

## QUAID-I AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH\*

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I first saw the Quaid-i Azam—he was then simple Mr Jinnah—at the Amritsar Congress Session of 1919. This was after the savage carnage in Jallianwala Bagh when Hindu-Muslim unity had been cemented by the barbarous act of General Dyer, a specimen of the British way of administration whenever things came to a crisis. Hindus and Muslims were then embracing each other and drinking from the same vessel. Mr Jinnah was then one of the pillars of the Indian National Congress, though earlier he had joined the Muslim League. This session of the Congress was a very solemn occasion and every important leader was present there.

Before the session began, Mr Jinnah ascended alone to the dais, a blue long coat partially covering his immaculate Western dress and a tall tarbush heightening his tall slender figure among the pygmies of the Congress. He stood aloof and talked only to those who came forward to speak to him. His attitude on the occasion reminded me of Shelley's lines about Adonais :

“ 'Midst others of less note, came one frail form  
A phantom among men, companionless.”

As I shall point out later, this aloofness was one of the Quaid-i Azam's noticeable traits. Several years later, almost half a century ago, I came in personal touch with

\*Text of a paper read in the Quaid-i Azam Seminar held under the auspices of the University of the Punjab on 23 March 1976.

It would not have been in keeping with his character to change his well-considered pre partition views lightly, after the establishment of Pakistan and it has been demonstrated that in fact no such change took place in the fundamentals of his thinking.

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### THUS SPOKE THE QUAID

“The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving . . . is, by grace the of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was a means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free-play.”

— *Address to Officers of Government of  
Pakistan, Karachi, 11 October 1947*

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the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, on 1 July 1948. "I shall watch with keenness," said the Quaid-i Azam :

"the work of your Research Organization in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two world wars in the last half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. 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 on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice."<sup>42</sup>

The conclusion that emerges from this examination of the Quaid-i Azam's relevant speeches and statements is that he was far removed from any socialistic or secularist faith and those who have propounded theories to the contrary have either failed to appreciate the true significance of stray sentences torn from their context, in the full perspective of the Quaid's views or have resorted to myths to support their preconceived notions. The Quaid-i Azam's personality stands revealed as that of a consistent and steadfast protagonist of the Islamic system. His dynamic and progressive view of Islam was in complete consonance with the exigencies of the modern age. In his Presidential Address at the Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League, held in October 1937, he had given this advice to the Muslims :

"Think hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man."<sup>43</sup>

42. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48*, pp. 150-54.

43. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Ed., op. cit., I, 39.

rather than to exterminate them.

In his address to the Tribal Jirga at Government House, Peshawar, on 17 April 1948, the Quaid-i Azam described himself as a "Servant of Islam". He thanked the tribal elders for their wholehearted and unstinted declaration of their pledge and assurance to support Pakistan "so that it may reach the pinnacle of glories of Islam".<sup>39</sup>

Next day, on 18 April, the Quaid, replying to an address of welcome by the Principal, staff and students of Edwards College, Peshawar, observed :

"What more can one really expect than to see that this mighty land has now been brought under a rule, which is Islamic, Muslim rule, as a sovereign independent State."<sup>40</sup>

The theory of the Communists may be summed up in a single phrase: "abolition of private property," as is specified in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. In striking contrast with that dogmatic formulation is the declaration of policy made by the Quaid-i Azam in his reply to the Address presented to him by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, on 27 April 1948, in these words :

"I would like to call your particular attention to the keen desire of the Government of Pakistan to associate individual initiative and private enterprise at every stage of industrialisation."

After naming a few industries run by the Government, the Quaid proceeded :

"All other industrial activity is left open to private enterprise which would be given every facility a Government can give for the establishment and development of industry."<sup>41</sup>

The Quaid-i Azam obviously favoured a mixed economy rather than pure and unadulterated State Socialism.

A very important pronouncement was made by the Quaid-i Azam in the course of a speech on the occasion of

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-28.

41. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Ed., *op. cit.*, II, 545.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

over, the qualifying clause "which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man" gives a positive indication that it was meant only as a compendious description of the Islamic social system. Just after uttering the sentence quoted above, the Quaid proceeded to say :

"Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it, so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our tradition and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent."

The Quaid went on to remind his audience that, with the advent of Pakistan, not merely a new Government came into existence, but it also "meant the birth of a great State and a great nation". He called upon his hearers to adjust themselves to the new forces thus generated, for, according to him:

"Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State."<sup>38</sup>

These remarks furnish a commentary on the "Islamic Socialism" contemplated by the Quaid-i Azam and establish clearly his purely Islamic orientation, without any alloy of Socialism, scientific or unscientific. For the Communist creed is antagonistic to democracy and the equality of all—it aims at the dictatorship of the proletariat by intensification of class war and liquidation of the capitalist and feudal classes by all possible means, violent or non-violent. The Islamic system, on the contrary, teaches equality and solidarity and seeks to reform the capitalists and feudalists

State” and then, adverting to the fact that the Constitution of Pakistan had yet to be framed by the Constituent Assembly, he said :

“I do not know what the ultimate shape of the 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 man, 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 be a theocratic State—to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims—Hindus, Christians and Parsis—but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan.”<sup>37</sup>

On 26 March 1948, the Quaid-i Azam attended a Public Reception at Chittagong (East Pakistan). Much is sought to be made of his observations on that occasion by the protagonists of Socialism and in particular this sentence of his speech :

“You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man.”

It is apparent that the phrase “Islamic socialism” did not originate with the Quaid-i Azam. It seems to have occurred in the address that was presented to him by his hosts. If one reads this sentence in the context of the whole speech, it becomes crystal clear that the Quaid-i Azam had in mind only the Islamic principles of social justice when he repeated the term “Islamic socialism”. He bracketed his own sentiments with those of millions of Musalmans in this connection and surely it is not claimed that the Muslim masses have any predilection for the Socialist creed. More-

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

the Qur'anic principle of *Shoora*.

The Quaid-i Azam broadcast a talk on Pakistan to the people of Australia, on 19 February 1948. In that talk, he extended an assurance to the world about the fair treatment of minorities in Pakistan, in these words :

“But make no mistake : Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.

“Not only are most of us Muslims but we have our own history, customs and traditions and those ways of thought, outlook and instinct which go to make up a nationality.”

Later, in that talk, he emphasised the fact that Pakistan

“is, in fact, a very important addition to the long line of Muslim countries through which your communications pass to the Mediterranean and to Europe.”

In the end, he greeted the people of Australia with the Muslim salutation of “Assalam-o-Alaikum” (peace be upon you) as he said he could “think of no better greeting than one which is traditional amongst us”.<sup>35</sup>

Addressing officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack-Ack and 6th Light Ack-Ack Regiments in Malir, on 21 February 1948, the Quaid commended their gallantry in far-flung battlefields of the globe in the past, “to rid the world of the Fascist menace and make it safe for democracy”. He then reminded them that

“Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice and the equality of manhood in your native soil.”<sup>36</sup>

The Quaid-i Azam addressed the people of the United States of America, in February 1948, in a broadcast speech. He described Pakistan, therein, as the “premier Islamic

35. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

The year 1948 proved to be the last year of the Quaid-i Azam's life. We possess a record of several pronouncements by him during that year, which seem to be conclusive on the issue raised in this paper.

The Quaid-i Azam addressed the Karachi Bar Association on 25 January 1948 on the auspicious occasion of the Holy Prophet's birthday and said that he could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and propagated the idea that the Constitution of Pakistan could not be made on the basis of *Shariat*. He declared: "Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1,300 years ago." Referring to the minorities, he explained that "Islam and its idealism have taught democracy . . . [and] equality, justice and fair-play to everybody". He reminded his hearers that the Prophet was a great teacher and a great lawgiver, and added:

"No doubt there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam. Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct even in politics and economics and the like."<sup>33</sup>

A Durbar was held at Sibi in Baluchistan on 14 February 1948 by the Quaid-i Azam as Governor-General of Pakistan. Expatiating the impending changes in the administrative system of Baluchistan, the Quaid gave out that, in proposing the new scheme, he had one underlying principle in mind—the principle of Muslim democracy. "It is my belief," he said, "that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great lawgiver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that 'our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussion and consultation'."<sup>34</sup> The Quaid was clearly cognizant, here, of

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 455-56.

34. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48*, p. 56.



perspective.

The “ugly and deplorable events” referred to in the above statement were the acts of genocide, committed after the Partition, by Hindus and Sikhs against the Indian Muslims, in certain areas, whose survivors had to migrate to Pakistan, in circumstances of the utmost distress and misery. The secularist’s thesis cannot stand in the face of the above unequivocal statement of the Quaid.

This view is further fortified by consideration of the speech delivered by the Quaid-i Azam in a big public meeting held at the University Grounds, Lahore, on 30 October 1947. Therein the Quaid, after alluding to the planned and “systematic massacre of defenceless and innocent people” in India, thanked Providence for giving to the Pakistani Muslims courage and faith to fight the forces of evil. He added: “If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours.” He called upon his hearers to develop in themselves the spirit of the *mujahids* of Islamic history. He also exhorted everyone in the audience to “be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without.” He emphasised that “the tenets of Islam enjoin on every Mussalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities, regardless of caste and creed”. He warned them against resort to retaliation against our own minorities, on the ground that it would be un-Islamic conduct.<sup>31</sup>

In reply to a speech by H.E. Muhammad Pasha El-Shuraiki, Minister Plenipotentiary of Jordan, the Quaid-i Azam as Governor-General of Pakistan, said, *inter alia*:

“Islam is to us the source of our very life and existence and it has linked our cultural and traditional past so closely with the Arab world that there need be no doubt whatsoever about our fullest sympathy for the Arab cause.”<sup>32</sup>

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 447-48.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

and equality, as enjoined upon us by Islam."<sup>28</sup>

The above statement was followed by another made by the Quaid-i Azam during the discussion on a resolution of the All-India Muslim League Council Meeting held at Karachi on 14 and 15 December 1947. On that occasion the following weighty words fell from the lips of the Quaid-i Azam :

"Let it be clear that Pakistan is going to be a Muslim State based on Islamic ideals. It is not going to be an ecclesiastical State. In Islam there is no discrimination as far as citizenship is concerned. The whole world, even the U.N.O., has characterised Pakistan as a Muslim State."<sup>29</sup>

It is wishful thinking to imagine that the Quaid-i Azam had given up, after Partition, what is a erroneously described as the "Two-Nation Theory". In the course of an interview given to Reuter's correspondent, Duncan Hooper, on 25 October 1947, the Quaid stated :

"As for the two-nation theory, it is not a theory but a fact. The division of India is based on that fact and, what is more, that fact has been proved beyond doubt by the ugly and deplorable events of the past two months, and by the action of the Dominion of India in pulling out Hindus from Pakistan as their nationals. How then can it be said that there is one nation? I do not wish to dwell upon this further. There are many other events that are taking place which go to show the reality which is that the Dominion of India is a Hindu State."

He added that "minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States" and that he had "repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens."<sup>30</sup> This places that speech in its proper

28. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48*, p. 19.

29. Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, 571.

30. M. Rafique Afzal, Ed., *op. cit.*, p. 440.

that they would enjoy full cultural and religious autonomy along with fundamental equality as citizens. As I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> these non-Muslims were neither *dhimmis* nor *mustamins*, in the technical sense of Islamic jurisprudence. They are rather in the position of *muaahids*, that is, people who had a pact with the Muslims. I have also cited there the august historical precedent set by the Prophet (peace be upon him) by his pact with the Jewish and Christian tribes of Medina, soon after he had migrated to that holy city. This pact equated them with the Muslims for certain State purposes, subject to the contracting parties retaining full liberty of conscience and autonomy in the religious field, with the reservation that the Prophet would be the Head of the State as the acknowledged leader of the predominant Muslim community. Here also we are bound to honour the solemn agreement entered into by the high contracting parties to the Partition of India that the minorities in each Dominion would have equal rights and equal protection of the Law.<sup>27</sup>

These factors appear to have been present in the mind of the Quaid-i Azam when he made the above pronouncement. As would be clear from the sequel, the Quaid never abandoned his ideal of State under which the Muslim community could order their lives in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. The secularists have failed to examine the statement cited above in the total framework of the Quaid's pronouncements made from time to time.

On 25 August 1947, the Quaid, while replying to a civic address presented by the Karachi Corporation, declared that "it should be our aim, not only to remove want and fear of all types, but also to secure liberty, fraternity

26 S. A. Rahman, *Punishment of Apostasy in Islam* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1972), p. 2.

27. Ch. Mohammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1973), p. 240.

"No responsible man expressed his personal opinion in anticipation of the decision of a supreme body like the Constituent Assembly, the function of which is to frame the constitution."<sup>24</sup>

On other occasions, however, he had recounted the basic principles which could serve as guidelines for the future Constitution, without going into details.

The Quaid-i Azam addressed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, on being elected its first President, on 11 August 1947. In the course of that address, the Quaid referred to the historic conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants in England and proceeded to say:

"Thank God, we are not starting in those days. 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 the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state."

Further on, he expressed himself in words which have been seized upon by secularists to support their pet theory of change of views on the part of the Quaid-i Azam. He said:

"Now, I think, we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that, in course of time, Hindus will 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."<sup>25</sup>

One must not be misled by the use of the expression "cease to be" in this passage. This was only a rhetorical method of emphasising the fact that all residents of Pakistan would henceforth share a common citizenship equally. The words "not in the religious sense" should be prominently kept in view while considering its implications. He seems to have been anxious to assure the minorities of Pakistan

24. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

25. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *Speeches as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48* (Karachi: Pakistan Publications), p. 9.

Talking to Muslim League workers at Calcutta, on 1 March 1945, the Quaid explained :

“I am an old man. God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age. Why would I turn my blood into water, run about and take so much trouble. Not for the capitalists surely, but for you, the poor people.

“In 1936, I have seen the abject poverty of the people. Some of them did not get food, even once a day. I have not seen them recently, but my heart goes out to them. I feel it and, in Pakistan, we will do all in our power to see that everybody can get a decent living.”<sup>22</sup>

These observations did not imply an inclination towards socialistic thinking. What the Quaid-i Azam had said was wholly consistent with the requirements of the Islamic system itself. Consideration for the havenots is not a monopoly of Communism.

At a Press Conference, attended by the Quaid-i Azam in New Delhi on 14 July 1947, he was asked the question : “Will Pakistan be a secular or theocratic state?” The Quaid described the question as “absurd” and added that he did not know what a theocratic State meant. When a correspondent suggested that it meant a State where people of a particular religion, for example, Muslims, could be full citizens and non-Muslims would not be full citizens, the Quaid came out with the rejoinder :

“Then it seems to me that what I have already said is like throwing water on duck's back. When you talk of democracy, I am afraid you have not studied Islam. We learned democracy thirteen centuries ago.”<sup>23</sup>

At that Conference, the Quaid refused to discuss the structure of the Government of Pakistan on the plea that that was a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide. When pressed for his personal opinion on the matter, he replied that

22. *Ibid.*, II, 272.

23. M. Rafique Afzal, *Ed.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-23.

the message which he sent on the occasion of the celebration of "Iqbal Day" at Lahore, on 9 December 1944.

In that message he described Iqbal as "a true and faithful follower of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him), —a Muslim first and a Muslim last," and "the interpreter and voice of Islam". He referred to his "unflinching faith in Islamic principles" and commented that "success in life meant to him the realisation of one's 'self'." "To achieve this end," he added, "the only means was to follow the teachings of Islam." In conclusion, the Quaid said:

"I whole-heartedly associate myself with the celebration of this 'Iqbal Day,' and pray that we may live up to the ideals preached by our National Poet so that we may be able to achieve and give a practical shape to these ideals in our sovereign state of Pakistan when established."<sup>19</sup>

The Quaid's 'Id message to the Muslims of India in 1945 included these words:

"Everyone, except those who are ignorant, knows that the Quran is the general code of the Muslim. A religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal code; it regulates everything from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all to those of each individual; from morality to crime, from punishment here to that in the life to come, and our Prophet has enjoined on us that every Musalman should possess a copy of the Quran and be his own priest. Therefore Islam is not merely confined to the spiritual tenets and doctrines or rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life, collective and individually."<sup>20</sup>

In his address to the students of Islamia College, Peshawar, in 1945, the Quaid made it clear that "the League stood for carving out states in India where Muslims were in numerical majority to rule there under Islamic law."<sup>21</sup>

19. *Ibid.*, II, 146-47.

21. *Ibid.*, II, 253.

20. *Ibid.*, II, 208-09.

"Is this a challenge to me?" asked the Quaid-i Azam, smiling.

"No, sir!" came the reply, "I am not challenging you. I wanted to explain to the audience through this 'challenge' the nature of the Pakistan we visualise."<sup>15</sup>

On 9 March 1944, in a speech at the Aligarh Muslim University Union, the Quaid warned:

"Another party which has become very active of late is the Communist party. Their propaganda is insidious, and I warn you not to fall in their clutches. Their propaganda is a snare and a trap. What is it that you want? All this talk of socialism, communism, national-socialism and every other *ism* is out of place. Do you think you can do anything just now? How and when can you decide as to what form of government you are going to have in Pakistan?"<sup>16</sup>

This extract may perhaps be interpreted by some as non-committal since the exhortation in the end about the time of decision may be held to involve postponement of the issue. But the Quaid was much more explicit in his speech at the concluding session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation Conference at Lahore held on 19 March 1944. The Quaid-i Azam warned the Communist Party to "keep their hands off the Muslims. They did not want any other flag other than the League flag, and Islam was their guide and complete code for their life. They did not want any *isms*," he declared.<sup>17</sup>

In his earlier remarks at that Conference, he had talked of the goal given by the Muslim League to the Muslims and pointed out that:

"It was no more a slogan—it was something which the Muslims had understood, and in it lay their defence, deliverance, and destiny which would once more ring to the world that there was a Muslim state which would revive the past glories of Islam."<sup>18</sup>

Further light is thrown on the mind of the Quaid by

15. *Ibid.*, II, 486.

16. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Ed., *op. cit.*, II, 10.

17. *Ibid.*, II, 24.

18. *Ibid.*, II, 20-21.

himself put it. The following extract from the recorded English translation of his speech is interesting :

“Your Quaid-i Azam has proclaimed more than once that the Muslims have no right to frame the Constitution and Law of any of their states. The laws governing the Constitution of a Muslim [sic.—the word ‘State’ seems to have been omitted in the translation] are definitely laid down in the Holy Quran. There is no denying the fact that we want Pakistan for the establishment of the Quranic system of Government. It will bring about a revolution in our life, a renaissance, a new fervour and zeal and above all a resuscitation of pristine Islamic purity and glory. The object of this Planning Committee [this refers to a Planning Committee appointed by the League] will be to enable the Muslims of Hindustan in general and Pakistan in particular to make their life worth living and plan their educational, social, economic and political uplift from the purely Islamic point of view.”<sup>14</sup>

After dilating on what he described as “the flawless economic system of Islam” and alluding to the fact that Russia had joined the Allies in the Second World War in consequence of which the Communist preachers in India were raising “the slogan of bread, to seduce the poverty-stricken masses to embrace their faith,” the speaker proceeded in his own inimitable style :

“But I would draw the attention of the Muslim youth to the fact that if Communism means to efface poverty and class-distinction and to provide bread and clothing to the poor, I can call myself a rank Communist. But if Communism, as inspired by Karl Marx’s philosophy, is based on the negation of God, I seek the shelter of God from it. I proclaim from this rostrum that people who base their economic system on the negation of God, should quit this *Pandal*. I am sure that when our Planning Committee chalks out an economic system, it will be based on the Quran.”

Then turning towards the Quaid, he said : “Quaid-i Azam ! we have understood Pakistan in this light. If your Pakistan is not such, we do not want it.”

14. Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan* (Karachi/Dacca, National Publishing House, 1970), II, 485.



in the Qur'an could form the basis of an Islamic State in which the best guarantee for the constitutional rights of non-Muslims would exist. He was then asked the specific question as to what he thought of a Socialist State in this context. He replied that Socialism, Bolshevism and similar other social and economic creeds were but imperfect and crude imitations of Islam and its political system and they lacked the latter's cohesion and balance. In answer to another question about Turkey being a secular State, he said that the term "secular" was inapt in the case of Turkey and that, in any event, the concept of an Islamic State was clear and well defined. In such a State, he declared, the centre of loyalty is God Almighty alone and the practical mode of obedience to Him was through following the Qur'anic principles and injunctions. Islam does not contemplate subservience to a king or a parliament or any institution or individual.<sup>12</sup> It is obvious that such a system does not permit the grafting of any Socialist doctrines into its body politic.

While delivering his Presidential Address extempore at the Karachi Session of the All-India Muslim League on 24 December 1945, the Quaid had a humorous dig at the Communists. He said :

"I find that the cleverest party that are carrying on propaganda are the Communists. They have got so many flags and I think they consider that there is safety in number. They have got the Red flag; they have got the Russian flag; they have got the Soviet flag; they have got the Congress flag. And now they have been good enough to introduce our flag also. Well, when a man has got many flags I get suspicious."<sup>13</sup>

Just after the Karachi Session of the League ended, the great orator, Bahadur Yar Jung, was asked to make a speech, "in keeping with the old tradition," as the speaker

12. Quoted in *Tulu-i Islam* (Lahore), October 1975, pp. 50-51.

13. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Ed., op. cit., I, 590-91.

assurance :

“It is needless to emphasise that the Constituent Assembly, which would be predominantly Muslim in its composition, would be able to enact laws for Muslims, not inconsistent with the Shariat Laws, and the Muslims will no longer be obliged to abide by un-Islamic Laws.”<sup>10</sup>

In his concluding remarks at the Karachi Session of the All-India Muslim League, on 26 December 1943, the Quaid-i Azam characterised Islam and the Qur'an as “the bedrock and the sheet-anchor” of Muslim India and added : “I am sure that as we go on and on there will be more and more of oneness—one God, one Book, one Prophet, and one Nation.”<sup>11</sup>

There were five occasions on which direct references to Communists or Communism were made, either by the Quaid-i Azam himself or by someone else in his presence. These reveal his personal reactions to communistic concepts.

Mr Muhammad Ali, a graduate of the Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan), had interviewed the Quaid-i Azam in 1941 and an account of that interview was circulated to the newspapers by the Orient Press. In that interview, the Quaid explained that when the word “Religion” was mentioned, his mind adverted to the private relationship between man and his Maker, according to the usual connotation of that term in the English language. But, he said, he knew very well that, according to Islam and the Muslims, this limited and narrow concept of Religion is not acceptable. The Quaid disclaimed to be a Maulvi or an expert in theology, but mentioned that he had, in his own way, tried to study the Qur'an and the Islamic Laws and had found that from the commandments of this Great Book, guidance can be obtained in all departments of life—spiritual, social, political or economic, and the principles laid down

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

11. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Ed., *op. cit.*, I, 597.

which is our birthright.”<sup>8</sup>

On 29 April 1946, the Quaid-i Azam wrote to Lord Pethick-Lawrence of the Cabinet Mission and invited his attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore Resolution in 1940 and thereafter successively endorsed by the All-India Muslim League sessions and again by the convention of the Muslim League Legislators, as recently as 9 April 1946. A copy of the Resolution passed by the Subjects Committee, to be placed before the Muslim League Legislators' Convention was enclosed with that letter. The preamble to the Resolution contains the following significant recitals which must have had the personal approval of the Quaid-i Azam:

“Whereas in this vast subcontinent of India, a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a faith which regulates every department of their life (educational, social, economic and political), whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu dharma and philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the degradation of sixty million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country, and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically; . . .

“Whereas the Hindu caste system is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideals that Islam stands for; . . .<sup>9</sup>

The extract reveals that the Quaid's concept of the Islamic system was all-embracing and comprehensive of all life-values and that the polarisation between Hindus and Muslims had created an unbridgeable gulf between them.

To the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, the Quaid-i Azam, in a letter written in November 1945, conveyed this

8. *Ibid.*, p. 122,

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-55.

belong to two different civilisations which are based on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different.”<sup>5</sup>

When there was a hysterical outburst in Congress and other Hindu circles, on the passing of the famous Lahore Resolution in March 1940, the Quaid-i Azam issued a statement in which he explained why the Muslim minorities in Hindu India readily supported the Lahore Resolution. He pointed out:

“The question for the Muslim minorities in Hindu India is whether the entire Muslim India of 90,00,000 should be subjected to a Hindu majority raj or whether at least 60,000,000 Musalmans residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own homeland and thereby have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in accordance with their own genius and shape their own future destiny, at the same time allowing Hindus and others to do likewise.”<sup>6</sup>

The incidents of Muslim identity are lucidly brought out in a letter dated 17 September 1944 of the Quaid-i Azam to Mr Gandhi. He wrote:

“We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions—in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International law, we are a nation.”<sup>7</sup>

In a subsequent letter to Mr Gandhi, dated 21 September 1944, he observed:

“Can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation,

5. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Ed., op. cit., I, 169.

6. *Ibid.*, I, 174-75.

7. Sharifuddin Pirzada, Ed., op. cit., pp. 112-13.

the Indian Legislative Assembly, on 22 March 1939 must be understood. On that occasion, he addressed the British and Hindu Congress groups and warned them in these prophetic words :

“But let me tell you—and I tell both of you—that you alone or this organisation alone or both combined will never succeed in destroying our souls. You will never be able to destroy that culture which we have inherited, the Islamic Culture, and that spirit will live, is going to live and has lived.”<sup>3</sup>

What were the contours of this culture, about whose protection the Quaid was so solicitous? A glimpse of the Quaid's mind, on this question, is furnished to us in a letter addressed by him to Mr Gandhi, on 21 January 1940. He wrote :

“Today you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what your motive in life was, ‘the thing that leads us to do what we do,’ whether it was religious, or racial or political, said :—‘Purely religious!’ . . . The gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into water-tight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of ‘sound and fury signifying nothing.’”<sup>4</sup>

Again, during his historic address at the celebrated Lahore Session of the Muslim League, in March 1940, the Quaid said:

“It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. . . . The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and indeed, they

3. *Ibid.*, I, 90.

4. Sharifuddin Pirzada, Ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (Karachi : Guild Publishing House, 1966), pp. 415-16.