

Pakistan: The Founder's View

Muhammad Reza Kazimi* Editorial Consultant, Oxford University Press

ABSTRACT

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan had visualized Pakistan as a state where a minority would become secure from religious discrimination, not as a state where religious discrimination would be practiced. There is incontrovertible evidence, that Jinnah openly opposed the concept of an Islamic State for Pakistan. The memoirs of his closest lieutenants attest to this. In 1943, Jinnah speaking to the Muslim League said that if Pakistan meant a place where people could not get a square meal a day, he did not want Pakistan! That is why Jinnah broadcast his view that Islamic Socialism was most suitable for the country. All his closest associates, including Liaquat Ali Khan, the Raja of Mahmudabad, and Miss Fatima Jinnah, voiced their agreement with him at different stages of Pakistan's history.

However since Pakistan had a Muslim majority, the same Ulama who had opposed the Pakistan Movement exercised street power to give the constitution of Pakistan, a fundamentalist and militant complexion. They assert their authority to excommunicate communities and practice compulsion in religion, an action expressly forbidden in the Holy Quran. Pakistan has been caught up in violence like bomb blasts, because militants have acquired power due to certain undemocratic exigencies, and can survive only by following the founder's precepts.

Keywords: Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Ideology of Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

Religious majorities prefer an ideological state, religious minorities prefer a secular state. Both aspirations are reflected in the life and work of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. First, as the champion of India's minorities, and thereafter as the guardian of Pakistan's minorities. We must begin by asking whether the concept of Pakistan is essentially ideological, or empirical.

By ideological has come to mean a concept that if Muslims are organized in a state, their faith is perfect, and if they are in a minority their faith is imperfect. In other words, our hidden aspiration is coercion in religion, the very aspiration denounced in the Verse of the throne. If a state is to be Islamic, it must abide by the injunctions of the Holy Quran. Latter day clerics, uncomfortable with this injunction, have claimed that this verse applies

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^{*}Dr. Reza Kazimi : m_r_kazimi@hotmail.com : m_r_kazimi@yahoo.com

only to non-Muslims. While the Holy Quran at practically the beginning, states that it is guidance for the pious, some ulama are taking the position that the Holy Quran contains a verse solely for the guidance of those people who do not subscribe to it. Between realizing a state which can develop without fear of religious discrimination, and between the Savaronola brigade of the Lal Masjid, there is a wide and substantial difference.

There is another aspect. If we insist that Pakistan was created on an ideological basis, it implies that no matter how fair and accommodative Hindu leaders had been, no matter how evenly the British had held the scales. Muslims would have still divided the country. On the other side, an empirical basis means that Islam is a complete code of life providing for both a majority and minority status of Muslims. It was bitter political experience which led Muslims to opt for partition. A decision which not only divided India, but according to our foreign critics, also divided the Muslim community. Let us not over stress the ideological aspect. Such were the exigencies of partition that as early as 1950, Liaquat Ali Khan himself saw off the Muslim refugees we required to return to Indian citizenship. We must recognize that experience can validate a theory; a theory cannot validate experience.

There is no denying that the Quaid-i-Azam achieved Pakistan on the basis of the Two Nation Theory, nor can we deny that he wanted to establish the emergent dominion of Pakistan on the basis of One Nation. But let us first refer to those public speeches of the Quaid-i-Azam which dealt with the nature of the State. At the Sibi Durbar on 14th February 1947 he said

 Let us lay down the foundations of our democracy on the study of truly Islamic ideals and principles.

On 11 August 1947 addressing the Constituent Assembly, the Governor General said:

ii) 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, caste, or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the state.... We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state.

In his Broadcast to the United States in February 1948, he clarified:

iii) The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. In any case, Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state – to be ruled by priests with a divine vision. We have many non –Muslims; they will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens.

The first speech is cited by the protagonists of an Islamic State, the second by the votaries of a secular state, the third speech is cited by both. It is here that we have reference to Islamic values, as well as a denunciation of theocracy. By considering both parts together we can conclude that Mohammad Ali Jinnah considered liberty, equality and fraternity to be Islamic values that had to be followed. Democracy and Islam, according to him were identical. Quaid-i-Azam spoke simultaneously against theocracy, and in favour of Islamic norms, because the form was secular but the content was Muslim, and both these realities had to be reconciled. Then, there is another vital aspect of Jinnah's third speech. The Constituent Assembly as a body and not its President as an individual, would decide on the nature of the Constitution.

To determine Quaid-i-Azam personal preference. We need to draw upon his conversations. The first is his interview to Doon Campbell of *Reuters* in Delhi, in 1946

The new state would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty vesting in the people and the members of the new nation having equal rights of citizenship regardless of religion, caste or creed (Mansergh and Wainright, 1977, pp. 1044, 1045).

The following excerpt from the unpublished Autobiography of Isha'at Habibullah: help to approve the founder's Vision.

The Raja [of Mahmudabad] started by saying that since the Lahore Resolution had been passed earlier that year, if and when Pakistan was formed, it was undoubtedly to be an Islamic State with the Sunna and Sharia as its bedrock. The Quaid's face went red and he turned to ask Raja whether he had taken leave of his senses? Mr. Jinnah added: "Did you realize that there are over seventy sects and differences of opinion regarding the Islamic faith, and if what the Raja was suggesting was to be followed, the consequences would be a struggle of religious opinion from the very inception of the State leading to its very dissolution. Mr. Jinnah banged his hands on the table and said: "we shall not be an Islamic State, but a liberal, democratic Muslim State (Habibullah, pp. 108-109).

Then there is another way to approach the Founder's vision, to bring out the condition Jinnah cited for denying Pakistan. Addressing workers in the Calcutta of 1943 he said:

Why am I turning my blood into water, for the rich, for the capitalist? No, for you, the poor people. There are so many places where one cannot get a square meal a day. Is that Pakistan? If that is Pakistan I would not want it.

Jinnah's rejection of the Raja's Islamic State was for empirical and not ideological reasons. We have seen how a struggle of religious opinion had brought the country to the verge of dissolution. On $10^{\rm th}$ July 2007 to be exact.

That is why in his Chittagong 1948 broadcast, the Governor General espoused Islamic Socialism (Burke, 2007, pp.166). Before him Allama Iqbal had said God plus Bolshevism is Islam. Hasrat Mohani used the term Islamic Communism. Liaquat Ali Khan called Islamic Socialism the state policy of Pakistan (Symonds, 1976, pp.182). Fatimah Jinnah with reference to her brother's Chittagong speech advocated Islamic Socialism (Khan, 1976, pp. 25, 26). Dr. Muhammad Ali Siddiqui is witness that the Raja of Mahmudabad favored Islamic Socialism, in Katrak Hall, Karachi in 1967 (Siddiqui, 1998, pp.18). Author witness that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said that "Islamic Socialism is that part of Socialism which is not in conflict with Islam".

Now how is it possible for leaders to disagree on an Islamic State, but to agree on Islamic Socialism? One reason is, that as far as a form of government is concerned, the Holy Quran gives a wide latitude.

And obey thou not every mean swearer Backbiter, going about with Slander, Hinderer of good, guilty aggressor Coarse-grained, moreover ignoble.

QL XVIII, 10-15

A list of whom not to obey. A Universal Caliphate is the ideal political dispensation, but a Welfare Society of say the KDA Flats is not unIslamic. The presidential or parliamentary

system is left to the people to adopt. But there is no latitude in economic matters. Establish prayers and pay the Zakat. We need not belabor the vision of an individual and should recite these verses:

Woe unto every backbiter, slanderer Who has gathered riches and counted them over Thinking his riches have made him immortal

Q-CIV-1-3

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