

## The Religious Minorities of Pakistan, Jinnah's Vision and Islamization

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### ABSTRACT

*Pakistan is a diverse society with varied ethnic and religious minorities and an enormously plural country characterized by religious, sectarian and ethno-linguistic diversities. The paper analyses the historical existence of the Minorities in the Indian sub-continent, their role, spread and their lives focusing on the religious and social aspects. Socially and religiously, the minorities are enthusiastic to follow their respective religious traditions and practices. This dissertation examines the vision of Jinnah, the Founder of Pakistan, with respect to his views regarding minorities and their status and future in Pakistan.*

*The objective of the current study is to discuss the factors of the process of Islamisation and its consequences. It is an attempt to explore the complications and disputes which are being raised by the minorities of Pakistan. Further the research is accomplished in such a way to answer the questions; what is the impact of Islamisation on these communities and how they were influenced by other communities? The study provides a historical exploration of these communities. It is concluded that Jinnah was very much clear minded about the status and future of minorities in Pakistan.*

**Key words:** Islamisation, religion, minority, Jinnah, vision

### Introduction

It is an historical fact that when the globe witnessed the creation of many states along geographical, linguistic and racial lines in the twentieth century, Pakistan was founded along the ideological lines. The idea of the creation of Pakistan and the struggle to carve a separate homeland revolved around the religious symbolism. The first half of the twentieth century bears witness to the events, which unfolded in the sub-continent and made the creation of Pakistan as a separate land where Muslims could preserve their identity and practice their lives, inevitable. With the creation of Pakistan, Islam was declared the state religion. Muslims are an overwhelming majority in Pakistan. The statistics reveal that more than 96 percent of the 182 million population of Pakistan are Muslims.

However, it is important to mention that Pakistan is a plural society characterized by religious and ethno-linguistic diversities. To delimit to religious minorities; one may quote Christians, Hindus, Qadianis or Ahmedis, Bahá'ís, Jains, Kalash, Parsis, Sikhs, et al. In rural areas, the Muslim population is 96.49% and in urban areas they are 95.51%. The overall population of the Christians in Pakistan is 1.69%. The Christian population in the rural areas is 1.10% and in urban areas they are approx. 2.82%. Hindus are approx. 1.40%, out which 1.80% in rural areas and 1.22% in urban areas. The Qadianis/Ahmadis are approx. 0.35% of the total population of Pakistan. They are 0.18% and 0.34% in the rural and urban

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areas respectively. The Scheduled Caste are 0.33%; rural 0.34% and urban 0.06%. The remaining population of other religions is approx. 0.06%. Their ratio of rural urban is 0.08% and 0.04%<sup>(1)</sup>.

Many diverse elements along the ethnic, racial and linguistic lines can be figured out in the body politics of the land. Thus, Pakistan cannot be termed as a landmass where only Muslims breathe. The social scientists define the term 'minority' as a social group with a social and cultural identity distinct from the dominant culture within a demographic. Ergo, it can be said that different religions exist along with the dominant Islam in Pakistan.

Pakistan is scrutinized very critically regarding her treatment of the minorities. The society has witnessed recurrent incidents that target the religious minorities; consequently, these attacks give a bad name to the state. It is no surprise; Pakistan is labeled as a "suffocated land" for the minorities. However, the attacks and persecution of religious minorities cannot be termed as state-sponsored discrimination. The constitution of Pakistan provides full religious liberty and rights to the minorities. The minorities are independent in performing their religious activities and opportunities given to them to participate in the social, economic and political activities of the country.

Pakistan came into being on 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1947 in the name of Islam. The Muslims of India, being a separate nation, wanted a piece of land where they could live according to their distinct culture, history, and way of life, religion, literature and social values. The total population of Pakistan is approx. 182 million. The estimated non-Muslim population is more or less 5 million, which constitutes approx. three percent of the total population. The Christians and Hindus comprise the maximum population of the religious minorities whereas the other religious minorities are less in number. Other than the Christians and Hindus, the religious minorities that exist in Pakistan are Sikhs, Jains, Qadianis or Ahmadies, Bahá'ís, Parsis, Scheduled Cast, Buddhists and Kalash.

### **The Muslim Rule in India and the Minorities**

The Muslim presence in the subcontinent India dates back to early 8<sup>th</sup> century. Muslim traders from Arab came to the southern coasts of India. Muslims continued their trade in the region and few of them married the native women and settled here. Muslim population increased gradually through the settlement of Muslim merchants, intermarriages and conversion to Islam. Islam entered the southern part of the Indian subcontinent, which is known as Sind when Muhammad bin Qasim (695-715) defeated the Hindu Raja and established the Muslim rule in India. There was a general conversion to Islam and the local population became largely Muslim. However, non-Muslims were treated kindheartedly and compassionately. The Hindus and other minorities were free to perform their rites and rituals according to their religious beliefs and practices. Different dynasties of Muslim families established and they ruled and dominated

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the Indian subcontinent until 1857. Almost every Muslim ruler patronized the Islamic religious centers and places of worship of non-Muslims. This is a very important and significant feature to be considered while outlining the lifestyle of the non-Muslim religious communities under Muslim rule<sup>(2)</sup>. Also, it is directly concerned with the topic of research.

The pre-colonial Muslim rulers had a significant number of non-Muslim *Vazirs* (ministers), commanders and soldiers in their *Darbar* and army. The Hindu Rajas and the newly converted Hindus were accorded respectable status. In the subcontinent, Muslims were the rulers and under their rule the adherents of different religions were allowed to practice their religious beliefs and teachings with complete autonomy<sup>(3)</sup>.

After the death of Aurangzeb (1707), the Mughal Empire started to disintegrate. Eighteenth century was a turning point in the political and social life of the subcontinent. The growth in the population, urbanization and the influence of the East India Company, were among the changes took place in the eighteenth century<sup>(4)</sup>. The Mughals lost their political influence, and the British became dominant and gained political power.

### **British Colonial Rule**

The involvement of British Empire in the Indian subcontinent became possible through the British East India Company (BEIC), which initially sought permission for trade from the Mughals. They remained very peaceful with the local Muslim community and even they did not put images and paintings in their churches in the early days to avoid offending the locals<sup>(5)</sup>. The Mughal Empire disintegrated rapidly after the death of Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb (d1707) in the first decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, giving Britain an opportunity to increase their political influence by taking over the empire<sup>(6)</sup>. The British East India Company did not remain merely a company involved in trade rather it increased its power. The Company, then, started to expand its activities in India to colonize India. By the passage of time, the company became rich in terms of political power and material wealth. It was the beginning of the process to colonize India. The British dream of colonization soon turned into reality. Great Britain replaced the last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah and became the new emperor of the land.

After the war of Independence in 1857, the local Muslims became disheartened and demoralized due to the actions of the British Rule. During this period, a new Muslim community, led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), emerged which became successful to present a new face of Islam to the British. Although the thoughts of Syed Ahmad Khan were contradictory to the traditional Islam.

### **Missionaries under the British Rule**

The colonialism brought English Common Law, their education system and their language to the sub-continent. The Muslims and Hindus were free to practice

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their religion at private level. In the British rule, the Christian missionaries were very active. Many missionary educational institutes were established<sup>(7)</sup>.

Dr Imtiaz Zafar traces the active Christian presence in Punjab when Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) was its Sikh ruler<sup>(8)</sup>. The Christian centers of Protestants and Catholics opened during the following years in other provinces of the present Pakistan<sup>(9)</sup>.

A large number of Protestant, Presbyterians and Church Missionary Society started their mission in those parts of India which are now in Pakistan<sup>(10)</sup>. Under the British Rule, religion became matter of private life. Although they maintained the rights of individual yet at the collective level, there were many differences which became more evident when the movement of Independence started under the umbrella of Indian National Congress. Ishtiaq Ahmad opines that in legal terms, except for personal matters, religious law was supplanted with modified versions of Common Law. Consequently, the Islamic Sharia became restricted to the private sphere and dealt with personal matters such as worship, marriage and divorce. In the political sphere, representative institutions were gradually introduced although suffrage remained narrow and subject to property and educational qualifications<sup>(11)</sup>.

### **The Independence Movement and the Creation of Pakistan**

The war of independence became the focal point for the struggle of independence and freedom from the British rule<sup>(12)</sup>. Britain struggled to have her control over the Indian Ocean. There were two major communities in India, the Muslims and the Hindus. After 1857, the British administration exploited the differences between these two major communities and followed the infamous colonial policy of 'Divide and Rule. In 1884, Lord Dufferin became the Viceroy of British India. He initiated the formation of All India National Congress in 1885 to manipulate the political struggle and competing forces<sup>(13)</sup>. Although, there was support from some of the important Muslim groups for Congress yet there was fear among the Muslims of the sub-continent due to overwhelming majority of Hindus and the intention of the British. Very soon, it was revealed to the Muslims that the struggle of Congress was only for the sake of the Hindus and not for the Muslims of India. This became the basis for a separate representation for the Muslims of India. Muslims of India organized themselves politically and it led to the formation of All India Muslim League in 1906<sup>(14)</sup>. Muslim League was formed with an agenda to protect the interests of Muslims<sup>(15)</sup>. Both the Muslim League and the Congress had been struggling for self-government in India. The Lucknow Pact elucidated common interests of both Hindus and Muslims<sup>(16)</sup>. In its early years, the independence movement was supported by both the Hindus and the Muslims. Muhammad Ali Jinnah entered into the politics of India. As Akbar S. Ahmad writes:

“Jinnah was a typical Indian nationalist at the turn of the century, aiming to get rid of the British from the subcontinent as fast as possible. He adopted two strategies: one was to try to operate within the British system; the other was to work for a united front of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees against the British. He succeeded to an extent in both.”<sup>(17)</sup>

Muhammad Ali Jinnah at that time was a member of both the parties, Congress and All India Muslim League. He tried to bring Hindus and Muslims close to each other and create a better understanding for the struggle of independence. But he failed in his mission to yoke the Hindus and Muslims together to struggle for complete freedom from the foreign rule. He tried his best for a mutual struggle but many of the events made his efforts vain. Jinnah at that stage was a supporter of the Hindu-Muslim unity but the events of following years and the politics and tactics of Gandhi like the non-co-operation movement, *swasraj* (freedom) disappointed Jinnah. Jinnah's dream of the Hindu-Muslim co-operation ended in dismay.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was in favor of Hindu-Muslim unity, denounced his past stance and lamented his earlier efforts for the unification. He was, then, convinced that the Hindus and Muslim were two different and antagonist entities. He reconsidered his past views and saw the future of the Muslims as a separate nation. Muslim League was the chief representative of the Muslims of India. Jinnah with his high vision presented the two nation theory which later became the foundation of Pakistan and the ideological basis of the newly established nation. As narrated by Ziring:

“...Jinnah adopted a separatist formula in guiding the party's destiny...Jinnah understood that the Indian Muslims could compete with the Congress Party only when they showed they were capable of reconciling their own differences. It was with this latter objective in view that Jinnah declared the Muslims to be a nation with its own, 'distinctive culture and civilization language, literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, custom and calendar, history and tradition, aptitude and ambitions'.”<sup>(18)</sup>

In March 1929, Jinnah formulated his famous Fourteen Points in response to Nehru Report. . These Points of Jinnah provided a road map to independence of the Muslims of the Indian Sub-continent and it reflected the Muslim aspirations in the coming years. In the same year, All India Muslim League had its meeting at Allahabad under the leadership of the great poet and Muslim philosopher, Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938). In his address Iqbal rejected any possibility of Hind-Muslim mutual cooperation for peace and struggle for an 'Independent India'. Iqbal had the opinion that any possibility of attaining peace would only be possible if Muslims carved their self-governing land as a separate

nation<sup>(19)</sup>. The attitude of Congress disappointed Jinnah and he decided to adopt self-exile in London and declined to participate in Indian politics<sup>(20)</sup>.

Later, with the continuous correspondence of Allama Iqbal and the meetings of Liaquat Ali Khan with Jinnah, he decided to come back to India and became active in the politics of India in 1934. He redefined the position of Muslim League and demanded a separate piece of land for the Muslims. After long and continuous efforts, the Muslims demanded a separate nation for themselves, a land where they could practice their religion freely and independently. The Muslims of the subcontinent organized themselves under the banner of All India Muslim League and the enthusiastic, energetic and committed leadership of Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940, the historic Lahore resolution, later known as Pakistan resolution, was passed in a three-day general session of All India Muslim League in Lahore, presided by Muhammad Ali Jinnah<sup>(21)</sup>. The Pakistan Resolution of 23<sup>rd</sup> March demanded a separate state for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. After seven years of arduous struggle, Pakistan appeared on the map of the world on 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1947 as the first Muslim state created on an ideology; the Islamic ideology.

### **Role of Minorities in Pakistan Movement**

Some of Hindus, Christians and Sikh leaders along with the Parsis played their role in the creation of Pakistan. Minority leaders like Diwan Bahadur Sittia Prakash Singha ( S. P Singha) , Chaudhry Chandu Lal, CE Gibbon, F.E. Chaudary, Raj Kumari Amrit, Fazal Ilahi, Alfried Purshad and S.S. Albert and many other minority leaders attended the Annual meeting of the All India Muslim League which on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 when the Pakistan Resolution was passed. As the Pakistan Movement neared its goal of partition, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah sought and received the support of the Christian leader Ch. Chandu Lal and the Sikh leader Giani Kartar Singh in Lahore. The Punjab Boundary Commission representing Pakistan's interests at the time of partition included Justice Din Muhammad, Sir Zafarullah Khan and Sardar Baddar Singh. Several Christian leaders appearing before it asked that the Christian population of Punjab be counted as a part of Pakistan<sup>(22)</sup>.

### **Jinnah's Vision**

The year 1947 marked the partition of the sub-continent and the transfer of powers to the two newly born states by the British administration. Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the first Governor General of Pakistan and Liaquat Ali Khan became the first prime minister of Pakistan. Pakistan faced daunting challenges after her birth as an independent nation. There were communal riots, dispute over borders, dislocation of hundreds of thousands of people, migration and the settlement of the migrants, Indus water crisis, the economic crisis and the unresolved issue of Kashmir state. These were the formidable challenges which

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were being faced by Quaid-e-Azam (the Great Leader). Akbar S. Ahmad narrates the whole story in the following lines:

“The unending problems were of such magnitude that they demanded his immediate attention... the influx of millions of refugees from India; the horror of the communal violence in which about 2 million people...died; a state of undeclared war in Kashmir; a tattered defence and administrative structure, torn in two, needing to be rebuilt; the near bankruptcy of the state; and the refusal of an increasingly hostile India to send Pakistan the agreed division of assets. Besides, the awful reality of millions of Muslims stranded in India, as ‘hostages’, not easily able to enter his Pakistan, a nightmare he tried so hard to avoid, soon dawned on him. The savage scale of the killing of refugees on both sides shook him to the core, hastening his end.”<sup>(23)</sup>

Pakistan was established as an Islamic democratic country with a vibrant, diverse and a tolerant society; in which though the Muslims were in majority yet the non-Muslim citizens were also given equal and full religious freedom. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, entitled Quaid-e-Azam, was very clear about the status of minorities in Pakistan and had a progressive vision regarding the future of the minorities of Pakistan. The vision of Quaid-e-Azam about the future of Pakistan to be an Islamic or a secular state was lucid. He had clear mind that the non-Muslims would be safe in Pakistan. He believed that the religious minorities would continue to live in Pakistan as equal citizens without any discrimination. The speeches and press conferences of Jinnah guide us about the thinking and perception of Quaid about religious minorities. In his historic speech on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1947, Jinnah as the first Governor General of Pakistan addressed the first constituent assembly and shared his views regarding minorities:

“You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of 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 ... We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State...”<sup>(24)</sup>

Since the creation of Pakistan, the non-Muslims in Pakistan have been living peacefully without facing any difficulty or problem at social or political level. They have been given rights and are protected in the Constitution of Pakistan. The founder of the country, Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, repeatedly assured the non-Muslims in Pakistan that they would have equal rights and privileges as other Muslims would enjoy. Before the creation of Pakistan and afterwards, the Quaid assured non-Muslims that they would have full freedom of worship and could continue to practice their religions as before. On 19th July

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1947, Quaid-e-Azam nominated the first interim cabinet which included untouchable Mr. Jogindar Nath Mandal as the Minister of Law, Education, Art and Labor<sup>(25)</sup>.

In a press conference on 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1947, at Delhi, while answering a question regarding a brief statement on the minorities' problems, Jinnah firmly assured security to the minorities:

“At present I am only Governor General designate. We will assume for a moment that on August 15 I shall be really the governor-general of Pakistan. On that assumption, let me tell you that I shall not depart from what I said repeatedly with regard to the minorities. Every time I spoke about the minorities I meant what I said and what I said I meant. Minorities to whichever community they may belong will be safeguarded. Their religion or faith or belief will be secure. There will be no interference of any kind with their freedom of worship. They will have their protection with regard to their religion, faith, their life, their culture. They will be, in all respects, the citizens of Pakistan without any distinction of caste or creed. They will have their rights and privileges and no doubt along with this goes the obligations of citizenship. Therefore, the minorities have their responsibilities also, and they will play their part in the affairs of this state. As long as the minorities are loyal to the state and owe true allegiance, and as long as I have any power, they need have no apprehension of any kind.”<sup>(26)</sup>

What was Quaid's vision? It could easily be comprehended and well explained from his reply to Lord Mountbatten's formal speech which was made in the constituent Assembly on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1947 in Karachi. Mountbatten in his speech quoted the example of Mughal Emperor, Akbar, as the model of a 'tolerant Muslim ruler'.<sup>(27)</sup> The example of Akbar given by Mountbatten was a deliberate quote. Akbar had always been a favorite Emperor for the non-Muslims of South Asia because of his tolerance and sympathetic attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects. But, there had been apprehension and anxiety among Muslim intelligentsia regarding the actions of Akbar. The introduction of *Din-e-Ilahi*, a new religious philosophy by Akbar, was not only criticized by the traditional ulema but also condemned by the progressive elements at that time. Akbar's *Din-e-Ilahi* was a mélange of different religions. Akbar was the main focal person in his so called *Din-e-Ilahi*. Jinnah was very well aware of the suggestion of Mountbatten regarding Akbar as a role model for Pakistan's state policy. Jinnah presented the most inspiring and an ideal model, the model of the Prophet Muhammad, to counter Mountbatten's suggestion. Jinnah states:

“The tolerance and goodwill that great 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. The whole history of Muslims, wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practiced.”<sup>(28)</sup>

Akbar S. Ahmad comments on the reply of Jinnah which elaborates the clear mindedness of Jinnah and his vision regarding the foundation of the ideology and the nature of the state:

“The Holy Prophet had not only created a new state but had laid down the principles on which it could be organized and conducted. These principles were rooted in a compassionate understanding of society and the notions of justice and tolerance. Jinnah emphasized the special treatment the Prophet accorded to the minorities. Morality, piety, human tolerance—a society where colour and race did not matter: the Prophet had laid down a charter for social behaviour thirteen centuries before the United Nations.”<sup>(29)</sup>

This was the actual vision of the founder of Pakistan who wanted Pakistan an Islamic state rather a ‘Secular’ state. Questions regarding the status and rights of minorities should be answered in view of Quaid's vision. On many occasions, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah emphasized the role of the newly created state towards the minorities of the country. Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted to envisage a true Islamic, democratic and tolerant society. In Pakistan, he believed that the non-Muslim citizens would be given equal rights and opportunities while the Muslim majority would be retained. Jinnah was very clear that if the followers of all faiths were given a chance to live as equal citizens, Pakistan would prosper and the socio-economic conditions of people be improved.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visualized Pakistan an Islamic welfare state where all the citizens would be treated equally. It is evident that the Quaid did not want a theocratic state run by priests as there were Hindus, Christians, and Parsees in Pakistan<sup>(30)</sup>. Rather he visualized that the foundations of Pakistan would be based on the high principles laid down by the Prophet in Arabia in the seventh century<sup>(31)</sup>.

Now a days, the question is being discussed whether Jinnah wanted a secular or Islamic state? Same is the case with Jinnah's views and vision regarding the minorities of the nation. Akbar S. Ahmad settled the issue by quoting Quaid's word. According to Akbar S. Ahmad, Jinnah was very clear in his last years when he made many attempts to move towards Islam ‘in terms of text, purity and scriptures. He had a firm belief that the basis of Pakistan would be according to the principles laid down in the Qur’ān and in the time of the Prophet as the basis for his state<sup>(32)</sup>. In March 1944, Jinnah stated, ‘our bed-rock and sheet-anchor is Islam. We are one and we must move as one nation and then alone we shall able to retain Pakistan.’<sup>(33)</sup> Later, in the same year he declared, “we do not want any

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flag excepting the League flag of the Crescent and Star. Islam is our guide and the complete code of our life. We do not want any red or yellow flag. We do not want any isms, Socialisms, Communisms or National Socialisms'. There are many instances which indicates clearly that Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah referred to Qur'ān and to the Life of the Prophet in his speeches. Here, the researcher refers to Akbar S. Ahmad's book, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity*:

“Let Jinnah have the last word on his so-called secularism. While addressing the Karachi Bar Association on the Holy Prophet's birthday, 25 January 1948, just months before he died, he declared that people were making ‘mischief’ when they rejected the idea of an Islamic state (see also Yahya Bakhtiar in *The News*, 1 July 1995, ‘The making of Jinnah's Pakistan’). ‘Some are misled by propaganda,’ he pointed out. ‘Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1,300 years ago.’ He insisted that the constitution of Pakistan would be made ‘on the basis of *Sharia*’ (Jinnah 1989:125–7). A few weeks later Jinnah once again repeated the same theme, using almost the same ideas and words: ‘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 ideals and principles’ (Sibi Darbar, 14 February 1948).”<sup>(34)</sup>

The speeches of Quaid ensure the protection of minorities especially the Hindus who were the most worrisome because of their future in the newly established country which had the ‘two nation theory’ as her basis. Jinnah did not have any doubt in his mind about the protection of the rights which had to be given to the minorities. ‘When Pakistan was created Jinnah had seven ministers in the Cabinet, one a Hindu.’<sup>(35)</sup> Jinnah became very disheartened about the stories of Muslim atrocities in different parts of India during migration of the Muslims to Pakistan. He reminded the authorities to prevent the killings of the migrants. He said: ‘The division of India was agreed upon with a solemn and sacred undertaking that minorities would be protected by the two Dominion Governments and that the minorities had nothing to fear so long as they remained loyal to the State.’<sup>(36)</sup>

### **Islamization and the Minorities**

Unfortunately, ‘The Father of Nation’ could not survive for long and died after one year of the creation of Pakistan. The role of Islam in Pakistan is very significant in the history of Pakistan. The foundations of Pakistan are laid down on the teachings of Qur'ān and Sunnah. The independence movement revolved around the two nation theory and the ideology of Pakistan. The slogan *Pakistan ka matlab kia, La ila a Illallah*, chanted across the sub-continent during the independence movement.

After the early death of the 'Founder Father of the Nation' on 11 September 1948, the Objectives Resolution was passed in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan under the leadership of the then Prime Minister, Nawabzada Liaqut Ali Khan in 1949. The Objectives Resolution declared the sovereignty of Allah the Almighty. Further, Pakistan was declared as a democratic country with her laws to be enshrined within the limits prescribed by Islam. Although Pakistan was not supposed to be a theocratic state, many attempts were made to declare it an Islamic state. The state was declared 'Islamic Republic' in the constitutions of Pakistan. Later, different institutions and research organizations were tasked to ensure that the laws instituted and passed by the parliament should be in conformity with the Qur'an and Sunnah.

The first constitution of Pakistan was the constitution of 1956. In the constitution of 1956 Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic. It was declared that the President of Pakistan could only be a Muslim and the article was retained in the second constitution of 1962. The third and the unanimously agreed-upon constitution of 1973 went a further step requiring the Prime Minister to be a Muslim. However, the constitutions protected the rights and privileges of the minorities. The constitutions of Pakistan provided due respect to the minorities by giving them their fundamental rights. On the whole, there is no discrimination against the minorities of the country in the constitutions. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, wanted to provide equal citizenship to all Pakistanis irrespective of their religion, race or language and to give them equal opportunities to enjoy their rights and religious freedom, as well.

The first decade after the creation of Pakistan was characterized by political instability and turbulence. The political turmoil and long military rule of Ayub Khan resulted in the separation of East Pakistan in 1971. After the fall of Dhaka, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed power as the Civil Martial Law Administrator of the 'new Pakistan'. Bhutto claimed to be a liberal and socialist leader who emerged as a charismatic leader leading Pakistan People's Party of Pakistan with the slogans of *roti, kapra aur Makan* (food, clothing and shelter) for all Pakistanis. Sensing the society's inclination towards Islam, Bhutto included 'Islam' in his program, declaring it the 'Islamic Socialism'. The manifesto of Pakistan People's Party declared; Islam its faith, Democracy its polity, Socialism its economy, and the People as the source of all powers. Islam, Democracy and Socialism, were the political troika of Bhutto. Bhutto made many attempts to restore the Islamic ideology of Pakistan and attempted to Islamize Pakistan during his tenure. In Bhutto's era, it may be said that the process of Islamization started. The parliament unanimously passed the 1973 constitution of Pakistan. The constitution of 1973 reiterated that all legislations would be made in conformity with the basic Islamic teachings, the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Further, Bhutto convened the Islamic Conference in 1974 at Lahore. The Islamic Summit Conference sent a message of Islamic

Brotherhood across the globe and revealed Bhutto's quest for the unity of the Islamic World. Further, under the sustained pressure and demand of the religious parties and majority of the population, the Parliament declared *Ahmedis (Qadianis)* non-Muslim in 1974. For the advocacy of Islam and to expedite the process of Islamization, he declared Friday as the public holiday and put ban on the sale and use of Alcohol publically. But, Bhutto failed to neutralize the propaganda of the opposition parties.

In January 1977, Bhutto announced general elections in Pakistan which were to be held in March 1977. An alliance of nine parties, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was formed against the Bhutto regime with the slogan of *Nizam-e-Mustafa* (the System of the Prophet). It was an amalgam of religious and so called secular parties to put pressure on Bhutto. In the election of national assembly, Pakistan People's Party of Bhutto gained majority. The election was challenged by the opposition parties. They alleged that Bhutto rigged the polls to his advantage. Almost all the opposition parties boycotted the next phase of the elections, the elections of the provincial assemblies. The political situation in the country became worse. The political unrest provided a space to the then Chief of the Army Staff, General Zia ul Haq, to intervene in the political affairs of Pakistan. He imposed Martial Law in Pakistan in 1977. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, was arrested and the constitution was held in abeyance. Zia assured the Supreme Court of Pakistan and the political parties that he would conduct the national elections within 90 days, a dream not realized in near future. The movement of PNA did not aim to challenge election results only but to enforce Islamic laws (*Nizam-e-Mustafa*) and later became the basis of the process of Islamization in Pakistan.

The political turmoil in Pakistan ended with the hanging of Bhutto in 1979. The regime of Gen Zia was a beginning of a new era in Pakistan. The year 1979 is significant in the history of Pakistan and the region, as well. The Iranian revolution, the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and the process of Islamization; the consequential events took place in the same year, 1979. General Zia ul Haq reinitiated the process of Islamization in Pakistan which was earlier started by Bhutto. He was criticized and praised due to his policies of Islamizing Pakistan. Besides other programs, the Government announced the imposition of Hudood Ordinance in 1979. In 1985, the separate electoral system which had been abolished in 1956 was re-introduced in Pakistan. (Later, it was reverted by President Gen Pervaiz Musharaff in 2002). Zia ul Haq also made many reforms in the Criminal laws which came under the Hudood ordinance. Zia made institutional changes in the judicial system of the country by establishing Federal Shariat Court and its benches. The Council of Islamic Ideology was restructured and reconstituted. The system of Zakat and Ushr was introduced and Local Zakat Committees were formulated. Moreover, the *Nizam-e-Salat* was introduced.

The overall process of Islamization was aimed at creating a true Islamic state. The Hudood ordinance and the Blasphemy laws were not against the non-Muslims, however, few non-Muslims felt the heat of blasphemy laws to date. This process of Islamization of the laws in Pakistan was criticized by the liberal elements of the state. Blasphemy laws were criticized by the religious minorities mainly by the Christians and the Ahmedis of Pakistan. The law which is being criticized the most is the 'Blasphemy law' stated in the PPC 295-C. In 1986, the Blasphemy law was adopted with a prominent section 295-C of the Pakistan Penal Code<sup>(37)</sup>.

The Christian community of Pakistan particularly criticizes the blasphemy laws because the Christians think these laws as tools to victimize them. Charles Amjad Ali stated the apprehensions which the Christian community felt in Pakistan with reference to the process of Islamization in Pakistan. He opined his views that there was no problem between the Christians and Muslims regarding the theological issues. To Amjad Ali, the major issues are of social, political and economic nature which the Christians are facing in Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The adoption of Sharia, Amjad Ali further stated, put more pressure on the Muslim citizen of Pakistan. The open claim of Pakistan being an ideological state is not a problem for the non-Muslim citizens [of Pakistan], the problem is that there is no place or framework for pluralism of belief and existence<sup>(38)</sup>.

It is claimed that Christians had been the direct victims of the Blasphemy law<sup>(39)</sup>. The Pakistani media reported that almost 1274 people were charged under the blasphemy laws between 1986 and 2010<sup>(40)</sup>. Interestingly most of the cases in the year 2005 were registered against Muslims (total 18) and against Christians (only 3)<sup>(41)</sup>. It is to be noted that most of the cases have been registered by individuals due to personal reasons and to some extent, religion is involved. One interesting point to be noted that none of the victims of the blasphemy laws, is ever been given the penalty of sentence to death. The Muslim Ulema are convinced that there is nothing wrong with the laws but in their implementation. The case of Rimsha Masih, who was held under the blasphemy law and later, found innocent, was supported by the Ulema is a good example to be highlighted.

The recent case of Asiya Bibi and the assassination of the Salman Taseer for his support for the Christian lady and his criticism of the abuse of the law led to voices who demanded these laws to be struck down with the reason that these are inconsistent with the universal fundamental rights. But, it should be kept in mind that if a law is misused by the administration because of the societal biasness or administrative incapability and incompetency; it does not mean that the law is to be abrogated. Similarly if the laws regarding murder and theft are misused, it does not mean that these laws should be struck down. There is no fault with the blasphemy laws or other laws, rather there is a need of true implementation of

these laws. The major critics of the process of Islamization in Pakistan were and still are the Christian and the Qadianis(Ahmedis) communities of Pakistan. The Bahá'ís keep themselves away from the political issues of the country. In the case of Parsis, the community as a whole did not react to this issue as they were not victimized by these laws.

## CONCLUSION

It is time to gather the information presented in the body of this research and attempt to make the results and conclusion about the social and religious lives of the minorities of Pakistan with respect to Jinnah's vision and the process of Islamization. The study aimed to explore the socio-religious patterns of these minorities. The main objectives of the study were to answer the fundamental questions about the vision of Jinnah.

The society of Pakistan is very diverse in terms of religion, ethnicity, language and culture. The area and region where Pakistan lies are very significant historically and geographically. The Muslim presence in the Indian subcontinent has long historical evidence. Muslims rulers reigned over India for almost a thousand years. They were very kind and just with their non-Muslim subjects. Mughal Emperor Akbar provided many privileges to the non-Muslim population of India. The last powerful Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb, also had a sizeable representation of the Hindus in his army as well as in his court. The Christian missions increased their influence during the British rule. Many missionary schools and institutions were established all across the sub-continent and a sizeable population converted to Christianity. The Hindus also had their temples and enjoyed religious freedom without any fear. It was 1947 when Pakistan emerged on the globe as an Islamic state. Although the Muslim population is about 97 percent but there are a number of non-Muslim minorities; indigenous and migrant. '*Migrant Religions*' is a new term coined for those religions which live in the 'diaspora' for a long period. Christianity, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and some other religious beliefs like the *Kafars* of Kalash have their roots in this land for a long time and are said to be the indigenous religions. The case of Christianity is quite different as it was not originally a religion of South Asia but a religion of converts with a missionary background. It has a long history of its presence in South Asia. The total population of Pakistan is approx. 180 million. The estimated non-Muslim population is more or less five million which makes three to four percent of the total population. The Christians and Hindus comprise the maximum numbers of minority communities whereas the other religious minorities are less in number.

Other than the Christians and Hindus, the religious minorities comprise Sikhs, Jains, Qadianis or Ahmedis, Bahá'ís, Parsis, Scheduled Caste, Buddhists and Kalasha. Most of the religious communities are caste-based, class-based and there are many denominations within the religious communities. To quote an example, there are both Catholic and Protestant denominations of Christianity in

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Pakistan. Most of the Christians live in the urban areas of the province, Punjab. Hindus are also divided into different castes and ethnicities. Majority of the Hindu population lives in the rural Sindh. Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and Bahá'ís are very nominal in number. Most of the Parsis are concentrated in Karachi. They are mostly engaged in business and trade. The Bahá'ís is a low profile community. Sikhs are also in small number and are living peacefully in some cities of Punjab and Khyber Pukhunnkhwa (KPK). The Sikhs of Punjab speak Punjabi, whereas the Sikhs residing in KPK speak Pushto having tribal links with some of the tribes of Afghanistan. The Qadianis or the Ahmedies are declared non-Muslims in 1974. They are divided into the Lahori and Ahmedi groups. The Ahmediya movement, both groups, is London-based and many of them are predominantly Punjabi. There are small Ahmedi communities in other provinces of Pakistan. The Kalash is a very ancient community and is concentrated in the areas of Chitral.

Generally the minorities of Pakistan are very faithful and patriotic to Pakistan. Since the creation of Pakistan, many non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan have been serving the nation and participating in the nation-building process. They have played their role in all fields, at the national level. Justice A.R. Cornelius, Justice Durab Patel, Justice Bhagwandas, Jamshed Marker are some of the examples of the non-Muslim minority who rendered their services for the nation building.

In Pakistan, the delay in constitution making created many hurdles. One of the issues was the position and status of the non-Muslims. The process of Islamization which was started by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and then accelerated by Zia ul Haq. Islamic ideology and the two-nation theory defined the foundation of Pakistan. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, had a broad and clear vision about the future of Pakistan. He was not doubtful regarding the status of the newly created country. Jinnah was very much convinced that Islam would be the future of Pakistan.

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