

# Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan: Ideological or Secular State?

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## Abstract—

Jinnah was the most Westernized political leader in all the annals of Indian Islam; no other Muslim political leader could match him in terms of modernity and a modern outlook. First fascinated by the western values of democracy, liberalism and enlightenment, he wanted Pakistani state to be established on the similar pattern with the same values. But later on, having built a deeper insight into Islamic teachings and the inclinations of Muslims towards an Islamic state helped him to come up with the idea of establishing a state based on democracy where Islamic teachings could be upheld as its basic principles. As all the contemporary western systems derive their principles from the isms, the democracy in Pakistan would be based on Islamic system which not only deals with the individual lives of Muslims but provides them with a collective system. So, Jinnah wanted a state where Islamic injunctions like pluralism, tolerance, co-existence and liberty could be implanted without exploiting anyone due to his creed, cast, community or religion. M. A. Jinnah wanted something in between an Islamic and modern democratic secular state" would be a key finding of this research article.

## Index Terms

Secular, Islamic state, Western democratic principles, Enlightenment, Lahore Resolution, Secular state, Khilafat movement, Theocracy, Objective Resolution

## Introduction:

With a deep understanding of the political situation of Indian-Sub continent, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah converted the oppressed minority into a nation and won them a nation-state. This term paper documents the religious aspects of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision of Pakistan, right from his formative phase up to his ideal of an Islamic-democratic State for the Muslims of India. This term paper clearly shows his course of political evolution of his vision from Western Democratic norms to the Modern Democratic State on the basis of Islamic principles.

Jinnah was the central figure of Pakistan Movement, which started after the emergence of British rule over the territorial jurisdictions of India. Quaid-e-Azam was a national hero and his heroic status is derived from the fact that he gave the Muslims of India an identity, a sense of dignity and territory they could call their own. He was an enlightened person to whom Islam was a complete code of life based on Social Democratic System. However, at that time a Secular aura reflected from his speeches, such as his speech to the Constituent Assembly on 11<sup>th</sup> August. It apparently seems as if

he changed his words, ideas and theme in accordance with the public demands.<sup>1</sup>

Without having deep insight into this evolution, his vision for the type of state Pakistan should be difficult to be understood. It was his dynamic leadership that the same party adopted the Lahore Resolution on March 24, 1940, for the creation of a separate state in Muslim majority areas on the basis of Two Nations Theory, so that they could lead their lives according to the teaching of Islam. The congress leaders assertively resisted the Muslims demand for a separate homeland, but could neither counter nor even stop it. It was due to the singular efforts of the Quaid that the Muslims of India got united and acquired a new homeland.<sup>2</sup>

## A Secular State:

A secular state is an idea pertaining to secularism, whereby a state is or purports to be officially neutral in matters of religion, supporting neither religion nor-religion. A secular state also claims to treat all its citizens equally regardless of religion, and claims to avoid preferential treatment of a citizen from a

<sup>1</sup> Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: The Creator of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

particular religion over other religions or equivalent, although the absence of a state religion does not necessarily mean that secular state should steadfastly maintain national governance without influence from religious factions and vice versa.

#### **Ideological State:**

Ideological state is the one that follows certain ideology be it religious affairs or other...

#### **M.A. Jinnah Vision:**

Jinnah, who appears to be a model of the western life style, must have nurtured deep love and respect for the Holy Prophet in his heart. A young man of seventeen years is not expected to attach much importance to such sentimentality in the free for all the environment of London. Upbringing and early education in the formative period of Jinnah's life created enduring impressions and orientations which determined his attitudes. For example, Jinnah's father worked as a teacher at Mission School of Karachi, and his son enrolled in Sindh Madrasa Tul Islam which had Islamic influence in education.<sup>3</sup>

Jinnah was neither an overtly religious person, nor a spiritual leader and he never claimed to be a pious person .He often said that he was not a *Maulana* but an ordinary Muslim with all the human demerits. Unlike other Indian politicians, Jinnah shunned cheap popularity and refrained from making statements, which did not reflect his conviction. Jinnah's address to the All India Muslim League session of 1939 revealed his inner-self. Dressed in a double elegant suit of Civil Rowe Vintage, and speaking in English, he addressed Muslims:

I have seen enough of the world and possess a lot of wealth. I have enjoyed all comforts of life. Now my only desire is to see the Muslims flourish and prosper as an independent community. I want to leave this world with a clean conscience and content with the feeling that Jinnah had not betrayed the cause of Islam and the Muslims .I neither want your praise not any certificate. I only want that my heart, my conscience and my faith should prove at the time of my death that Jinnah died defending Islam and the cause of Muslims. Many my God testify that Jinnah lived and died as a Muslim fighting against the forces of kufar and holding the flag of Islam high.<sup>4</sup>

Along with this, Alama Muhammad Iqbal was the dreamer to see a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. M. Iqbal convinced Jinnah, and changed his views about future actions to do his best for the Muslims. Iqbal had an opinion that the

establishment of a free Muslim state or states was required to put this system in practice.<sup>5</sup>

Jinnah's political ability and his expert views on the various problems of the state reached to the conclusion of his great vision. He himself was Pakistani and he had put his heart and brain into the (Islamic) ideology. Pakistan was the second Islamic State after Madina. Why Hindu and Muslim could not combine into one nation although they lived together for centuries? Quaid delivered a speech in this regard at Aligarh, in 1944, saying:

Pakistan movement started when the first non-Muslim was converted to Islam in India long before the Muslims established their rule .As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam he was outcast not only religiously but also socially, culturally and economically .As for the Muslim, it was a duty imposed on him by Islam not to be merged his identity and individually in any alien society. Throughout the ages, Hindu had remained Hindu and Muslim had remained Muslim.<sup>6</sup>

The period after 1937 marked a paradigmatic shift, increasingly he became the embodiment (idea) of a Muslim national consensus. Quaid e Azam never contradicted him. He can never be blamed for the confused thoughts or slandered for hypocrisy. He openly expressed what he considered was right .He believed that Quran is the ultimate source of guidance when the students of NWFP asked to give him message on April 4, 1943, he replied:

You have asked me to give you a message. What message could I give you? We have got the greatest message in the Quran for our guidance and enlightenment."<sup>7</sup>In other speech to the students of Islamia College, Peshawar in 1943, Quaid said, "the league stood for carving out states in India where Muslims were in numerical majority to rule there under Islamic Law."<sup>8</sup>

The above statements of the Quaid show that he considered Muslim a separate nation from the Hindus on the basis of religion, custom, and tradition. He wanted a separate state for the Muslims where they could live according to their own culture and where Islam would be the complete code of every field of life whether it was politics, economy, judiciary or any other department of the state. He was against theocracy and, therefore, wanted to give equal status to the minorities and that

<sup>5</sup>Saeedud Din Ahmad Dar, *Ideology of Pakistan* (NIHCR: Quaid-e-Azam University, 2000), 105.

<sup>6</sup>Jamil-ud-Din, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*. Vol-ii, Lahore: SH .Muhammad Ashraf (1976), 246.

<sup>7</sup>Farooq Ahmed Dar. *Jinnah's Pakistan and Formative Phase and Challenges of a State* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 121.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.,121.

<sup>3</sup>Ajeet Jawed, *Secular or Nationalist Jinnah* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 226-227.

<sup>4</sup>Waheed Ahmad, *Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches and Statements* (Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1992), 103.

was the need of the time. In his many speeches, Quaid clearly explained his views about the Islamic democratic system.<sup>9</sup>

### Jinnah and the Khalifat Movement:

Jinnah was not against the Khalifat Movement rather he was against the methods adopted by the Muslims at that time. Khalifat Movement was a religious movement launched by Indian Muslims in support of Ottoman Empire after the First World War (1914-1918). The Turkish Sultan was considered as Khalifat ul Musclemen of the Muslim World. At that time, the Khalifat Movement was started to put pressure on the British to fulfill their promises. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jahaur welcomed Hindu cooperation through Gandhi to strengthen his case for prevention of Khalifat. Gandhi was evidently not interested in distant Turkey or in Islamic unity. He had extended his help to the Khalifat movement to strengthen Congress<sup>10</sup>. M. K. Gandhi and the Congress party played an eminent role in the Khalifat Movement. It was Gandhi who advised Muslims to resort to non-cooperation to get their demands accepted by the British Government. He used all his influence to persuade the Congress to join the Muslims in their non-cooperation campaign. In late 1920s, Jinnah told the Mahatma:

....I is fully convinced that it must lead to disaster. Your methods have already caused split and division in almost every institution that you have approached hitherto....people generally disparate all over the country and your extreme programed has for the moment struck and the imagination mostly of the in experienced youth and the ignorant all illiterate. All this means complete this organization and chaos. What the consequences of this maybe, I shudder to contemplate....<sup>11</sup>

Basically Jinnah did not play any part in the Khalifat and non-cooperation movement. This is, however, not to suggest that he was unaware of the strength of the Indian Muslims' sentiments or was indifferent to the fate of Khalifat. He refused to associate himself because of his distrust. Jinnah was not against the Khalifat Movement not because he was against Khalifat but because he was a strict constitutionalist and Gandhi's program was unconstitutional which Jinnah termed as dangerous and a disaster for the future of the country. After the failure of this Movement, Muslims emerged from the feelings that could neither trust the Hindu nor the British and should rely on their own strength for self-protection. Some scholars and writers say that Jinnah was secular because he did not take part in Khalifat Movement and did not want to mix religion with politics.

### M.A Jinnah and Theocracy:

Quaid used more than hundred times the words Islam, Islamic democracy and Islamic socialism in his speeches and

<sup>9</sup>Tariq Jan, *Pakistan between secularism and Islam* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2003), 249.

<sup>10</sup>Waheed -ud-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*(Lahore: Publishers United Ltd, 1954), 14.

<sup>11</sup> Sharif Al Mujahid, *Quaid-i- Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation*(Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1981), 51.

statements. Although he stressed on the rights of minorities but he never used the term secular etc.<sup>12</sup> Those Islamist hiding behind Jinnah made ambiguous references to Islam or Islamic Socialism should answer this simple question: what would Jinnah have thought of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which persecutes people on the basis of faith, determines who is Muslim and who is not, imposes restrictions of food, dress, culture and language. Jinnah used more than hundred times the words of Islam, Islamic democracy and Islamic socialism in his speeches and statements. He stressed on the rights of minorities but never used the term secular etc.<sup>13</sup>

While addressing on April 10, 1946 to Muslim league Legislators Convention in New Delhi, Quaid said,

Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state. Religion of course played an important part in nation's life, but there were other aspects which were vital for nation's existence, social, economic and political aspects were the main pillars which would enable them to live according to their faith. With their social life demoralized and economically ruined and with no political power, they would not defend their faith.<sup>14</sup>

He also described these words as the essence of *Tauheed*. To the people of Australia on February 19, 1948, he stated:

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). We are members of brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.<sup>15</sup>

The above speech clearly explains the views of Jinnah that he was in favor to give equal citizenship to all the people whether Muslims (majority) or non-Muslims minority. His state policy was based on tolerance. Similarly, in a broadcast talk to the people of United States of America in February 1948, where he stated the Islamic and democratic nature of the Pakistan Constitution, he also ardently denied that Pakistan would be run by Ulama.<sup>16</sup> It is also stated that Jinnah had advised his

<sup>12</sup> Saleena Karim, *Secular Jinnah and Pakistan What the Nation Doesn't Know* (Published by Checkpoint Press, 2010), 45.

<sup>13</sup> Safdar Mehmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development 1947-1999* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 223.

<sup>14</sup> Ahmed, *Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah: The nation voice Speeches, Statements and Interviews*, 103.

<sup>15</sup> Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed, *Glimpse of Quaid-e-Azam* (Karachi Royal Book Company, 1960), 98.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 463.

followers to keep their distance from and be cautious of the Bruisers, the Hindus, and the Maulvis and when enthusiastic admirers addressed him as "Maulana Jinnah", he said, "I am not Maulana just Mr. Jinnah".<sup>17</sup>

Quaid-e-Azam wanted Modern Islamic democratic State on the basis of Islamic principles in which all people were to be treated as equal citizens of the new state. Dealing with the argument that after the formation of Pakistan Muslims in India would live under the domination of hostile Hindu government he pointed out that Prophet had migrated from Makkah to establish an Islamic State in Medina and he left behind infirm and old Muslims in Makkah. In the same manner, he pleaded that the thirty million Indian Muslims should not stand in the welfare and happiness of seventy million Muslims in Pakistan. Maulana Abdul al Ala Maudoodi, (1903-1979)<sup>18</sup> the founder of *Jamaat-i-Islami*, first opposed the creation of Pakistan, but later on after close analysis and careful study of the situation he reached the conclusion that the problems of Hindus and Muslims could not be solved without the partition. Basically, Maudoodi was not against the partition of the subcontinent, but he was against the secular orientation of the Muslim Leagues leadership.<sup>19</sup>

#### **Jinnah's Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan:**

Jinnah did not mention Islam or an Islamic constitution in his opening address but touched on the equality of all citizens and equal opportunities for all people. He also spoke against bribery, corruption, back-marketing nepotism and urged the Assembly to take strong measures against these evils. This speech of Jinnah was criticized by many, for it was considered a departure from his earlier stand before the creation of the nascent state. It is said in certain quarters that he neglected the "Two Nation Theory" and his vision of a State was Secular Pakistan.<sup>20</sup> He clearly explained his views that, in this state, government should give equal rights to all citizens; may they be Muslims or non-Muslims. The entire political leader criticized that Jinnah speeches completely show that he wanted Secular State and neglected those principles on which the Muslim League carried agenda, the struggle for Pakistan. But so many Historians tried to correct this misinterpretation of Quaid's Speech. It was corrected that Quaid stated:

"Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense....but in political sense," he meant that "a Hindu or any other person not professing the Muslim faith will not be freeze out from participating in the administration of Pakistan, nor

will be discriminated against its laws, nor will be suffer economically"<sup>21</sup>.

In this speech he gave a message of unity and brotherhood. He strongly criticized nepotism, favoritism, partiality, bribery, corruption which was in his views the most grievous crimes. I will attach the Constituent Assembly which completely explain the views of Jinnah and also defend my topic. In his Speech to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947, he has given a picture of Pakistan which was nothing short of secular state in which Muslims and non-Muslims could live together and be its citizens with equal rights of citizenship and also clearly elaborate all the rights of citizens.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Jinnah as a Democrat:**

Jinnah had unshakable belief in the working of democracy. He dwelt upon the issue of Muslim democracy from historical viewpoint. The Muslims, he believed were one of the first nations of the world to introduce the concept of democracy in the World. In a speech to the thirtieth Annual Session of Muslim League at Delhi in April 1943, he declared:

"When you talk of democracy, you mean Hindu Raj to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in Culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu Nationalism and Hindu Raj. We learned democracy 1300 years ago. It is in our blood and it is as far away from the Hindu society as are the Arctic regions. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have not been functioning. But thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim leaguers. It will be a people's government. You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you, one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty? We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception which will turn the whole India into a Gandhi Ashram. One society and nation will, by its permanent majority, destroy another nation or society in permanent minority-all that is dear to the minority."<sup>23</sup>

Quaid-e-Azam wanted democracy to flourish in Pakistan. This was not only a theoretical belief; his whole political career, he emerged as one of the greatest champions of democracy in South Asia. M. K. Gandhi, a great leader of the Hindus, also believed in democracy. But both differed in democracy's practical application.<sup>24</sup> It was on this point both great leader differed and separated from each other on the issue of establishment of a Muslim State in South Asia. Jinnah

<sup>17</sup> Tariq Jan, *Pakistan between Secularism and Islam*. (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2003), 69.

<sup>18</sup> Choudhry Khaliq-us-Zaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore: Longman, 1961), 321.

<sup>19</sup> Abdul Rahman Munshi. *Quaid-e-Azam ka Mazahb or Aqida [Urdu] (Quaid-e-Azam Religion and Creed)*. Lahore: R. R. Printers, 1956), 122.

<sup>20</sup> Khaliqzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, 322.

<sup>21</sup> Syed Amir Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, (Karachi: Pakistan Publications House, 1969), 255.

<sup>22</sup> To study the complete speech refers to the appendix.

<sup>23</sup> Syed Sharif Uddin Pirzada, *Foundation of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947, Vol II* (Karachi: National Publishing House Ltd, 1969), 415.

<sup>24</sup> Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Lahore; Sang-e- Meel Publication, 1999), 106.

struggled long and hard for Pakistan, and established it.<sup>25</sup> He wanted to make his people free. He made Pakistan not because he wanted, but it was the desire of the Indian Muslims to have a homeland where they could live according to the teachings of Islam as free and independent people. As a firm believer in Islam and democracy, he was confident that Pakistan would work toward an Islamic-democratic order. He wanted the development of democracy in accordance with the principles of Islam.<sup>26</sup>

All these speeches show that Quaid-e-Azam was a true democrat. Being a democrat how it was possible for him to impose his own made constitution in the country and to shape it a secular state. He wanted a democracy based on Islam. He wanted to protect the rights of minorities. By advocating the rights of minorities, it does not mean that he wanted a secular state.<sup>27</sup>

### The Objectives Resolution:

Quaid died on September 11, 1948. The responsibility of constitution making, therefore, devolved on the first Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan. The Assembly passed the resolution on March 12, 1949 and is called the Objective Resolution. It laid the foundation of future constitution. The Resolution provided that Islam provides the principle of democracy, equality and social justice freedom would be fully observed and that the Muslims should be able to live according to Islam. It also recognized the rights of minorities in the state to worship their religions and live according to their Cultures.<sup>28</sup> In addition, it stipulated that the exercise of fundamental rights shall be fully guaranteed. The resolution also provided the independence of judiciary and for the organization of state on a federal pattern. Moreover, it clearly said that sovereignty belongs to Allah and the authority vested by Allah to the people of Pakistan was only a sacred trust. At that Maulana Shabir Osmani, a leading member of the Ulama, welcomed the Resolution as a positive step towards Islamization. In his reply to Congress Party's objection, he said that Islam had never accepted the view that religion and politics are two different things. He said some other religions might accept the view of separating religion from politics, but it should not apply to Islam. If the speeches of the Quaid are keenly studied, it will become clear that Pakistan envisaged by Quaid was a liberal Islamic democratic welfare state completely dedicated to the good well of all its citizens treated equally in accordance with the principles of Islamic democracy, social justice and tolerance.<sup>29</sup>

### Conclusion:

Jinnah was the most westernized political leader in all the annals of Indian history; no other Muslim political leader could

match him in terms of modernity and a modern outlook. Jinnah had been educated in the discipline of the rule of law, rejecting the rule of individual. Jinnah was clear in his mind that Pakistan was not going to be a theocratic state in which only Muslims would be full citizens, and non-Muslims would not be full citizens. He emphasized that Islam demand from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closet association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan. In his view Pakistan could neither be a Sunni nor a Shia state. But he expected the Muslims to build Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and took a solemn undertaking from them that they would protect and safeguard the right of minorities.

Jinnah did not use the term "Pakistan Ideology" or "Ideology of Pakistan" .But he did use the expression "Ideology of the League" and explained that Pakistan did not only mean freedom and independence for Muslims, but it also preserved the "Muslim Ideology", because our religion our culture and Islamic ideals are our driving force to achieve independence. Jinnah speeches and statements indicated that for him the terms 'Muslim' and 'Islamic' were interchangeable.<sup>30</sup>

It would be difficult to understand that when Jinnah assured religious freedom for all in Pakistan, and that the Hindus and the Muslims were free to go to their places of worship or that there would be no discrimination between Muslims and non-Muslims as citizens of the state, how was he violating any principle of Islam or holding out Pakistan as a secular state. Before him Iqbal had high-lighted that Tawhid stood for human solidarity, equality and freedom. He also affirmed that the aim of Islam is to establish a spiritual democracy.<sup>31</sup>

Sharif ul Mujahid argue that a person can judge in totally, not only Jinnah's 11 August speech can be considered as his approach for secular views as it was the only one. It cannot be consider as a declaring policies or constitutional principles. He also raises the questions that what Jinnah always demanded for Muslims in sub-continent, how he could deny it to others when he was in the control of the affairs, they negate that the 11<sup>th</sup> august speech was not showing secular thought. It show the Islamic principles and teaching for the right of minorities has treated by the Holy Prophet( PBUH) thirteen hundred years ago His statements and speeches clearly explain the concept of Pakistan will be an Islamic democratic state based on Islamic principles of equality and fair play.<sup>32</sup>

The Quaid's ideal of Islamic democratic state is clear from his speeches. Both Islam and Pakistan which are like two inseparable side of a coin were the central theme of his speeches. The Muslim of India demanded a state of their own in the name of Islam. It was Islam which compelled the Muslims on the creation of a separate Muslim state<sup>33</sup>. In most

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 108.

<sup>26</sup> Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic Identity, The Search for Saladin* (Published by Aameena Saiyid, Oxford University Press, 1997), 352.

<sup>27</sup>Muhammad Chaudhary, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore:Research Society of Pakistan, 1967), 39.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>29</sup> Riaz Ahmed, *Quaid-e-Azam Perception of Islam and Pakistan* (Rawalpindi: Alvi Publishers Rawalpindi, 1999), 255.

<sup>30</sup>Jamal-ud-din Ahmed, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, (Lahore: SH. Muhammad Ashraf, 1976), 373.

<sup>31</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic identity: The Search for Saladin*,355.

<sup>32</sup> Mujahid, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: Studies in interpretation*,248.

<sup>33</sup> Dr. Shafiq Muhammad, *Islamic Concept of a Modern State*.(Gujrat: The Islamic Research the Zamindar Educational Association, 1987), 325.

of his speeches Quaid emphasized the principles of Islam and Quran which in his views would be the sources of the Islamic Constitution of Pakistan. Like a true believer of Islam, Quaid-e-Azam also believed that Islam was not only religion but it contains laws, philosophy and politics. While addressing in Gaya in January 1938, Quaid-e-Azam said; "When we say that the flag of Muslim League is the flag of Islam, they think that we are introducing religion in to politics...A fact of which we are proud, Islam gives us a complete code".<sup>34</sup>

The crux of the debate is that Jinnah did not visualize the state in Islam as a Theocracy. Also he never claimed that Pakistan would be a secular state. His position was that of a liberal and modernist Muslim. This meant that in his concept of the state in Islam, he observed certain new ideas like 'nation state', 'right of self-determination', 'democracy', and 'constitutionalism', 'rule of law', 'human rights', 'social justice', and 'equality of all citizens'. In short Jinnah aspired to establish a "liberal democratic Muslim welfare state in Pakistan".

#### Appendix:

PRESIDENTIAL, ADDRESS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN, AUGUST 11, 1947.

President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honor you have conferred upon me - the greatest honor that is possible to confer - by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the clan of creating and establishing two independent sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regards to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

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

foremost thing that I would like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first observation that I would like to make is this: You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this: One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering - I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think our condition is much worse - is bribery and corruption. That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that blackmarketers are frequently caught and punished. Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These blackmarketers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

The next thing that strikes me is this: Here again it is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived this great evil, the evil of nepotism and jobbery. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Whenever I will find that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honorably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented. One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done, A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgement there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record is verdict in favor of it. And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a united India could never have worked and in my judgment, it would have led us to terrific disaster. Maybe that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen. All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was

<sup>34</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah Pakistan and Islamic identity: The search for Saladin*, 356.

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

I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community, because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatri's, also Bengalis, Madrasas and so on, will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free people long ago. No power can hold another nation and especially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State. As you know, history shows that in England, conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste and creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain and they are all members of the Nation.

Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honor you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words, partiality or favoritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with

your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.

I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me. It reads:

I have the honor to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States:

On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake.

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