

Jinnah's Vision of Pakistan

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Abstract

A small number of writers, who mostly contribute to the English press, emphasize that Muhammad Ali Jinnah envisaged Pakistan's political structure independent of the Islamic principles and desired to establish a secular democratic state. On the contrary, a large number of Pakistani scholars firmly believe that Pakistan was envisioned as a modern and Islamic democratic state. They maintain that religion in addition to political, historical, cultural and economic factors was the catalytic element for the creation of Pakistan. Also they believe that by establishing the foundations of Pakistan's state structure, constitution and politics on Islamic principles, the dream of true Pakistan can be realized. They strongly oppose theocracy, sectarianism and religious militancy, but believe that, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, and Jinnah conceived of an Islamic democratic and progressive Pakistan for which the Muslims of the subcontinent made great sacrifices, and not for secularism which was expounded by the Indian National Congress. They justify the

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emergence of Pakistan on ideological basis which ensures equal status and rights for all citizens without any discrimination. An analysis of the perceptions and views, held by the secularists and the ideologists, leads to the conclusion that the secularists perceive democracy to be a secular system which accords equal rights to all citizens promising progress and modernity. They contend that religion negates these values. The ideologists on the other hand, claim that the concept of democracy with equality for minorities is rooted in Islam. Actually, both groups stand for democratic and progressive Pakistan, and accept the view that no law which goes against the Sharia [Arabic: Islamic law] can be enacted in Pakistan. The differences in their viewpoints emanate from their perceptions of Islam. This article, however, is confined to the study of Jinnah's concept of Pakistan within the parameter of his speeches without going into its practical implications.

Introduction

It is a strange paradox of Pakistan's history that even after more than sixty seven years of its existence, Pakistani historians and intellectuals have not been able to evolve consensus and congregation on Jinnah's vision of Pakistan. Secularists and Islamic democrats continue debating Jinnah's vision on parallel lines pre-empting any possibility of consensus. As far as Jinnah himself is concerned, he made it clear as Governor General of Pakistan, in his broadcast talk to the people of United States of America that "Pakistan is the premier Islamic state".¹ Earlier to this broadcast, he expressed his resentment that:

He could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of shariat. Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1300 years ago... not only Muslims but also non-Muslims have nothing to

1 Khurshed Ahmad Khan Yousafi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. IV (Lahore: Bazm-e-Iqbal, 1996), 2692.

fear. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. Islam has taught equality, Justice and fair play to everybody.²

Visualizing prospective constitution of Pakistan based on Islamic principles, Jinnah said, "Let us make it. We shall make it and we will show it to the world."³ The most distinguishing feature of Jinnah's personality was determination. Even creation of Pakistan is considered to be the miraculous product of his determination that, according to Stanely Wolpert, he altered the course of history, modified the map of the world and created a nation state.⁴ Wolpert has rightly credited Jinnah with the singular honour of performing three extraordinary deeds simultaneously for which no precedent is available in the history. Jinnah's above mentioned address to the Karachi Bar Association that "We shall make it and we will show it to the world" reflects same determination and his indomitable will. Had he lived longer, he would have done it. In fact the theme that the constitution of Pakistan will be based on Holy Quran runs throughout his speeches before and after the establishment of Pakistan. Replying to a question in July 1944, he went to the extent of saying that we have a constitution for the past 1300 years and that alcohol will be banned in Pakistan.⁵

The best way to understand Jinnah's vision of Pakistan is to examine his approach towards life and to study the consistent themes of his speeches and statements extending over four decades. For example, we come across in almost every biographical account of Jinnah that he had decided to seek admission in Lincoln's Inn in London to become a Barrister-at-Law, because it displayed the name of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) in the category of great lawgivers

2 Yousafi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages*, 2669.

3 Yousafi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages*, 2669.

4 Stanely Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), See Preface.

5 Khurshid Ahmad Khan, *Quaid e Azam ke Shab o Roze* [Urdu: Daily Life of Quaid-e-Azam] (Islamabad: Muqtadira Qaumi Zaban, 1986), 10.

of the world. Jinnah mentioned this himself, while addressing to the Karachi Bar Association on Eid Milad-un-Nabi.⁶

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 environment of London. Upbringing and early education in the formative period of Jinnah's life created enduring impressions and orientations which determined his attitudes. This point is highlighted by Rizwan Ahmad in his work, which revealed some hitherto unknown aspects of the Jinnah's early life. For example, Jinnah's father worked as a teacher at Mission School of Karachi, in addition to his involvement in his own business, yet he had his son enrolled in Sindh Madrasatul Islam. He knew that the Mission School students receive lessons on Christianity, while Sindh Madrasatul Islam had Islamic milieu, and gave Islam-oriented education. According to the Madrasa's record, the word 'Muhammadan'⁷ was inscribed in front of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's name instead of 'Khoja', a designation indicative of his Hindu ancestry. When his family migrated to Bombay from Karachi, the Anjuman-i-Islamia school was selected for Jinnah for much the same reasons. However, for a brief period, Jinnah also attended the Mission School at Karachi before leaving for London. Rizwan has revealed the fact that Jinnah's father, Jinnah Bhai Poonja, was religiously inclined⁸ and taught Holy Quran to the

6 Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Some Aspects of Quaid-e-Azam's Life* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1978), 10. Eid Milad-un-Nabi means birthday of Prophet Muhammad. Also see, Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 9.

7 Rizwan Ahmad, *Quaid-e-Azam — Ibetadai Tees Saal, (1876-1906)*, [Urdu: Quaid-e-Azam — Early Thirty Years (1876-1906)] (Lahore: Aatush Fashan Publications, 1987), 68.

8 Poonja's religious propensity and family background can be visualized from the fact that when Jinnah asked his permission to join a theatrical company in London so that he could become financially independent, Poonja wrote him a long letter disapproving the proposal. One sentence that touched

children of his neighborhood in the evening.⁹ In his childhood, especially at bedtime, his mother narrated Islamic historical tales to her curious son. In this manner Jinnah was brought up in a religiously devoted family and received his early education in an Islamic environment, which motivated him in latter years when he was in London to select the Lincoln's Inn for his legal training.

After becoming a barrister at Lincoln's Inn at the age of twenty, Jinnah reached Bombay in 1896. His religious inclination and interest in the welfare of the Muslims found expression in his active involvement in the activities of Anjuman-i-Islamia, an organization of the Bombay Muslims. He attended its first meeting on July 8, 1897 and a month later on August 12, he attended *Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi* function of the Anjuman, which was presided over by Nawab Mohsinul Mulk.¹⁰ His love for the Holy Prophet (PBUH) was visible, as he, despite his legal and political engagements, found time to attend the *Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi* commemorations in subsequent years.

Jinnah was elected as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1910. As a legislator he introduced on March 17, 1911 his first bill on *Waqf* [Urdu: tax exemption for Muslim endowments]. As a consequence of the decision of the Privy Council of London in 1894, Islamic law of *Waqf-ul-Aulad* [Urdu: a centuries old system], had become ineffective because the Privy Council had invalidated testamentary gifts of Muslim property left in tax-free trust [Waqf] for ultimate reversion to religious charity.

The Muslims were dissatisfied over the Privy Council's decision but were helpless before the British power. As a representative of the Muslim community in the Council, Jinnah moved the *Waqf* Validating Bill, which sought the legislative reversal of the Privy Council's decision.

Jinnah the most was, "Do not be a traitor to the family". Pirzada, *Some Aspects of Quaid-e-Azam's Life*, 11.

9 Ahmad, *Quaid-e-Azam — Ibetadai Tees Saal*, 65.

10 Riaz Ahmad, *The Works of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*, Vol. I (Islamabad: NIPS, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1966), 4.

Jinnah argued that the decision was opposed to the fundamental principles of Islamic jurisprudence. After lengthy debates extending over a period of two years, Jinnah succeeded in getting the bill passed on March 5, 1913. Certainly, the new law was to the advantage of the Indian Muslims. Jinnah decided to marry Ruttie, daughter of Bombay's famous Parsee leader Sir Dinshaw Petit, when she embraced Islam after a thorough study of religion. This fact has been verified by Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, a renowned Pakistani religious leader, Ruttie Dinshaw went with Jinnah to Noorani's uncle, Maulana Nazir Siddiqui, Imam of Jamia Masjid Bombay,¹¹ for conversion to Islam. Noorani claims that Jinnah used to consult and seek guidance in religious matters from Maulana Nazir Siddiqui who was a Sunni religious scholar.

Jinnah's prudence and circumspection is well known. It is generally believed that he belonged to the *Ithna Ashri shia* sect. Undoubtedly, his family had this religious background; then why did he not select a *shia* scholar to perform the ceremony of Ruttie's conversion to Islam. There was no dearth of *Shia* Ulema in Bombay. However, Jinnah and Ruttie's *Nikah* [Urdu: Marriage Contract] was performed by the *Ithna Ashri* Qazi according to *shia* rites.¹² It may be easily surmised that Jinnah was above sectarianism and that is why he called it a curse.¹³ As a mischief and with a view to dividing the Muslims, someone asked Jinnah whether he was Sunni or *Shia*? Jinnah responded in a way that may be taken as 'What was the religion of the Holy Prophet?' During his visit to Quetta, a *Shia* delegation called on Jinnah. A member of the delegation suggested that they had prior claim on his leadership because he belonged to their sect.

11 Her conversion took place in Jamia Masjid, Bombay. Pirzada, *Some Aspects of Quaid-e-Azam's Life*, 46. Also see Safdar Mahmood, *Iqbal, Jinnah aur Pakistan* [Urdu: Iqbal, Jinnah and Pakistan] (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), 29

12 Mahmood, *Iqbal, Jinnah aur Pakistan*.

13 S. M. Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements 1947-1948* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 148. Also see, Aslam Bazmi, *Our Quaid* [Urdu: And Quaid] (Islamabad: NUST Publishing, 2004), 86.

Jinnah's reply was short, "No. I am a Muslim."¹⁴ These anecdotes speak volumes about his bent of mind and view of religion.

Jinnah immensely loved his only daughter, who was the only symbol of his first and the last love, yet when Dina decided to marry a Parsee youth, Neville Wadia, Jinnah severed his relations with her forever. After her conversion to her husband's faith, Jinnah did not even mention her name even to his friends, as if he never had a daughter. After her marriage, Dina wrote letters to her father to which he replied like a civilized man, but always addressed her as Mrs. Wadia¹⁵ instead of 'My Dear Dina', as an affectionate father would have done. Dina wanted to visit Pakistan to see her ailing father, the Governor General of Pakistan, but her request was denied despite the urging of some family friends. She came to Pakistan for the first time, only to mourn the death of her late father. Funeral prayers of Jinnah were led by the renowned religious scholar Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani, a *Sunni* stalwart.¹⁶

Some observers may describe Jinnah's reaction to his daughter's marriage as illogical and even egoistical. An objective view of this episode would assert that it was not the issue of Jinnah's ego but was a matter of his religious sensibility. A detailed account of this episode has been given by Wolpert, who writes that when Dina had expressed her decision to marry Wadia, "Jinnah tried his best to dissuade her...Jinnah in his usual imperious manner told her that there were millions of Muslim boys in India and she could have anyone she chose".¹⁷ Dina's insistence disappointed Jinnah who never spoke to her after she married.¹⁸ It is

14 Hanif Shahid, *Quaid-e-Azam Aur Islam*, [Urdu: Quaid-e-Azam and Islam] (Lahore: Bookman, 2001), 34. Syed Mumtaz Hussain Ahsan has also narrated this episode in his article in daily *Nawa-i-waqt*, Lahore, dated November 7, 1946.

15 Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 370.

16 Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 370.

17 Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 370.

18 Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 370.

obvious that Jinnah by laying down the condition of 'any Muslim' made it clear that it was the question of religion and not any other consideration, including his own ego. Jinnah's impeccable character and integrity has been lauded by all including his worst opponents. He was a man of principles and Muslims had faith in him and were prepared to make any sacrifice which he might demand from them. Sharif Toosy, an educationist and writer, was invited by Jinnah to stay with him and write books supporting the cause of Pakistan. He stated in his memoirs that Jinnah had carefully studied the life of the Holy Prophet. Syed Amir Ali's famous book, *Spirit of Islam* and the English translation of 'Shibli's *Al-Farooq*', Toosy believed, created deep impact on his personality.¹⁹

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* [Urdu: religious scholar] but an ordinary Muslim with all the human frailties. Jinnah as human being was not free of faults. He was not a hypocrite and abhorred hypocrisy in all its forms; double standards, extravagance, pomp and show. He always spoke with sincerity in public meetings and never played to the gallery or with the emotions of the people. His speeches and statements reflect selfless service to the cause of Islam and Muslims. In his numerous public addresses, he repeatedly stated that the Muslims need not borrow the concept or practice of democracy from others because Muslims in the first instance learned the principles of democracy 1300 years ago. Repeatedly, he stated that *Uswa-i-Hasana* [Urdu: The Holy Prophet's way of life] was the role model for Muslims. As the Holy Prophet entered into a covenant with the Christians, Jews and other minorities in Madina, we in the new State of Pakistan would follow his example and give equal rights to the minorities.²⁰

19 M. S. Toosy, *My Reminiscences of Quaid-i-Azam, during November, 1942 to May 1943* (Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1976), 48.

20 Ahmad Saeed, *Guffar-e-Quaid-e-Azam*, [Urdu: Quaid's Speech] (Islamabad: National Commission for Historical Research, 1976), 233-34.

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-breasted elegant suit of Civil Rowe Vintage, and speaking in English, he addressed Muslims and poured out his heart:

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 nor 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 the Muslims. May my God testify that Jinnah lived and died as a Muslim fighting against the forces of 'kufar' and holding the flag of Islam high.²¹

When Jinnah delivered this speech, he was only 53 years old and was at the pinnacle of his popularity. Gradually, Jinnah shifted this position from the leader of Muslim minority in India to that of the spokesman of a Muslim nation. The Nehru Report (1928) opposing the right of separate electorates to the Muslims persuaded Jinnah to openly question the Congress leadership. The Congress rule (1937-39) in India enabled Jinnah to support the Lahore Resolution in 1940 which was later called Pakistan Resolution. For the first time, Jinnah articulated his theme of 'Muslim Nation' on this occasion and demanded a separate homeland for them. He said:

It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority and we have got used to it...These settled notions are difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition.... The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies...To yoke together two such nations under a single

21 Saeed, *Guftar-e-Quaid-e-Azam*, 233-34.

state must lead to final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.²²

Before the establishment of Pakistan, the minorities' status was again an important issue for Jinnah because the new country had some minorities, while in India the Muslims were the largest minority whose protection was a matter of great concern for him.²³ Before and after the emergence of Pakistan, Jinnah was frequently asked about the status of the minorities and his replies were always reassuring. Replying to a question at a press conference in New Delhi on July 14, 1947, he said: "Let me tell you that I shall not depart from what I said repeatedly with regard to minorities. I meant what I said and what I said I meant. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, life and culture. They will be the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed."²⁴ When asked, whether Pakistan would be a secular or theocratic state, he stated, "You are asking me a question that is absurd. What I have already said is like throwing water on a duck's back. When you talk of democracy, I am afraid you have not studied Islam. We learned democracy thirteenth centuries ago".²⁵ What kind of democracy did the Muslims learn 1300 years ago? Was it secular, ideological or Islamic? Jinnah's speech delivered on August 11, 1947 as the first President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan should be read and re-examined in this context and continuation. It is not fair to read it in isolation. In this speech, Jinnah identified some basic problems facing the newborn country and advised the people of Pakistan as Father of the Nation. He said:

The Government's foremost duty is to maintain law and order...One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering is corruption and

22 Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol II, 1177-81.

23 Quaid-e-Azam's statements issued on July 14, September 15, 17, and October 25, 1947.

24 Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements*, 13. See also Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. II, 2587.

25 Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements*, 5. See also Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam* Vol. II, 2589.

bribery. That really is poison. Another curse is the black marketing. You have to tackle this monster. The next thing that strikes me is the evil of nepotism and jobbery... Now what shall we do? If you work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, there will be no end to the progress you will make.... In course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, Muslims and Hindus, will vanish because as far as the Muslims are concerned there are *Pathans, Punjabis, Shias* and *Sunnis*. Similarly among Hindus there are *Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, Bengalees* and *Madrasis* and so on. This division had been the biggest hindrance in achieving independence. You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of your worship. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of state. You will find in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in religious sense because that is the personal faith of each citizen, but in political sense as citizens of the state.²⁶

Jinnah's address of August 11, was neither thought-out beforehand nor formulated deliberately. For most part, it was off the cuff.²⁷ That is why he stated in this speech: "I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment but I shall say a few things as they occur to me."²⁸

The principle of equality enunciated in this speech had been reiterated by Jinnah many times during the period of struggle. Also he had referred to 'Mithaq-e-Madina'²⁹ (622/23) in this connection in order to reinforce his commitment. Sharif-al-Mujahid rightly observed that Jinnah's "national framework, comprising both Muslims and non-Muslims as equal citizens of a political unit, has a hallowed Islamic precedent,"³⁰ because *Mithaq-e-Madina* [Arabic:

26 Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements*, 25-29. Also Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. II, 2603-4.

27 Sharif-al-Mujahid, "Jinnah's August 11 Address", *Dawn*, December 25, 2001.

28 Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements*, 26. Also Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. II, 2601.

29 For details see, M. Rafique Dogar, *Al-Ameen* [Arabic: The Trustworthy] (Lahore: Deed Shuneed Publishers, 2000), 93-139.

30 Mujahid, "Jinnah's August 11 Address".

madina Accord], described as the first written constitution of the world by Dr. Hamidullah, accorded equal rights to all, including religious minorities, as equal citizens of the state. Exactly the same principle Jinnah had in mind which was misinterpreted as secularism by some writers. "Equality in terms of rights, privileges and responsibilities in a polity is today considered a secular value but long before this principle was discovered as a sacred value, it was enshrined as an Islamic value in the *Mithaq* and that by the Prophet himself."³¹

It is worth noting how the first official biographer of Jinnah has interpreted this speech. "These words were Jinnah's: The Thought and belief were an inheritance from the Prophet who had said, Thirteen centuries before, "All men are equal in the eyes of God. And your properties are all sacred; in no case should you attack each other's life and property. Today I trample under my feet all distinctions of caste, colour and nationality."³²

Jinnah opposed theocracy because the concept does not exist in Islam. Iqbal finds democracy closer to the Islamic framework and assigns the power of *Ijtihad* [Urdu: interpretation] to the elected representatives. Iqbal states:

The first question that arises in this connection is this: Should the Caliphate be vested in a single person? Turkey's *Ijtihad* is that according to the spirit of Islam the Caliphate or Imamate can be vested in a body of persons, or an elected Assembly. Personally, I believe the Turkish view is perfectly sound. It is hardly necessary to argue this point. The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam."³³

In this perspective, Jinnah envisioned Pakistan as a progressive, modern and Islamic democracy, because he did not perceive any conflict within these concepts.

31 Mujahid, "Jinnah's August 11 Address".

32 Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, 197. (Bolitho quoted the Last Khutba [Urdu: Address] of Holy Prophet).

33 Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1960), 157.

In Jinnah's speeches and statements the word 'secularism' does not occur even once while Islam had been the constant and consistent theme of his discourse. Jinnah's commitment was loud and clear that "In Pakistan, we shall have a state which will be run according to the principles of Islam. It will have its cultural, political and economic structure based on the principles of Islam".³⁴ According to a calculation, he promised 'Pakistan based on Islamic principles about 101 times before and 14 times after the establishment of Pakistan. Jinnah's August 11, 1947 speech was delivered to provide a sense of security and to reiterate his commitment of complete religious freedom and equal rights to the minorities. He made a fervent appeal to the people to forge unity, which was a key to the progress and development of Pakistan. Also the speech aimed at dispelling the Indian accusation that Pakistan would be a theocratic state where the minorities would be kept as 'slaves'. Jinnah highlighted tolerance as the basic principle of Islam. In his inaugural address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, while commenting on Lord Mountbatten's address reiterated his commitment to the principle of tolerance in Islam. Lord Mountbatten had referred to Moghul Emperor Akbar's generous behaviour towards the Hindus. Jinnah said: "The tolerance and goodwill that emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet 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."³⁵ Here again Jinnah referred to the

34 Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. IV, 174.

35 Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements*, 33-34.

Mithaq-e-Madina and the Holy Prophet as his role model.

Jinnah repeated the central theme of his August 11, address again in an interview which he gave to the Reuters correspondent on October 25, 1947. He said, "I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights... Pakistan will pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in non-Muslim minorities."³⁶

Jinnah had studied Islamic literature, translations and commentaries of the Quran, and works on the life of the Prophet, and the Caliphs. His attachment to Islam was obvious, yet he was neither a *mullah* nor a *sufi*, or a religious person or a saint. Jinnah's vision of Pakistan including its social, constitutional, political and administrative system be gleaned from what he said on November 26, 1945 at Peshawar; you have asked me in your welcome address what would be the (constitution) in Pakistan... Muslims have faith in one God, one Holy Prophet (PBUH) and one Book. This is the only law for the Muslims. Islam will be the basic law of Pakistan and no law repugnant to Islam will be enacted in Pakistan. We want to establish Islamic government in Pakistan.³⁷ Addressing the Shahi Darbar at Sibi in Balochistan on February 14, 1948 he said: "It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great lawgiver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us

36 Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements*, 61.

37 Quoted in Malik Habib Ullah, *Quaid-e-Azam ki Shakhsiyat kay Roohani Pehloo*, [Urdu: Spiritual Aspects of Quaid's Personality] (Lahore: n.p., 1998), 123. Shahid, *Quaid-e-Azam ke Shab-o-Roze*, 41.

lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles”.³⁸

Addressing another public meeting at Lahore on October 30, 1947 Jinnah said “If we take our inspiration and guidance from Holy Quran the final victory will be ours. All I require of you now is that every one of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam”.³⁹ While addressing a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council held on December 14-15, 1947, at Karachi, Jinnah reiterated that “Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim state based on Islamic ideals. It was not going to be an ecclesiastical state. In Islam, there is no discrimination as far as citizenship is concerned. The whole world, even UNO, has characterized Pakistan as a Muslim State”.⁴⁰ It is important to note that Jinnah made these statements as the Governor General of Pakistan and are obviously policy announcements. Then comes the last word on the subject in the form of Jinnah’s broadcast to the people of the United States in which he dealt with the future shape of Pakistan’s constitution.

The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed...I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to

38 Burke, *Jinnah — Speeches and Statements*, 11. Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. IV, 2656.

39 M. Rafique Afzal, *Selected Speeches and Statements of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1973), 447-48.

40 Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. IV, 2656.

be a theocratic state—to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have non-Muslims—they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy same rights and privileges as any other citizen.⁴¹

Conclusion

Jinnah was neither a secular nor a religious person. He was a progressive and moderate Muslim. He was against theocracy as well as sectarianism. The concept of secularism does not occur anywhere in his speeches and statements. Saleena Karim has rightly concluded: “It is significant that the word secular never once appears in any of his speeches on Pakistan.”⁴² He envisioned Pakistan to be a modern, egalitarian and democratic state based on the principles of Islam.

41 Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements and Messages of Quaid-e-Azam*, Vol. IV, 2656.

42 Saleena Karim, *Secular Jinnah and Pakistan* (Ireland: Checkpoint Press, 2010), 153.