragedy of Karbala; from Imam Abu Hanifa's edict to rise in revolt, to Imam Hambal's resistance; from Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani's movement against Akbar's Deen-i-Ilahi to the movement for an Islamic government against Bhutto; from Khomeini's revolution against the Shah of Iran to the jihad of the people of Afghanistan against their undesirable rulers. Whenever and wherever Muslims rose in revolt against their rulers the motivating force was the same collective consciousness of virtue and evil which is inherent in their religious belief. No movement was ever launched by Muslims because of a belief in democracy. Every revolt against authority recorded in Muslim history was, in one way or another, related to and directed against the misdeeds or misconduct of the ruler.

The edicts of the Holy Quran give us a yardstick with which we can measure and evaluate any Muslim ruler to determine whether he is a good or bad one: and we can use this yardstick to find Zia-ul-Haq's place in the history of Muslims.

Zia-ul-Haq was an army man, a professional accident which cannot be isolated from his personality. Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir is judged by his co-believers not on the basis of what he did to his dynasty but what he did for his people – his subjects, for whom he assumed power. His treatment of his father Shah Jehan and his brothers has always been overshadowed by the fact that he earned his humble living as a calligrapher of the Holy Quran and that he was always kind and compassionate towards his subjects. Similarly, we should evaluate President Zia on the basis of his personal conduct and the policies he framed and followed for the benefit of Pakistan and the Muslim ummah.

The late Mr Bhutto lost the justification to govern because of his repressive and oppressive policies. He resorted to large-scale rigging of elections and his conduct was unseemly and unbecoming even for an ordinary Muslim. The entire population rose against him. The measures taken by the then General Zia-ul-Haq to pull the country out of the morass and to save it from a possible civil war were justified: democratic methods of bringing about a change in government had been blocked. The measures he took were also in compliance with the teachings of the Holy Quran. He did not care for his faithful relationship with the oppressor and tyrant and fulfilled his obligations to the aggrieved people of Pakistan. This was proof of his determination and his unflinching faith in Islam. Whatever opinion the western world may have about him because of its belief in democracy it is undeniable that the Muslims of Pakistan welcomed his timely action and hailed him as their saviour. Later it was due only to his good personal conduct and right policies that the people of Pakistan could not be persuaded by the so-called exponents of democracy to rise in revolt against him, even though the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was expertly designed to do so from both within and outside the country. The general mass of Pakistanis never participated in it. The very same people, on the other hand, had come out on the streets of Pakistan in revolt against Field

Marshal Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan and the elected prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. The reason for the difference in the attitude of the people of Pakistan was the personality of the ruler and not the form of their governments.

President Zia-ul-Haq did not represent a class of highest piety (Taqwah) but, after Khwaja Nazimuddin, no other of all our Heads of State or Government enjoyed such a reputation for offering prayers regularly, fasting in the month of Ramadan, building mosques and fostering Islamic precepts. If we evaluate him on the Quranic criteria of capability, competence, justice, sagacity, discernment, statesmanship, useful knowledgeability, physical prowess, vigour, energy, honesty and veraciousness, of course he could not be compared with Khulfa-i-Rashidin: but from amongst those who held the reins of power in Pakistan after the Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan any person with common sense and balance of judgement will at least consider him tolerable and acceptable. He could also be favourably compared with other contemporary heads of state or government whether Muslim or non-Muslim.

If we judge Zia-ul-Haq on the basis of spheres of activity, as specified by the Holy Quran, we find that he fostered the offering of prayers, made necessary arrangements for the realization of Zakat (the Poor Due) and tried to promote virtue and forbid evil. There is no doubt that he could not accomplish all this as would have been ideal, but even his worst enemies would agree that in all these spheres he takes precedence over all our past rulers. His personal life provides proof that he was sincere in his efforts. The courage with which he tried to enforce Allah's injunctions, despite criticism and opposition from various quarters, speaks volumes for the fear of Allah he had in his heart, his sense of responsibility and concern about his answerability before Allah on the Day of Judgement. He frequently visited Makkah Mukarramah and Madinah Munawwarah and made these places the central sources of his strength and inspiration instead of Washington, London, Paris or Moscow; a clear indication of his courage of conviction. Has any leader of the Muslim world ever exhibited such an example? A man who, according to one survey, built over 3,500 mosques, tried on official and non-official levels to induce people

to offer prayers regularly, banned alcoholic drinks on all PIA's international flights, five-star hotels and armed forces' messes, made every possible effort to rid the media of nudity and obscenity, tried to do away with the banking system based on interest, made efforts to enforce the Shari'ah Laws, established the system of Zakat and Ushr, established Shari'ah courts and tried his utmost to introduce measures to mould the Pakistani society into a genuine Islamic society – can he be not regarded as at least a good Muslim ruler?

There is no doubt that his efforts did not bring about the desired results, but could we not consider his efforts, however humble, an attempt to move in the right direction? Do we have any certain knowledge on the basis of which we could reject all his good work for the promotion of virtue as hypocrisy? Did anyone in the past make any move in this direction or towards what should be expected from rulers in this regard?

President Zia did not try to enforce Islam only in his own country: he extended his activity in this direction to the entire Muslim world. The role he played in the Afghan jihad, for the liberation of Palestine, for the unity of Muslim countries, for the advancement of science and technology in these countries, for the promotion of trade and industry among them, and in removing differences and settling disputes among them was duly recognized when he was unanimously elected to represent and act as the spokesman of the Muslim world at the completion of the fourteenth century Hijra to deliver to the world the message of Islam from the platform of the United Nations. The courage, conviction and insight with which he delivered this message were not the marks of a hypocrite.

It is astonishing that some people call him a tyrant when in fact he abolished tyranny without shedding a drop of blood. He had the absolute power to hang the tyrant, but he did not use this power, instead handing him over to the courts of justice and patiently awaiting the court's verdict. Zia was perhaps dubbed a tyrant because he upheld the verdict of the court and did not change it in favour of the condemned. He is called an autocrat, but he pardoned about 2,500 of those people who during the Bhutto regime had been associated with some heinous crimes and irregularities by Mr Bhutto himself and against whom cases had already been prepared

on the basis of concrete documentary evidence enumerated in the six White Papers. President Zia also did not stand in the way of the promotion of some of those who had been pardoned. When a file concerning the personal life of Mr Bhutto's daughter, with a recommendation for action against her, was presented to President Zia he admonished the person concerned, saying, "The office that I hold demands that I should protect the honour of our daughters and not dishonour and disgrace them,"

He is described as a "dictator", but he never displayed any sign peculiar to dictators. He was polite, soft-spoken, considerate, courteous, and refined to the extreme in manners. All those who have had the good chance of meeting him in person would vouch for his humility of character and courteous nature. How could those people who knew and saw him in the stillness of night when he cried before his Allah or those who witnessed him holding the cover of the Prophet's grave in Madinah Munawwarah and crying in submission consider him a dictator?

Dictatorship does not only relate to a system of government. It also includes in its definition the character and attitude of the dictator himself. That is why Hitler was nothing but a dictator, though his claim to power was through democratic election, while Emperor Nausherwan the Great is known as the "Just" and Shah Faisal of Saudi Arabia as the "Compassionate", though both were merely kings and did not come to power through any kind of democracy or represent any modern school of democracy.

President Zia-ul-Haq is accused of being anti-democratic, but the fact is that during his 11-year rule he held more elections than were ever held in the previous 30 years. He held three elections for local bodies, one national referendum and one general election (1985) for the central and provincial assemblies. The elections held in 1988 were made possible by the schedule he announced. The lifting of martial law, the end of the emergency, the restoration of fundamental rights and the supremacy of courts of law during the period of Mr Junejo's Prime Ministership were part of his plans announced on 12 August 1985.

Now let us turn to the other main question. We have so far seen that Zia-ul-Haq was a good Muslim and a good ruler in the light of teachings of the Holy Quran. Was he also a good Pakistani? My

basis contention is that only a good Muslim could be a good Pakistani, for if Pakistan is regarded as a body, its spirit and driving force is Islam. If we take the ideological point of view, no other Pakistani ruler except for Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan could be on a par with Zia-ul-Haq. He imbibed the thought and philosophy of the Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal and practised it to the full, becoming an excellent exponent of the ideology of Pakistan by forcefully defending it with strong arguments.

Despite the fact that Pakistan became half its original size he skilfully defended the country against the aggressive designs of India and again and again frustrated other of India's designs in the field of diplomacy.

He provided more muscle to the armed forces and renewed their morale. Through the motto of "religious conviction, piousness and jihad" (*ایمان تقویٰ جہاد*) he awoke in them the true spirit of jihad.

Other important achievements were: his support of the Afghan jihad; the structuring of the country's economy; his boost to agriculture and industry; the development of the identity of Pakistan; the restoration of the position of the national language and national dress; and his fresh impetus for the ceremonies of Independence Day, thus enlivening the spirit of the Pakistan Movement. All these are clear proof that he was a good Pakistani.

There is another criterion by which we could judge whether a person is a good Pakistani or not. Pakistan is the only country in the world in which certain internal and external forces are interested not only in bringing about changes in the government but also in its very existence. These forces consider the very existence of Pakistan futile and an anathema: they believe in the political unity of the subcontinent as a whole. If we prepare a list of countries which contribute to this view it would without any doubt include India, Israel, the USSR, Afghanistan and a large number of others. Apart from the Jewish lobby in the United States there is also a strong lobby in the UK which was against the partition of India to begin with and which to date has not come to terms with the creation of Pakistan, especially as an Islamic state. These anti-Pakistan lobbies have their ideological partners and followers within Pakistan who are no less active in their efforts to undo

Pakistan. If one looks at this list and starts ticking or crossing out those countries which were in favour of or against Zia-ul-Haq, it will surely come as a surprise that all those who were against the creation of Pakistan and later against its existence have also been against Zia-ul-Haq. Surprisingly, their policy towards Afghanistan is the same.

When I evaluate General Zia-ul-Haq on this basis I cannot visualize a better and truer Pakistani. He had his weaknesses as a human being; he may have adhered to policies with which we may disagree or could criticize, but in spite of all such possible differences I wish to record on the pages of history that the late President Zia-ul-Haq was a sincere and devout Muslim and a Pakistani par excellence. The Afghan Mujahideen have declared him the "Shaheed-i-Jihad-i-Afghanistan" (The Martyr of the Crusade of the Liberation of Afghanistan). Therefore I believe that any impartial and objective historian making an assessment of the late President and his policies would judge not only that Zia-ul-Haq was interested in and working for the liberation of Afghanistan from the clutches of atheistic Russian influence, but also that his vision of Islamic rule spread far and wide, to the frontiers of Central Asia.

If he had not decided to continue to wear army uniform until the successful conclusion of the Afghan jihad and had confined himself to the office of President after the referendum, had formed his own political party or had assumed the presidency of the Muslim League, entered the political field headlong, had developed his own party cadre and had not depended on the ideologically divided bureaucracy and the armed forces, his efforts for the enforcement of Islam would have been more fruitful and the reins of power in Pakistan would not have been transferred to those with no faith in its ideology and who were actually responsible for the dismemberment of it. Here we notice the helplessness and desperation of anti-Zia forces. When they failed to get him rejected by the public of Pakistan through clandestine means and to defeat him on the political or diplomatic front then, as the last resort, they conspired to have him killed in what looked like a freak accident.

The touchstone devised in the preceding paragraphs in the light of the Holy Quran to evaluate the personality of the late President

Zia-ul-Haq could also be applied to determine the nature of our present rulers. In doing so one cannot but find oneself among the true admirers of President Zia-ul-Haq. Does the man whose death has been described by the Afghan Mujahideen as "the worst ever loss in the ten-year history of their crusade" need any further evidence to determine his glorious place in Muslim history? Any unprejudiced historian writing about great crusaders and reformers in the annals of Muslim history would undoubtedly list the late President Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed among them.

Shaheed Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and the [۞] Islamic *Ummah*

Professor G. W. Choudhury

On 17 August 1988 the entire Islamic ummah, not only Pakistan, lost an able leader and a great champion of the unity of the Muslim world with the tragic death of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan from 1977 to 1988, and the longest serving ruler since Pakistan was created in 1947. Zia never tired of working for the unity and solidarity of the Islamic ummah, and he was held in high esteem in the world of Islam as a devout Muslim and as a great statesman.

On 1 October 1980 President Zia was accorded the unique honour of addressing the thirty-fifth session of the UN General Assembly on behalf of the entire Islamic world. As chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) he was the spokesman of nearly one billion fellow-Muslims all over the world, from Indonesia in the East to Senegal in the West. Zia was the first head of state to begin his speech at the UN by reciting from the Holy Quran. Never before had the head of an Islamic state presented to the United Nations Islam's message of peace and universal brotherhood. Zia's epoch-making speech at the UN is a historic document in the annals of Muslim history. Like a true and devoted follower of Islam, Zia presented to the world forum the fundamental teachings and ideals of Islam as embodied in the Quran and practised by the Prophet Muhammad

(peace be upon him). To illustrate Zia's unending zeal and efforts for the causes of the Islamic ummah, I shall reproduce some extracts from this memorable speech.

Zia began his speech by referring to the establishment of the first Islamic state under the guidance of the prophet himself at Medina in the seventh century. Zia rightly termed this, "the nucleus of the Islamic ummah or the great brotherhood of Islam. The idea embodied in this concept served as a beacon for humanity at large." Zia continued:

Speaking as a humble believer, I am particularly conscious of the Islamic injunction to rise above race, colour and creed and to perceive fellow human beings in terms of universal brotherhood. Islam, by its very definition, is a religion of peace and submission to the divine will. It demands of its followers that they strive, individually as well as collectively, for the creation of a human society based on justice and equality.

It is most appropriate for me on such an occasion and before such a distinguished audience representing the entire world community to speak of the Islamic virtues of tolerance and compassion which brought about a synthesis of civilizations and a balanced intermingling of peoples of diverse faiths and beliefs. Islam rejects narrow nationalism, parochialism and racial elitism. The intercommunal peace and harmony prevailing during the period of more than 1,000 years of Islamic ascendancy stands in sharp contrast to the present-day racial arrogance, discrimination and persecution which are practised in certain parts of the globe today.

The true foundation of the peace and tranquillity which characterized the prime period of Islamic ascendancy lies in the great Islamic virtues symbolized, in particular, by the concept of universal brotherhood, tolerance and respect for the sanctity of life. The Holy Quran says: "He who slays one human being, it is as if he had slain all mankind." Islam specifically forbids wars of aggression and permits recourse to arms only in self-defence. The Holy Quran says: "Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you; but do not begin the hostilities; for Allah does not love aggression." The Islamic concept of jihad epitomizes the



A portrait of Shaheed Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq

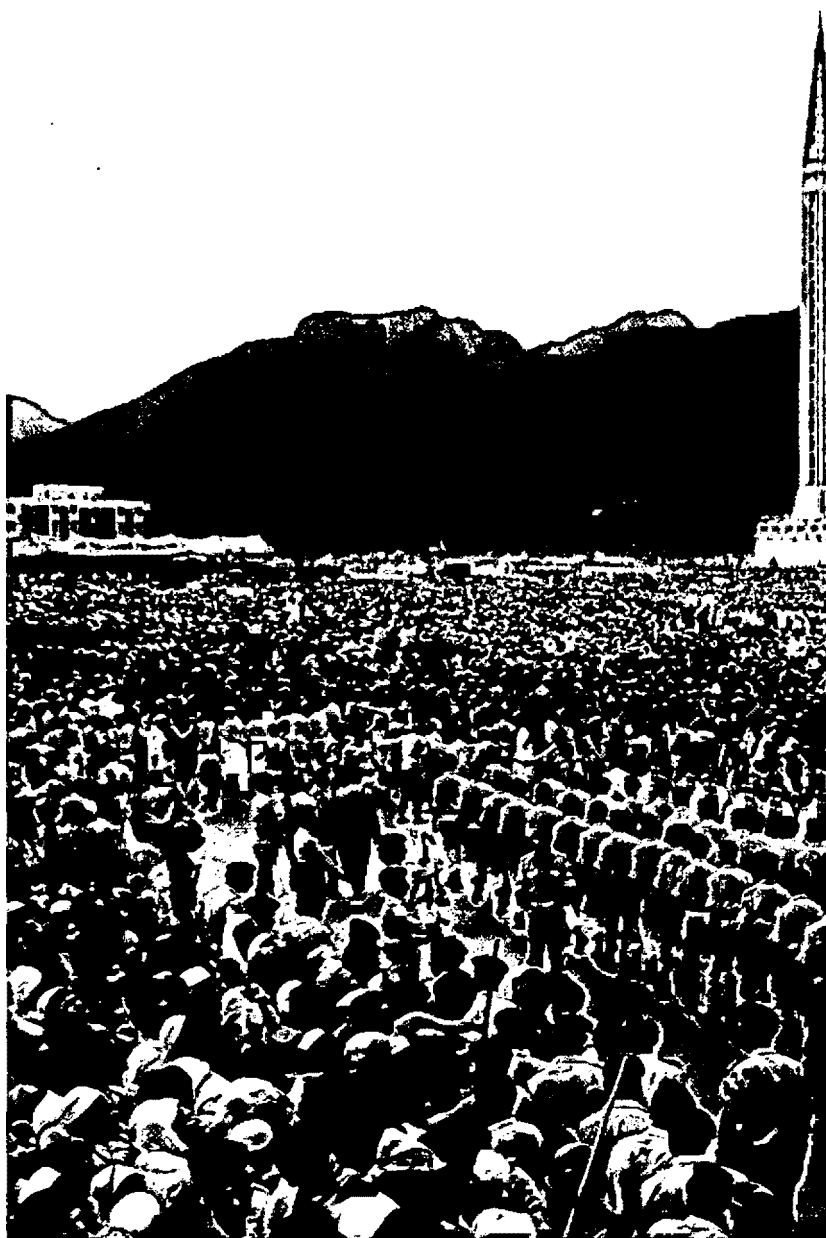


Shaheed Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq seen praying while performing Umra (pilgrimage to Mecca) on his right is his son Muhammad Ijaz-ul-Haq

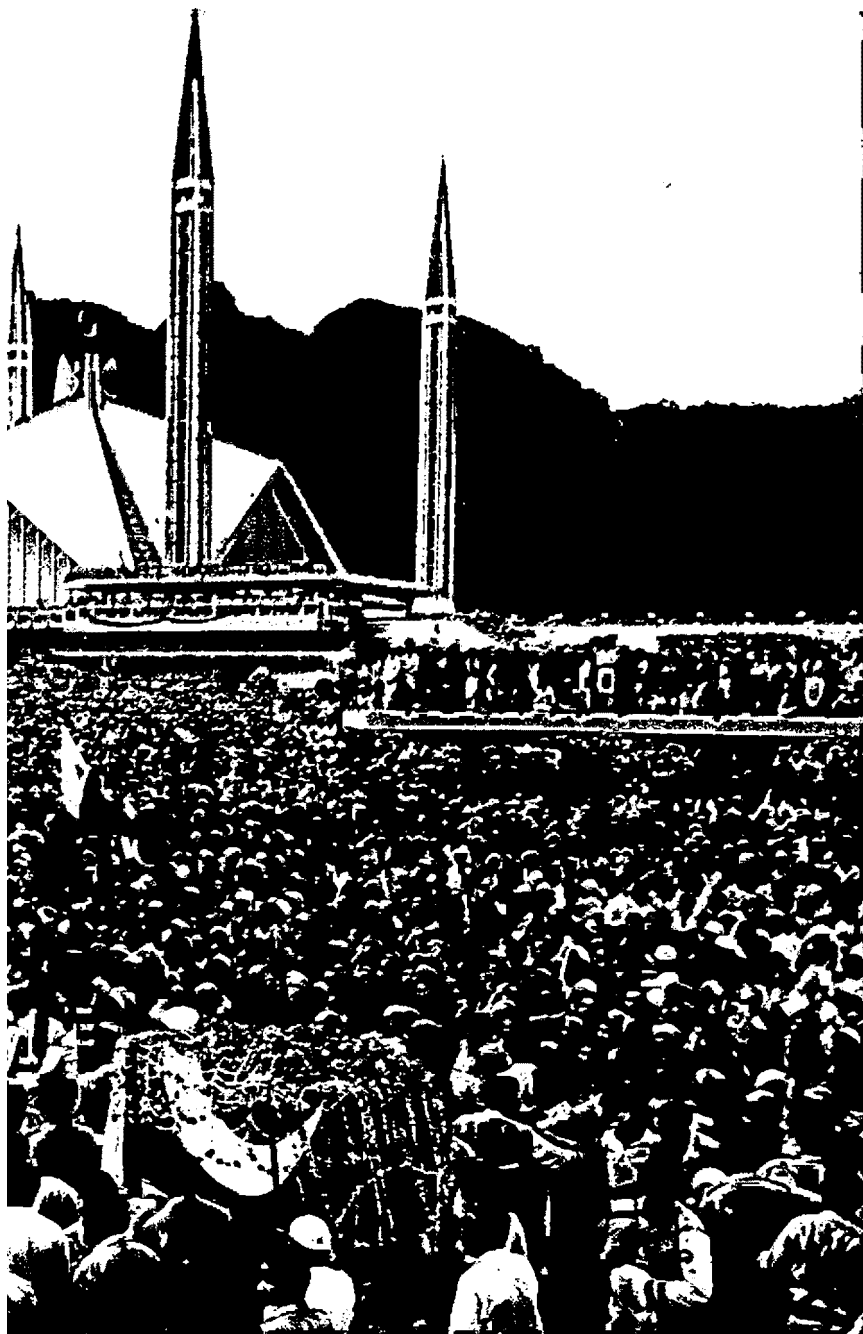


President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq delivering his Inaugural Address to an International Islamic Conference on "Islam Today" organized by the Islamic Council in Islamabad in March, 1988.





A huge mass of people attended Shaheed Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's funeral in Islamabad. The picture shows part of the crowd that attended his



*In the background is the
Faisal Islamic Mosque.*



Many of the several thousand Pakistanis who joined the funeral procession



President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq signing Islamic Council's Unive Declaration in May 1980 to affirm his support to it. The picture shows (from



President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq after signing model of an Islamic Constitution in December, 1983 to signify his support to it. With him is Mr. Salem Azzam, Secretary General of Islamic Council



President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq addressing the Thirty-Fifth Session to United Nations General Assembly, New York, October, 1980.

precepts so explicitly enunciated in those verses from the Holy Quran. There is, indeed, an element of struggle in jihad – a continuous struggle, a constant striving, to lead life in its totality in the light of the message of the Holy Quran and in the tradition of the Prophet of Islam.

The Islamic message of universal brotherhood, peace and equity is of eternal value and is more than ever relevant to the conditions prevailing in today's world.

Speaking about the spirit of the Islamic ideals and that of the UN charter, Zia said:

The Islamic world holds the United Nations in great esteem and will strive to further its fundamental objectives. The message of Islam – the message of peace, the equality of man, the rule of law and supremacy of justice – is also fundamental to the United Nations. As devotees of the religion that brought this message to the world, and as signatories to the Charter in which it is enshrined, the Muslim countries are thus doubly committed to the ideals of the United Nations.

Zia then referred to the recent resurgence of Islam:

The great Islamic community today straddles a broad geographical belt from Indonesia in the East to Senegal in the West. Living in different climes and under different customs and political systems, speaking different languages and dialects, Muslims all over the world retain an abiding sense of Islamic affinity. It is this unity in diversity which is the hallmark of the Muslim ummah, or the Commonwealth of Muslim Nations. The Islamic Conference, of which I have the honour to be the current Chairman, constitutes a concrete manifestation of the urge of the Muslim ummah to re-establish its historic role as a factor for peace and progress and to reassert the overriding unity of the Muslim peoples scattered over the globe.

Zia raised the question: does the Islamic revival pose any threat to world peace or to the West? He gave the following answer.

The credentials of the Muslims to be able to play a role in helping to promote peace and harmony among nations are provided in the statement of human rights and duties by the Prophet in his last sermon on Mount Arafat, which is as fresh and as relevant today as it was 1,400 years ago. On that occasion the Prophet said:

"Hearken to my words, O men . . .

"The Arab is not superior to non-Arab; the non-Arab is not superior to Arab. You are all sons of Adam, and Adam was made up of dust . . .

"The vengeance of blood practised in the days of Ignorance is prohibited, and blood-feuds are abolished.

"Verily, you should consider each other's blood, property, and reputation, inviolable unto the Day of Judgement."

If this be the message, then should not the present resurgence of Islam and the reawakening among the Muslims of the world be a welcome phenomenon? It should be welcomed as a revitalizing force that could bring peace to a weary world and hope to a distraught humanity. It is not a religion that forces itself on others. The Holy Quran explicitly reminds us: "There is no compulsion in religion."

Thus, without obstructing, and in its own imperceptible ways, Islam can act as a catalyst in rousing the conscience of the international community.

President Zia's concluding words were most inspiring; he made a passionate appeal for a peaceful world order based on the teaching of the Islamic ideals and Islamic message. He ended his speech:

Before concluding I should like to express a fervent hope and prayer on behalf of the Muslims of the world that the 154 nations gathered here make a solemn commitment: that the fifteenth century Hijra and the twenty-first century AD will usher in an era in which relations between states will be governed by higher moral principles, and not by power politics; that we shall create a human society founded on the principle of the universal brotherhood; that all forms of intolerance and

discrimination based on considerations of race, colour, creed or sex shall be ended; that the remaining strongholds of oppression and injustice on earth shall be demolished; that the strong nations shall not oppress the weak, nor the rich dominate the poor; that scientific knowledge and the natural resources of the earth shall be shared equitably for the common welfare and good of the human race, instead of being squandered on armaments and other preparations for war; that the environment of our planet shall be protected from abuse to safeguard for posterity its right to inherit the earth as beautiful and supportive of life as the Creator made it for us; that, above all, peace shall prevail among nations and brotherhood among men, to enable humanity to preserve our precious civilization to which each generation has made its contribution, and to achieve the quality of life based on political, economic and social justice to which we all aspire, but which has so far exceeded our grace.

Zia and the OIC

Under the dynamic leadership of Zia Pakistan gave unswerving support to the causes of the Islamic ummah. Zia's record is full of examples of his support for the causes of the Muslim world.

In addition to its whole-hearted support of Islamic political causes, Pakistan under Zia also made valuable contributions among Muslim countries in cultural, social and scientific fields.

President Zia was the Chairman of the OIC Ministerial Standing Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation, which was set up at the Third Islamic Summit, along with similar committees on Economic and Trade Cooperation and Information and Cultural Affairs. The first meeting of the Ministerial Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation was held in Islamabad in May 1983, under the chairmanship of the President of Pakistan. It adopted the Islamabad Declaration on Science and Technology and approved the formulation of a Twenty-Year Plan, identifying targets and priorities to be executed through a series of five-year programmes.

The second meeting of the OIC Standing Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation, held at Islamabad, 13–15 December 1983, identified eight priority areas for programme activities:

- 1 Food and Agriculture.
- 2 Health.
- 3 Manpower Development.
- 4 Research and Development.
- 5 Information and Documentation.
- 6 Development of Current and Future Technologies.
- 7 Development of Resources.
- 8 Energy.

The second meeting of the OIC Ministerial Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation also requested President Zia, in his capacity as the Chairman of the Committee, to present a report on the deliberations of the Standing Committee to the Fourth Islamic Summit (held in Casablanca in January 1984), to emphasize the urgency of action on the recommendations of the committee. As Muslims it is our firm belief, as Zia pointed out, that we can effectively meet the social, economic and cultural challenges confronting the Islamic ummah in the light of Shari'ah. The Third Islamic Summit Meeting, held in Saudi Arabia in January 1981, had decided to set up the Islamic Fiqh Academy to find solutions, through Ijtihad, to various problems faced by the ummah. The Islamic Fiqh Academy was set up in Jeddah. Pakistan nominated an eminent Muslim jurist to the Academy and made full contribution to the Academy to ensure successful implementation of the noble aims and objectives for which the Academy was set up.

Zia's Last Speech to the Islamic Summit

President Zia made a forceful plea for Muslim solidarity and unity at the Fifth Islamic Summit, held in Kuwait, 26–8 January 1987. Zia told the leaders of the Muslim world:

Our eloquent expression of Islamic solidarity must be translated into tangible programmes of mutual support and cooperation. While our achievements are not negligible, the vast potential and opportunities for mutual cooperation among the Muslim states have not been fully explored and exploited. In order to translate our words into deeds, Pakistan is prepared to adopt a number of steps as our modest contribution to promoting the goal of mutual cooperation.

I have presented our efforts in the field of science and technology. Pakistan has been able to offer a humble contribution. It is my sincere hope that the endeavour to promote science and technology will receive the unstinted support of every Islamic country.

Zia then highlighted some practical issues:

There are some practical measures by which we can expand cooperation and commerce amongst our countries. In the field of civil aviation, for example, we can reduce the operating costs of our national airlines and the expenditures on the training of crews by pooling our facilities and technical capabilities. I suggest that a meeting of experts should be convened to explore such possibilities. Pakistan would be happy to host this meeting.

Zia went on to speak for the causes of the ummah.

The Islamic ummah is destined to be the harbinger of a new order based universally on justice and peace, and to play a vital role in the affairs of the world – a role that would promote equity, progress and accord amongst nations and peoples. In this noble mission, our path would be illuminated by the eternal message revealed in the Holy Quran, and I quote: “You are the best peoples, raised up for mankind, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong and believing in Allah.” (3:110)

We are heirs to a glorious past, the adherents of a sublime religion, and the torch-bearers of a just and bountiful new world order. In the Organization of the Islamic Conference, we have a unique forum to weld together our spiritual, material and intellectual assets to usher in a bright tomorrow for the Islamic ummah.

Shaheed Zia's passionate appeal for unity in the world of Islam was most inspiring and should serve as a beacon for the Islamic ummah, whose ardent advocate he was:

In the end, let me make a fervent appeal for unity in our ranks. The silent stones of the Allah Aqsa Masjid cry out for this unity. The tears of the Palestinian children plead for this unity. Uprooted homeless Afghans pray for this unity. The helpless victims of the Iran-Iraq war search for this unity. Our destiny as the Islamic ummah waits for this unity. Shall we be unworthy of our past? Can we really disappoint our future? Shall we finally listen to our own inner soul, our own compulsion of unity? This is the fundamental challenge at this Summit. I am confident that we shall meet it. Inshallah.

With firm belief in Allah and His last prophet (peace be upon him), and unity within our ranks, we can, and shall, Inshallah, succeed in our sacred mission.

A Martyr for the Causes of the Islamic Ummah

Leading the US delegation to Zia's state funeral, the US Secretary of State, George Schultz, described Zia as a "martyr for the cause of freedom fighters in Afghanistan". Zia died in a plane accident, but many impartial people believe that this was no ordinary accident. There are strong suspicions in many quarters that the plane crash was an act of sabotage. The spokesman for the Pakistan Government, Mr Riaz Muhammad Khan, said: "personally I am 100 per cent sure – not 99 per cent – that it was sabotage. Zia was the man who was targeted."

What was Zia's crime, that he should be the victim of sabotage, most probably with the blessing and cooperation of some neighbouring foreign countries? The "crime" was Zia's courageous, unqualified and unselfish support of the causes of the people of Afghanistan, a fellow-Muslim neighbouring country which became the victim of the naked aggression of a communist superpower, the Soviet Union. Zia was one of the first world leaders to raise his

voice against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. In early January 1980, soon after the Soviet military intervention against its weak South Asian neighbour, Afghanistan, I had a lengthy interview with President Zia. Zia considered the Soviet actions in Afghanistan a dangerous part of Moscow's expansionist designs in South and South-East Asia. He said that Russia seemed to have an ambitious strategic plan for global domination. He pointed out that, though landlocked, Afghanistan provides the Soviets with a base for operations and a cluster of pressure points that extends from the tip of Indo-China across Central Asia, through the Arabian peninsula and to the Horn of Africa. Czarist and Communist Russia's expansionist designs towards a warm-water port in the Indian Ocean have a long history.

Zia gave unqualified assistance to the freedom fighters in Afghanistan for eight years (1980–88). As the *Washington Post* wrote in an editorial in August 1988, "Without his [Zia's] bold and courageous stance, the Kremlin's decision to evacuate Soviet troops would have been unthinkable." The *Economist* wrote, on 20 August 1988, "Zia, the sometimes confused human being, will be recalled with affection. Zia, the soldier, has a decent place in the momentous recent history of the region. He did more than most to save it from Russia. That is not a bad epitaph."

But Zia had many adversaries both inside and outside Pakistan. The leader of Pakistan's main opposition party (the PPP), Benazir Bhutto, bluntly stated that she did not regret Zia's death. Outside Pakistan, Dr Henry Kissinger said, "Zia's death is an immediate and important benefit to the Soviet Union and the Afghan government." He might have added that it was also beneficial to the Indian government. The US government felt it necessary to warn Moscow and New Delhi about its continued "strong support" of Pakistan. Did the United States foresee any design by Pakistan's meddlesome neighbours? On 28 August 1988 the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* made some most uncharitable attacks on the late president of Pakistan. What were Zia's crimes? According to *Pravda*, Zia had helped those whom *Pravda* described as the "most reactionary and militant Afghan Mujahideen

(freedom fighters).” No doubt, Zia was determined to overthrow the Soviet puppet regime in Kabul so that the people of Afghanistan might have a government of their own choice.

I had two final meetings with President Zia on 10 and 11 August 1988. I spent almost a whole day with Zia on 10 August, first having a lengthy discussion on the Pakistan political order that he had set up; then participating in a lunch and press conference given by Zia for top newspaper men; and finally having dinner on the same evening. Zia applied himself with vigour and devotion to ridding the Afghan people of the Soviet puppet regime in Kabul. He gave every assistance to the Afghan people to achieve the right of self-determination. His great aim was that the people of Afghanistan should establish an Islamic republic by their free choice. Zia told me during my final meeting with him, just three days before his tragic death, that if the people of Afghanistan established an Islamic state (and he had no doubts that given a free choice the Afghans would opt for an Islamic state) it would be a great accomplishment for the world of Islam. Iran and Pakistan are already Islamic republics and a third adjoining Islamic republic would be a great source of strength for the Islamic ummah, in which Zia was a passionate believer.

However, Zia’s zeal for a third Islamic state in Kabul was anathema to both Moscow and New Delhi. The Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, had openly stated that an Islamic republic in Afghanistan would be regarded as a security threat to India. How the choice in a neighbouring country of a particular form of government can be termed a threat to its more powerful neighbour is difficult to explain; of course, it is in accordance with the USSR’s “Brezhnev Doctrine”, under which the Kremlin would not tolerate any form of government in Eastern Europe if it were unacceptable in Moscow. Similarly, there is the “Indira Doctrine”, under which the late Indian Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, would not accept any political development in any South Asian country that was not approved in New Delhi. Both the Soviet Union and India seem to be eager to have a sphere of influence in their neighbouring regions. A third Islamic republic near the Soviet Central Asian

Republics was also not acceptable to Moscow. Both Moscow and New Delhi were most unhappy with Zia's unqualified support for the freedom fighters in Afghanistan. During the past few months, Moscow had issued increasingly strident warnings to Pakistan to stop allowing arms to the Afghan freedom fighters. Only days before Zia's death, the Kremlin declared that Pakistan's actions would no longer be tolerated, and implied that some sort of reprisal was imminent! India had also issued warnings to Zia for his full support of the Afghan freedom fighters.

Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was a mortal human being. He died in accordance with the wishes of almighty Allah. Zia the human being is dead but Zia's immortal services to the Islamic ummah will inspire the Muslims all over the world for many, many decades to come in their dreams of Islamic unity, solidarity and universal brotherhood. Let us pledge to dedicate ourselves to upholding the Islamic ideals and message for which Zia gave his life. Long live Islamic ummah.

Zia-ul-Haq: The Soldier– Statesman and Legendary Hero of Ummah Solidarity

Hasan Al-Tell

Every soul will taste of death
Then unto us you shall be returned.

(Al Qur'an 29.57)

The only certainty on earth is that all life must come to an end. All members of God's creation on this earth, one and all, must come to an end; an end unknown to mortals until they are overtaken by the inevitable. This limit of life is a constant reminder that nothing in life can be of lasting value, but those who use their allotted time to persevere with trust in their creator are blessed, and they are rewarded in the life hereafter. Among those in our era noted for lifelong dedication to serving the will of Allah was Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan, an exemplary soul who will long be remembered for his selfless devotion to the cause of Islam and for his inspiring lead in promoting the solidarity of the Muslim ummah. The tragic air disaster in which this shining star of the Islamic ummah lost his life came as a great shock to all those who knew him and the great promise he inspired.

Zia-ul-Haq came to the helm in Pakistan at a time of grave crisis in the country, which was aggravated by the designs of vested interests at home and enemies abroad. In that critical phase Pakistan was left to fend for itself: no aid was offered to Zia. Western apathy and indifference to Zia's Pakistan was clear. With their long-held prejudices against the world of Islam, western regimes could hardly be enthusiastic about Zia's declared policies of Islamization at home and Islamic solidarity abroad. It was ironic that Islamic countries also showed a remarkable lack of concern for Pakistan, which can only be explained as a result of the western influence that dominates even the supposedly independent Muslim countries.

In historical terms Pakistan is still a nascent state. Strategically located in the South Asian subcontinent, and carved out of formerly British India on the basis of Muslim majority areas, Pakistan emerged in 1947 as a natural political component of the crescent of Islam stretching from Tangiers on the Atlantic to Jakarta on the Pacific. Pakistan's historical past is in good measure a part of Islamic history: its economic links and political relations have traditionally remained closer to Islamic countries, and Islamic ideology is rooted in Pakistan's culture and civilization. However, in keeping with the trend of the times, and in common with other countries of the contemporary Islamic world, Pakistan was afflicted with a pervading confusion of vision and thought, political, economic and other unsettling factors which have alienated it from its roots and sucked it into the mire of modernization mania.

Pakistan – A Dream Realized

Pakistan emerged on the world map as a dream come true, a dream which was the vision of the poet-philosopher Dr Muhammad Iqbal and was transformed into reality by the unwavering lead given by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whom the grateful nation of Pakistan reverently called the Quaid-i-Azam, the Great Leader.

Dr Iqbal was an erudite scholar with a crusading zeal, who made a great contribution to contemporary understanding of Islamic values and heritage in his scholarly work on the *Reconstruction of*

Religious Thought in Islam. He foresaw, several decades ahead, that the massive community of Muslims in South Asia under British rule, hamstrung by the oppressive domination of an alien power on the one hand and an antagonistic majority community on the other, had no alternative but to seek a separate, independent existence. This vision of a homeland for Muslims eventually came to fruition through the unremitting efforts of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whose conviction and resolve remained unshakeable during the long and arduous struggle for the creation of Pakistan.

The Aspirations of the People

Zia-ul-Haq will always be included by history among those national leaders who had the vision and ability to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of their compatriots. It is possible to find detractors who do not agree with the policies pursued by Zia: but it is not possible to find anyone who can deny his achievement of Islamization in Pakistan.

Zia-ul-Haq was a remarkable person with many fine qualities. Affable, sympathetically disposed toward all who needed his attention and help, and therefore loved by the public at large, he was also a man of indomitable courage and single-minded determination who could be ruthless and unsparing in pursuance of national interests and Islamic causes. Simple in his ways and modest by nature, he treated high and low alike with humility and warmth of understanding.

Within the first six months of coming to power Zia-ul-Haq declared that Shari'ah was to be introduced to Pakistan as the law of the land. This was widely demanded in the country, and Zia's espousal of this cause brought him direct support from the grass-roots, undercutting the intermediary role of all political parties.

In the years that followed it became a growing obsession with Zia to make good his promise to introduce Islamic laws. A logical outcome of the Islamization process was Pakistan's increasingly closer relationships with Muslim countries. It also led to Pakistan's growing involvement with the situation in neighbouring Afghanistan following the Soviet military intervention to install a puppet

Communist regime in that traditionally Islamic country. For his firm, uncompromising stand demanding the restoration of Afghanistan's independent Islamic character, Zia had to pay with his life as the victim of an assassination plot.

Zia's vision of the implementation of Shari'ah was an evolutionary process leading gradually towards an enduring consensus in the country for the Islamic way of life. His strategy of gradual transformation was based on the need to avoid unnecessary attention which the Islamization process was likely to attract in the foreign media, and which could arouse unfounded apprehension in western countries which might misread his intentions.

However, western misgivings about Zia's Islamization steps, did appear, in the form of unceasing media denigration of the Hudood in Shari'ah laws, which allow, where justified, a deterrent sentence of whipping, amputation or even capital punishment.

Given the hostility of some factions at home and adverse publicity abroad, it is not difficult to visualize the uphill task President Zia faced in overcoming the odds against the implementation of the Shari'ah. It was Zia's conviction that destiny had entrusted him with the task of introducing the Islamic way of life in Pakistan and he persevered in this with total dedication.

Islamic Ideology and Western Values

Intellectual liberalism, which has become the bedrock of western values, has continued to erode the moral fabric of that permissive society, leading it ever deeper into social decay and decadence. But the temptations flaunted by that degrading culture present an ever-growing danger to Islamic communities. For instance, the influence which the French brought to Egypt and all over the Maghreb, and the kind of education which the English left as a legacy of their colonial rule in South Asia, damaged the Islamic roots and outlook of the Muslim communities, which for centuries had flourished in those lands. The encouragement and favours the imperialists offered to those who adopted western ways naturally pushed into the background all those who preferred to remain

attached to their ancestral ways and traditional values. Over the years these people were reduced to economically bankrupt and educationally backward communities and appeared in the contemporary setting as the deprived and depressed sections of Muslim communities. Thus the peoples of Islamic countries became split into two different classes: those with a supposedly modern outlook, influenced by western values and therefore alienated from Islamic values; and those who stuck to Islamic teachings with devotion. The result has been the presence of a class of western-oriented people in all Islamic countries who remained open to manipulation by foreign powers in serving their own interests. This legacy of Pakistan's colonial past continued to frustrate Zia in the implementation of his policies.

Within a few years Zia-ul-Haq had accomplished many of the goals he had set himself, but he did not live long enough to see the Afghan Mujahideen established in Kabul, the ambition closest to Zia's heart. There is every reason to suspect that Zia's deep involvement with the heroic resistance of the Afghan Mujahideen had made him a prime target for liquidation by some who found his principled stand an obstacle to their own designs.

It is well-known that the superpower that tried to keep Afghanistan under military occupation and in the process drove large numbers of the Afghan people out of their homes to seek refuge in Pakistan was becoming increasingly impatient and unhappy that Pakistan was playing host to the refugees. The aggressors failed to appreciate that it was because of Zia's attachment to the ideals of Muslim brotherhood that he had opened the borders of Pakistan to welcome the fleeing Afghans and offer them shelter and relief. Over nine years and under the direct supervision of Zia himself ever-growing numbers of Afghan refugees were provided every humanitarian assistance. This involved a significant strain on Pakistan's meagre economic and administrative resources.

The supportive role of General Zia both directly and indirectly, and in no small measure, contributed to the triumph of the Mujahideen. From the moment the Soviets began their military invasion of Afghanistan, Zia-ul-Haq, with his usual clarity of vision, took a firm and decisive stand in support of the Afghan resistance. The eventual outcome – the Soviet withdrawal in

February 1988 — showed that Zia made the right decision. In making that decision at a time when the future was unpredictable, President Zia had assumed full responsibility for all the possible risks. He had set Pakistan on an uncertain course, based on principles but fraught with potentially grave hazards. To understand the risks that Zia had taken, it must be remembered that, as an Islamic country constrained by the scarcity of resources, Pakistan suffers from all those handicaps of superpower presence so familiar to developing countries of the Third World: but with Zia's lead, Pakistan stood undaunted through all the challenges to its own security.

Zia was never unmindful of Pakistan's experience in its last war with India when Pakistan's allies, even Islamic countries, looked on unconcerned at Pakistan's time of tribulation. A hostile superpower, which had then openly aided India, was now a potentially threatening presence in neighbouring Afghanistan. The complexity of the problems created by the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan needed a measured, determined and decisive response. Zia proved himself equipped with the experience and foresight needed to meet the challenge.

Afghanistan was one of Pakistan's many preoccupations in the international arena in which Zia excelled in holding his own with remarkable success. He was equally successful in maintaining a balance on the home front. That he succeeded in both his internal and external policies reflects his consummate ability, not only as a military leader of great skill, but also an administrator of shrewd understanding and a statesman of world stature.

Those who hatched the conspiracy to deprive Pakistan of the guiding light of Zia, who was in both name and spirit a true embodiment of the "Light of Islam", must not be allowed to succeed in depriving Pakistan of the unfinished mission which Zia set himself.

And God is ever triumphant
Yet most people are unaware.
(Al-Quran)

Tributes by World Leaders

Soon after the news of President Zia's death was flashed around the world by Pakistan and international media, messages of condolence began to pour into Pakistan. Kings, presidents, prime ministers, heads of international organizations, religious leaders, members of parliament, leaders of political parties from around the world were among the tens of thousands who sent messages to the government and people of Pakistan. World leaders described President Zia-ul-Haq's qualities of leadership, his valuable contribution to international understanding and peace, his vision as a statesman and his resolute support for the independence and sovereignty of all nations.

Expressing "deepest pain and grief" on the death of President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and his companions, the Royal Court of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia said:

This sad incident has caused a great loss to the Muslim ummah which, in the absence of the late Pakistani president, has lost one of its greatest Mujahids and one of the most zealous, sincere and devoted Muslim leaders to the cause of the ummah, as well as one of the well-versed persons in the affairs of the Muslim world. This is borne out by his noble and glorious stands at international forums and Islamic summits, in addition to his persistent efforts and good offices to resolve disputes between brothers. While expressing their utmost shock and sorrow for the loss of a great Muslim leader and a dear brother to the

Kingdom and to the children of the Muslim and Arab nations, the King, the government and the people of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia convey to His Excellency President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the government and the brotherly people of Pakistan, as well as to the family of the late president, their heartfelt condolences.

A delegation from Al-Azhar called on the ambassador of Pakistan in Cairo to offer their condolences. They described President Zia-ul-Haq as a great leader of Islam and said that the entire Muslim world had lost a valiant statesman and soldier. The delegation informed the ambassador that the Grand Sheikh of Al-Azhar had decided to hold funeral prayers in absentia (Ghaibana Nimaz-e-Janaza) for the late President at Jamia Al-Azhar Mosque after Friday prayers. It was unprecedented in the history of Al-Azhar for such a prayer to be offered for any head of state. Prayers were also offered in the Grand Mosque in Mecca and in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, Islam's two holiest places.

In a press release, the London-based Islamic Council said that the passing away of General Zia was a loss of inestimable magnitude for Pakistan and that his absence from the centre stage of the ummah would be keenly felt all over the Islamic world for years to come. It said that during the past eleven years with General Zia at the helm, Pakistan had not only witnessed the progress of prosperity in secure stability, but also a steady evolution of Islamization in the country.

In his message of condolence, Mr Ahmed Ben Bella, a great leader of the Algerian Revolution and the first President of independent Algeria, said:

His selfless and devoted services to the cause of Islam and the constructive role he played in the deliberations aimed at the consolidation of the ummah, as also the consistent moral and material support he fearlessly gave to the jihad of the people of Muslim Afghanistan and for providing a haven of refuge to the millions of Afghan refugees will always be remembered with great admiration by many in the years ahead.

President Khomeini said that he had lost a well-informed brother and the people of Pakistan an efficient and patriotic servant. He said that there was no doubt that the Muslim nation of Pakistan had not since independence seen a person with such administrative calibre and with such pure and true policy, understanding and strong intention.

In his message, President Ronald Reagan described President Zia as a "statesman of world stature" and called for a re-dedication to the tasks of regional peace and reconstruction to which President Zia had dedicated his life.

In their message, President Yang Shangkun and Premier Li Peng of the People's Republic of China described President Zia-ul-Haq as "an internationally acclaimed statesman and a respected old friend".

British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher said that President Zia had led his country with great distinction and courage at a vital period in the history of Pakistan and the whole region. The free world, she said, owed him a debt of gratitude.

Prime Minister Mahathir Muhammad of Malaysia said that President Zia-ul-Haq contributed much to the stabilization of the region of South Asia. He said that President Zia was a man of faith and, though a soldier, was a man committed to peace.

The following is a representative sample of tributes paid to the President in the messages sent by world leaders.

President Zia-ul-Haq was an outstanding leader of Pakistan and an internationally acclaimed statesman. Over the years, he had made unremitting efforts to safeguard national independence and sovereignty and promote regional peace and stability. He had all along attached great importance to friendship with China and made major contributions to furthering the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan. His unfortunate death is a tremendous loss to Pakistan and has deprived us of a respected old friend.

Yang Shangkun

President of the People's Republic of China

Li Peng

Premier of the State Council of the Republic of China

The Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has received with the deepest pain and grief the news broadcast by Radio Pakistan about the death of Pakistan President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and his companions in the plane crash. This sad incident has caused a great loss to the Muslim ummah which, in the absence of the late Pakistani President, has lost one of its greatest Mujahids and one of the most zealous, sincere and devoted Muslim leaders to the cause of the ummah, as well as one of the well-versed persons in the affairs of the Muslim world. This is borne out by his noble and glorious stands at international forums and Islamic summits, in addition to his persistent efforts and good offices to resolve disputes between brothers.

While expressing their utmost shock and sorrow for the loss of a great Muslim leader and a dear brother to the Kingdom and to the children of the Muslim and Arab nations, the King, the government and the people of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia convey to His Excellency President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the government and the brotherly people of Pakistan, as well as to the family of the late President, their heartfelt condolences.

The Royal Court of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

His Excellency Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq was a great soldier, able administrator and a shrewd politician who used all the resources at his disposal to develop Pakistan and promote peace and unity in the continent of Asia. Indeed, it is unfortunate that President Zia-ul-Haq had to die at this critical hour of the political development of Pakistan where he had already set in motion the machinery for returning Pakistan to a democratic system of government, without seeing and reaping the fruits of his labour.

General Ibrahim B. Babangida
President, Commander-in-Chief, Nigeria

It is with profound shock and grief that I learnt today of the tragic death of President Zia-ul-Haq, President of Pakistan. He guided the destiny of Pakistan with determination and courage and in doing so contributed much to the stabilization of the region of South Asia. He was a man of faith and though a soldier was a man

Tributes By World Leaders

and the people of Qatar who will always remember the late president as a good and faithful friend. President Zia was not only a great Pakistani president, he was also an ardent champion of the Islamic and Arab cause. His loss will be felt in the Arab and Islamic world and many other parts of the world at large.

Khalifa Bin Hamad Al Thani
Amir of the State of Qatar

Gleanings from the International Press

The following is a selection of
comments and articles published in the press
around the world following the death of
President Zia on 17 August 1988

Zia's Legacy

Economic and Political Weekly, 3 September 1988

With General Zia's exit from the South Asian political scene, a clever politician has disappeared. To have admirers among the Reagan men in the US on the one hand and among liberals and radicals in India on the other is no small achievement. Consistent and sustained anti-Sovietism had earned him his diverse admirers. No Pakistani statesman has had as many members of the Indian elite willing to understand him as General Zia had.

Apart from the fierce anti-Sovietism, Zia tried with Indians visiting Pakistan in particular his personal charm. We know of a left-wing Urdu writer with whom the General had a game of billiards. With other Indian visitors, quite a few of them Punjabis, he tried the game of nostalgia trips. All of them were taken to the cities or towns they came from. Some of them came back with

glowing accounts of their visit to Jehlum or some other city. No Pakistani statesman had managed to put on as much charm as Zia managed to do.

Zia also put Pakistan firmly in the West Asian orbit. His eleven years took Pakistan almost irrevocably away from South Asia where it historically and politically belonged. Zia's Islamization was not just religious zeal, nor even a search for identity, as many Indians like to believe, but rather a rejection of an identity.

The first Pakistan statesman who wanted to destroy Pakistan's association with "Indian Islam" was Zia-ul-Haq. He tried to make Pakistan not only a firmly Islamic State but also a firmly West Asian State . . . It is not going to be easy for Zia's successors to change this perspective even if they want to. It is interesting that neither the PPP nor the Movement for Restoration of Democracy has quite questioned this thrust of Zia's foreign policy.

Pakistan After Zia

US News and World Report
29 August–5 September 1988

The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is Zia-ul-Haq's memorial. More than any other player in the Great Game, the late President of Pakistan created the conditions that made Mikhail Gorbachev cry uncle. Yet in the last months of his life Zia became a lone voice against the withdrawal deal and in favour of continuing the squeeze on the Soviets. This is why Pakistanis seized on the KGB or its Afghan cousins as likely saboteurs of the military aircraft that crashed near Bahawalpur on 17 August, carrying the President, the well-respected American ambassador and the US military attache and 27 others to instant death.

Strong men seldom leave successors, and the power vacuum that Zia left is doubly wide, because a clutch of top generals died with him and because only 11 weeks earlier he had ousted his civilian government for getting too big for its borrowed boots.

As Zia saw it, the Geneva accords fell well short of meeting Pakistan's needs. His argument was that Pakistan was selling itself too cheaply by accepting a deal that neither removed the Soviet client regime in Kabul nor ensured the return of the 3 million refugees from Pakistan; he wanted to hold out for a new Afghan government to be set up first.

Officially, India decreed three days of mourning for President Zia. Unofficially, there was rejoicing. Zia was a formidable foe, and in India his departure has been welcomed as likely to weaken Pakistan military and politically . . . If Benazir Bhutto comes to power, Pakistan may be somewhat friendlier with India. She has received moral support from Indian leaders, but she knows that this was intended mainly to embarrass Zia. India does not see her as the saviour of democracy in Pakistan. Her father's credentials were suspect on that count, and so are hers.

Newsweek, 29 August 1988: Edward Behr

In his personal life, Zia was incorruptible. He was accessible to his people, disarmingly candid about himself and his political goals and intuitively skilled in the art of public relations. Instead of indulging in the "head of state" trappings that have been fatal to so many dictators, he preferred an Army jeep to a Rolls Royce and lived in a modest Army bungalow in Rawalpindi; not in the official presidential residence. In a country notorious for corruption, he probably died without having amassed great wealth.

Nor was he a simpleton in politics or international affairs. Time and again he brilliantly seized the initiative in dealing with Pakistan's historic enemy, India. He exploited to the hilt the love-hate relationship between two countries bound by individual family ties that have lasted since independence and partition 41 years ago. One of the first heads of state to announce he would attend Indira Gandhi's funeral in 1984, despite the risks involved, he also indulged in superbly effective "cricket diplomacy" – seizing the opportunity to attend an India-Pakistan cricket match in Jaipur last year and then meeting with Rajiv Gandhi to defuse borders tensions.

To understand Zia, it is essential to realize that he grew up in a long-vanished, Kiplingesque, Anglo-Indian military environment which both fascinated and repelled him. He was born in Jullunder, a quintessential Indian Army cantonment where his father was a middle-ranking civil servant at Army headquarters. Though his autobiography omits the fact, he was a police cadet before joining the Indian Army, and he showed a passion for law and order at an early age. Though he was a professional soldier for 37 years – and certainly looked the part – he never quite epitomized the legendary “Indian Army” breed: officers known for hard drinking habits, in fact he attributed Pakistan’s successive military defeats in its wars with India to tippling by top-ranking military officers.

Zia seemed determined to delay any genuine return to democracy on the ground that only a rigid military regime could protect the country. He saw himself as Pakistan’s equivalent of Charles de Gaulle, the only person capable of holding a fractious nation together by the force of his personality and with an iron hand. He may well have been right: Pakistan almost certainly will suffer because of his death.

The Times, 19 August 1988

In General Zia’s Islamization programme – as in those of many of his Muslim fellow rulers – piety, patriotism and opportunism were equally joined.

He was certainly a devout Muslim, shocked by the moral deterioration of Pakistani society as corruption, drug addiction and violence spread. He saw Islam as a means of restoring moral fibre to Pakistani society.

He was also a Pakistani patriot, ruling over a desparate country which came into being as a homeland for India’s Muslims.

Obituary: The Times, 18 August 1988

Zia was a devout Muslim with a strong sense of mission. In his early days in power he was often underestimated . . . However, he surprised his critics by his capacity for survival.

His political longevity was often attributed to his luck, but though he had his full share of good fortune, he owed much to his political astuteness, intuition and determination.

Zia was not a typical military ruler. He was very tolerant of personal criticism and disarmed both friend and foe alike by his willingness to listen and his lack of personal pride.

In foreign policy, he proved his coolness under fire during the Afghan crisis and handled both the superpowers and India with skill.

Subtle General Outmanoeuvred his Foes

The Times, 18 August 1988: Anatol Lieven

Despised as a stupid soldier on coming to power, he regularly outmanoeuvred all those who thought themselves smarter — which included many erstwhile friends, and the man who appointed him, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The probability is that, without the explosion that claimed his life yesterday, he would have repeated the process in the parliamentary and municipal elections he had called for November.

He won respect even from some of his political enemies for his lack of vindictiveness. It was said that his repression, unlike that of his predecessor, stopped with individuals and was not extended to attempts to destroy their families.

From that point of view he had some claim . . . to be remembered as an honourable man.

General Zia came from middle-class origins, not from one of the great feudal families. He was always a pious Muslim and his personal life seems to have been free of scandal, unlike that of his predecessor as ruler, Bhutto, and much of Pakistan's elite.

Guardian, 20 August 1988: Lord Ennals

There is no need for all those who knew President Zia-ul-Haq to draw up a credit and debit account . . . but I want to mention one very positive point.

In a meeting with me four years ago, President Zia-ul-Haq accepted in principle a long-standing plea of mine that the quarter of a million Biharis living in squatter camps in Bangladesh should be allowed to come to settle in Pakistan, the land of their citizenship. There have since been intolerable delays in bringing this promise into effect. *In my view the main obstacle was not Zia, but the intransigence of the recently deposed Prime Minister Junejo.* [Our emphasis.]

Two months ago General Zia signed an agreement with the leader of Muslim World League to implement the agreed commitment to the stranded Pakistanis. He then implied a sense of urgency for the resettlement of these people who have been waiting for 17 years for justice.

At a conference over which I presided in the House of Lords on 19 July this year, a resolution was passed warmly welcoming this agreement and calling for its early implementation.

This letter is to express on behalf of International Alert, the Minority Rights Group, the British Refugee Council, the Ockenden Venture and other human rights organizations, the wish that whoever succeeds President Zia, after such a tragic death, will stand by the commitment to the Biharis made on behalf of the Pakistan Government and supported by the main opposition political parties in Pakistan.

A Man Strong for Islam

Financial Times, 19 August

President Zia's last interview to the foreign press before his death was given exclusively to the *Financial Times*.

There is no doubt that he believed passionately in Islam, whether or not it was a political tool for him. Even his greatest detractors called him a pious man, and his humility has been described as such that he could convey two handshakes and an embrace in a single glance.

During the interview he said he wished to be remembered as a "humanitarian who did his best to bring Islam to Pakistan".

"Previous rulers lost power for trivial reasons such as the rigging of elections. I believe I have remained in power for 11 years by the grace of Allah to carry out His mission."

President Zia said he wanted to retire while he was on top "like a good sportsman" so that he could devote more time to golf and his family. He left behind a wife, two sons and three daughters, one of whom was handicapped.

Stressing his desire to see a spread of Islam, President Zia said one of his greatest wishes was to be able to pray in a mosque in liberated Kabul. He believed passionately in the cause of the Afghan Resistance and described the Geneva accord as a "fig leaf".

The late President was not without a sense of humour. He recounted a tale of a state visit to Paris, at which he arrived wearing a long-sleeved, black, knee-length tunic.

President Mitterand gave frequent disconcerted glances at his Pakistani counterpart. Eventually, as they were going into dinner he asked an aide to try and remove his "overcoat". Aghast, President Zia was forced to explain that in fact he was wearing nothing under the tunic.

Financial Times, 20 August 1988: K. K. Sharma

Indian officials and analysts acknowledge that President Zia-ul-Haq was a skilful diplomat who shrewdly handled the difficult task of directing relations with India . . . Independent observers of Indo-Pakistan relations feel the game of nuclear ambiguity will continue, although neither country is likely to demonstrate its capability. This is another example of President Zia's shrewd handling of his country's defence and foreign policies.

Yet another was his remarkable skill at creating a constituency in India. Few people outside India realize that there is a powerful and influential section which wants its government to make concessions and gestures to what they believe is a small, weaker neighbour.

The general charmed Indian visitors to his country by resorting to his famous "cricket diplomacy", visiting India to attend an India-Pakistan test match when Mr Gandhi was reluctant to receive him. Also, he gave Pakistan's highest civilian award to the ageing Mr Morarji Desai, a former Indian Prime Minister, for his efforts to improve Indo-Pakistan relations, thereby suggesting that Mr Gandhi had done little in this direction.

The Rock Shatters

Asia Week, 2 September 1988

General Zia was widely respected as a personally incorruptible man. For all his cold-blooded curbs on political liberties, he was not without principles. In many cases, Pakistanis will recall his opponents tripped themselves up while angling for advantage under his shrewd balance of the carrot and stick. Above all, General Zia was a centre of gravity in a country that had been torn from the womb at birth, ripped violently in half once and after that swayed by competing ideologues and factions seven ways to Sunday. In fact, the sudden realization that he was no longer there may have jarred into vivid recall a lot of suppressed memories – about his sainted predecessor, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, for example, whose disruptive socialism and cynical poll-rigging had brought Pakistan to a boil before the army stepped in.

In retrospect, it could be said of General Zia that he was one of those rarest of creatures, a man recruited by history. Without aiming for political responsibility, he found it thrust on him and did not shrink from taking it fully in hand. A diligent soldier, he was vaulted over more senior officers by Bhutto but, in defiance of

his lapdog role, took the army's traditional role of watchdog over politics closer to heart. When the military judged that the nation had come to a violent impasse, he saluted the call of duty. In office, he responded to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with a will, by way of a dividend-winning cornucopia of material aid from the Arab oil states and Washington. But history in writing was not altogether kind to President Zia. It was his fate to be admired more outside his borders than within. Fixed star of alliances, lord protector to the Afghan guerrillas, suave negotiator with India, at home he became a magnet for every grievance large and small. The extremely large figure he cut on the geopolitical stage now makes theories about his murder a classic whodunnit.

Financial Times, 8 August 1988

Over the years, President Zia proved himself increasingly to be a master strategist at domestic politics and international diplomacy. He deflected and defeated his opponents, whether they were members of the political opposition, ambitious generals, or even politicians in foreign countries like the UK.

"Zia's is a benevolent regime. It shows teeth but does not use them" one leading industrialist said recently, reflecting the general view that the President was far from harsh after his early years in power.

*Sunday Telegraph, 21 August 1988:
Gordon Brook-Shepherd*

His critics have always faced a problem here. Even they are forced to admit that apart from an unblemished private life, General Zia was always courteous, modest and incorruptible in public. In this he stands almost alone among the dubious band of military men who have seized power in the Third World countries.

So how is it possible that such a figure could be guilty of all the evils those critics now heap on his memory? As he saw it he did no more than his duty, and that often meant being harsh to be kind.

He once admitted to me that he was running Pakistan like a regimental commander: "After all, I am a soldier and that is the only way I know." Everything had to go by the book. That included his refusal in April 1979 to commute the death sentence for murder passed on his former political master, Prime Minister Bhutto.

"Had the appeal court struck that sentence down instead of upholding it, I would have been the first one to shake his hand. But as it was I had no choice," he told me at our first meeting some 10 years ago. I found that hard to swallow at the time, but I came to credit it as I gradually got to know him better as a friend.

It is worth recalling here something which is often conveniently forgotten, namely that Bhutto's last phase in office degenerated into an outright tyranny, which crammed Pakistan's jails with many more political opponents than were ever despatched there by Zia.

The second great controversial issue of Zia's reign was his refusal to hold elections on party lines until he felt Pakistan was mature enough. We often discussed this and here again, his table talk in his own defence needs airing now: "People often compare us unfavourably with our great neighbour India, which conforms closely to the Westminster style of government. But that pattern simply won't work as yet for Pakistan because unlike the Indians, with their century-old Congress Party, we just do not have any organized democratic structure or tradition. That is what I am trying to build from the grassroots up. But until that structure is in place, political parties are just a recipe for mayhem, as we have witnessed time and again since independence."

Even his Muslim faith had a practical side to it. Of his own devoutness there could be no doubt. More than one of his fervent aides has confessed to me their dread at being awakened at 3 or 4 a.m. when the President, having risen for his pre-dawn prayers, would then get them out of bed to discuss some problem. But he also saw the Muslim faith as being the only stitching which would hold Pakistan's tribal patchwork together and also keep Soviet Communism at bay along his Afghan borders.

This was also behind his attempt to fuse ancient Quranic law with the British criminal code that Pakistan inherited in 1947. This was a unique venture which, like so much else, hangs in the balance.

On the world scene he greatly admired Mrs Margaret Thatcher as the model of a western leader, and over the years I passed several private messages between them. He was fascinated by, though no means entirely convinced of, Gorbachev's reformist credentials.

The Indians he feared almost more than the Russians. "They will never give up their dream of mastering the whole sub-continent," he once said, "and in this respect their appetite can only have been whetted by their military intervention in Sri Lanka."

Pakistan After Zia

India Today, 15 September 1988

As analysts go through the pages of history, Zia would come close to being the subcontinent's most successful diplomat-politician. "Who asli guru that usne American ko nachaya, Russia ko chakraya aur hamein sataya" [He was a real guru. He led Americans on a merry dance, fooled the Russians and harassed us], acknowledges Atal Bihari Vajpayee who had made the famous opening to Pakistan as Foreign Minister in 1979 and was a member of the carefully selected Indian delegation at the funeral.

Zia was a rare Third World leader who made foreign policy his *raison d'être*. His successes were legion: the US was his best strategic friend and its sworn enemy, Iran, the biggest trading partner. Similarly, while the Saudis bought billions of dollars worth of arms out of fear of Iran, Pakistan trained their pilots and soldiers while maintaining 35,000 troops in the Kingdom at their expense. He made Pakistan indispensable in the US Afghan policy and made it clear to Russians they could never buy peace without a nod from him. He continued his nuclear programme despite

American pressure. And yet most of the world seemed to believe he was a softliner, seeking peace with India. "He was the one man who had a South Asia policy. He led a pincer drive against India," says Mushahid.

Pakistan Without Zia

Economic and Political Weekly, 27 August 1988

General Zia was indeed Pakistan's most brilliant, most astute and most determined politician to date. He made the visionary megalomaniac Zulfikar Ali Bhutto look like a schoolboy. General Zia had the confidence and the audacity to tell the president of the world's leading power that his offer of aid at the time of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan was mere "peanuts" – and this, it must be added, was said to a peanut farmer who was at that time the President of the United States of America. General Zia's tactical brilliance was also matched by his ruthlessness. He removed political opponents as if he were swatting flies. Even those who had only political pretensions were obliterated with utmost ease. He asked members of the anti-Bhutto Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) to join his government in his earlier years, and just as easily, he removed them from their cabinet posts.

Glimpses of General Zia-ul-Haq's Mind and Thought

Mosque: The Nucleus of the Islamic Community

Traditionally the mosque has been the nucleus of our community. It is not merely a place of worship. It is the community centre and also the educational centre in the community. During the colonial days it did not suit our rulers that we maintain and strengthen our social institutions and consequently a deliberate attempt was made to separate our religious and secular institutions. Gradually the institution of mosque lost its social significance. There is no reason why the mosque cannot be used as a basic unit in our educational system.

National Educational Conference, Islamabad, 3 October 1977

Education

National cohesion and integration have the highest priority for any country. We are a country with apparently diverse cultures and languages. Yet underlying all this is a basic unity which needs

to be properly projected and inculcated in our youth. We are essentially one people and the minor diversities should never be allowed to divide our people. Indeed it is in this unity in diversity that our strength lies, so I must emphasize that our educational system must have national integration and cohesion as one of its prime objectives.

National Educational Conference, Islamabad, 3 October 1977

I must emphasize that no foreign model or system of education can be transplanted here to provide us with answers to our problems. Our problems have to be solved by us, and by using indigenous methods and institutions. For too long we have looked outside for all guidance and inspiration for our educational system. I am not rejecting everything foreign but only emphasizing the need to avoid thoughtless and blind imitation. I know how much we have to learn from the experiences of others. What I am emphasizing is that in Pakistan the educational system must have its roots in our soil. It must draw its strength from our history, traditions and above all our ideology.

National Educational Conference, Islamabad, 3 October 1977

Under foreign rule, for over a century insufficient attention was paid to the education of our people. If we are to make real, speedy and substantial progress we must earnestly tackle this question and model our educational policy and programme on lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture and having regard to modern conditions and the vast development of recent times.

National Educational Conference, Islamabad, 3 October 1977

Our curriculum must ensure that our children are brought up and educated as good Pakistanis and good Muslims. They must imbibe the lofty ideals and principles of Islam. Only then will they be able to have pride in themselves and to face the serious challenges of the external materialistic world. Without a strong religious mooring our youth will be carried away by the surface glamour of western societies and they will feel completely lost.

National Educational Conference, Islamabad, 3 October 1977

Afghanistan Muhajireen

To provide shelter to refugees is a human and Islamic obligation which no civilized people of the world can overlook. We are providing them with certain basic facilities of board and lodging out of human sympathy and Islamic spirit. It is a matter of regret that unfounded and concocted allegations continue to be levelled against Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan has contradicted these allegations more than once.

Address to the Nation, 30 August 1979

One direct effect which the situation in Afghanistan has had on Pakistan is the influx of nearly six and a half lakh brave and self-respecting Afghans who have been forced to take refuge in this country, and their numbers are increasing day by day. They were compelled to leave their hearths and homes because they do not want to renounce their religion or their way of life. I am sure that they would continue to protect their national honour and the independence of their country even now, just as they had protected their freedom and sovereignty in the past, and had never bowed before any foreign power.

Pakistan Day Parade, 23 March 1980

Providing a haven to those who leave their homes and become homeless is a part of our religious tradition. We are trying to meet their basic requirements, despite our limited resources, purely out of human sympathy and because of the common bond of Islam which binds us. This is the teaching of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) who was sent down as a blessing for this world and for the hereafter. It is also the lesson we have learnt from the Ansar of Medina and it is also our Islamic tradition. God willing, we shall abide by that tradition. Some of our own people, some individuals from other countries and certain international organizations have also begun to extend a helping hand to us in our efforts to meet this humanitarian obligation, for which we are grateful to them from the core of our hearts.

Pakistan Day Parade, 23 March 1980

Aggression in Afghanistan

What has happened in Afghanistan today could happen in another country tomorrow. We must ask ourselves the question whether after thousands of years of civilization we are returning to the barbaric ages, in which the only living reality was force and force alone. Are we moving in a direction where powerful countries would be able to swallow smaller countries without fear of the consequences? Heaven forbid that this should happen, for this stage in the evolution of mankind would only bring about the destruction of humanity. The sooner such an eventuality is averted the better.

Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, 27 January 1980

Afghanistan: The Real Problem

The real problem is not the upkeep and maintenance of the refugees present on Pakistan soil but the internal situation in Afghanistan. Until the situation takes a turn for the better the refugees will continue to come, human lives will continue to be lost and fundamental human principles will continue to be violated.

Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, 27 January 1980

Sufferings of Muslim Millat

We need to ponder over the reasons why this Millat, which is so vitally situated, so rich in human resources and so matchless in spiritual values should be subject to so much suffering at this time. On the one hand the first Qibla of Islam is under alien occupation and on the other the people of Palestine and Kashmir are yearning for the restoration of their rights.

Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, 27 January 1980

Defence of the Islamic Ummah

Muslim countries must consider ways and means for the collective defence of the Islamic ummah rather than the defence of individual countries. If we fail to do so we shall not be able to safeguard ourselves in the future.

Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, 27 January 1980

Islam is our Ideology

Islam is a complete code of life which teaches tolerance and understanding of other religions and other points of view. We do not wish to impose our ideology on others; similarly, we would not tolerate others imposing their ideologies on us. Ideologies have their own place and their own significance and I think that ideological battles should be fought only on ideological fronts. It is not proper that an ideology be imposed by force of arms. All efforts to do so must be condemned.

Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, 27 January 1980

No Ideology but Islam

We acquired this separate territory so that we could mould our lives in accordance with the principles and values of Islam. We made it our homeland so that the laws of God could reign supreme here and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) could be our beacon of light. In other words, what we wanted was that our individual and collective character should be in conformity with the Divine will, which was transmitted to mankind through the last of God's Prophets. There is neither room nor justification for any other ideology in this country's basic philosophy of life.

Pakistan Day Parade, 23 March 1980

Perfect Way of Life

The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) has left a golden prescription for the individual and collective life of the ummah which is neither a merely theoretical, philosophical or abstract notion nor attractive only in words and style. It is in fact a perfect and extremely pragmatic way of life which is not only highly inspiring and dynamic but also equally practical.

World Conference of Muslim Education, Islamabad, 15 March 1980

Teachers

It is the sacred duty of the teacher to set the finest Islamic example for his students to emulate. He must not fall short of the expectations that the nation has in him.

National Educational Conference, Islamabad, 3 October 1977

Discipline

Discipline is the foundation stone for a strong nation. When I talk of discipline I do not mean the kind of discipline that is enforced from outside. I talk of the discipline which emanates from within oneself. It is nations with such self-discipline that become great and strong.

National Educational Conference, Islamabad, 3 October 1977

The Holy Quran

Almighty God and his Prophet, Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa (may peace be upon him), while bestowing favours on the ummah, also provided the Muslims with an eternal fountainhead of education – a source which contains all the wisdom of the faith of this world, maintains a record of the warnings given in the past and lays down with perfect clarity of thinking a plan of action for the future. Here I mean Holy Quran, the mother of books, the fountainhead of light and guidance, the last divine book which was revealed to the last Prophet of God.

World Conference on Muslim Education, Islamabad, 15 March 1980

Quran and Sunnah: The Two Sources of Education

The word of God is eloquent and comprehensive, yet in order to understand the divine purpose of a particular aayat, or injunction, we have to refer for its practical demonstration to the life of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). These are those actions and professions which do not suffer (God forbid) from any contradiction or inconsistency. In fact, they provide a complete interpretation of each other. This means that the ummah of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) has two sources of education and its practical interpretation. One is the Holy Quran and the other is the excellent example of the Holy Prophet. These sources of guidance and virtue are with us today in their pristine form, just as they were with those who lived in the past and will be with the generation yet unborn.

World Conference on Muslim Education, Islamabad, 15 March 1980

Fasting: The Real Message

The Holy Quran lays great emphasis on the importance of fasting. We can call ourselves Muslims in the true sense of the word only when we imbibe the spirit of fasting in what we say, what we do, what goes on inside us and what we display outside. Fasting does not mean merely that we refrain from eating, drinking and smoking during certain fixed hours: the real spirit of fasting is that, in order to seek the pleasure of Allah, we earn our livelihood legitimately.

Address to the Nation, 27 July 1979

Weakening our Ideology means Weakening Pakistan

Attempts to weaken the basic ideology of Pakistan are tantamount to weakening Pakistan itself. Blending any foreign ideology with it amounts to distortion of the identity of Pakistan. In order to make

Pakistan strong and stable, we should hold firmly to the ideology given to us by Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-i-Azam.

Address to the Nation, 25 December 1977

Pakistan's Atomic Programme

You will recall that for some time past Pakistan has been pressurized to accept certain uncalled for and discriminatory restrictions on its atomic energy programme, which militate against the sovereignty and authority of an independent and sovereign nation. We have given assurances that our objectives are peaceful and that, in view of the paucity of energy resources, Pakistan has no option but to acquire nuclear technology. Despite this, our economic aid has been affected. But we have absorbed its impact and the ensure nation supported the Government stand because it was united on this issue. I assure you that we shall remain steadfast in our noble resolve and will not compromise the national interest. We shall bear our vicissitudes ourselves. We shall lift our own burden. We shall eat crumbs, but we will not allow our national interest, be compromised in any manner whatsoever.

Address to the Nation, 27 July 1979

Pakistan is not the only country which is trying to acquire atomic technology. Most countries of the Third World do not have it. Is it just and fair that the Third World should be deprived of this technology for the sake of preserving the monopoly of a few countries? Is it consistent with human rights that the developing countries should remain dependent on others? Is it not the basic right of all independent and sovereign countries that they should be able to illuminate their future with the light of this energy? Which religion, society, law or principle of this world permits some of its inhabitants to continue to enjoy ever-increasing comforts of life, while dozens of countries of the Third World and millions of human beings should continue to be ground under the mills of backwardness, and suffer from a lack of the basic necessities of life?

Address to the Nation, 30 August 1979

I would like to declare once again that our atomic programme is peaceful and that it is a question of life and death for us to acquire this technology for our economic progress. But we have no intention of using this technology for manufacturing or acquiring atomic weapons.

Address to the Nation, 30 August 1979

Allama Iqbal

This great visionary developed his own concept of the universe and assigned a very important and significant role to the Muslims: to reshape the world order according to his vision. His greatest contribution in this respect is the rearticulation of the living impulse, which is Islam, in the vernacular of our age. He used the attractive medium of poetry to communicate this motivating force to the maximum possible number of the people of his faith.

Allama Iqbal's Centenary Celebrations Committee,
Islamabad, 4 October 1977

In the context of Pakistan, we owe him a very great debt of gratitude. Gifted with exceptional qualities of vision and foresight, he was the first to realize that the salvation of the Muslims of this sub-continent lay in the creation of a separate homeland for them. Let us not forget that he conceived the creation of Pakistan, not in isolation, but as a link in the renaissance of Islam. He did not remain content with his role as a visionary: he went on to popularize his philosophy through the effective medium of his poetry. It is a matter of great pride and good fortune that by the time Allama Iqbal died in 1938, another luminary had appeared on the horizon of South-East Asia in the person of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who not only espoused the concept of Allama Iqbal but also turned it into a geographical reality.

Allama Iqbal's Centenary Celebrations Committee,
Islamabad, 4 October 1977

A nation which forgets its men of vision and ignores their contribution cannot prosper in this world. It is not these men who need our celebrations. It is we who need them. If we celebrate Iqbal's centenary, we do it to stimulate our own national consciousness. It is to this end that I want all centenary programmes to be directed. If by the end of this year, when the centenary celebrations culminate in the international congress on Iqbal, we can inject a new life and spirit amongst our people, it will be a major breakthrough.

Allama Iqbal's Centenary Celebrations Committee,
Islamabad, 4 October 1977

May I remind you that the real memorial that we can build to the memory of Allama Iqbal is Pakistan itself. Let us hope and pray in the year of Iqbal that we make Pakistan strong and prosperous. The revival and reaffirmation of Iqbal's philosophy, and its dissemination to the largest possible number of people, will certainly help to achieve this objective.

Allama Iqbal's Centenary Celebrations Committee,
Islamabad, 4 October 1977

Muslim Women and the Islamic Renaissance

Every function which is being arranged at the advent of the fifteenth century Hijra is a medium in which may be expressed the firm conviction of glorifying the Islamic way of life. On the occasion of the National Conference of Muslim Women we should once again renew our commitment to Islam and prepare ourselves sincerely to follow it. The coming Hijra century is very significant for the Muslim ummah. The century can be an occasion for fulfilling our wishes and dreams and, by the grace of Islam, it can be the century of peace and tranquillity for the entire world. It is a struggle and a jihad for the Islamic world. I pray to Allah Almighty that Pakistan can play an active and fruitful role in this struggle.

We should never forget that, with the growing strength of the Islamic resurgence movement, the opposition of anti-Islamic forces will also grow, and we will have to face new challenges and problems. The situation faced by the Islamic world today is the result of these conspiracies.

That is why we should prepare ourselves to foil the opposition and to overcome the obstacles. We should create such a strong will and spirit in ourselves that the mission of Islamic resurgence can be fulfilled.

National Conference of Muslim Women, Islamabad, 28 October 1980

The Role of Women

I assure you of my support in the steps you have taken to spread knowledge, get jobs and make efforts for your rights. Do whatever you like, but do not transgress the limits laid down by Islam. There is nothing confusing in the limits of Islam. They are not limits that push you back in the struggle of life: rather, you have never reached these limits. Even the most advanced society has failed to provide these limits to its women. Getting access to these limits is not only beneficial for women: it is the means of deliverance for the whole of humanity.

These limits, or ends, have two levels. One is to release women from their centuries-old backwardness and bring them to a par with the men. Different aspects of this level have been described in this session, and I also hope for a philosophical description. However, I would like to draw your attention to a philosophy which was given by the Prophet (peace be upon him) fourteen hundred years ago. This philosophy has eliminated all the social and legal differences between man and woman and has given equal status to both of them.

I would like to say that Islam is the first human philosophy to give a woman a separate, respectable and dignified place in society. She has been given her own identity rather than that of her father or husband. Even today, in some so-called developed societies women are known as Miss Smith or Mrs Smith: but in Islam they are called Fatima, Zohrah, Rabia. My wife's name is Shafiqah. Every woman has a separate entity. By giving her own name to a woman, Islam has not only identified her separate place but has also made her fully independent and responsible for her actions.

On the day of judgement every single person, man or woman, shall be responsible for his or her own deeds. No woman shall be

able to escape punishment because she came under the influence of her husband, father or guardian. Similarly, no woman shall be allowed to enter Heaven because her brother, husband or father was righteous. She alone shall be answerable for her actions. That is why Islam stresses obedience in all aspects of life. A woman is allowed to disobey her husband if he forbids her to follow the ways shown by Allah Almighty and his Prophet (peace be upon him), and this is because she herself, not her husband, shall be responsible to Allah Almighty. Besides blessing women with extraordinary freedom and autonomy, Islam has laid down certain duties for them. This is the second level of Islamic limits. Apart from obeying the orders of Allah Almighty a woman has to perform certain duties as wife, mother, sister and daughter. In Islam a woman is free to perform those duties given by Allah Almighty. The woman has all liberties in fulfilling those obligations which have been defined by Allah Almighty.

In worldly affairs, too, Islam has given an important place to women. Islam, the most enlightened and most progressive way of life, cannot support those who want to deprive women of a social life and throw them into a dark corner. Women form half of the total population of the world and they are numbered in billions. Islam does not forbid you to run a business or to make your contributions in other fields. During the time of the Prophet of Allah (peace be upon him) women ran businesses during times of peace and also took part in jihad in times of war. I believe that if there had been planes and computers in those days the Prophet (peace be upon him) would never have forbidden Muslim women to benefit from them. In Islam those evils which can pollute society are forbidden, and these restrictions are not only for women but also for men. Islam wants to establish a healthy, energetic and happy society, and that can be possible only when all persons, whether men, women, old or young, follow the way shown by Allah Almighty and his Prophet (peace be upon him).

Inaugural address to the seminar organized by the Pakistan Federation of Business and Professional Women
12 October 1978

Islamic Ideology

While talking of determination and courage, it may not be out of place to mention that not every branch of learning can equip you with these rare qualities. For that you will have to turn to your faith and your philosophy of life. It is your good fortune that you are among the followers of a religion which can bless you with such strength of faith as can stand you in good stead even in the most critical of times. It is the one religion which can arm you with an unbreakable resolve. In other words, it is an ideology of life which can keep you firm even in the most trying moments.

Convocation, Pakistan Military Academy, Kakool
29 March 1979

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Such was the character of the Quaid-i-Azam that even his greatest critic could not point an accusing finger at him. Nobody – not even the most resourceful – could buy him. Nobody could distract him from his principles. He was resolute in his determination and firm in his mission. He sacrificed his family life and his own health in the pursuit of his mission. A leader of such dedication and character will be remembered for centuries.

Address to the Nation, 25 December 1977

It is not correct to look for Quaid's qualities in leaders alone and think that ordinary people like you and me are not to have them. Like all great personalities, the Quaid-i-Azam's personality had two facets.

One was the public aspect which manifested itself to the nation as the Quaid-i-Azam; and the other was the personal aspect which expressed itself in his day-to-day life. If every citizen of this country cannot attain the greatness acquired by the Quaid-i-Azam, he can certainly emulate the Quaid's personal qualities in his daily life.

Address to the Nation, 25 December 1977

Pakistan's System of Education

In the field of education there is a yawning gap between the dictates of our religion and the circumstances prevailing in our country. The first injunction revealed to our Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was "IQRA", which means "Read". Subsequent revelations also affirmed the importance of seeking knowledge and made it binding on both males and females in Muslim society. As stated in the welcome address, the Holy Prophet himself laid stress on seeking knowledge from the cradle to the last moments of one's life and from one's native place to far-off lands. We claim to be the followers of that religion and members of the Holy Prophet's ummah, but unfortunately 80% of our people are illiterate. They are illiterate not because they don't know or don't wish to act upon the commandments of Almighty Allah and the injunctions of His Holy Prophet. They are illiterate because they have been under the long subjugation of alien rule and colonial powers.

In our traditional system of education, a teacher does not only impart knowledge to his students, he also influences them, consciously or unconsciously, with his own personality. If he himself has a personality with a negative impact or which is steeped in alien values, it is bound to affect his students. On the other hand, if he is gifted with a positive frame of mind and with our national social and cultural values he will be a beacon lighting the path of his pupils. It is therefore imperative that the responsibility of educating the younger generation must be entrusted to teachers with the right frame of mind; otherwise one cannot rule out the danger of losing an entire generation in the name of education. I would reiterate here that, by their dress, demeanour, words and deeds, teachers should rise to popular expectations as the architects of the Pakistani nation. If it were reported to me that a certain teacher was injecting into the younger generation the poison of an ideology that was secular or alien to the Pakistani ethos, he would be removed as we remove a carbuncle. To me the most insignificant thing education can aim at is to enable boys and girls to gain employment. They are therefore absolutely wrong who blame the Open University for increasing the number of the educated unemployed

by spreading literacy in the country. Education was also given during the days of the British. There were arrangements for vocational training in those days too, and employment, though petty, was also available. But would it be correct to call that education? I think it would be right to term the educational institutions of those days workshops which served to prepare clerks and officials tailored to the need of the rulers. It is worth pondering whether the objective of our long and arduous freedom struggle was simply to seek a few jobs here and there. Did we sacrifice millions of lives because we wanted more jobs? God forbid, if some country today offered us better job opportunities would we throw at its feet our cherished treasure, our sovereignty? I agree that bread is an important reality in this world and a country which does not fulfil the needs of the belly cannot claim to be really independent. But a country that satisfies our want cannot thus become our country: there are greater realities in this world than bread and the belly. The objectives behind the creation of the universe are much higher than food and clothing. The meaning of independence and sovereignty are more sublime than material needs. I expect our system of education and all individuals and institutions concerned with education not only to enable our boys and girls to gain employment but also to forge them into a nation, the purpose of whose existence should be in total harmony with the objectives of the creation of the universe, a nation to whom the meaning of independence and sovereignty is more noble and sublime than material realities: in other words, to turn them into a nation that is an embodiment of Allama Iqbal's dreams.

Convocation Address, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad
27 September 1979

The Importance of Arabic

By virtue of having been born to Muslim families you have been benefiting from the blessings of that religion from your childhood. To help you strengthen that foundation and fortify it with the rampart of character, the teaching of the Arabic language and Islamiyat has been included in your curriculum here. Learning the

Arabic language helps you to understand the Holy Quran, which is the everlasting fountainhead of the Islamic faith, and Islamiyat makes you conversant with Islamic teachings and the history of Islam. Despite their usefulness, efforts to impart instruction to you in these two subjects are only of an elementary nature. It is for you to continue with the effort and benefit from it. I am sure that if you were to build your character on the foundation of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him), you will acquire the strength and ability which will not only sustain you on the field of battle but will also help and guide you in every sphere of life.

Convocation, Pakistan Military Academy, Kakool, 29 March 1979

The Importance of Professionalism

No individual or organization or country can progress without hard work. While I lay stress on the need to remain wedded to ideology and emphasize the need for military hardware, I also urge you to work ceaselessly to improve continuously your professional capabilities.

Address to the Pakistan Navy, 3 February 1979

The Islamic Educational System

Islam does not divide human life into religious and secular parts. In the same way, the Islamic way of education cannot be compartmentalized into secular and religious sections, since the aim of the Islamic educational system is total education – in which we are given instruction in the creation of the universe and the injunctions of Islam, and given some preparation for the world hereafter. It also acquaints us with physics, chemistry, sociology, economics and other sciences of these modern times. In other words, we should neither deprive those who are receiving religious education of the knowledge of modern sciences nor allow those who are learning modern sciences to remain unfamiliar with religion.

World Conference on Muslim Education, Islamabad, 15 March 1980

Goals of Islamic Education

It is my earnest desire that all of you should work jointly and prepare a plan of action for education, which should have the following objectives.

- 1 To eliminate the curse of illiteracy in the Islamic countries in order to make education accessible to the greatest possible number of people.
- 2 To produce individuals whose thinking and practice is exactly in accordance with the Holy Quran and the Sunnah.
- 3 To ensure that the products of this system of education not only have correct thinking but also gain mastery over science and technology, to meet contemporary needs.
- 4 To aim at achieving a degree of uniformity in the systems of education and curricula prevalent in Islamic countries from Indonesia to Morocco, from Asia to Africa, so as to enable the Muslims to develop individuals in the ummah who are like-minded and who share common values.

World Conference on Muslim Education, Islamabad, 15 March 1980

Islamic Society

We should have before us Islam and its teachings. We should keep before us that high and noble purpose which was identified 1400 years ago by the Holy Prophet. That goal was that those who enter the fold of Islam should, as the followers of the ummah, establish a society where positive and life-giving values reign supreme, where poverty, high-handedness, force, exploitation and tyranny are unknown, where those inhabiting the land can lead their life in perfect peace and in accordance with the wishes of Allah.

World Conference on Muslim Education, Islamabad, 15 March 1980

Ideology and Personality

A nation's solidarity rests on two fundamentals: ideology and personality. These are in fact two sides of the same coin, for ideology flourishes through personality and personality attains stature through ideology. Fortunate are those nations which possess both these sources of strength. Ideology keeps a nation united, even if the personality departs, but if the bond of ideology becomes weak the nation plunges into complete disarray. I do not want to dilate any further on this subject because we have already had this traumatic experience.

Fortunately for us, the ideology which formed the basis of the creation of Pakistan has strengthened with the passage of time. Not only the period preceding 23 March 1940 testified to the fact that we are a separate nation on the basis of our religion, but later events also prove that our survival lies in Muslim nationhood alone. Today, after 37 years, when we look back to the Pakistan Resolution, we feel satisfied that the path chosen by our leaders for our welfare at that juncture of history was the right one. History has convincingly vindicated their choice.

Address to the Nation, 25 December 1977

Unity, Faith and Discipline

Ideology provides spiritual strength to a nation. Without it, a nation is reduced to a disorganized collection of individuals. Faith forms the focal point of the three fundamental principles of unity, faith and discipline given to us by the Quaid-i-Azam. It is the faith in one's ideology, in one's existence, in one's courage and determination, in the Creator, in the purpose of one's own creation which alone binds a people together into a united and disciplined nation.

Address to the Nation, 25 December 1977

No Victory Without Faith

The third thing which I listed a little while ago as one of the essentials for the fulfilment of the responsibilities of defence, and which

should actually have figured first, is the spirit of faith, without which professional training and military equipment are of no avail. This is so because one who goes into the battlefield should not only have weapons and be competent in handling them, but at the same time he should also be imbued with such firmness of faith that the stroke of his weapon deals a mortal blow. The history of the world is witness to the fact that among those who have received identical training and are equipped with similar weapons, only those individuals and nations emerge victorious who are endowed with a firm resolve and an unfaltering faith. There are moments on the battlefield when military strategy and weapons prove ineffective: then moral strength becomes the decisive factor. It is the firmness of faith that generates the strength to defend and the resolve never to accept defeat. I would therefore advise you on this historic occasion today that you should, while paying full attention to your professional training, also strengthen your faith. An easy way to accomplish this is for you to cultivate the character of a true Muslim, which should reflect itself in your word and deed.

Addressing to the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakool
29 March 1979

Duties of the Pakistan Military Academy

A special responsibility devolves on the Pakistan Military Academy. Its function is not merely to impart education and physical training or to teach the use of weapons to the cadets and make them experts in methods of warfare. It is also the duty of the Academy to build their character. The young men who step out of here after completing their course should not only become army officers, they should transform themselves into true Pakistani Army officers. And the primary condition for becoming Pakistani Army officers is that they should be fully devoted to Islamic and Pakistani values and act according to these values in their day-to-day lives.

Addressing to the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakool
29 March 1979

Muslims Bow to Allah Alone

It is a Muslim nation which does not accept the overlordship of anybody except that of Allah, the Almighty.

Address to the Nation, 27 July 1979

Teachers' Role in Academic Discipline

Under the prevailing circumstances, it is extremely difficult both to maintain discipline in educational institutions and to get good results. It is the government's desire, backed by sincere efforts, to create a congenial atmosphere in all educational institutions in the country so that both teachers and students may devote themselves to education. I fully realize in this connection the responsibility that lies with the government and the administration. I do, however, feel that teachers can play a key role in this regard. If teachers rise to the occasion and use their influence with their students, there is no reason why our educational institutions cannot be completely cleared of the plague of agitation and hooliganism. If a teacher has no influence on his students, to me he is a total failure and useless as a teacher. He is of no value, either to his institution or to his society. Teachers are guides and mentors for their students and a really good and competent teacher is held in high esteem even today. I am sure there must be many outstanding teachers in this assembly today who enjoy as good a reputation as their illustrious predecessors. Respect and good reputation do not necessarily follow from higher grades and allowances: they are achieved by greatness of character and devotion to one's vocation; and this is something which you know better than I.

If the new generation is disciplined and ideologically motivated, holding aloft the banner of Islam's social and ethical values, we will certainly recognize that they have received proper guidance from their teachers. On the other hand, if they tend to display waywardness, indiscipline, rowdiness and subversion, we would not hesitate to conclude that they have been in the wrong hands for their training.

Address at the Prize-Giving Ceremony of the Directorate of Army Education, Rawalpindi, 16 September 1979

Appendix A

Address by
General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq
as Chairman of the Islamic Conference
at the Thirty-Fifth Session of the
United Nations General Assembly,
New York, 1 October 1980

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

Those who have been driven from their homes unjustly only because they said, Our Lord is Allah – For had it not been for Allah's repelling some men by means of others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques, wherein the name of Allah is oft mentioned, would assuredly have been pulled down. Verily Allah helpeth one who helpeth Him. Lo! Allah is Strong, Almighty –

Those who, if We give them power in the land, establish worship and pay the poor-due and enjoin kindness and forbid iniquity. And Allah's is the sequel of events.

(Al-Quran: The Pilgrimage, Verses 40–41)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds. Blessing and peace be upon the Seal (i.e. the last) of the Prophets.

Mr President,

Today the World of Islam is on the threshold of the fifteenth century of its glorious and eventful history. Another 40 days will usher in the beginning of a new Islamic century. Muslims all over the world will be celebrating the fourteen hundredth anniversary of a unique event, which was chosen by the Second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar Ibn al-Khattab (may God be pleased with him) as the beginning of the Islamic Hijra calendar. The Hijra calendar commemorates neither the Prophet's birthday nor the time when the message of God was first revealed to him. It commemorates an event which was to become a turning-point in the evolution of Islam. That event was the Hijra, or the great departure of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) with a small group of devoted followers from his place of birth – Mecca – for the city over four hundred kilometres away – the city of Medina. The departure to Medina was chosen as the starting point of the Islamic calendar, because it marked the founding of the Islamic polity.

While in Mecca, Islam emerged as a moral force, it was Medina which had the honour of being the cradle of the first Islamic state under the guidance of the Prophet himself. This state was founded on the basis of the universally applicable moral principles revealed in the Quran. This first Islamic polity symbolised the happy blending of the citizens of Medina – called Ansars or Helpers – and the Muhajireen, or the Refugees, from Mecca. A union of great importance had thus emerged. Together, the two communities formed the nucleus of the Islamic ummah, or the great brotherhood of Islam. The idea embodied in this concept served as a beacon for humanity at large.

Leaving his place of birth, the home of his ancestors, the kith and kin to whom he was deeply attached, was undoubtedly a great ordeal for the Prophet. With his reputation for unimpeachable integrity, he was called by everyone "Al-Amin", the trustworthy. His gentle disposition and nobility of character endeared him to one and all. He could have stayed on in Mecca as a highly respectable member of the leading Hashemite clan to which he belonged, if only he would stop preaching what God commanded him to preach. His refusal to do so turned the hostility of the people of Mecca into unbridled fury.

Thus, the founding of the first Islamic state in Medina represented, on the one hand, the rejection of the suffocating environment of bigotry, intolerance, tyranny, oppression and moral turpitude, and, on the other hand, the determination of the new-born Islamic community to promote understanding, tolerance, brotherhood and freedom as imperatives of state policy. From now on the world was to witness, emanating in succession from Medina, developments of monumental significance in the history of mankind.

Mr President, it is a great honour for me and my country that I have been given the opportunity to address the Thirty-Fifth Session of the United Nations General Assembly on behalf of 900 million fellow-Muslims in commemoration of such an epoch-making event in human history. I do so with deep humility in response to the mandate conferred upon me by the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers which Pakistan was privileged to host last May.

I am grateful to you, Mr President, for your kind words of welcome, and take this opportunity to convey to you my personal congratulations, and those of the government and people of Pakistan, on your election as President of the Thirty-Fifth Session of the General Assembly.

To you, Mr Secretary General, I wish to express our profound admiration for the qualities and experience which you possess in such abundant measure. During your two terms of office, you have been called upon to deal with some of the most difficult problems which the world organization has had to face. You have done so with great distinction, and we wish you continued success in the future.

Appendix A

Speaking as a humble believer, I am particularly conscious of the Islamic injunction to rise above race, colour and creed and to perceive fellow human beings in terms of universal brotherhood. Islam, by its very definition, is a religion of peace and submission to the Divine Will. It demands of its followers to strive, individually as well as collectively, for the creation of human society based on justice and equality.

It is most appropriate for me on such an occasion, and before such a distinguished audience, representing the entire world community, to speak of the Islamic virtues of tolerance and compassion, which brought about a synthesis of civilizations, and a balanced intermingling of peoples of diverse faiths and beliefs. Islam rejects narrow nationalism, parochialism and racial elitism. The inter-communal peace and harmony, prevailing during the period of more than a thousand years of Islamic ascendancy, stands in sharp contrast with the racial arrogance, discrimination and persecution which are practised in certain parts of the globe today.

The true foundation of peace and tranquillity, which characterized the prime period of Islamic ascendancy, lies in the great Islamic virtues, symbolized in particular by the concept of universal brotherhood, tolerance and respect for the sanctity of life. The Holy Quran says:

He who slays one human being, it is as if he had slain all mankind; he who saves one human being, it is as if he saved all mankind. (5:35)

Islam specifically forbids wars of aggression, and permits recourse to arms only in self-defence. The Holy Quran says:

Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you: but you do not begin the hostilities; for Allah does not love aggression. (2:186)

The Islamic concept of Jihad epitomizes the precepts so explicitly enunciated in these verses from the Holy Quran. There is, indeed, an element of struggle in Jihad; a continuous struggle, constant striving, to lead life, in its totality, in the light of the message of the Holy Quran, and in the tradition of the Prophet of Islam.

Appendix A

The Islamic message of universal brotherhood, peace and equity is of eternal value, and is more than ever relevant to the conditions prevailing in today's world. Ever since the birth of this world, man has had his share of conflicts and difficulties. The confrontation of civilizations and faiths in the past did not lead to the annihilation of the human race because, mercifully, the means of mass destruction were limited. Today, we have stepped into an age wherein humanity has at its disposal the means of destroying itself several times over. The world can no longer afford the luxury of confrontation and wars. Mankind needs peace. Let us all try to achieve peace within and peace without.

There is yet another form of confrontation, besides the nuclear arms race, that threatens human survival. It is the confrontation between man's selfishness and nature. His insatiable pursuit of material comforts has led him to reckless destruction of the natural environment. The ecological crisis faced by our planet today, particularly by the highly industrialized nations, has reached such alarming proportions that the questions must be asked: Has not man burnt his fingers in the fire which he himself kindled? Has he not lost his sense of proportion in his earthly scheme of priorities? Does he not understand that this world is not his personal property, but a trust from the Almighty who created it? As the Holy Quran says:

In the alternation of day and night, in the rains from Heaven that come to quicken the parched earth, in the shifting winds, and in the clouds pressed into service between heaven and earth, there are signs enough of Allah's rule for people who have understanding. (2:159)

It is this understanding that can help the present-day world to regain the equilibrium it seems to have lost.

The followers of Islam believe that their faith represents that ultimate perfection of the Divine message which has flowed to mankind through a succession of Prophets. Muslims are enjoined to accept the missions of all the Prophets. Muslims are enjoined to accept the missions of all the Prophets who preceded Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). In the Holy Quran, it is stated:

Those who believe [what Muhammad revealed], and those who are Jews, Christians, Sabeans or whoever believes in Allah and the Day of Judgement, they shall have their reward. (2:59)

The Prophet of Islam himself said:

I believe in the one Allah, in His revealed Books, in His message-bearing Prophets, in the Hereafter.

It is noteworthy that the Prophet spoke of "the revealed Books", and not merely of the Book. Similarly, he spoke of God's "message-bearing Prophets", and not merely of one Prophet, himself. We Muslims are bound by our faith to believe in all the Prophets and the revealed Books from Adam to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) who is the last of the prophets.

The great Islamic community today straddles a broad geographical belt from Indonesia in the East to Senegal in the West. Living in different climes, and under different customs and political systems, speaking different languages and dialects, Muslims all over the world retain an abiding sense of Islamic affinity. It is this unity in diversity which is the hallmark of the Muslim ummah, or the commonwealth of Muslim nations. The Islamic Conference, of which I have the honour to be the current Chairman, constitutes a concrete manifestation of the urge of the Muslim ummah to re-establish its historic role as a factor for peace and progress, and to reassert the over-riding unity of the Muslim peoples scattered over the globe.

As we stand at the threshold of the fifteenth century of Hijra, we can look with pride to the fact that the Islamic countries have regained their political independence, and are working closely to obtain their rightful place in the world. Their desire for unity is manifested in the 42-member Islamic Conference, which has come to acquire an eminent place among international organizations, and whose decisions are assuming ever-increasing importance in the international community.

The spread of Islam led to a creative encounter between the first Islamic people of Arabia and the major cultures of Persia, Greece, Egypt and India, resulting in an unprecedented flowering of the

human genius. This great epoch of creative activity, which began in the second century Hijra, lasted several hundred years. Both in the heartland of Islam, represented by the great traditions of the Caliphs, and in the no less glorious Islamic cultures which developed in far off places such as Spain, India, Central Asia, Asia Minor, Africa and South East Asia, the triumphant spirit of man, emancipated and enriched by Islam, manifested itself in remarkable advances in arts and sciences. This was the era in which were laid the foundations of modern learning and knowledge.

It gives me pleasure to recall that human progress is heavily indebted to the early Muslim scholars, philosophers, scientists and physicians, who made outstanding original contributions in the respective fields and disciplines, rescued the best in the ancient Greco-Roman civilization, and passed this treasure on to the West. Who can forget the immortals like Averroes, Ibne Sina, Ibne Haitham, Ibne Khaldun, Alberuni and the great Omar Khayyam?

These are but a few of the galaxy of illustrious Muslims who extended the frontiers of knowledge and enriched human experience. It was their enlightened approach to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge that made this progress possible. They sought and acquired knowledge from whatever source it was available – from the Greeks and Romans, the Chinese, the Persians, the Hindus, the Buddhists, and the rest. The Prophet had urged them to do so. Permit me to read four of many quotations from the teachings of the Prophet:

- 1 "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave."
- 2 "Whoever seeks knowledge and finds it will get two rewards: one for seeking, and the other for finding. If he does not find it, he still has one reward."
- 3 "The ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr."
- 4 "It is better to impart knowledge one hour than to pray all night."

The emphasis in these quotations is not only on seeking knowledge, but also on sharing it with others for the progress of mankind as a whole. There is a lesson in this for the present-day world, where

Appendix A

access to vitally useful knowledge, indispensable for human progress and prosperity, is allowed on a selective basis, and is, indeed, denied by the privileged few to the less fortunate many, who need it most.

The Islamic world was instrumental not only in generating the first intellectual stirrings which prepared the ground for the European Renaissance, but also in acting as a bulwark for the defence of western civilization against the Mongol hordes, which descended like an elemental force of nature. But for the Islamic world, which bore the brunt of the Mongol onslaught, Europe would have been overwhelmed in the seventh century Hijra, that is, the thirteenth century AD. It is, indeed, a tragic irony of fate that those very people who were saved by the Muslims turned round to occupy and pillage Muslim lands and convert them into their prize colonies.

While this unhappy period in Islamic history is undoubtedly behind us, its evil consequences remain to be eradicated. Political independence regained by Muslim countries has not loosened the tenacious grip of economic exploitation, which goes hand in hand with colonialism. Continued dependence on the industrially developed world has aggravated their plight. Their crucial strategic location has generated intolerable pressures from powers seeking hegemony and coveting their vital natural resources.

The feeling of insecurity across much of the globe today is attributable to the continuing tendency to use force and pressure for the control and exploitation of scarce resources. The distress caused by this phenomenon is writ large on the faces of both the exploited and the exploiter. What will this lead us to? The Holy Quran warns mankind against it:

To him who is covetous and bent on riches . . . to him will the path of distress be made easy. (92:8-10)

Mr President, while on the subject of conflicts generated by avarice and greed, I may be allowed to describe, before this august Assembly, how we Muslims perceive some of the critical areas of tension on the world map.

The tragic conflict between the two Islamic states of Iran and Iraq is a source of deep concern to the world community. It causes profound anguish to the world of Islam in particular. This violent conflict between two brotherly Islamic states is attributable to the unstable conditions created in a sensitive area by the pressures and counter-pressures of superpower rivalry. We fervently hope that peace between these two neighbouring countries will return soon, Inshallah. It is the duty of the international community and in particular that of the Islamic and non-aligned worlds to make a positive contribution towards the resolution of the differences between Iran and Iraq. An essential condition for the return of peace between them would be the observance of strict neutrality and non-interference in their internal affairs by the outside powers.

Mr President, as you are aware, Sir, I have come to New York directly from the capitals of these two countries where I was warmly received in a spirit of Islamic fraternity by President Bani Sadr and President Saddam Hussain. My mission was undertaken at the behest of the Islamic Conference. Its purpose was essentially one of fact-finding and goodwill. I was able to ascertain the views of my two brothers in a series of meetings in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. I have faithfully conveyed to each brother the views and position of the other with regard to a cessation of hostilities. It is my earnest hope and prayer that efforts will continue to end the tragic conflict between Iran and Iraq and that a peaceful solution will be found to their differences on the basis of justice and respect for each other's rights and in a spirit of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood.

By far the most destabilizing factor in the Middle East is Israel. Who can deny the justice of the cause of the Palestinian people who have been mercilessly uprooted from their sacred land after being in continuous possession of it for the best part of 1400 years, and who have been suffering untold oppression, tyranny and terrorism practised against them by the Zionist entity?

The threat posed to world peace by the Palestinian problem is all too evident. The situation can explode at any moment. The resulting conflagration could envelop the world with a disaster the magnitude of which has not been seen before. Injustice and oppression arouse strong sentiments; these sentiments cannot be

suppressed by arrogant reliance on force and coercion, nor smothered by unrelenting persecution. Israel, which is so ready to invoke the past, should not forget the oft-repeated lesson of history and its policy of annexation and domination is doomed to failure. History has the habit of unceremoniously repeating itself.

Notwithstanding protestations of the desire to bring about a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem, in the context of the Middle East situation, the stark reality is that Israel continues to defy the will of the world community, expressed through this very forum and the Security Council on numerous occasions. It continues to occupy Arab and Palestinian land by force. It cynically disregarded the near-unanimous world edict on Jerusalem by passing a law to change the status of Al-Quds-al-Sharif. The Security Council reacted by calling upon all countries with diplomatic Missions in Jerusalem to move them. The response was unanimous and prompt.

I take this opportunity to offer profound thanks to all the thirteen countries, namely Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Netherlands, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela, which have removed their diplomatic Missions from Jerusalem to show their displeasure at Israel's defiance of international law and public opinion. We salute them for their principled decision. Is it not time for further action by the world community so that the conditions stipulated generally by world opinion, and specially by the Islamic Conference of the Palestinian problem, are met, and peace returns to the Middle East? Let there be no illusion that wounds inflicted on the Palestinians can be healed by the passage of time. Now is the time to act, before it is too late.

The United States claims that it has vital economic and strategic interests in the Middle East and North Africa, which is not only the homeland of the Arab people, but also constitutes the strategic frontiers of Europe. Yet it pursues a policy which brings it into hostile confrontation with the Arab world, and extends open-ended support to Israel, which encourages that country to pursue aggressive policies in defiance of world opinion. The United States bears a heavy responsibility in this respect, since reliance on the might of this superpower enables Israel to flout the verdict of the

international community, and to usurp the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

The Muslim world wholeheartedly supports the just struggle of the people of Palestine under the leadership of their legitimate and sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the liberation of their sacred territory from Zionist rule and occupation. It considers that the issue of Palestine is at the core of the Middle East question. Successive Islamic Conferences have demanded:

- 1 The complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.
- 2 The exercise by the people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to establish a sovereign state of their own in their homeland under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.
- 3 The dismantling of all so-called "settlements" in occupied Arab territories.

Until these just demands are met in full, the prospect of a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East will elude us, and the world will continue to be haunted by the spectre of a wider conflict in which the interests of those who protect Israel will suffer most.

Mr President, the world of Islam is profoundly concerned with the tragedy that has overtaken Afghanistan. This small, independent, non-aligned Muslim country has been subjected to military intervention on a massive scale, in violation of the national rights of the Afghan people and the sacrosanct principles of non-alignment and the United Nations Charter. True to their centuries-old national tradition and unconquerable spirit of independence, the people of Afghanistan have responded to the challenge with fearless resistance through the length and breadth of their country. Their struggle is as sacrosanct, and as worthy of respect and support, as the heroic struggles of the Algerian people, the people of Zimbabwe – and, indeed, of all the oppressed and exploited people of the world, at one time or another – against foreign domination.

Appendix A

The deeply-felt resentment of the international community, and of the Muslim world in particular, against this act of aggression has been clearly expressed in the demand for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Afghanistan. The Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, which met in Islamabad last May, set in motion a process of revolving the Afghan crisis through peaceful negotiations. It adopted a Resolution and established a Standing Committee comprising of Foreign Ministers of Iran and Pakistan and the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, with a view to holding consultations with all parties to bring about a solution based on the following principles:

- 1 The immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.
- 2 The restoration of the independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.
- 3 Respect for the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny and to choose their own form of government in accordance with their own wishes, free from external interference.
- 4 The creation of conditions which would permit the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

It is a matter of deep regret that this valuable initiative of the Islamic Conference has been presently stalled by the overall negative attitude of the Kabul regime. I am confident that this august assembly will address itself to the urgent task of promoting a political solution of the crisis in Afghanistan in accordance with these principles.

In the meantime, more than a million Afghan refugees have crossed the 1400-mile border into Pakistan, while others have taken shelter in Iran. Entire communities of men, women and children, uprooted from their hearths and homes by the violence of the conflict, have continued to pour into Pakistan. My country, in a humanitarian spirit and in conformity with the tradition of Islamic brotherhood, is providing them with shelter. It is a task of awesome magnitude in view of Pakistan's limited resources. We

are grateful for the assistance received for this purpose from brotherly Muslim countries and other friendly nations, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and various international agencies and humanitarian organizations, including Hilal-i-Ahmar, Red Crescent and the Red Cross.

Mr President, people do not leave the comforts of their hearths and homes to face the privations of life in exile without compelling reasons. The Afghan refugees on our soil have had to leave their country because life was made unbearable for them. The orchestrated propaganda campaign, accusing Pakistan of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, cannot mislead the world. It cannot conceal the truth that the insurgency in Afghanistan is a manifestation of the patriotic upsurge of a proud people who have never yielded to foreign domination. I wish to restate Pakistan's commitment to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states, and categorically reject the allegation that Pakistan is in any way involved in the insurgency in Afghanistan.

Mr President, it is interesting to note that this insurgency is mainly in the interior of Afghanistan, where brave men and women, brave boys and girls, brave peasants and workers are fighting to free themselves from the forcible occupation of their territory by foreign troops. What is surprising is the attitude of the big powers; one has accused the other of an effort to strangle it. Surely the answer to the presence of troops of one country in an island of the Indian Ocean cannot be accepted as an excuse by another to send troops into another independent country.

A situation similar to that in Afghanistan exists in Kampuchea. Here again, a regime has been imposed on that country by the foreign occupation forces, leading to a mass exodus of the Kampuchean people, who have endured great suffering and privation. In both cases, principles of international law and peaceful co-existence have been violated.

Mr President, the world of Islam does not believe that there can be genuine international security as long as it is predicated on an unstable balance of terror and a continuous escalation of the arms race. We have in the past welcomed measures aimed at relaxing tensions between the two superpowers, and wholeheartedly support their efforts to limit and control strategic nuclear weapons.

Muslim countries favour a genuine detente, but not a detente based on a division of the world into spheres of influence by the two superpowers, because such an arrangement would be at the expense of the Islamic and non-aligned world. We cannot subscribe to a detente which is designed to keep certain areas of the globe tension-free, while exposing others to subversion and aggression in any shape or form. We want peace. We want peace with dignity. We want peace with respect. We want peace with honour. We firmly believe that peace is indivisible, and must encompass all parts of the globe. It cannot be selective in its scope or application.

The world of Islam has invariably been at the forefront in espousing the right of peoples to self-determination and independence as a matter of principle. The attainment of independence by nearly 100 countries since the Second World War is a matter of profound satisfaction to all of us. The success of the valiant struggle waged by the African peoples is a glorious chapter in the annals of freedom. We pay tribute to the indomitable spirit of the great liberation movements, and particularly to the memory of those martyrs whose supreme sacrifice has made this historic achievement possible.

The presence of Zimbabwe among us today as a fully-fledged member of the United Nations symbolizes the heroic achievements of the continent of Africa, where the tentacles of colonialism and racist minority rule maintain an iron hold today. Our prayers, and whatever moral and material support is required of us, will always be with the freedom fighters of South Africa. Their problems are our problems. Their difficulties are our difficulties. Their struggle is our struggle. The clock is in their favour. They shall succeed, because their cause is just.

Mr President, the tide of independence cannot be reversed, any more than one can successfully bid a yesterday to return. Indeed, all efforts to keep people under someone's subjugation, or to turn countries into colonies – such is the verdict of modern history – are doomed to fail.

The policies of racial discrimination, apartheid and minority rule followed by South Africa are repugnant to the letter and spirit of Islam and international morality. We are convinced that nemesis

will overtake whosoever practises racism and apartheid, or discriminates between one human being and another on the grounds of colour.

The Pretoria regime must be made to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its repressive policies and acts of violence in that territory and in South Africa. The Namibian people must be allowed to decide their future destiny through impartial elections under United Nations auspices. However great the difficulties may appear, we are confident of the ultimate triumph of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

Another form of discrimination is a matter of deep concern today to the world of Islam. The Muslim minorities, in various countries around the globe, number nearly 300 million. They are frequently discriminated against and subjected to untold miseries because of religious prejudice. Their lives and properties are not always safe. In some countries, they are being systematically reduced to the status of serfs; in others, they are being forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes and driven to inhospitable regions. The very custodians of law and order have become, for them, instruments of acts of oppression and extermination. This is a challenge to the world conscience, and must be met firmly and fairly. It is a challenge to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that everyone has the right to freedom of conscience and religion. How can the world conscience close its eyes to the fate of millions of human beings who are undergoing acute suffering merely because they profess a particular faith? True to the injunctions of Islam, our hearts go out not only to the Muslim minorities who are subjected to discrimination and oppression, but to all minority communities, regardless of their creed, colour or caste, who are made to suffer a similar fate.

To express humanitarian concern over the plight of these minorities, is not to interfere in the internal affairs of any state. The world community must not lose its capacity for moral anger which, in many cases, is perhaps the only instrument it has to exert pressure on the oppressor today.

The future of mankind will, indeed, be bleak if we allow our sensitivities to human suffering to be dulled, or our conscience to be stifled, at the sight of poverty and hunger. The Holy Prophet said:

Appendix A

He is not a perfect Muslim who eats his fill, and lets his neighbour go hungry.

And:

He who helps his fellow men in the hour of need, him will Allah help on the Day of Judgement.

This is as true of individuals as of nations.

Mr President, we, the peoples of the Islamic world, along with our brethren of the Third World, have suffered together the trauma of colonial domination; we have struggled, side by side, to attain our freedom; we have gone through the same pangs of re-birth after independence; we have inherited similar problems; we are facing similar challenges; we share the same disappointment in the non-realization of the rising hopes and expectations of our peoples.

The basis of the existing economic relationship between the developed and the developing countries is the principle – or the lack of principle in this case – of justice and fair play. The developing nations supply the raw materials, but the developed nations demand unjustly high prices for the industrial goods they provide. We of the Third World are at the mercy of the international market, which is manipulated by a handful of industrialized countries. It is in the interest of the developed countries to realize that the advantages of such basically unsound tactics are short-lived. We have entered an era of interdependence, and no single country can ensure its prosperity by adopting measures which frustrate the legitimate aspirations of other countries and other peoples. Exploitative and discriminatory practices against the developing countries are the root cause of economic and political instability, which poses a great danger to world peace and security. The time has surely come, if it is not already too late, to establish a new economic order which would be durable because it would be fair.

The Group of 77, representing the Third World, has since 1964 been pressing its demand for an international economic order that would ensure optimum growth of the world economy for the

benefit of all countries and all peoples. The North-South dialogue has dragged on as a futile exercise for nearly a decade. In the meantime, the problems of poverty and deprivation of more than half the world have become further aggravated, posing ever greater dangers to world stability.

Meanwhile, the Islamic world has made a start, with concerted measures to pool its resources, and has established financial and banking institutions of its own for the purpose. In the fullness of time, these institutions should enable Muslims to achieve a substantial measure of economic self-reliance. In the true Islamic tradition, the oil-producing Muslim countries have shown a helpful attitude to alleviating the hardships of fellow Muslim states and fellow members of the Third World. At the same time, Muslim countries will continue to exert themselves, to the utmost, towards the achievement of the objectives of the Group of 77. Their voice will also be clearly heard in the North-South dialogue, urging affluent nations to raise their official development assistance to the Third World at least to the agreed level of 0.7 per cent of their GNP. Can magnanimity be at such a low premium?

While so little is being contributed towards the elimination of the problems of poverty and backwardness, on which the future stability of the world depends, the commitment of vast resources to the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction continues to increase. A further tragedy is that large-scale transfers of arms and lethal weapons are taking place to countries which are already expending so much of their precious resources on armaments, at the expense of the welfare of their masses. World security is as much threatened by the reckless diversion of resources towards the arms race as by the neglect of the fundamental needs of the under-privileged peoples of the world. Indeed, the two are inextricably linked. Consequently, the question of disarmament is vitally relevant not only to the reduction of international tensions but also to the better utilization of resources for human development and progress. The goal of disarmament deserves the urgent attention of the world community, and needs to be pursued both at the global and the regional level.

Mr President, the United Nations remains the embodiment of our hopes and aspirations for a world order based on peace and

Appendix A

justice. It is committed to the achievement of this objective by virtue of the ideals enshrined in its Charter. This Organization has been a force for international peace and progress during its 35 years of existence. We do not feel discouraged by its occasional inability to translate its promises into tangible results. We are conscious of the circumstances which have prevented it from enforcing its decisions in respect of the right of the people of Palestine to establish a sovereign state of their own in their homeland, or redeeming its promise to the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to enable them to decide their future in accordance with its relevant Resolutions.

Since the reference to the state of Jammu and Kashmir touches upon Pakistan's relationship with India, I would like to say that, in conformity with our established policy, we have continued our efforts for further normalization of relations with India on the basis of the principles of the Simla Agreement of 1972. Substantial progress has been made over the years in the promotion of communications, travel and trade between the two countries. This process, however, can and will be further accelerated with a peaceful settlement of the question of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan's position on this matter is founded on universally recognized principles.

The Islamic World holds the UNO in great esteem, and will strive to further its fundamental objectives. The message of Islam – the message of peace, equality of man, the rule of law and supremacy of justice – is also fundamental to the United Nations. As devotees of the religion that brought this message to the world, and as signatories to the Charter in which it is enshrined, the Muslim countries are thus doubly committed to the ideals of the United Nations.

The Prophet of Islam said: "Even he who makes progress daily is still far off from the ideal." We therefore do not despair if the ideals of the United Nations are still nowhere near achievement; if aggression and adventurism still disfigure the international scene; if the security and sovereignty of the weak are still being threatened by the strong; if might is still paraded as right. But we live in hope, and will continue to strive to come closer to the ideal, with the passing of every day.

It is with this belief and determination that the Islamic world is poised to enter the fifteenth century Hijra: inspired by its great past; aware of its present problems and opportunities; conscious of its spiritual, cultural and political rebirth and its growing strength; and confident of its future. Its chief source of strength, today, is its urge for unity of thought and action. Its member states – over 40 in number – are generally in agreement on the need for a united and collective response to issues affecting them and the world at large. This has led to the emergence of the concept of strengthening their security by pooling their natural resources, their abundant manpower and their available skills. The close collaboration so achieved will undoubtedly promote self-reliance, and reduce dependence on the uncertain – and often uncomfortable – external factors. This concept of security of the Islamic countries does not involve alignment with any of the power groups; nor does it envisage multilateral defence pacts. It aims essentially at advancing the individual and collective capability of the Islamic countries to achieve the goals, set by consensus, in the larger interest of the Muslim ummah.

Mr President, in the world today there is enough reason for mankind to see the future darkly, and to lose its bearings in the pervading atmosphere of gloom. People feel embattled and forlorn, and see perils and pitfalls all around them. There is social injustice within communities, and economic inequality among nations. All this, I venture to suggest, is a result of unbridled materialism, the eclipse of spiritual values and a loss of faith.

Our redemption lies in a renewal of faith; a revival of the belief in the Creator and His creation. I speak only as a Muslim, acutely conscious that arrogance of belief is forbidden to Muslims; for Islam reproaches its followers for any conceit about their faith. So, in all humility, I state that we perceive the role of Islam as that of helping to overcome the problems besetting the contemporary world. It can assist in building an enduring structure for international amity, based on universal brotherhood and on respect for the principles of peaceful co-existence. Islam is not a religion in the conventional sense but a many-splendoured mansion: it is a unique and comprehensive system of law; it is a distinctive culture, a fascinating civilization; it is a supreme metaphysical

Appendix A

doctrine for the relief and redemption of man. Fourteen hundred years of its record of service is there for all of us to see.

The credentials of the Muslims to be able to play a role in helping to promote peace and harmony among nations are provided in the statement of human rights and duties by the Prophet in his last sermon on Mount Arafat, which is as fresh and relevant today as it was fourteen hundred years ago. On this occasion, the Prophet said:

Hearken to my words, O Men . . .

The Arab is not superior to non-Arab; the non-Arab is not superior to Arab. You are all sons of Adam, and Adam was made up of dust . . .

The vengeance of blood practised in the days of Ignorance is prohibited, and blood-fueds are abolished.

Verily, you should consider each other's blood, property and reputation, inviolable unto the Day of Judgement.

Remember Allah [in your dealings with] women. You have rights over them – they have rights over you . . .

Verily, a man is responsible only for his own acts. A son is not responsible for the crimes of his father, nor a father responsible for the crimes of his sons. He who has a pledge, let him return it to him who entrusted him with it: all usury is abolished, but you have your capital; wrong not, and you shall not be wronged.

You are one brotherhood; nothing which belongs to another is lawful unto his brother, unless freely given out of goodwill. Guard yourselves from committing injustice.

You will surely meet your Lord, and He will ask you about your deeds.

If this be the message, then should not the present resurgence of Islam and the re-awakening among Muslims of the world be a welcome phenomenon? It should be welcomed as a revitalizing force that could bring peace to a weary world and hope to a distraught humanity. It is not a religion that forces itself on others.

The Holy Quran explicitly reminds us: "There is no compulsion in religion" (2:257).

Thus, without obtruding, and in its own imperceptible ways, Islam can act as a catalyst in rousing the conscience of the international community. The religion of Islam is primarily concerned with the guidance it furnishes to its votaries on how best to live this life. The prayer of the believer is: "Our Lord enable us to live this life in a handsome way and also grant us a handsome life in the Hereafter . . . Amen."

This life is a preparation for the life to come; it has to be lived fully, earnestly and resolutely. It has to be lived for God, spent in His holy name, in obedience to His law.

Mr President, the world of Islam is confident that the era of stark materialism, which bred imperialism, colonialism and injustice in all its forms, is finally over, and cannot be brought back. As they enter the fifteenth century Hijra, the Islamic peoples, who have rediscovered their pride in their religion, their great culture and their unique social and economic institutions, are confident that the advent of this century will mark the beginning of a new epoch, when their high ideals of peace, justice, equality of man, and their unique understanding of the universe, will once again enable them to make a worthy contribution to the betterment of mankind.

Before concluding, I should like to express a fervent hope and prayer on behalf of the Muslims of the world, that the 154 nations gathered here make a solemn commitment:

- 1 That the fifteenth century Hijra, and the twenty-first century AD, will usher in an era in which relations between states will be governed by higher moral principles, and not by power politics.
- 2 That we shall create a human society founded on the principles of universal brotherhood.
- 3 That all forms of intolerance and discrimination, based on considerations of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be ended.
- 4 That the remaining strongholds of oppression and injustice on earth shall be demolished.
- 5 That the strong nations shall not oppress the weak, nor the rich dominate the poor.

Appendix A

- 6 That scientific knowledge and the natural resources of the earth shall be shared equitably for the common welfare and good of the human race, instead of being squandered on armaments and other preparations for war.
- 7 That the environment of our planet shall be protected from abuse, to safeguard for posterity its right to inherit the earth as beautiful and supportive of life as the Creator made it for us.
- 8 That, above all, peace shall prevail among nations, and brotherhood among men, to enable humanity to preserve our precious civilization to which each generation has made its contribution, and to achieve the quality of life, based on political, economic and social justice, to which we all aspire, but which has so far exceeded our grasp.

I once again thank you, Mr President, for the privilege of addressing this august Assembly.

وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ

And peace be on you and Allah's Mercy and His Blessings.

Appendix B

Inaugural Address by
President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq
to an International Conference on
“Islam Today”, organized by the
Islamic Council, Islamabad,
10 December 1983

Bismillah Aur Rehman Nir Rahim Alhamdulilahi Rabilalamin
Wasalahtuh Wasalam Alkhalatul-Alrabin.

Mr Salem Azzam, Secretary General, Islamic Council of Europe,
Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you a very warm welcome to Pakistan; for holding this conference in Islamabad, which literally means, as Mr Salem Azzam has already pointed out, the city of Islam. It is our ardent hope and endeavour to make not only this city but the whole of Pakistan an embodiment of Islamic values and traditions. Our special gratitude is due to those delegates who have come from abroad. I am grateful to the Pakistani delegates who have taken the trouble to join with their friends from abroad and I hope that their stay in Pakistan will be comfortable as well as conducive to the fulfilment of the objectives of this conference.

This international conference of Muslim scholars and statesmen is being held at a time when the Muslim ummah is facing challenges at all levels: social, economic, political, intellectual and ideological. Just now we heard a very inspiring speech from brother Salem Azzam. We have heard the message of that great revolutionary stalwart of the Muslim world, President Ben Bella, so ably conveyed by Professor Faruqi that I really find it difficult to say any more than what we have already heard. But in my own humble way I must try. I must try to put across a fresh point of view if I can, stress a few points that have already been said, and put before you a more optimistic view than the pessimism that generally prevails in the Muslim world. I feel not only that I am by nature an optimist but also that Islam itself is a life of optimism in this world and in the world hereafter and it is for this reason that I generally see more value in the greener side of the pasture. However, many aspects require a lot of thought, and there are many grey areas which require a little more sophisticated treatment than merely being an optimist.

Before I consider a few of these areas, I wish to remind my Pakistani brothers, and also to enlighten, if they already do not know, our brothers from abroad about what Pakistanis and Pakistan mean, what Pakistan is supposed to be. I will not indulge in a long historical discourse, but I will just give a few facts. As you are aware, this little land of ours was a part of a much greater geographical compact known as the Indian subcontinent. It was a land ruled by Muslims for over a thousand years. A minority, Muslims ruled it in the name of God and to the best of their ability in the true spirit of Sunnah. We have heard about the Muslim rulers of this subcontinent who led their lives in the true spirit of Kholfaie Rashideen. We have heard of Emperor Aurungzeb who earned his living by writing the Holy Book in his own hand. Some people allege that he spread Islam by the sword. He did not. He spread Islam, he consolidated the Islamic state, only through confidence in the Islamic values. But that is much too close to our own age. I want to take you a little further back, beyond what is known in Pakistan, and also to highlight the spirit and the sentiments which exist today: the compromise of the values that

we have accepted. Now, please don't consider that I am also trying to be a pessimist, I am not; I will just try to highlight the realities. In his address, President Ben Bella talks about the sickness of Muslim hearts, the sickness of Muslim rulers and the sickness of the Muslim world. I also want to bring out a small aspect of life from our own experience, experience from our small country, and from its history. You must have heard about a great personality in the Muslim world, Hajaj bin Yousuf. The Muslims of those days were great traders. They traded in waters which at that time were not well-known. The trade spread so far that Arab traders were known throughout the world. One Carvan, carrying ladies with it, was looted by the inhabitants of the present part of Pakistan, and the Muslim women were disgraced. Remnants of that Carvan went back and asked Hajaj bin Yousuf in what capacity he was ruling. They begged him in the name of Islam not only to take revenge but also to teach the people of that land some moral values. Hajaj bin Yousuf chose a seventeen-year-old Muslim leader, Muhammad bin Qasim. Muhammad bin Qasim came, invaded the territory, defeated Raja Dahir and established Islam with a handful of people. He did not take revenge, but taught the people of this land that there are greater values in life than looting a Carvan. Muhammad bin Qasim was the man who brought Islam to this land. Then Islam spread, not by the sword but by a large number of Muslim scholars, Muslim Ulema and Muslim thinkers who were able to bring about a state of affairs in which this sub-continent, before Pakistan came into being, was ruled by Muslims. The Muslims were in a minority: the majority were non-Muslim.

In the twentieth century the great thinker of the East, the poet Iqbal, wondered what would happen if tomorrow there was a western democracy or if the British left the subcontinent and gave freedom to this land. It was at that time that he stated that in order to practise Islam it was necessary for there to be an Islamic state. It was his thought that led to the idea of a homeland, to be named Pakistan, for the Muslims of this subcontinent. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah took up this idea, and after a long political struggle he was able to give us, who are sitting here today, a land of our own, a land which was created in the name of Islam. At that

time people thought it would be a miracle and said that it was next to impossible to create such a country. But it was possible by the grace of God and by the unity of the Muslims of the subcontinent and the sacrifices that they made, particularly those who left their homes and hearths and came here only because they wanted to live in a Muslim environment, and by the sacrifices of those who were here and who in the true spirit of ansars welcomed the Muhajireen and laid down the foundations, based on Islamic values, of the new state of Pakistan.

Mr Salem Azzam, brothers and sisters, this country was created in the name of Islam and it was at the time the largest Muslim state in the world. We started off with this idea but somewhere down the line we went astray. We forgot about Islamic values, we forgot about the fundamental principles on which Pakistan was created. We started looking towards western democracy. We started fighting about parties, political parties, political settlement, a secular state versus a non-secular state. What was the result? It is before us. The two brothers fought each other and the largest Muslim state in the world was bifurcated into two different countries. One remains Pakistan and the other is now Bangladesh. We wish Bangladesh all the best and I pray to God that they may prosper, remain independent and be able to establish an Islamic order for which the initial homeland, Pakistan, was created. We bear no grudge. We have nothing but goodwill and good wishes for our brothers in Bangladesh.

I always try to take those 85 million people who now comprise Pakistan back in history. People in the West ask me why, if Islam is the source of unity, was Pakistan bifurcated? And I tell them in very simple words that you cannot blame Islam. It is the fault of Pakistanis, it is our own fault. If you don't listen to the doctor, it is not the fault of the doctor or the medicine, it is your own fault. It is our own fault. Let us not blame Islam. Because Islam is a faith, is a deen which came 1400 years ago, not for that time only but for ever. Islam will, Inshallah, remain dominant until the end of the world. But what I want to remind you and the people of this land in the presence of so many brothers from abroad is that history is too bitter to be written. History is easily forgotten. But history, unless remembered, will repeat itself: for that purpose I want to

remind the people of Pakistan that today we 85 million people still are not a small country, we are a large country even now. But remember that this country was created in the name of Islam. When we forgot that we paid a very heavy price. If we forget it now we will perish. Let it not be said that 85 million people were given a chance by God Almighty to establish a model state, to establish a state in the name of Islam, and they faltered and they perished. Nobody will ever remember us. Today we must stand up and look at our history and our fundamental values and the cause for which hundreds and thousands of people laid down their lives. Look at the sacrifices that they made. I ask those who walked hundreds of miles to come to Pakistan. I hate to give an example from my own life, but please go and ask my mother, she is still alive. She walked one hundred miles on bare feet. Ask her the value of Pakistan today. Don't ask me. People have made great sacrifices for this country. We cannot let it go by default to those who believe in other than Islam. We have to establish Islamic principles in this country because this is our only salvation. We are surrounded by large countries. Given the chance (except for one for whom I can vouch), and remember they are not Muslims, they will all pounce on this land, demolish its very structure and destroy the very foundation on which it was based – Islam.

If 85 million people can be washed away by the torrent that may come from the East or the West, then we do not deserve to exist any longer in this world. And how do we exist? How do we face these torrents? Today in this country of ours we talk about Islam, and God has been very kind to us: we have had some successes, but we also face a lot of inner tensions. There are a lot of pulls and pushes because of our own compulsions. We do not have a clear view of the whole issue.

Please allow me to give a few fundamental ideas from my own experience. In my judgement not everyone can be a scientist. There are many scientists who are unknown: but one or two of them are in the limelight. Not everybody can be a good artist. Not everyone can be a good educationist. They all try but only a few succeed. The same principle can be applied to some extent to Islam, but God Almighty has said clearly and our Prophet (S.A.W.) has explained that in the first place this book of God, this faith, is

only for those who believe; it is not meant for non-believers. If God Almighty wishes, and as he says, once I open up the doors then it is very easy for a man to listen and to absorb all the lessons. All these lessons are meant for those who are believers. It is not necessary, it is not sufficient, to be named or known as Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. It is very important that your acts and deeds, that my acts and deeds, should also conform to the basic tenets of Islam. Unless we pay attention to these we cannot hope to emerge above the surface. Before I discuss some of the fundamental problems, let me make one point clear, which I should have done much earlier. Some time ago the Islamic Council of Europe, under Mr Salem Azzam, thought of having a conference in London. I was informed that they would like to have some knowledgeable people from Pakistan, and we sent a delegation. Mr Salem Azzam has talked about the Declaration of Human Rights. I think one of the fundamental principles of Islam is human rights. The modern world learned about human rights long after the Prophet (S.A.W.) gave the first ever bill of rights to humanity. We are the believers of that faith. Mr Salem Azzam thought of having another discussion about a matter of fundamental importance to the Muslim world: an Islamic constitution. We met a few months ago and I am very grateful to him for having suggested holding this conference on the soil of Pakistan. I wish it to be known, and with permission from my brother Salem Azzam I want to make it quite clear, that when Mr Salem Azzam came and told me about having this conference I asked him where he was going to hold it. He kept quiet and I said, "Why not in Pakistan?" He was kind enough to accept, but I asked him for two basic requirements. I asked him that the expenses for this conference should be met by the Islamic Council. It should be an independent conference: we should not be at the mercy of the Government of Pakistan. Secondly, I requested him to make it quite clear that this conference is being held by the organization, by the Islamic Council of Europe, and Pakistan is only acting as a host; I think that that at least is our privilege. For the rest, this conference is independent and it is in the true spirit of Islam that everyone must carry out its exercises and give his views forthrightly, without fear or favour, to bring about something of which the Muslim world of today can not only be proud, but

from which it can also benefit. It is with this true spirit that we have assembled here today.

The little story that I told you about Pakistan had a purpose: to say that you can talk about Islam and all its aspects, complexities and implications, and its fundamentals, but you will achieve nothing. We must look back 1400 years to the spirit of the holy Prophet's Hijrah. Why did the Prophet (S.A.W.) migrate from Mecca to Medina? What did Sayadnah Muhammad (S.A.W.) do when, for the first time, the Quran and some of the fundamental principles were being revealed? Muslims were not allowed to practice their religion, the Prophet himself told them to go slow, until one day he decided that they must migrate; and of course God had revealed it. He migrated to establish the first Islamic state, the state of Medinah Munawwarah. The purpose was to indicate that if Islam is to be practised and preached you must have a state of your own. You must have a state based on fundamental Islamic principles: only then can you flourish. Therefore in the name of Islam and in the true tradition of the holy Prophet (S.A.W.) it is incumbent on all of us who belong to the free Muslim world to establish Islamic order in our lands. The efforts and struggles of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah were motivated by that purpose alone. He claimed that there were two nations in the Indian subcontinent; a Muslim nation and a non-Muslim nation. This two-nation theory was the basis on which Pakistan was founded. This formula was not the creation of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It is the formula created by no less a person than the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) himself. It was based on this theory that he established the first Islamic state, Medinah Munawwarah, and it is for this reason that with the dream of the poet of the East, Allama Iqbal, and the efforts and struggles of Muslims under the great leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the basis of the two-nation theory that Pakistan was created for the Muslim nation to live, practise, and govern themselves in accordance with Islamic principles.

We did have our faults, for which we paid a heavy price. I do not want to blow my own trumpet, but I think that today, by the grace of God, not only in Pakistan but throughout the Muslim world, there is a great resurgence of Islam, there is a great inquiry and in

my opinion Islam today is not the most misunderstood religion. In fact, I say that Islam today is the most sought-after religion for inquiry, for explanation and for learning. It is for this reason that Muslim countries today are striving to seek out the basic fundamentals on which they should build the foundations of the state in accordance with the Islamic principles. In this humble effort we in Pakistan have been striving for the last six or seven years. God has been kind to give us some successes but our results are not conclusive, nor have they fulfilled the expectations of the people of Pakistan. We hope that Inshallah we will be able one day to establish our state according to the basic concept of Islam and its fundamental principles. Statecraft is a science. Islam itself lays down the fundamental principles of statecraft in a Muslim state. In my opinion one of the fundamental principles of Islam today, very rightly assessed and projected by brother Salem Azzam, is the constitution of a Muslim country. Here again I cannot speak for anyone else, but I can say with confidence that we in Pakistan are striving. We are doing our best to identify the fundamental principles of Islam and how they can be achieved in the form of government and in the constitution of Pakistan, so that this state will not be known in name only, but also by the way it is governed, as a truly Islamic state. However, I must say that until and unless we remove the contradictions and until and unless we believe in the principles of Islam, the results will not be encouraging.

Brother Salem Azzam and the Islamic Council of Europe has presented a model, which has been published in the Pakistani press today, and which I am sure will be debated in this conference. We hope to derive the maximum benefit from this and I am very grateful to brother Salem Azzam for guiding us in this most fundamental aspect of Islam today: that is, the method of government.

Let us turn to the fundamental principles and practices of Sayadnah Muhammad (S.A.W.), which contain answers to our question. Islamic history is so rich that we can find in it anything we choose, but today in Pakistan we have some world famous scholars, theologians, Ulemas, Mushairs, everyone: you name him and he is there in Pakistan. But I think, with due apologies to them, that the requirement is to turn to basic principles. Here I

want to mention, and I hope I am right, that western scholars divide Islam into two: the fundamentalists and the moderates. In my view there is no such division in the Muslim world. In my view there is only one Islam and that Islam is based on Quran and Sunnah. Thereafter there are many schools of thought, and you may follow any one that you like. As long as you can see the light, as long as you can solve the problems, follow any school of thought, stick to it. Follow it practically. But do not criticize anybody else for the way in which he practises. There, in my opinion, lies the harmony that does not exist today in various schools of Islamic thought. In Pakistan we want to start with basic principles. Quran and Sunnah must guide us at all times in finding solutions to our problems. It is in this way that we are striving today. Pakistan is very proud that in the last six or seven years we have made some great strides in the establishment of Quwaneen Hudood, in the establishment of Islamic values, and in the establishment of the Islamic welfare system in the form of Zakat and Ushr. We have tried to bring justice in accordance with Islamic principles, the establishment of the Federal Shariat Court, the establishment of the Shari'ah Benches in the Supreme Courts. These are just a few of the steps we have taken. We have taken some, not half-hearted, but half measures in the field of banking and accounting. We have introduced interest-free banking. Here I must tell you the belief that I have. If you really, honestly strive to follow the principles of Islam, you find the results encouraging, even surprising. We started a couple of years ago. We said let us start a banking system on an interest-free basis. We had some doubts whether it would succeed. Knowing full well that it is written in the Quran that Ribah is haram, we in Pakistan were not quite sure how to implement the system. Therefore, we prayed to God to help and guide us. We had half of our banking on an interest-free basis and half on modern methods. And you will be surprised to know that in the last two years we have had so many deposits in this interest-free banking that it has even surprised many of us. People have come with bundles of notes and have deposited their money, they have transferred their accounts from one side to the other. We today are facing the problem of how to invest those amounts in accordance with the Shari'ah. This is what

happens when you follow the basic principles. God Almighty will shower you with blessings that you do not even expect. I am not indulging in platitudes. I am, ladies and gentlemen, revealing my own experiences. We have made many mistakes but I hope that Inshallah we will be able to reform Pakistan. My hope does not lie in those who criticize, my hope does not lie in those who do not believe, my hope lies in those who are true believers, who are real followers of Islam. Amongst them are old and young, middle class and lower class, rich and poor. What is more important, which I find a very peculiar thing in Pakistan and which brother Salem Azzam has touched on in his address, is that the youth of Pakistan is becoming far more interested in Islam than I was in my youth, and I think this is a sign of success. I hope that the youth of Pakistan, the youth of the Muslim world, will continue to strive to follow the principles of Islam, living their lives as true followers of the Islamic faith. It is this that encourages me to say that Pakistan, Inshallah, by the grace of God, will find a solution as to how Islam is to stand in this modern world. When we discuss the subject of Islam today it seems that there is a doubt, it seems that we are being subjected to too much criticism, and it is for this reason that we have assembled here today to remove those doubts, to reveal to the world, to inform those who are ill-informed, that Islam today is as strong as it ever was: that Islam today is perhaps the only solution to human problems.

In my view Islam has principles which are not rigid. Islam is a faith, a deen, which is here to stay and which will emerge again as a beacon for the guidance of the Muslim world and for the rest of humanity. With regard to Islam today the pessimistic side before us is disunity. But we should not be discouraged by this. It is our own creation and unless we remove it we will be faced with a problem. Here I want to tell you one of the thoughts that Allama Iqbal left in his collection of lectures, the *Reconstruction of Islamic Thought*. He says that we should not be discouraged because there is no unity in the Muslim world, that each is going his own way, and that there is too much nationalism. He says that the time has come for Islam to reassert itself. It has to follow the same methodology that was followed many years ago. In other words it has to

have a driving force within itself that will be created by individual Islamic states standing on their own feet, following the principles of Islam and bringing their heads above water. Once each individual Islamic state has stood on its own feet and has the strength of Islam, then will be the time when we should bring all the nations together. I am not saying that there should be no effort now. The effort must continue. But all of us, in our own humble way, must strive to create our own states, our own lands, our own little countries, as pieces of the great Islamic ummah so that it will be as solid as a block as possible. Then we should say that the 44 hands, 44 strong links, will make a very strong chain. Then we should hold that chain and God Almighty would say that we should catch hold of the chain of Islam so that you can all be strong together.

Today 15 million people in Afghanistan are striving to live in accordance with their own faith: out of those 15 million, three million refugees are today on Pakistani soil, one million are in Iran and one or two million are roaming round the world, leaving us approximately nine or ten million subjugated people in Afghanistan. As a true Islamic independent state Afghanistan is asking for nothing. Afghans are telling their neighbour, the Soviet Union, that they are prepared to live with the USSR and they are asking the Soviet Union not to interfere with their fundamental faith. They are saying: "This is nobody's land but ours. We have the right to rule it the way we like and we have the right to claim it as an independent Islamic state of Afghanistan." They are fighting practically bare-handed. I am very grateful to all the Muslim countries who are contributing to the upkeep of the three million refugees on our soil. Without their help this burden might have caused us many anxieties. But today we are bearing it with no grudge and we will continue to bear it as long as we can and as long as God gives us the strength. At the same time I want to acknowledge the assistance we have received from our Muslim brothers outside Pakistan, the Islamic states who have contributed towards this cause in whatever manner and form.

But is that all? This is a question you have to ask me. We are 85 million people in Pakistan. We are standing today hand in hand with those who are on our soil. We are trying to look after three million

refugees. We are trying to say: this is your land. You can live here as long as you wish and if we have one loaf of bread we shall share half with you. I also salute those who are fighting in Afghanistan. Their spirit is as alive as it was four years ago and it is this spirit which will matter; not the help, money or clothes that Pakistan is offering to the refugees. We are offering nothing to the Afghan Mujahideen: they are fighting in the name of Allah. Because it is their faith I have a firm conviction that, irrespective of the Afghan Mujahideen and irrespective of the scattered assistance that might have reached them from various Muslim countries, they will teach the intruders another lesson. History repeats itself and history is repeating itself in Afghanistan. To the best of my knowledge no foreign intruder in the written history of Afghanistan has ever been able to subjugate that country. The British tried three times and they were highly unsuccessful. The Soviet Union is now trying but in a different way. I hope even this method will not succeed. In a discussion with a very responsible Soviet official, I said that Pakistan is doing no more than looking after the refugees, that we consider this our human responsibility, our Islamic responsibility. I said: "Your excellency you can't grudge us that." I said: "We thought that you are a superpower, you are technologically so advanced, militarily you have such strong muscles. But, your excellency, you are not a good student of history." He asked me why? I said: "If I were you, seeing the history of British experience, I would have never entered Afghanistan, but now that you have entered please get out quickly and leave the Afghan Mujahideen and Afghan nationals to look after their own affairs. I assure you that they will be good neighbours because Islam teaches us to be men of peace and good neighbours, irrespective of who is on the other side." It is for this reason that we hope and pray that the Afghan Mujahideen will live up to their history, live up to their faith. May God bless them with freedom one day. I also say that they are not fighting their own battle: they are also fighting at least the battle of Pakistan's freedom, and it is in this respect that my heart goes out to pray for them. It is for this reason that when I go to visit some of my brother Afghans in the refugee camps I see a ray of hope in their eyes. Their eyes are shining with hope, which gives me a great deal of

Appendix B

satisfaction because as long as I see that ray of hope I know the Afghans will never succumb. The ray of hope is that one day they will go back to their homeland, Inshallah, as free citizens with honour and grace and be the citizens of an independent Islamic Afghanistan.

I have taken more time that I should have. I will therefore end with a prayer, a prayer that God will bless us to follow Islam and its true sense. May God help us, individually and collectively, to lay down the model of true Islamic states. Let us work with our people, of whom many are poor, many are weak and many need help, at least to discharge our Haqooul-Ibad correctly. For Haqooul-Allah we hope that God in his mercy will forgive our sins, but when it comes to Haqooul-Ibad then He will not forgive us. May God help all Muslim states to follow the principles and teachings of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.). Let us help each other. Let us help Afghans to win their struggle, to win their country, their homeland. Let us help Palestinians, the greatest sufferers of tragedy on this earth. Let us help the Lebanese and, above all, let us help Iran and Iraq to come to a peaceful conclusion of their conflict of the last three years. Let us pray that God may grant us the strength to live in accordance with Islamic principles. I wish the participants of this conference all success and I hope that they are successful in their aims and objectives. With these words I have the privilege of inaugurating this conference, and I humbly pray to Allah to bless it with success. Pakistan Painsdabad. Walakhir Dawana. Alhamdulilah Rabilalamin. Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullah wa Barakatahu.

Appendix C

Text of President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's Inaugural Address to the Islamic Unity Conference held by the Islamic Council, Islamabad, March 1988

Brother Salem Azzam, brother Dr Abdullah, brother Hujat-ul-Islam Muhammad Ali Taskheri, my dear brother General Sawar-al-Dahab, honourable ministers, members of Parliament, your excellencies, brothers and sisters in Islam. Asalamu Alaium.

I feel it is a matter of great honour for me to be here today at the inauguration of this conference on Islamic Unity. As we know, the conference is organized by the Islamic Council in London, an independent autonomous body which has the honour and the privilege to be led at present by brother Salem Azzam. The Council has earned acceptability and credibility in the Muslim world for the sincerity with which it has so far publicized and served Islam not only in London but throughout the Muslim world. I congratulate brother Salem Azzam and I pray to Allah that his and his Council's efforts be blessed with success. Amin. I also take this opportunity to remove a slight doubt that I must confess to. Some months ago, here in Pakistan, there was a conference also organized

by the Islamic Council in London. Brother Salem Azzam is not only a true Muslim; he not only confesses to belong to country A or country B; but I also call him a very good Pakistani. At that time he asked me if they could hold a conference in Islamabad on Islamic Unity. I said "Ahlan wa Sahlan". This is a land of Muslims. Everybody is free to hold any conference and to speak on anything, particularly on Islam. Thereafter there was some confusion, for which I personally accept the blame. So those of you who have experienced a little confusion as to whether this conference was to be held, or not to be held, or was to be postponed, please blame Zia-ul-Haq and nobody else. And when brother Salem Azzam contacted me on Sunday 7 February, I had my own doubts as to whether or not we could hold this conference, which I explained to him. Fortunately, and Allah be praised, the government of Pakistan came to our help, and I must thank the government, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Islamic Council, for allowing us to hold the conference and giving us administrative facilities: the burden of the entire organization of this conference is being borne by the Islamic Council in London; the government of Pakistan is providing a little administrative support. I am here to attend this conference in my true capacity as a Muslim. And I am here as the President of Pakistan, in which capacity I have the honour of chairing this inaugural session. Allah be praised, the conference is being held; and it has so far been so successful that I am sure that if it keeps the pace with which it started, Inshallah, it will be able to achieve its purpose.

Before I express a few of my ordinary thoughts, I take the opportunity of thanking brother Salem Azzam and the Islamic Council for holding this conference in Islamabad. I on my own behalf and on behalf of the people and government of Pakistan thank all my brothers and sisters who have come from far and near to attend this conference. Without your presence the purpose of this conference would not have been served. For the last 10 years we have had the honour of hosting many conferences. Every conference had its own nature, but they all ended on one note: service to Islam. I see in the audience some familiar faces from the past. If I am allowed not to name them, but to remember them in my heart and in my prayers, I must say thank you so much for helping us. Without your presence the conference could not be successful.

Appendix C

I would also take this opportunity to acknowledge some very lucid messages that have come from prominent leaders of Islam. To head them all is Khadim al Harmein al Sharifein King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz. We are very grateful to him, not only for sending his message, but also for the official delegation, led by brother Turki. We are also very grateful to Iran, to the government of Iran, to my brother President Khomeini and also the leader of the delegation, brother Taskheri, for having come to deliver a message from the government of Iran. I am also very grateful to my brother Prime Minister Mahatir for his message and also to brother Sharif-ud-din Pirzada, the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference; the only body which at present envisages encouraging the Islamic ummah in at least the economic, cultural and scientific fields. While all these messages were important, educative, enlightening, I must confess that above all these was the message, the address, of the great freedom fighter Ahmed Ben Bella. I was inspired by his address. I must confess that Dr Kholi has done full justice to this message, delivering it in its true spirit. I am not quite sure if Ahmed Ben Bella would have been as successful as Dr Kholi if he himself had delivered his message. It is a very elaborate address. I myself do not know where to begin and where to end because all that could be said to this conference has been said in one message or another, and elaborately explained by our brother Ahmed Ben Bella in his enlightening address. This makes my task much easier. Instead of going through a long written address of my own and boring you for the next hour, I will hide behind the excuse of supporting Ahmed Ben Bella in his thoughts and deeds, and in the message that he sent. I will mention just a few of my own humble ideas, because I am very conscious of my inability to convey any worthwhile ideas to this learned gathering, where I find eminent scholars, freedom fighters and leaders of the Muslim world. But I will try: I will try in my own humble way.

What bothers us today is perhaps that the Islamic world is not united. What bothers us is perhaps that the Muslim world is disintegrating. A historical perspective shows that civilizations and nations which advanced and progressed, having reached a climax, have collapsed or have been obliterated from the face of the earth. And it seems that Iqbal's verses are coming true:

Shore hai ho gaye Duniay se Muslamman nabood. Ham Ye kahtay hain ke thai bhi kaheen Musalman majood . . .

There is a cry in the Universe that the Muslims have been obliterated. I ask where were the Muslims whom you think have been obliterated? You show by appearance that you are the followers of Christianity. You dress yourself as if you are members of another community. Tell us where are those Muslims the appearance of whom the Jews felt ashamed. You call yourself members of one community or the other. You call yourself the nation of one or the other. You are everything but tell us whether you are Muslims or not.

This, in a nutshell, was Iqbal's grievance at a time when he was trying to see what was wrong with the Muslims. This was over 50 years ago. But I think if you look at today's environment, it seems that we feel that Islamic unity is on the verge of disintegration; that the Islamic world, naouzbilla, is going to see its end. It is not so. The message is clear. The essence of the message is that if you give up your identity as a Muslim you are finished. But if you catch hold of it, this world is yours.

What is the unity we are talking about? If you want to present the unity of water, you must put water into a container. The container must prove it has the unity of water. If you put in a bucket water, milk and honey, then it has the unity of a liquid; it no longer retains the unity of water. Similarly, if you want a basket full of apples, you must put in it both green and red ones: whether they are green or red makes no difference as long as they are apples: and it is still a basket full of apples. If you add something else to it, it is no longer a basket of apples. It might be a basket of fruit, a basket of junk, a basket of anything else, but not a basket of apples. Unity is no more than that basket and what we want to put into it.

I will come to the question before us in a moment, if I can put it across simply, and I am in no way underestimating the intelligence and standard of knowledge of the learned audience because right in front of me is sitting brother Hassan al Turabi, and every time I speak I am conscious of his presence here. During the

last 10 years we have been able to do much in Pakistan – I am not digressing, I am coming to a very pertinent point. We have been guided by many a friend and brother in Islam, and at the top of the list is brother Hassan al Turabi. Whether it was the forming of the Hudood Laws in Pakistan, or the advent of the Shari'ah, or the institution of the Islamic courts, or the institution of the Nizam-e-Zakat or Ushr, we were helped by many men of knowledge and leaders of Islamic learning, including brother Hassan al Turabi. I remember one conference outside Pakistan, to which I was accompanied by a delegation from Pakistan. Among them was the Chairman of the Council of Islamic Ideology, a very enthusiastic Muslim, very robust in his thoughts and deeds. We were arguing about what steps should be taken in the Islamization process in Pakistan. And lo and behold, on my left was brother Hassan al Turabi. During the break, I went to Hassan al Turabi with my friend, the Chairman of the Council of Islamic Ideology, and I said: "brother Hassan, will you please tell us what in Islam is the meaning of this?" Hassan al Turabi, in his eloquent manner and simple style, told us what to do, and I left this to my very able friend. What I am trying to say is that there have been efforts in various countries of the Muslim world to find our identity.

In this respect, since human nature is such that it must be reminded of such events which are past, which are part of history today, I would like to take the liberty of taking you back 42 years. I am reminded of the coming into being of Pakistan. I have said that you are learned persons; there are Pakistanis sitting here who know their own history. I simply want to emphasize how Pakistan came into being. I will not narrate the entire history of the freedom movement in Pakistan: I merely wish to add to one chapter of this movement. The subcontinent was a colony of the British, who were about to leave. They had decided on this and they asked to whom should power be transferred. The Indian National Congress, which claimed to represent all Indians, including the Muslims of the subcontinent, claimed that power should be transferred to them. There arose the solitary voice of a man called Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who had been a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, who had been a member of the Indian National Congress, who had been an office-bearer of the Executive Council

of the Indian National Congress. He raised his voice, reflecting the thoughts of Allama Iqbal, and emphasized that in this subcontinent existed two nations, one Muslim and the other non-Muslim. He claimed that if power had to be transferred, it should be transferred to two bodies: one for the Muslims in the Muslim majority areas, allowing them to practise Islam and live according to their faith, according to their "deen"; and one for the others, as whatever the Indian National Congress demanded. It was not easy to sell this idea, but on 23 March 1940, the Muslims of the subcontinent, under the banner of the Muslim League and the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, passed a resolution that in Muslim majority areas of the Indian subcontinent of India there would be a country, a state by the name of Pakistan. Within seven years, on 14 August 1947, came Pakistan. You could say that it was a great historical and political movement that created Pakistan. But that would not be true. You could say it was the result of the ability of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. That would be partly true. You could suggest that it came into being because of the stubbornness of the Hindus who opposed the idea. You would not be right. But if you said that the Muslims united under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah because they wanted to live their lives according to their "deen" and faith, then you would be right: it was only as a result of this unity of thought and action among the people of the region that brought about a miraculous achievement in the form of a new state, a new nation which was to lead its life in accordance with Islamic injunctions. That was Pakistan. What I am trying to say is that when you have decided your aim and selected the path, if you follow that path with determination, then Allah Subhanahu wa Tallah blesses you in your efforts. This is a universal law. Yes, we claim to be favourites of Allah Subhanahu wa Tallah. Maybe He gave us a little extra, which He promises not only in this world but also in the world hereafter: but he has made this universal law, applicable to all those who would follow it. We claim further that we follow the injunctions of Allah Subhanahu wa Tallah, what He has given us in the Holy Quran. Furthermore, we say that we follow in the footsteps of the messenger of Allah, the last of the prophets, Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa Sallahu Allahay wa Sallam

(SAW), whose followers we claim to be. It is in the name of Allah and in the tradition of Muhammad (SAW) that we claim to be, not the favourites, but something close to favourites because Allah may give us something, if not for ourselves (because we are sinners), for the sake of His prophet. It is for this reason that, once we find out who we are, establish our identity and discover what is taking us astray from this identity, then the problem will be resolved. In my own humble way I am trying to put across the idea that perhaps we are in a state of flux of finding our own identity. We must look for the identity which will enable us to call ourselves Muslims. Therefore, the conclusion must be that we should practise Islam.

To practise Islam means that we follow a "deen", religion in the English language, but much more than a religion because "deen" is a way of life. "Deen-e-Islam" demands certain responsibilities from us. One is the spirit of Islam. I am trying to identify whether we have really found the essence of unity or whether we are still probing in the dark, so I would request you to allow me to quote from a book here and there. I will tell you what the book is but first let me read one passage:

What is the character and general structure of the universe in which we live? Is there a permanent element in the constitution of this universe? How are we related to it? What place do we occupy in it and what is the conduct that befits the place we occupy?

The writer goes on to say that, "it all depends on as to how and which moral standards you follow". Then he comes to "deen", calling it religion. He says:

The essence of religion on the other hand is faith, and faith like the bird seeks its trackless way, unattended by intellect, which in the words of the great mystic poet of Islam, waylays the living heart of man and robs it of the invisible wealth of life that lies within. Yet it cannot be denied that faith is more than mere feeling, it is like a component and the existence of rival parties. Scholastics and mystics in the history of religion show that idea is a vital element in religion. Apart from this, religion on its

doctrinal side, as defined by Professor Whitehead, is a system of general truths which has the effect of transforming character, when they are sincerely held and vividly apprehended.

The writer goes on to say that this essence of faith is like the bird, which moves from one end of the world to the other. Look at the migratory birds. They fly with their faith heedless of what is going on around them; faith in the true sense of Islamic spirit. And what is the Islamic spirit? Allow me to quote from Maulana Roumi's *Persian Verses*. "The spirit of Islam is that I should not become intoxicated by wine but wine should get intoxicated by my spirit of Islam." He goes a step further:

As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe. And each is a dynamic view. As an emotional system of unification, it recognizes the worth of an individual as such and rejects blood relationships as a basis of human unity. Blood relationship is earth-rootedness. The search for a purely psychological foundation of human unity becomes possible only with the perception that all human life is spiritual in its origin.

The writer quotes from another source, which asks if there was any emotional culture that could be brought in to gather humankind once more into unity and to save civilization. This culture must be something of a new type, for the old sanctions and ceremonials were dead, and to build up others of the same kind would be the work of centuries. And that is what Islam did 1400 years ago. Today, when we look at the Muslim world, where this concept arose, and the history of the last 40 years, the disunity in the world, we find that the greatest tragedy that could occur in the recent history of humankind happened in 1948, when a people were thrown out of their homeland by an alien force, by sheer force and with the help of some who had ulterior motives. I am talking about the Palestinians. For the last 40 years, these Palestinians, the majority of whom are Muslims, have been trying unsuccessfully to find a homeland. We are apt to believe that perhaps there is something wrong with Islam, naouzbilla. We

wonder what is wrong with the Palestinians. Look at the sacrifices they have made: and look at the sacrifices they are making even today.

To digress a little, we in Pakistan are proud that even before the creation of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah spoke for the cause of the Palestinians. And during the 40 years or so of Pakistan's existence Pakistan has stood fast by the side of its Palestinian brothers in the cause of finding a homeland for themselves. But this causes us to wonder what is wrong. If one and a half million people can be thrown out like straw in the wind by force alone, where are the other Muslims who claim that they are one ummah, Wahada Ummah? What have they done? Looking back to 1947-48 again we find that when the new state of Pakistan was being created, the Muslim people of Kashmir were subjugated by another power. What has happened? Kashmiris have fought for their freedom. They are still struggling. At the level of the United Nations, it was decided to let this community, the Kashmiris, decide their fate in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Palestinians wandering around: Kashmiris subjugated. Let us go a little further and look not only at the Muslim world but also at areas where Muslims are in the minority. Look at the Muslims in the Philippines struggling hard to keep their identity. There are forces which are working equally hard, if not harder, to keep them bound by telling them: no, you can only be Filipinos, and if you say you are Muslims this is not the place for you. They are fighting for their lives. Look at poor Somalia in the Horn of Africa. What is wrong there? Today this Muslim country is being suppressed by Ethiopia in association with a superpower. The Somalis are trying their best to keep their identity. Then look nearer home. For the last eight years a superpower has been sitting on the homeland of 15 million people, the Afghans, Muslims again. And Afghans are fighting, have been fighting for eight years. Now, in the recent history of freedom fighting, I will refer only to Muslims because we are looking at Muslim history. Take Algeria. The Muslims fought for their freedom and won. The Muslims in Pakistan fought a political battle in which there were human sacrifices, but they won the battle and achieved Pakistan. These are two examples: and the third will come true.

Appendix C

There is hope that the miracle of the twentieth century will occur and the Soviet Union will withdraw from Afghanistan. Whether you call this world diplomacy or the meeting of the minds of superpowers is unimportant. I only know this much: the Afghans have fought with their bare hands and in the last eight years they have proved that if a people is imbued with the spirit of Islam, the whole world will fall at their feet. The people of Afghanistan are on the verge of winning their freedom. I and all of us must pray that Allah will help them to succeed, like Algeria, like the creation of Pakistan. No other nation is fighting so hard for its freedom. You might say South Africa is trying to win its own freedom; I grant you that. There may be one or two other examples, Angola perhaps. But when you look at the world today, you will find that the majority are Muslims; the Afghans are Muslims, Kashmiris are Muslims, Filipinos are Muslims and so are many others. This goes to prove that something is wrong. And that something is in the essence of the verse which I quoted from Maulana Roumi; that is, the spirit of Islam. I very humbly suggest that we should not search for unity. With due apologies, I have no intention of changing the broad scope of this conference, not at all. What I am trying to suggest is that we should look at the whole picture of Muslims' struggle today. Is it due to lack of unity or is it because we have not been able to absorb the spirit of Islam, our total identity, our total existence, without which we are no good? Yes, we can be good human beings if we want to be. But we cannot claim to be Muslims without this essence. If the essence is removed from the rose it is nothing more than a bunch of petals; it could be a sunflower, another type of flower: but it is no longer a rose.

What is the form of unity that we envisage? Fifty years ago Allama Iqbal said:

To my mind these arrangements, if rightly appreciated, indicate the birth of an international ideal which, though forming the very essence of Islam, has hitherto been overshadowed or displayed by some other actions of the earlier centuries of Islam.

This new ideal is clearly reflected in the words of the great nationalist poet of Turkey, who happens to be my namesake, Zia,

whose songs, inspired by the philosophy of Kant, have done a great deal to shape contemporary Turkish thought. I reproduce the substance of one of his poems from Professor Fisher's German translation.

In order to create a really effective political unity of Islam, all Muslim countries must first become independent. And then in their totality they should range themselves under the Kalif. Is such a thing possible at the present moment? If not today, one must wait. In the meantime, the Kalif must put his own house in order and lay the foundation of a workable modern state.

The last sentence that I am going to read is priceless: "In the international world the weak finds no sympathy. Power alone deserves respect." Look at the Algerians, look at the Palestinians, look at the Pakistanis, look at the Kashmiris, look at Afghans: then decide how the Muslim world can bring about unity today. To quote Zia again, "let us be strong individually first. Let us be independent in our 44 countries. And if we are able to achieve the spirit of Islam, then we are united like a rock." In that basket full of apples you do not find only one big apple. There are different-sized and different-coloured apples. That, in my opinion, is the concept of Islam and of unity in the Muslim world. Let us first see whether we are potatoes or apples. And if you want to be apples then you cannot be potatoes; you cannot turn a potato into an apple. But if we consider ourselves apples then all we have to do is to find a basket. And that basket is automatically created when you put one apple with another, another and another. That is the concept of Islamic unity.

The Ummah Islamia is the universal concept of the Muslim world, which nobody denies because Islam knows no geographical or linguistic barriers. But in order to achieve that goal you have to find a path that can take you there. That path is the spirit of Islam and individual identity in its totality. To quote again from Iqbal's *Javed Naama* in the English translation:

Tighten the knot of thy ego and hold fast to thy tiny being. How glorious to burnish one's ego and to test its lustre in the

Appendix C

presence of the sun. Re-chisel thine ancient frame and build up a new being. Such a being is real being or thy ego is a mere ring of smoke.

Iqbal says, take out this inner part of me and put in the spirit of Islam, because without it I am nothing but a ring of smoke.

I have talked about Palestinians, Kashmiris, Pakistanis, Algerians and Afghans. You must ask me: Oh, Mr Zia-ul-Haq, next to you is another country, your neighbour, your own Muslim friend, and a little beyond is another Muslim country, another apple. And at the moment these Muslim countries are fighting each other. The Iran–Iraq war is nothing but a drain on the strength of the Muslim world. I will not go into the philosophy of how the war started and how it is going to end. In my personal capacity, as a Pakistani, as a Muslim, as a member of the world peace committee, I have tried my level best, and I have not given up, because I think one day they will stop. The only thing we can pray for is that may Allah Subhania wa Tallah bring sanity to them. What face can I show to the Kashmiris who are subjugated by a non-Muslim power? What face can I show to the Palestinians, subjugated by another alien nation? What face can I show to the Afghans who are being subjugated by a superpower? How can we tell the world that Islam is a unifying force; that Islam has a spirit of its own? They will say: the two of them are fighting; what have you done to stop their fight? This is the weakest link in Islamic unity. I think we must pray. We must pray to Allah Subhania wa Tallah to help us and the rest of the Muslim world; to help Iran and Iraq to decide that the war is nothing more than the shedding of the blood of one Muslim by another Muslim, about which the Hadis-e-Rasul is clear, as we have stated before. The Quran is clear on this. The shedding of blood of one Muslim by another is like shedding the blood of the whole civilization. My heart bleeds. What face can we show to the world? My other friends and brothers come to me and say: you are in Pakistan, you thank the Lord that you are free, you can practise Islam, you can try your best. They say, look at what is happening in the Muslim world. Let this message go to our brothers in Iran and Iraq: please stop this war. Allow us to help you. If you do not want our help, allow the world to help you. If you do not want that

Appendix C

help, allow the United Nations to help you. There are many people and agencies willing to help Iran and Iraq to solve their problems, provided that they are willing and that both countries have taken the political decision to stop this war. Let us pray to Allah Subhana wa Tallah to enable us to search our minds and to catch the spirit of Islam with which the Afghans are today fighting and which has brought them to the verge of a success which they will reap in return for the sacrifices they have made. We hope that Allah will bless them.

Finally, let a message go from this conference that Muslims in the world today are not only in search of their identity but also trying to maintain their identity in the spirit of Islam, which, according to Roumi, is not a wine which intoxicates mankind: it is the spirit of Islam by which the whole world is intoxicated. If that spirit is genuine and sincere, we shall see what miracles can take place even in the twentieth century.

My last message is to thank brother Salem Azzam for the kind words he has spoken about Pakistan and about me. I know my limitations and I also know how weak we are. I will end with Iqbal again:

Wo zamaney mein muazziz thai musalaman ho kar. Aur tum khaar huay tariq-e-Quran ho kar.

Let us hold on to this book of Allah Subhana wa Tallah, the spirit of Islam, the Quran, and let it not be said that we were a lost identity; a nation, a civilization which was lost through our own fault. But this will not happen, because Islam was brought into this world for the benefit of humanity by Allah Subhana wa Tallah. It was advocated by his messenger, Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa Sallahu alehey wassalum, the last of the prophets. Islam, Inshallah, will flourish. It is up to us to catch the spirit. Let us try to pick these apples and put them in the basket full of apples. I thank you.

Appendix D

Press Release by the Islamic Council, London, on the Demise of President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Issued on 18 August 1988

With profound sorrow and deep regret the Islamic Council has learnt of the tragic demise of President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan in an air disaster which took the toll of many valuable lives. Expressing his sympathy for the people of Pakistan, and the families of all who died in the crash, the Council's Secretary General, Mr Salem Azzam, paid a tribute to the soldier-statesman of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan who was a source of inspiration to the Islamic Council. He said that the untimely passing away of General Zia is a loss of inestimable magnitude for Pakistan and his absence from the centre stage of the ummah will be keenly felt all over the Islamic world for years to come.

During the past eleven years with General Zia at the helm, Pakistan witnessed not only the progress of prosperity in secure stability, but also a steady evolution of Islamization in the country. General Zia's dedicated passion for the enforcement of Islam culminated in the adoption of Shari'ah as the law of the land and in the emergence of a wide range of Islamic institutions to fashion the way of life in Pakistan.

Appendix D

As Chairman of the Islamic Conference, General Zia had the unique privilege of addressing the United Nations General Assembly on behalf of the entire Islamic world. That was the only occasion when the General Assembly proceedings began with a recitation from the Holy Quran. His unrelenting perseverance in the efforts made as Chairman of the Ummah Committee to bring the Gulf War to a speedy end will long be remembered by peace-loving people the world over. And his contribution in promoting the establishment of the Jeddah-based Islamic Science Foundation will remain a beacon of light for future generations of Muslim people.

Above all, General Zia will remain enshrined in the cherished memory of the ummah for the unwavering support he gave to the valiant struggle of the Afghan Mujahideen. Undeterred in his determination and undaunted by all threats, General Zia stood firm as a rock of faith in his belief that it was Pakistan's bounden duty in the name of Islamic brotherhood to extend every possible succour to the uprooted millions who had become the hapless victims of rampant Soviet aggression on the soil of Islamic Afghanistan. The glorious success of the Afghan struggle today is in no mean measure a direct consequence of the unshakeable resolve which General Zia had shown.

May the departed soul rest in peace and Allah in his benign mercy grant the bereaved family the courage to bear the irreparable loss with fortitude. The Council calls on Muslims everywhere to offer Salat-al-Ghaib for the salvation of this great Muslim leader.