

## JINNAH'S VISION OF PAKISTAN AS A MODERN ISLAMIC STATE

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### ABSTRACT:

*Quaid-e-Azam's perception of Pakistan has been a matter of interest as well as of dispute for more than half a century. There is a bulk of literature on Jinnah but that hardly reflects upon Jinnah's vision of Pakistan. His vision may be derived from his speeches and statements available in multiple volumes compiled by various scholars. This research paper is an effort to investigate into the perception of Quaid-e-Azam by going through this literature and to find out how Jinnah actually visualized Pakistan. A detailed assessment of different schools of thought and their arguments as well as Jinnah's own assertions and writings is made.*

*This paper is divided in four parts. Part I is introduction. Part II deals with Jinnah's perception of Islam & Islamic state, as derived from his speeches and statements. Part III is an effort to find out either he visualized Pakistan as a secular state or as a modern democratic welfare state based upon Islamic principles and values. Part IV is conclusion. This research finally leads to the conclusion that Jinnah, in fact, visualized Pakistan as a Modern Democratic State, based upon Islamic principles of fraternity, equality, democracy and fair play - a **Modern Islamic State** indeed.*

### Jinnah's vision of Pakistan: an interpretation

#### I

### INTRODUCTION

Quaid-e-Azam was the central figure of the Pakistan movement, rightly called as the Founder of Pakistan. It was him, who led the struggle for Pakistan in its most critical phase to its successful end. It is more likely that he would have formed a vision of this separate state of Muslims that he was fighting to create. Unfortunately, he did not live long to build this new state up to his ideals and aspirations. With the passage of time, due to various internal and external factors, we lost the track of his ideas. Now after more than 60 years of creation of Pakistan, the vision of Quaid seems to have become blurred. Presently there is a lot of disagreement about Quaid's vision of Pakistan. Some writers believe that he stood for a Secular State. Others argue and try to prove that he fought for an Islamic state. Some of his biographers say that he had no clear vision of Pakistan as he was using this demand only as a card to get better opportunities for Muslims and some others state that he had personal and egoistic motives behind his target of Pakistan. Another view is that he intentionally kept his vision of Pakistan vague and ill-defined, to avoid queries and objection. Nowadays, some political leaders wish to see Pakistan become a "Moderate & Enlightened" nation. All of these people, writers, thinkers and political leaders refer to Quaid-e-Azams' statements in support of their view points. One wonders which one of these interpretations is correct or closer to reality. It is high time that we investigate the historical records to find out how Quaid-e-Azam visualized Pakistan as a nation state and what broad features he had in mind to model the state upon? The objective of this study is to highlight Quaid-e-Azam's perception of Pakistan. As Jinnah was not a writer neither he ever wrote a dairy, so we have to depend upon his speeches and statements as well as few interviews and letters of him, to determine his vision of Pakistan. This research is not only relevant but the call of

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the time too, as the words of the Quaid are still a source of inspiration for all of us and enjoy respect and regard of every Pakistani. It may enable us to handle many crises at present and may lead us to the improvement and betterment of the country in future. It would provide guidance to everyone, be that citizens, institutions or the government and administration. Moreover, it will help to clarify many misunderstandings prevailing inside and outside the country, regarding Quaid's vision of Pakistan.

## II

### **JINNAH'S CONCEPT OF ISLAM AND ISLAMIC STATE**

Despite being called the Quaid e Azam, the great leader of Indian Muslims, Muhammad Ali Jinnah's approach towards Islam remained debatable in his times. At one side, he was projected as a staunch communalist by Congress leaders, on the other hand, many people, especially ulema, considered him very far from religion. This debate and disagreement regarding his approach & perception about religion still prevails. It is because of this confusion that different people see "different Jinnahs". (Ahmed, Akbar S., 1990, p. 3) Some consider and prove him as a Communalist making struggle for a state where Islam could be practiced and Muslims could control the state of affairs while others stress that he was a secularist from the core of his heart. This leads to another controversy that is either he wanted Pakistan to be a secular state or he visualized it as a Democratic state, embodying basic principles of Islam such as Democracy, equality, social justice and equality before law?

Before analyzing Jinnah's vision of Pakistan from this dimension, it will not be out of place to investigate into his perception of Islam. For this purpose, we have to find answers to the following questions:

Firstly, what was the source of his perception of Islam? From where he took the inspiration?

Secondly, what was his perception about Islam and the role of religion (Islam) in the life of individual and the community?

Thirdly, how this perception was linked to his vision of Pakistan?

Our research in this regard leads us to the findings that follow:

### **THE ORIGIN OF JINNAH'S PERCEPTION OF ISLAM**

To trace the origin of Jinnah's perception of Islam, we look back at his family background. Through various sources we come to know that the father of Jinnah, Mr. Jinnah Poonja, had a religious inclination. For the first time, he chose Muslim names for his children while previously mostly names in his family were kind of Hindu names such as Valji, Ghanji, Manbai, Nathoo etc. (Jinnah, F, 2001, p. VII). Mr. Jinnah Poonja was a trader by profession, but he taught Quran to the children in the evening while his wife used to tell religious and historical stories to her children. (Ahmed, Rizwan, 1977, p.57). Mr. Jinnah Poonja was a teacher in a mission school but he admitted his eldest son Mohammad Ali in Sindh Madrasat-ul-Islam, Karachi. He put word *Mohammaden* before the name of his son in the school register instead of writing *Khoja* as was the family practice till that time. For some time Jinnah studied at Anjuman-e-Islamia school, Bombay as well. In these institutions, Urdu, Arabic and Persian languages were taught and special lectures on Islam, Quran and Life and teachings of the prophet (PBUH) were

arranged. The purpose was to provide the students with religious learning before going for secular education. (Ahmed, Riaz, 1990, p. 2)

Jinnah studied in Sindh Madrasah for approximately six years and most probably, he carried with him deep Islamic imprints received at Sindh Madrasah when he left for England. This is evident by his decision to take admission in Lincoln's Inn<sup>1</sup> (Ahmed. S, Akbar, 1997, p.4; Baletho, 1960, p.9)

When Jinnah came back from England and settled in Bombay, he remained associated with Anjuman-e-Islamia Bombay---“Muslim Bombay's Religio-political Body”. (Mujahid) He also remained in close contacts with Muslim Educational Institutions, specially, Nadwat-ul-Ulema and Aligarh University. Jinnah joined Congress in 1906 as he considered it the most suitable platform to represent and protect Muslim interests. (Ahmed, Riaz, 1990, pp. 8-9). From this platform, he moved the bill for Waqf-Allal-Awalad and ultimately got it approved by the Privy Council. Presentation and defence of this bill shows his mastery over the subject and his knowledge of International authorities on Islamic Jurisprudence. (Iqbal,A,1986, p.13). It also exhibits his understanding and realization of the deplorable conditions of Indian Muslims, his concern for their problems and his determination to get them resolved.

In 1918, he married Ratti, a Parsi girl, but after she embraced to Islam. The marriage was solemnized by Maulana Nazeer Siddiqui, a leading Sunni Aalim of that time. He severed his relationship Deena, his only daughter, when she married a Christian. Deena occasionally wrote letters to Jinnah addressing him affectionately (Ahmed, Akbar S, 1997, p.p.17-18) but in the answers from Jinnah, she was addressed as *Mrs. Wadia* which shows a clear distance and formality, not love or affection.

It is generally assumed that Jinnah was a westernized Muslim having little or no knowledge of Islam and had no interest in religion, but a detailed study of Jinnah's life tells a different story. Mr. Sharif Toosi stayed at Jinnah's residence for six months when he was writing monographs<sup>2</sup> explaining Pakistan demand. He tells that Jinnah used to read **Quran and its translations, specially the translation of Abdullah Yusuf Ali** (Toosi, quoted in Shahid, 2008, p. 17). His library contained a large number of books on Islam, History of Islam, life of Prophet, Muslim laws, Pious Caliphs etc. **Spirit of Islam**, and **A short History of saracenes** by Amir Ali, and English translation of **Al-Farooq**, were the books that Jinnah used to read very often. ( Yahya Bakhtiar, quoted in Shahid,2008,73). Other reliable sources tell us that Jinnah idealized Hazrat Umer, Aurangzeb Alamgir and Salah-ud-din Ayyubi as the rulers/leaders. (Khursheed, K.H, 1990, p.p. 71, 59, 77-78) Bolitho quotes Dina who told him that Jinnah was really fond of Ataturk and talked about him so much that Dina started teasing her father by calling him as “The Grey Wolf.”<sup>3</sup> ( Bolitho, 1960, p. 14)

Some individuals are also mentioned as have influenced his religious views. Jinnah confessed that he was influenced by Maulana Shaukat Ali. Munshi Abdur Rahman tells that certain ulema tried to inculcate religious spirit in him, especially Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. He gives the details of two meetings of Jinnah with some leading religious scholars, held in December 1938 and February 1939. According to him, in these meetings, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Thanvi, Mufti Muhammad Shafi and Shabbir Ahmed Usman talked to Jinnah and convinced him to

bring his politics and his personal life in conformity with Islamic teachings. (Munshi Abdur Rehman quoted in Shahid, 2008, pp. 18-21)

Syed Sharif uddin Pirzada reports that, "xIn the beginning, in religious matters, Jinnah used to seek advice from Bahadur Yar Jang and Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani. That is why he got Shabbir Ahmed Usmani elected as a member of Constitutional Assembly". (Pirzada, quoted in Shahid, H: 2008:p. 30)

In early thirties, Jinnah came in contact with Doctor Muhammad Iqbal. In 1937-1938, Iqbal wrote 18 letters to Jinnah. In these letters, Iqbal talked about the existing conditions of Muslim community in India, its present crises and their possible solutions. He believed and insisted that only Jinnah could lead Indian Muslims out of the existing crisis. According to Akbar S Ahmed, "Iqbal gave an entirely new dimension to his (Jinnah's) understanding of Islam.---- There seems to have formed between them a spiritual connection that resulted in the passing of the flame from one to the other". (Ahmed, S. Akbar, 1990, p. 73)

Unfortunately, Jinnah's answers to Iqbal's letters are not available. But Iqbal's impact upon Jinnah is evident from the language, imagery, and similes that he started to use since 1937. He took up Iqbal's notions of protection of Muslim identity, preservation of Muslim culture, betterment of the common man and a social system based upon equality and social justice. He also got convinced on Iqbal's idea that the creation of a separate Muslim state was essential to secure these objectives. So, as Akbar S. Ahmed puts it,"He, (Jinnah) thus not only embraced Iqbal's political philosophy but consciously absorbed his conceptual framework". (Ahmed, Akbar S., 1997, p. 75) Jinnah himself called Iqbal as "A sage, a philosopher and national poet of Islam" in his foreword to the collection of Iqbal-Jinnah correspondence. He further said," His (Iqbal's) views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India". (Malik.H: 1971:p. 384) In his message on the occasion of celebration of Iqbal Day at Lahore on 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1944, he said, "With his firm conviction of and faith in the ideals of Islam, he (Dr Iqbal) was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India such an Islamic State in the North West and North East Zones which are historical homelands of Muslims."(Ahmed, Rizwan, 1993, p. 123)

After the Annual meeting of AIML, 23<sup>rd</sup> -24<sup>th</sup> March 1940, Jinnah is reported to have said to Matloob-ul-Hasan Syed, "Iqbal is no more amongst us but had he been alive, he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do". (Bolitho, 1960, p. 129)

### **JINNAH'S PERCEPTION OF ISLAM**

Jinnah's concept of religion was simple and straight forward. He strongly denounced sectarian differences. He was originally born in an Ismaili Khoja family. He later on changed to Isna Ashri Shia Sect and is reported to have become a Sunni by the end of his life. (Merchant, quoted in Ahmed, S. Akbar, 1990, p. 4) However, he never declared himself a Sunni or a Shia. Whenever enquired about it, he always asked "Was Muhammad (PBUH) Shia or Sunni?" and always said "I am a Muslim like the Prophet (PBUH)".(Ahmed, S,Akbar, 1997, p. 98) K.H.Khursheed (Personal Secretary to Jinnah) in his memoirs quotes Mumtaz Hasan that Jinnah was in London with him and wanted to go to a mosque for Juma prayer. When enquired, in which mosque he would like to go

(as there were three mosques of different Sects) he said," Where everyone else goes". (Khursheed, 1990, p.77) It means that sectarian specifications or the sect of the Imam was not important in his eyes. It is interesting to note that Jinnah usually kept his religious views to himself and avoided making them public. S. Akbar Ahmed quotes Yahya Bakhtiar who told him that once he tried to take a picture of Mr. Jinnah when Jinnah was reading a book on the sayings of the Prophet (PBUH). Jinnah quickly kept the book on the table and picked another one. When Yahya Bakhtiar asked him the reason for doing so, Jinnah answered that he didn't want people to get an impression that the picture was aimed at to exhibit his religiosity.(Ahmed Akber S., 1997, p. 91)

Like other Muslims, Jinnah loved the Prophet (S.A.W.W.) and considered him as an example to be followed in every respect of life. He believed as he said that, "The Prophet (S.A.W.W.) was a great teacher. He was a great Law Giver. He was a great Statesman and a great Sovereign". The Prophet (P.B.U.H) was the greatest man that the world has ever seen. Thirteen hundred years ago he laid down the foundations of Democracy when it was un-heard of in Europe<sup>4</sup>. (Ahmed, R, 1993, pp. 23 & 24)

On 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947, Mountbatten in his speech in the Constituent Assembly quoted the example of **Akbar-The Great** and stressed that his policy of tolerance and good treatment with other creeds be followed in future. Jinnah speaking after him, pointedly said," The Tolerance and goodwill that the great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims, is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet (P.B.U.H.), not only by words but by deeds, treated the Jews and Christians after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised."(Siddiqui, 2007, pp. 33-34)

Jinnah's concept of Islam was simple and straight forward. He was not much familiar with theological subtleties but he was well aware with basic Islamic tenets and their role in the life of individual and the society. His conception of Islam and Quran as derived from his speeches and statements may be summarized as follows:

Jinnah believed that Islam is not a religion in the sense as the word *religion* is used in present day world. It is not a set of beliefs and rituals only but a complete code of life. At Gaya Muslim League Conference, in January 1938, he said."Islam gives a complete code. It is not only religion but it contains law, philosophy and politics. In fact, it contains everything that matters to a man from morning till night". (Mujahid, 2007) In his article, printed in Time and Tide, London, in January 1940, Jinnah said, "Both these religions (Islam & Hinduism) are definite social codes which govern not so much Man's relations with his God as Man's relations with his neighbour. They govern not only his law and culture, but every aspect of his social life". We come across almost similar statements time and again such as in 1940, 1944, 1945 and 1947-48. In his Eid message in October 1947, Jinnah said," Islam lays great emphasis on the social side of the things. Prayer, Fasting and Eid create perfect qualities and a healthy social relationship". (Ahmed, Rizwan, 1993, p. 20) He believed that Islam is a liberal religion that denounces caste system. In Islam, there is no discrimination on the basis of cast, creed or sex. (ibid: p. 56)

In his view Islam positively provides for the protection of Human Rights for everybody and insists upon generosity and tolerance towards others. (Mujahid and Merchant, 2007, p. 50) Jinnah believed that Islam taught us Democracy fourteen hundred years ago. It stands for high ethical values such as equality, social justice and fair play. "Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans who look upon complete equality of manhood and believe in fraternity and liberty". (ibid, p. 12) "Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man, these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization." (ibid, p. 29) Islam instructs its followers to be open minded, kind and passionate. "The tenets of Islam enjoin upon every Muslim to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed."<sup>5</sup> (Ahmed, Rizwan, 1993, p.24) Islam stops us from retaliation and taking revenge from others and instructs us to provide protection and adopt generosity and tolerance towards the minorities. In his broadcast talk on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1939, he said, "Man has indeed been called God's caliph in the Quran and if that description of man is to be of significance, it imposes upon us a duty to follow the Quran, to behave towards others as God behaves towards His mankind. In the widest sense of the word, this duty is to love and to forbear." (Ahmed, Rizwan, 1993, p. 122).

Jinnah considered Quran as the greatest message sent for our guidance and enlightenment. He called it the Bedrock and the Sheet Anchor of the community that keeps the Muslims united. (Ahmed R. 1993, pp. 22 & 107) He believed and declared that Islamic teachings are the source of inspiration for all the Muslims in all circumstances. "Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1300 years ago."<sup>6</sup> In his view Islam is a liberal religion that laid down the principles of **Shura & Ijtihad**. It gives us basic principles and freedom to interpret them to suit the needs of time and situation in the society. As Riaz Ahmed puts it, "as far as the thought content of Islam was concerned, he had full faith in Islam but he wanted interpretation of Islam to be more comprehensive and suitable to the modern realities of life—for him Islam carried spiritual values which should be implemented in the material life of the modern world". (Ahmed, Riaz, 1998, p.17)

In his interview to the students of Usmania University in August, 1941, answering a question, he described distinctive features of an Islamic state as follows,

There is a special feature of the Islamic State which must not be over-looked – There, obedience is due to God and God alone, which takes practical shape in the observance of the Quranic Principles and commands. In Islam, obedience is due neither to King, nor to a parliament, nor to any other organization. It is the Quranic provisions which determine the limits of our freedom and restrictions in Political and Social spheres. In other words, the Islamic State is an agency for enforcement of the Quranic principles and injunctions\*(Ahmed, Akbar S., 1997,)

The above mentioned statements are a few out of a large collection of his speeches and statements that clearly indicate Jinnah's perception of Islam. In a nutshell, we can say that he considered Islam as an all-embracing code of life, a social order indeed. He believed that Islam and Quran are the bedrock and sheet anchor of Muslim community. Quran is the source of inspiration and guidance for all the Muslims at all times and in all situations. In his view, Islam is a liberal religion which emphasizes upon equality, social justice and fair play to everybody and dignity and fraternity of mankind. Islam teaches us democracy, and requires its adherents to be kind, passionate, generous and tolerant to

others, especially to the minorities. It instructs the rulers to take care of their subjects, especially of the poor ones. Well being of the people and assurance of a decent life for everyone have to be the major objectives of the state. Islam also stresses upon protection of human rights, justice and equality before law. He believed and desired that these golden instructions of Islam be taken into practice in Pakistan. In his speech at Sibbi Darbar on 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1948, he said, "It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideas and principles. Our Almighty Allah has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the state shall be guided by discussion and consultation". (Siddiqui, 2007, p. 111) In his last public speech at the time of inauguration of State Bank of Pakistan, On 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1948, Jinnah stated, "I shall watch with keenness the work of your research organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life --- - The adoption of western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based upon true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving the humanity message of peace, which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind" (Ahmed, Rizwan, 1993, p.158).

### III

#### **JINNAH'S VISION OF PAKISTAN- A SECULAR STATE OR A MODERN DEMOCRATIC STATE BASED UPON ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES**

It has been a debatable issue for long, what kind of state Jinnah visualized for Pakistan. As far as Theocracy is concerned, Jinnah out rightly rejected it, saying that there is no priesthood in Islam. Islam teaches us tolerance. Thus, Pakistan will not be a Theocracy, to be ruled by priests with a divine mission?. There are a lot of Non Muslim citizens in Pakistan and all citizens will have equal rights and play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan<sup>7</sup>. It seems as if he considered Theocracy as a synonym of in-tolerance, discrimination and inequality and he completely rejected the possibility of having such a state in Pakistan.

But then what was the vision of Jinnah about Pakistan? There is wide disagreement about it. As Ian Talbot describes in his article "How Many Jinnahs?", it is unfortunate that we find at least five different Jinnahs as presented by various scholars. One gets confused which one of them is the actual one. (Talbot, 2005)

#### **JINNAH PROJECTED AS AN ADVOCATE OF A SECULAR STATE IN PAKISTAN**

One group of writers holds that Jinnah visualized a Secular Pakistan. This group includes Wolpert, Khairi, Muneer, Qureshi Saleem M., Ghazali, Askari, and many others. Their claim is largely based upon some assertions made by Jinnah in his presidential address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1947. The main focus of attention are the passages that follow.

"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or cast or creed-that has nothing to do with the business of the state"-----"Now, I think we should keep that(the example of Great

Britain) in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hinds 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.”

These writers base their opinion on the following arguments:

Almost all of them focus on the 11<sup>th</sup> August speech and consider it as the clearest exposition of the fact that Jinnah looked forward to a secular Pakistan. They point out that Jinnah repeatedly said that it would not be a theocracy but a modern democracy, having no role of Mullahs and Priests in molding of its destiny. They also insist upon it that Pakistan Movement was a secular campaign led by the politicians, not by the religious leaders. Methods and strategies used in the movement were secular as well.

They claim that Islam did not figure out prominently in the struggle for Pakistan. Propelling slogan during Pakistan Movement was **distinct identity** of Muslims as a nation. They believe that Islam was used as a motivating force to rally around the Muslims but the state Jinnah wished to create, was a secular state, not a theocracy. Actually, Pakistan was demanded to save the Muslims from the denial of Fundamental Rights and annihilation of human souls in the caste –ridden India. The religion was not the concern.

They also highlight that Jinnah announced and insisted upon equal rights for all the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste and creed. It is a proof that he wanted it to be a secular state. Moreover, Quaid-e-Azam's decision to appoint J. N. Mandal as the first President of Constituent Assembly & later on to include him as a minister in his cabinet is considered as a proof of Jinnah's conception of a secular state.

### **JINNAH PROJECTED AS HAVING A VISION OF PAKISTAN AS A STATE WITH ISLAMIC FEATURES**

Another group of scholars disagrees with this notion that Jinnah visualized Pakistan as a secular state. This group includes Shareef al-Mujahid, S Akber Ahmed, Riaz Ahmed, Safdar Mehmood, Waheed-uz-Zaman, Rizwan Ahmed, S.M.Burke, and others. These writers hold that Jinnah wanted Pakistan to be a modern Democratic State based on Islamic principles and orientations. They provide the following arguments in support of their views:

Shareef al-Mujahid holds that Jinnah's 11<sup>th</sup> August speech cannot be considered as a proof of his secular approach as it was the only one of its kind- “a solitary instance in his pronouncements.” It was not a well thought- over and well- drafted scheme so it cannot be considered as declaring policies or constitutional principles. Concept of Dhimmis and their status as in medieval time was not more in use. Moreover, at that particular time, there was a critical need to heal the wounds inflicted by partition. He also raises the question that what Jinnah always demanded for Muslims in combined India, how could he deny it to others when he was in control of the affairs? (Mujahid, 1981, p. 248-250)

Other scholars raise some more arguments in support of their opinion that Jinnah looked forward to a state based upon Islamic principles. They insist upon it that 11<sup>th</sup> August speech was not pointing towards secular thought. It was re-asserting Islamic principles and teachings .The charter of Madinah and The Prophet's practice of giving freedom of



religion and conscience to non- Muslims are the proofs to this fact. Moreover, it should be seen in the context of the situation existing at that time. In the mid of communal riots, there was a dire need to satisfy the minorities and reassure them of protection and to instruct the Muslims not to retaliate and to be generous and tolerant towards the minorities as per Islamic teachings.

These scholars also point out that Jinnah clearly and repeatedly declared that Pakistan will be a democratic state based on Islamic principles of equality, social justice and fair play. In fact, he almost always used the term "Islamic Democracy". Jinnah believed that Islam insists upon some basic ethical values such as Equality, Social justice, fair play. Non-discrimination, generosity and tolerance and denial of caste system are the basic Islamic values. No doubt that there is a similarity with secularism as secularism also stresses these values but Jinnah referred to their Islamic origin wherever he mentioned these values.

They hold that Jinnah had a liberal concept of Islam that was compatible with the features of a modern democratic state. He was trying a synthesis of Western liberalism with Islam. He tried to adjust his understanding of Islam with the liberal values that he had absorbed in London. He tried to find "an echo of them in Muslim history". Thus, he tried a synthesis of Islam and liberalism (Ahmed, S,Akbar, 1977, pp. 7-9) Moreover, Jinnah was critically ill during his last years and he was well aware of it. His speeches and statements made in the last years of his life must be considered as authentic and sincere; the voice of his heart, not his political strategy. (ibid,p.179).

They also raise an argument that Jinnah's friends and foes alike confirm that Jinnah was very bold, clear and frank in his talk. He never indulged in double-meaning talk and never minced his words. If he would be looking forward to see Pakistan to be a secular state, he would have said it openly. But he never used the word secular or secularism. It means he had no inclination towards secularism.

It is almost agreed upon that Jinnah was far from political trickery. It is wrong to think that he used the name of Islam and Quran to unite the Muslims at one platform but in fact he was secular in his outlook. Jinnah was not the kind of person to befool Muslims and use Islam to get his objectives. It is reported that Dr. Rasheed Jahan, daughter of Abdullah Haroon came to Jinnah on the day of election of 1946. She gleefully mentioned that she had casted many votes by wearing a burqa. Jinnah was furious. He ordered her to go back to the polling station and get the extra votes cancelled. He said "I don't want Pakistan on this basis". Such a person, honest and fair in all his dealings, could not mislead everyone else in the name of Islam.

After the creation of Pakistan, he could have discarded culture, tradition and religious way of life as Atatürk did in Turkey but he did not do so as he himself loved Islam and believed in its applicability and utility. Jinnah wanted Pakistan to be Islamic and democratic at the same time as he believed that Islam itself contains democratic principles and it is easily compatible with democracy.

#### IV

### CONCLUSION

A close analysis of these two view points, leads us to the following conclusions:

Firstly, Jinnah was very precise and careful in the selection of words. He was very bold and out-spoken. He never indulged into double talk and never minced his words. If he would be willing to make Pakistan a secular state, he would have said so. If he could clearly and repeatedly say that it will not be a Theocracy, ruled by Mullahs, he could also say that it would be a secular state, but he did not use word secular or secularism even for once.

Secondly, Jinnah was far from political trickery. He was not a person to fear anyone's appreciation or disapproval. It is unfair to think that he used the name of Islam to unite the Muslims or as a motivating factor but he was not sincere in his call for Islam and Islamic principles etc. If it would be so, than he should have stopped to talk of Islam once he got Pakistan created, but his speeches as governor General of Pakistan are full of such statements.

Thirdly, Jinnah frequently talked about Islam, Quran, the Prophet, Islamic culture, and Islamic law. He, at times, talked of Islamic state and Islamic ideology also. His speeches and statements between 1937 and 1948 are full of the references of Islam and its relevant things, but not a single reference or mention of secularism.

Fourthly, Pakistan demand was undoubtedly based upon the claim of separate nationhood and its right of self-determination. It is true that religion was not the only factor behind Pakistan demand; there were complex factors such as economic, social, political factors. The fear of annihilation and denial of human Rights was also behind this demand. But the question is that what was the reason behind the denial of Human Rights and all those economic, social and political factors? Obviously, it was Islam that was the basis of Muslims' separate nationhood and so was the question of national and cultural identity and interests.

As is evident from a number of his statements, Jinnah considered Theocracy as equivalent to fanaticism, intolerance and discrimination. He thought it will be a government of priests/ religious leaders, likely to be short sighted, biased and intolerant. He considered such a government as not sanctioned by Islam and refused to have any such thing in Pakistan. But he always said that Pakistan will be an "Islamic Democracy" based upon Islamic social justice, equality and fair play.

As far as Jinnah's 11<sup>th</sup> August speech is concerned, there are a few points that are worth noticing. For example,

This speech was not well thought over & written before hand. There is the assertion that "I cannot make any well-considered pronouncements at this moment but I shall say a few things as they occur to me" (Wolpert, 1984, p. 337). It is strange that some extracts of this speech are quoted to prove that he wanted Pakistan as a secular state, while dozens of his speeches and statements are neglected that declare openly and repeatedly that Pakistan will be an Islamic Democracy, based upon basic Islamic values such as equality, fraternity, equality and social justice. It is also important to note that this speech is not a "solitary example" of its type as Sharif al-Mujahid holds. This speech is in line with many other speeches and statements delivered between 1937 & 1947. The ideas and principles mentioned in this speech are repeatedly used in Jinnah's speeches before and after partition.

As far as the rights of minorities and their equal status as citizens of Pakistan are concerned, there is nothing new in 11<sup>th</sup> August speech as Jinnah remained a champion of minorities' rights throughout his life. After creation of Pakistan, he affirmed the same rights for its non-Muslim citizens. Moreover, at that time when emotions were high and communal strife was at its peak, what else was the Governor General expected to do except to cool down the majority and to ensure the minorities of justice, fair play and proper protection. On the eve of partition, as Governor General, Jinnah laid down the basic principles that could lead to national integration and cohesiveness. Internal unity and mutual trust was badly required to lead Pakistan into a well-knit nation. So at one hand, he denounced regionalism, calling it "poison" in our body politic and on the other side, he assured minorities of not only justice and fair play but of generosity and tolerance, religious freedom and equality before law.

It is also important to note that whatever Jinnah said to the minorities in his 11<sup>th</sup> August speech, does not point out to secularism alone. These are Islamic values and principles, not only in theory but practiced in actual. The Quran says that there is no compulsion in Islam so the state has to ensure religious freedom and protection of minorities. It is not a favor for them but the responsibility of the government to be fulfilled in all circumstances. Prophet of Islam (P.B.U.H.) provided almost the same rights, liberties and guarantees to non-Muslim minorities who were peaceful citizens of Madinah State. Charter of Madinah and letter of prophet to the Christians of Najran are good examples of this behavior. Muslim history is full of such examples. So generous treatment with minorities and protection of their fundamental rights is an Islamic feature as was described by Jinnah in his speech of 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947, when he disagreed with the Viceroy and stated that generosity and tolerance were taught and practiced by our Prophet (P.B.U.H.) thirteen hundred years ago, well before Akbar - The Great. It is true that secularism also highlights and stresses these values and principles but Islam is obviously hundreds of years older than secularism.

Religious freedom, protection of human Rights, equal status as citizens and no discrimination on the basis of caste or creed, these were the notions that Jinnah held throughout his life and repeatedly declared that in Pakistan, these principles will be taken into practice so minorities rest assured of a safe future in Pakistan. It is also reported that Jinnah and Nehru had made such a commitment with Viceroy at the time when partition was agreed upon in June 1947. Jinnah was not one of them who would move back from their commitments. Moreover, we find a speech of Liaquat Ali Khan dated 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947. This speech consists of almost the same statement as the speech of Jinnah delivered on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947<sup>8</sup>. It means that it was not only the personal conviction of Jinnah but it was also the official policy of Government of Pakistan.

So on the basis of above stated facts; we can conclude that Jinnah had a perception of Islam compatible with modern concepts of state craft. He wanted to see Pakistan as a **Modern Islamic State, not as a secular state**. He rather looked forward to it as "**An Islamic Democracy**", based upon the basic Islamic values such as equality, fraternity, social justice and fair play.

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- 1- In a meeting, Jinnah himself told that he decided to take admission in Lincon's inn as he saw the name of Mohammad (PBUH) at the top of the list of the lawgivers of the world, inscribed at its gate.
- 2- Those monographs were printed by Pakistan Study Circle, Bombay for circulation among Muslims.
- 3- Grey Wolf was the title of the biography of Ata Turk.
- 4- Speech at Karachi Bar on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1948
- 5- Speech in Public Meeting in Lahore on 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1947.
- 6- Broadcast address to the people of USA – Feb. 1948.
- 7- Broadcast talk to the people of Australia – Feb, 19, 1948.
- 8- 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947, Liaquat Ali Khan delivered a speech in which he stated that, "As I visualized, the State of Pakistan will a state where there will be no specific privileges, no specific rights for any one particular community or individual. It will be a state where every citizen will have equal privileges and they will share equally all the obligation that lie on the citizen of Pakistan.

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